CHAPTER-I

Introduction

Non-alignment came into existence immediately after the Second World War in an international environment in which the countries of the world found themselves polarized into two blocs headed respectively by the two super powers namely USA and erstwhile USSR. The political atmosphere among them was surcharged with tension, antagonism, suspicion, hatred, and a mutual desire to annihilate one another. The era of cold war had already set in and each bloc was trying to strengthen itself by attracting as many countries into its fold as possible. Making of military alliances was order of the day to contain the other’s influence.

It was into this hostile atmosphere that the newly independent countries of resurgent Africa and Asia were stepping in. The newly independent countries were flabbergasted by the unfriendly international environment and found themselves being enticed to join one or the other of the power blocs. The consequence of such a step was that they had to compromise with their sovereignty and lose independence of decision-making for which they were not prepared. The newly independent countries were zealous in protecting their hard won independence and sovereignty. Therefore, the idea of non-alignment started coming up in the minds of newly independent countries.

Non-alignment, according to Professor Mahendera Kumar, is one of those phenomenon of international politics which represents an important force in shaping the nature of international relations after the Second World War. At the very outset it is pertinent to understand the meaning of this concept. According to Prof. Mahendera Kumar non-alignment is “dissociation from the cold war”. Non-alignment was defined by George Schwarzenberger as “a policy of keeping out of alliances”.

Professor Urmila Phadnis is of the view that “Non-alignment symbolised the inability and unwillingness of most of the states to accept or reject the ideology of either bloc in its totality. It therefore, implied a policy of peaceful and friendly relationship with both blocs without any kind of commitment- military, material or political that would restrain their freedom of choice”.

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In the words of M.S. Rajan, "Non-alignment stands for independence of policy and action in international affairs (as a means to the end of establishing a new international political and legal order based on greater equality and mutuality), and a fortiori therefore, for abrogation of the cold war blocs and bloc politics. As such, and logically, the policy is opposed to institutionalizing it in the form of a ‘third bloc’ or ‘third force’."^5

Jansen has defined non-alignment as, "the desire and ability of an independent country, or more accurately, of a country that feels itself to be independent to follow an independent policy in foreign affairs; it is the desire and ability to make up its own mind to take its own decisions or not to take them, after judging each issue separately and honestly on its own merits. This definition highlights the following operative words: desire, ability and independence in foreign policy calculations."^6

According to President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, "The policy of non-alignment is the involvement in world affairs ... very definite international policies of our own ... separate from and independent of those of either of the major power blocs ... asserting the right of small, or militarily weaker nations to determine their own policies in their own interests and to have an influence on world affairs which accord with the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination; therefore, expressing an outright opposition to colonialism and international domination of one people by another"."^7

While explaining its contours Julius K. Nyerere rightly observed that "Non-alignment represents an assertion of small and weak states that they have a right to freedom, that they are involved in world affairs as equal sovereign nations and they have the capacity to contribute to the search for world peace"."^8

K.P. Misra clarified that non-alignment, substantively speaking, is not a negative concept. Dissociation from bloc politics or military alliances became a focal point of non-alignment during the cold war period because that kind of international politics was likely to hinder the achievement of positive objectives of the policy, which was to achieve accelerated socio-economic development of a weak and backward society."^9
According to Dr. K.P. Mishra, the main components of the concept of non-alignment are:

i) Acquisition and preservation of independence of nations, which involves opposition to: domination, bloc politics, imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and democratization of international relations; and

ii) accelerated socio-economic development which involves the establishment of a new international economic order, a new technological order and a new international information order, disarmament etc.\(^{10}\)

Prof. V.P. Dutt writes that the ‘hardcore’ of the concept of non-alignment consists of three elements. They are: (i) right to independent judgement, (ii) struggle against imperialism and what Jawaharlal Nehru called neo-colonialism an attempt at the return of imperialism in various forms, political and even more menacingly economic. He says this was the root, the rational and raison d’être, of the non-aligned movement; (iii) the third kernel of non-alignment, paradoxically as it might seem, was moderation, an attempt to maintain good relations with Big Powers, indeed with as many countries as possible, consistent with the country’s national interest and the task of building of bridges of understanding, lowering of international tensions and promotion of world peace.\(^{11}\)

In practice non-alignment has meant many more than not joining military alliances, or maintaining neutrality during cold or hot war: its aim is to reduce the risks of conflict between hostile blocs by keeping out of them and to broaden the era of peace in the world.

Non-aligned movement is the voice of the overwhelming segment of humanity which having thrown off the shackles of colonial bondage, is now striving not only to consolidate its political independence but reinforce it by economic strength, social advancement and reassertion of cultural identity.

Thus, non-aligned movement is not simply a political association. Its agenda is vast and comprehensive and is linked in the ultimate analysis to the emancipation of the downtrodden segment of humanity and the establishment of a new world human order based on the concept of equality and equity. The target for the non-aligned movement is not any ad-hoc gains in the short term for the developing countries in the political, economic, social, cultural, scientific or technological spheres but it is the
reshaping of the world order in a peaceful global environment in the context of global inter-dependence and collective self-reliance.

Various factors led to the development of non-aligned movement. The history of the non-aligned movement is traceable to the post world war II era. The post world war II era was marked by a proliferation of new states in Asia and Africa. A second important feature of the period was mutual distrust between the Western and Eastern bloc governments leading to the emergence of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact. This division of the world into two military blocs mainly began with Soviet economic and military ascendency to world power and adventurism in Eastern Europe at the close of World War II. By 1948, Bulgaria, Albania, Poland, East Germany and Romania came under Soviet influence. In the Far East Outer Mongolia, North Korea, China and North-Vietnam became communist states. As a response to Soviet military, aid and trade policies—the United States, Canada and Western Europe established NATO, followed by the South-East Asia Treaty Organization and the Baghdad Pact. The ensuing rivalry initiated an increasing pressure on American and Soviet governments to induce other governments to join their respective military diplomacy pacts.

One could easily understand that nationalism was the most important feature of the freedom movement in the Asian and African countries. To preserve the freedom, these nations were determined to follow a course whereby they may not become tools in the hands of big powers. Therefore, they preferred to follow the policy of non-alignment.

P.V. Narasimha Rao once stressed the condition which led to adoption of non-alignment by member countries as follows:

"The condition which led to the adoption of non-alignment by several newly liberated Asian and African countries, as well as countries in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Europe, after the Second World War, are well known. After countries of colonial rule, racial oppression, and domination by Big Powers, these countries were anxious to consolidate their independence so that they might pursue their own political, economic and social development without foreign interference and pressure, and to participate in the making of global decisions affecting their future. They also wanted to eliminate all vestiges of colonial rule, racial oppression, and domination by
Big Powers throughout the world. To achieve these objectives, they found it necessary to assert their independence from the great powers and their military alliances, to maintain their freedom of judgment and action, and to promote the concept of peaceful co-existence, in order to dedicate themselves to economic and social reconstruction.  

Developing nations wanted to stimulate the solidarity of weak nations for building up proper temper of peace. They wanted international cooperation. Therefore, the newly independent states decided to keep off from the military alliances of the two power blocs and preferred to follow the policy of non-alignment.

Anti-colonial feelings persisted in the countries of Asia and Africa, even after they attained freedom. It largely contributed to the growth of the policy of non-alignment. These powers were apprehensive about the very fact that they may again be subjugated by the colonial powers. These countries thus felt determined to keep themselves off from the colonial powers. So, by avoiding the membership of both the blocs, by adopting an independent course of action and by staying out of all sorts of alliances these countries strengthened the idea of non-alignment all the more on a global level.

Moreover, the countries of Asia and Africa who gained independence were generally poor and underdeveloped. They were very keen to improve the standard of living of their people and promote systematic development of their country. They needed capital and financial assistance from the powers of both the blocs so as to achieve their objectives at a faster rate. Therefore, they thought it proper to keep off from political alliances and pursue a policy of non-alignment.

Since long the colonial powers had fed the Afro-Asian nations with the idea that they were racially as well as culturally backward. The feeling evoked mutual sympathy among the people of the newly emerged states of Asia and Africa. Being common victims, of economic exploitation and political domination, of the European countries they developed a sense of affinity towards each other and it ultimately led them to cooperate with each other.
The developing countries of the world wanted equal status in the world in relation to the developed countries. They were not prepared to live under the pressure of the developed countries. They wanted real freedom and self-respect in the world politics. Developing nations including India were desirous and determined to play a constructive role in world affairs to achieve international prestige. So this disciplined and well cultivated ego acted as the motivating force in their pursuit of non-aligned diplomacy. It is clear that non-aligned nations were motivated with the idea of self-respect, and they decided to play a significant role in international politics.

The non-alignment was really the true voice of the free world because freedom and non-alignment are one. The non-aligned countries are all developing countries and as they are developing they must prosper in an atmosphere of peace because that is absolutely essential for them as the highest priority for the Non-aligned Movement is development.\textsuperscript{20} Hence by and large, post-war nationalism and anti-colonialism and the cultural problems of economic development are the background circumstances in which non-alignment has flourished.\textsuperscript{21}

Every state pursues the foreign policy to attain and maximize its national interest. The countries following non-alignment policy also have this objective in their minds along with a comprehensive vision to establish peace, co-operation and equitable participation all across the world.

All the erstwhile colonies after throwing off the bondage of colonialism were keen to protect their hard won independence. As they were economically, politically and militarily quite weak and could not compete favourably with the older and stronger nations, they felt it desirable to keep out of the power blocs so that they may be able to pursue an independent foreign policy.

The desire to avoid involvement in a war is other objective of the non-aligned nations. They intend to avoid entangling themselves in various confrontations so that they may be able to concentrate fully on the economic and material development of their people. With this objective in mind they generally avoid alliance with the two power blocs so that they may not be unwittingly dragged into the war. Though the non-aligned nations are quite aware that in case of a general war they will not be able to escape its impact, yet they are determined to avoid direct involvement in such wars as far as possible.\textsuperscript{22}
The aim of non-aligned nations is thus to preserve world peace. They feel that the course adopted by them is best designed to prevent war. Non-aligned states contend that throughout history, the arms race and alliances have eventually resulted in war. Therefore, the non-aligned states which constitute a large group, can play an important role in avoiding war and preserving peace.²³

Rapid economic development is the other objective of non-aligned nations. By and large the non-aligned states prefer to concentrate on the policy of economic development so that living conditions of their people may improve. They cannot afford to divert their limited resources to armaments and defence at the cost of neglect of the economic development of the country. The non-aligned countries must concentrate on the work of social and economic development for the improvement of the standard of living of their people.²⁴

The non-aligned states try to secure economic and technical assistance from both the blocs. By remaining friendly with all big powers, it is believed that they receive concrete advantages. They can also receive help from one bloc when threatened or actually attacked by the other power. However, this attitude is considered immoral sometimes, as it amounts to playing one side against the other. But it is the classical tradition of politics in general and international politics in particular that the state must protect its interest by all available methods.²⁵

In addition to the above, non-alignment seeks to democratize the international affairs. While expounding this, K. Ramamurthy states, “The objective of the policy of non-alignment is to democratize international relations and ensure equitable participation by all states, both big and small, in world affairs and in the resolution of problem in international affairs”.²⁶

World affairs are dominated by the big and developed countries. The non-alignment policy not only aims to democratize the world affairs but also works to provide equal and justiciable world economic order calls for New International Economic Order.

Furthermore, non-alignment is considered to be a moral doctrine while the system of alliances and counter alliances is the clear manifestation of ‘power politics’. The non-aligned nations regard themselves morally superior even though they are
weaker and lack material wealth. The non-aligned nations consider it their proud duty to influence the international scene with moral force rather by taking recourse to power.\textsuperscript{27}

It is worthwhile to mention here that non-alignment policy also aims at strengthening United Nations so as to make it an effective instrument of the world to realize its objectives. M.S. Rajan while explaining the objectives of non-alignment rightly states that “The strengthening of United Nations as an effective instrument ... and as an important factor in the development of international co-operation and the establishment of equitable economic relations between states; dissolution of Great Power Pact and military alliances and interlocking arrangements arising there from; withdrawal of foreign military forces and dismantling of foreign military bases; the promotion of economic cooperation among the non-aligned and other developing countries with a view to the achievement of collective self-reliance; establishment of a new international order in the field of information and mass media for the purpose of forging new international relations in general; and revival and preservation and enrichment of the culture heritage of the people of non-aligned countries and promotion of cultural co-operation among them are the main objectives of the non-aligned movement”.\textsuperscript{28}

One can easily encapsulate the essential objectives of non-alignment in the words of M.S. Rajan. He states, “Preservation of the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries; elimination of foreign interference and intervention in the internal and external affairs of states and the use or the threat of force; strengthening of non-alignment as an independent, non-bloc factor and the further spread of non-alignment in the world; elimination of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racialism, including zionism, and all forms of expansionism, foreign occupation and domination and hegemony; support to national liberation movements struggling against colonialism and alien domination and foreign occupation; safeguarding international peace and security and the universalization of the relaxation of tensions; promotion of unity, solidarity and cooperation among the non-aligned countries with a view to the achievement of objectives of non-alignment, thus preserving its essential character; ending the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control; the early establishment of a NIEO
with a view to accelerating the development of developing countries, eliminating the inequality between the developed and developing countries and eradicating poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy in the developing countries; participation on the basis of equality involving international issues; establishment of a democratic system of international relations based on equality of states and respect for and the preservation of human right and fundamental freedom”.

The objectives of non-alignment policy are manyfold. From Belgrade summit to Sharm-El-Sheikh the scenario has widely changed. With the changing circumstances and environment the objectives have also taken new orientations to meet out the present day challenges in the world affairs. The non-aligned countries by now set themselves to play an active role to work for establishment of a democratic and equitable world environment so as to ensure equitable rights by providing them the best possible opportunities for their development and progress.

The facts pertaining to the growth and progression of the non-aligned movement, as outlined above, show that this movement has steadily grown in size as well as contents the world over. The scope of the non-aligned movement has greatly grown over the years. It has become a strong constructive moral force in the international politics. It has greatly contributed to international understanding and promotion of world peace. It has enabled the non-aligned countries to integrate their fragile states into a volatile international system. It has promoted collective self-reliance among the non-aligned countries. It has helped them to retain their sovereignty and authenticity.

Thus, it is observed that NAM remains a significant factor in contemporary international relations not only in upholding the sovereign equality of nations but also crusading for other progressive objectives of the nations.

**Review of Literature**

Published and unpublished material on non-aligned movement is very vast and is growing in volumes. So much work has been done and is being done on different aspects of non-aligned movement that any review of literature, howsoever well attempted will remain in-exhaustive and incomplete. The reason is that NAM has continued to be an important area of research and has attracted the attention of the
scholars throughout the world. Here an humble attempt has been made in this direction by providing a synoptic perusal of the existing literature on this theme and other related aspects.

H.D. Malviya, in the book *Non-Alignment World Peace and the Two German States* has made an attempt to explain the meaning and goals of non-alignment. This book contains four sections. First part describes the genesis and policy of non-alignment, roots of non-alignment in India, Indian national movement, India's glorious record of fight against fascism, Indian national leadership's stand against Hitlerite Nazim, and Nehru's world view on non-alignment. He described the growth of non-alignment to the Afro-Asian Ideology. Second part throws light on disarmament and non-alignment nations, and non-alignment in the European variant. Third section is related with German World and approaches the national liberation movement and their developmental problems. In forth section author has emphasized upon the importance of peaceful co-existence, and international relations.

J.W. Burton, in *International Relations* has tried to explain that theory of international politics can't complete without an explanation of theory of non-alignment movement and its development. According to him there are four reasons for the importance of non-alignment:

a) Non-alignment is a special feature of the current world system,

b) Non-alignment reflects some of the features of a developing world community,

c) Non-alignment has certain inherent features which are developing amongst aligned states,

d) Non-alignment offers an alternative game and set of rules which are likely to be important once nuclear deterrence is no longer credible. According to Burton- NAM in India is inherent in the capacity to assimilate different branches of philosophy propounded by the outstanding rulers like Ashoka, Raja Chola and Akbar and partly the result of the philosophical thinking of Shankracharya, Guru Nanak and Kabir. Gandhian approach of achieving freedom through non-violence and truth had also something to do with the concept of world peace through non-aligned movement. He stated that non-alignment movement is a special feature of present world.

Non-aligned states are powerless in terms of forces compared to nuclear states: there are widespread circumstances such as nationalism, anti-colonialism and
economic under development which influence all African and Asian countries and therefore aligned and non-aligned nations like; there are others which are dominant in non-alignment countries. According to Burton, non-alignment is a theory, which is applicable to any society, primitive or natural, armed and unarmed. The causes of alignment are many and varied. They do not always relate to the struggle for power being waged by the leading nations, nor do ideological conflicts associate with that struggle. Alignments arise out of preconceived notions regarding the behaviour of nations out of subjective expectations, out of long standing enmities, out of internal unrest and out of policies which isolate nations; in many cases the major power conflict is but a cloak under which other reason for alignments are disguised. Burton’s book pertains to the cold war period; even then the author has failed to perceive conceptual positivism and dynamic aspect of non-alignment. The author equated non-aligned movement policy with the concept of isolation.

*The Politics of Non-alignment* written by M.M. Rahman is an attempt to explain the meaning and goals of non-alignment and to explain non-alignment in realistic terms as Nehru and Nasser have expounded it. This is followed by case-studies of foreign policies of India and the United Arab Republic in international crises like Korea, Suez, Hungary, the Congo, and the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962. An attempt has also been made to compare the stand taken by one country towards the other, in the moments of crises, in which they were directly involved, viz., the Suez Crisis, the Sino-Indian conflict, the India-Pakistan War in 1965 and the West Asian crisis. In the concluding chapter attention is focused on some problems facing the two countries and on their possible solutions too.

A.P. Rana, in the study *The imperatives of Non-alignment* stated that non-aligned movement is more formal and this study may be designated as a ‘Prato Theory’ of India’s foreign policy strategy in the Nehru’s period. This book is divided into two parts. In the first part he described national security and non-alignment in different analysis like relational patterns, the relevance and capability of strategy. In the second part author has explained the perspective of political culture. He has focused the study of non-alignment in international system and evaluation of India’s foreign policy in Nehru’s period.
Perspectives on Non-Alignment is a collection of essays by political scientists, area specialists, economists, experts in operational science and defence studies, and former diplomats and journalists, to focus attention on certain aspects of non-alignment under the three sequential rubrics: "The Ambience", "The Concerns", and "The Variations". The book is divided into four parts. In part one, the context and dimensions of non-alignment are examined in order to provide a normative framework for evaluating the role, achievements, and stresses of the non-aligned movement. In part two, the twin major concerns of development and security are perceived within the environment of the world economy dominated by the multinational corporations and vital aspects of national security conditioned by arms-race and militarization of the oceans. In Part three, certain regional and normative variations have been indicated to underline the wider ramifications of the non-aligned movement. Part four, includes excerpts from the ever-growing volume of policy documents adopted at formal meetings of the non-aligned nations. The main purpose of this compilation is to provide the scholarly reader a perspective, as well as a starting-point for more systematic work on the several inter-linked aspects of non-alignment.

K.P. Misra, in his edited work Non-alignment: Frontiers and Dynamics logically argued that importance of non-alignment with the cooperation of various scholars. Thirty-six studies contained in this volume are arranged in three parts. Part first, which begins with a survey of some important issues before the non-alignment, consists of studies of such general aspects of non-alignment as the origin and historical background of non-alignment, the important ways in which non-alignment, the thrust of non-alignment in terms of mobilization and capability, the vicissitudes of the non-alignment movement in the United Nations, non-alignment as a diplomatic strategy, the role of the non-aligned countries in crisis management, the significance of non-alignment in the struggle to establish a new international economic order and a new scientific and technological order, non-alignment as a means of promoting national security, the way in which non-alignment has grappled with problems like those posed by the operation of transnational corporation and the attempts of the Big Powers to enforce nuclear safeguards, the prospects of the non-aligned movement. Part second is concerned with what non-alignment means to the third world. The studies included here deal with the foreign policies of the more important countries of
the Third World. Part third deals with the attitudes of some of the major powers towards non-alignment such as the United State, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Britain, and West Europe. The central theme of this study is that non-alignment, a major development in contemporary international relations, dates back to the immediate post-war years. It has made a distinctive contribution to the nature and content of international relations, a contribution which is evident in the change that has come about in the very agenda of international relations.

K.P. Misra, in another study *Non-alignment in International Relations* has also made a similar attempt on the subject in a proper and balanced perspective. He focuses on the retrospect role and relevance of non-alignment ever since it was presented as a foreign policy. According to Misra non-aligned movement was evolved with a view to bring about internal socio-economic transformation and political unity and stability in an international atmosphere of peace. His study is centred around the non-aligned summit conferences because it is during these meetings that the most important work is done and direction is given for future work. Considerable attention is given to the role which it has played and to its relevance in an international atmosphere without cold war. The question of its relevance has been examined after disintegration of the Soviet Union. The movement’s weaknesses and limitations have not been ignored. It gives the clear picture that NAM has been and continues to be a fact of international life during the last four decades and a half. The study related to NAM highlights a few points with a view to promoting balanced understanding based on proper perspectives. According to him the NAM could not achieve more than what it has done because of pressure and pulls from within and from outside. NAM objective is to evolve an international order based on justice and peace, and conditions conducive for domestic socio-economic development of non-aligned countries. NAM both as a foreign policy perspective of most new states of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and as an international movement, is a critical factor in contemporary international relations. Though this movement started with the holding of the Belgrade summit of non-aligned countries in 1961 yet as a foreign policy orientation it was pioneered much earlier by India.

About the achievement of the NAM, Misra stated that the global problems of disarmament and development have deteriorated over the years and the movement has generated lots of ideas and released many forces which have begun a trend which will
be irreversible in the coming years. NAM should be seen as a long term process which is an instrument in transforming history, slowly but surely. Decolonization may be as an outstanding achievement of the non-aligned movement. Its voice of peace and its efforts at bridge-building in an explosive international climate have not entirely gone in vain. India’s role has a special place in this context. The meetings of leaders have often promoted bilateral and regional relations in different fields. There are two perspectives of his study and the positive side seems to be overriding the negative. According to him non-alignment is relevant and a long term process.

*Non-Alignment: Perspectives and Prospects* edited by U.S. Bajpai, consist of several articles, by reputed scholars, who tend to throw light upon various aspects of non-alignment. Many articles in this book have spoken of the crises that the non-aligned movement faces; others have analyzed its failures and successes and, yet others have suggested new directions. A.W. Singham and Shirley Hone have discussed the principles that have united the non-aligned movement throughout its history. Felix R.D. Bandaranaike has focused on the history of non-alignment as a force for peace and stability in a divided world with particular reference to its first six conferences. Peter Lyon has examined the performance and prospects of the non-aligned movement. K.P. Misra in his article has dealt with the perspectives and tasks of non-alignment while Nitin Desai is primarily concerned with non-alignment and the new international order.

Gandhijee Roy wrote on *The Non-aligned Diplomacy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi* because of the growing popularity and importance of the non-aligned movement. Whereas, Jawaharlal Nehru played a significant role its evolution. Mrs. Indira Gandhi tried her best to champion the cause of the non-aligned movement in the world. Roy’s work brings out how the non-aligned diplomacy of India, that was once looked upon with contempt and suspicion with annoyance and ridicule by the super powers, has received almost universal respect today. The study covers the origin of the third force and its impact on international politics. Mrs. Gandhi’s role in making non-alignment as a world movement is a boon to the suffering people of the developing societies. As a great leader of the big team of the non-aligned world, Mrs. Gandhi brought about a radical change in the structure of the world order. Her efforts for adequate economic co-operation among the non-aligned world, her open challenge to the big powers for equitable and geographical distribution of wealth and energy, her concepts of non-
aligned world, her concept of non-aligned diplomacy, and also her commitment to get a proper share in the management of various world issues drew the attention of the world countries towards it and it became the issue before the NAM to be settled.

The work *Non-alignment and Power Politics*—*A Documentary Survey* consists of three parts. Part first deals with some of general aspects of non-alignment, including its background, current issues and its role and prospects in shaping the world of the future. Part second deals with India’s role in the non-aligned movement and its efforts to find out a suitable solution of the various problems faced by the member countries as a result of pulls and pressures of the power blocs. The analysis is based on the statements, and the speeches made by the various Indian leaders in the meetings and summit conferences of the non-aligned movement. Part third deals with the third world and non-alignment movement. It discusses the intensified pressures of the super powers on and around the developing countries and vis-a-vis the reaction of the leaders of the Third World countries towards that.

M.G. Gupta, in *Indian Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* has covered both the theory per as well as the practical part of Indian foreign policy. The book has been divided into ten chapters. First three chapters deal with the theoretical part of foreign policy, fourth chapter deals with the historical background and sources of Indian foreign policy and in rest of the chapters the author has discussed India’s relations with China, Pakistan, Soviet Union and with the West.

In the book *Non-alignment: Concept and Concerns* an attempt has been made to articulate non-alignment, not as an abstract concept but, as a practice in terms of its concerns which incidentally are concerns of the whole humanity. Part one seeks to articulate the conceptual framework in terms of his historical development and the issues it has taken up from time to time. In part two, four experts analyze the problems of economic development, the key issue before the movement. Questions of economic growth, international trade, South-South cooperation and external debt (the most crucial problem today) are dealt with in separate articles. Development has come to be intimately connected with disarmament because the accelerated arms race is not only consuming the world’s resources but it also hangs like the sword of Damocles over mankind’s survival and security. The magnitude of threat and the non-aligned response to it have been comprehensively brought out in the three articles in part
three. Part four puts together perceptions on the process of political and cultural decolonization. The non-aligned countries have recently broken the shackles of colonialism and are faced with the problems of health, education, science and technology left behind as a legacy by colonial masters. Part five carries relevant excerpts from the NAM Summit Declarations which can be the basis of further research and study.

Regina Mulay, in the study *Mass Media International Relations and Non-Alignment* has empirically analyzed the imbalances in the flow of information from the non-aligned world to the Western world. The first chapter deals with the concept of non-alignment and communication and tries to establish a functional relation between the international communication systems and international relations. Chapter second to eight deals with the empirical investigation and the interpretations of the findings of the flow of information of the seven non-aligned summits. The last chapter concludes the discussion and attempts to formulate a definite pattern of newspaper coverage of all the summits. The present study has tried to focus attention on the lacunae in the existing communication system and has also tried to correlate the role of mass media in international politics.

V.T. Patil edited work *Studies on Nehru* has sought involvement of scholars and specialists on Nehru to highlight the impact of Nehru's leadership and political philosophy of modern India. The research papers presented in this volume look into many aspects of Nehru's contribution before and after independence. Some of the papers deal with Nehru's ideas from the standpoint of developing conceptual categories or theoretical formulation, while others use a different analytical framework to bring out boldly the inherent soundness of his ideas or the contradictions in his thought process. Broadly speaking the scholars have contributed articles on Nehru's economic ideas, his views on politics, on foreign policy of non-alignment, on Gandhi, secularism, science, history, administration and on Indian political system.

*Reflection of Indian Foreign Policy* written by B.M. Jain has made an attempt to address the problem of not conceptualizing the foreign policy laid by Jawaharlal Nehru and has also spelt out the criteria on which Indian foreign policy and its relations can more effectively be conducted. This book contains eleven
In first chapter, A.P. Rana has addressed the strategic aspects of India's foreign policy in the fast changing international, regional and domestic milieu. He argues that unless India lays its policy on the reality of super power's active involvement in the region, it will not be able to maintain a balance of power in the region. He also advocates India's playing a role of maintaining "a credible balance of terror" between them. He has finally stressed the need for developing "systemic" dimensions and "pick-up" Nehruvian thrust into the policy. In second chapter, K. Subrahmaniyam stated that India's nuclear policy is oriented in the context of global struggle for disarmament, while Pakistan's nuclear policy is "India oriented". He further advocates that India must keep its nuclear options open. He suggests that foremost task that lies before India is to gain access to the currency of power that other nuclear powers have so far attained. He also makes a forceful plea that developing nations must exercise the nuclear option so that monopoly of nuclear power may not perpetuate any longer. In third chapter Stephen P. Cohen has attempted to assess new "regionalism" in South Asia. He has focused on the structure and etymology of regional conflicts. He suggested that South Asian States should make use of opportunities arising out of recent strategic development and can thus move from state of hostility to a regional arrangement. Other chapters include "Indo-Soviet Relations: Perspectives for 2000 A.D." – Bhabani Sen Gupta, "India and the Commonwealth" – K. Natwar Singh, "Indo-Pak Relations" – Surendra Chopra, "Tibet in India" – Rama Kant, "Foreign Economic Policy of India" – C.P. Bhambhri, "Sino-Pak Strategic Links: Implications for India" – P.L. Bhola and "India's South Asian Policy: A Perspective" – B.M. Jain. In this book the author has identified those defence and strategic issues which have of late been the source of conflict and tension between India and other member nations of the sub-continent.

*International Relations*. The book by Vinay Kumar Malhotra underlines that in the past, the world has witnessed numerous changes that have rendered almost all existing literature on international relations outdated. Collapse of communism in East Europe and in the Soviet Union, withering away of communist bloc, end of cold war, end of military alliances, coming closer of old rivals, birth of Commonwealth of Independent States in the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the independence of the Republics of erstwhile USSR, unification of Germany, integration of Europe, revival of market economy at global level and rise of new
centres of power, especially economic powers, have changed the pattern of international relations that was evolved in the post-World War II period. All these developments have their own implications for the different aspects of international relations. These developments also have an effect on the working of the non-aligned movement. Author has made an attempt in this study to analyze all these changes and developments at world level and their implications for international relations. All the latest developments with their impact on Third World, non-alignment, North-South dialogue, nuclear proliferation and disarmament are discussed by the author in this book. First ten chapters deal mainly with theoretical aspects and topics of international relations while subsequent chapters analyze inter-state relations in practice, that is, the international politics that is being played at the international chess-board since the end of Second World War to the present day.

Jagmohan Singh, in *Emerging International Order and Non-aligned Movement* has tried to reveal the role of non-aligned movement in the emerging international order. The focus of the present study lies upon the significant transformation that has become visible in the affairs of the rapidly emerging global market place and the new dimensions of relation between and among nations of the North-South economic watershed. The perspective is regional as well as international with particular emphasis on the new international economic order and the search for identity by the non-aligned nations in the wake of the post-cold war era and the advent of a new geo-political reality. The concluding chapter deals with some problems and prospects of the non-aligned movement.

T.K. Dutt, in his book *Nehru and World Peace* has thrown light on Nehru’s views on non-alignment and world peace. This book has been divided into five parts. Part first deals with Nehru’s strategies of world peace. The author has highlighted non-violence, non-alignment and co-existence as the three strategies adopted by Nehru in order to bring peace at a global level. In the second part the author has discussed about world peace and world problems. According to the author Nehru believed that poverty, over-population, ignorance, diseases, narrow-nationalism, ideological differences, armaments etc. sometimes hinder world peace. In the third part the author has highlighted the suggestions given by Nehru to bring peace and harmony. Nehru was of the opinion that democracy and democratic socialism could
lead to world peace. In the fourth and fifth part the author has dealt with Nehru’s efforts and his contribution towards world peace.

Prakash Chandra’s *International Politics* has tried to explain that theory of international politics can’t complete without an explanation of the theory of non-aligned movement. This book is divided into three parts. First part is the introductory part of the international politics. In this part, the author has given the meaning, nature and scope of international politics. Author has also given the brief description of Hans. J. Morgenthau’s theory, different approaches of international world and concept of power and its element. The second part deals with the instruments used for the promotion of national interest. Third part is related with the concept of non-alignment, détente, new international economic order, regionalism and world politics, disarmament and arms control, international organizations, international law, collective security, balance of power, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

M.S. Rajan’s *Recent Essay on India’s Foreign Policy* has been divided in to three sections. In first section the author deals with the review of the non-alignment policy. He presents a critical analysis of Indian foreign policy. Author throws light on India’s relations with South Asian states and United Nations. Second section is related to the relevance of the non-alignment and India’s role in non-alignment. In the third section he focuses upon the Indian relations with neighbouring countries.

S.J.R. Bilgrami, in his work *Current Issues in International Politics* has discussed the three known dimensions of studying the international politics- the ‘perception’ of individual actors, the ‘phenomenon’ of international system, and the ‘substance’ of political actions. The NAM has been discussed as strategy of Nehru, Nasser and Tito to cope with the post second world war anarchic international situation. A debate between the West and the Third World on NAM as the emerging value system of the world order has been discussed. The end of Cold War has brought about drastic changes. The very nature of conflicts has changed from global to regional, inter-state to intra-state, regular to irregular, linear to non-linear. The NAM is facing the long suppressed forces of ethnic strife, nationalism, economic inequalities and border disputes. Which have manifested dangers potentialities of conflicts. The author clarified in his concept that NAM is still ‘responsive’, sustaining and ‘consensual’ in character. In the final analysis if the statesmen of the non-aligned
nations with the consciousness of the emerging trend and realization of the wider comprehensive role could succeed in preserving cohesion, in overcoming the internal differences and in preventing the external forces from exploiting the internal differences, then the system of non-alignment may become a relevant response to the conditions of nuclear age. He suggested not changing those constitutions of the previous regimes through which the people have attained unity and prosperity because the reward of those who had established such way of life will continue while the burden of discontinuance shall be on you. Hence the non-alignment movement must continue.

K.C. Arora’s *Imperialism and the Non-Aligned Movement* is an attempt to highlight the plight of the developing countries and traces the origin of the non-aligned movement in order to examine imperialism and its impact on Afro-Asian countries. It examines the dangers stemming from the external debt of these countries and looks at the feasibility of expanding North-South economic relations. This book contains ten chapters. The chapters have been organized thematically. The Introduction (chapter one) examines imperialism and its impact on the Afro-Asian countries. Chapter two analyses the Non-Aligned Movement; its aims and objectives. Chapter three looks at disarmament in order to establish peace in the world and spare resources for economic development. Chapter four examines regional problems. Chapter five looks at the existing economic situation. Chapter six considers the need for change in the world economic system. Chapter seven focuses on the problems of external debt faced by the developing countries, created by increased liquidity in capitalist countries, especially after the 1973 oil price rise, when the oil-producing nations were encouraged to deposit their oil revenue with the European and American banks. Chapter eight investigates the efforts made for North-South dialogue to increase aid and trade in order to remove poverty and eliminate unemployment in the less developed countries. Chapter nine evaluates South-South cooperation. Chapter ten analyses the possibility of establishing a New World Economic Order where all nations; rich and poor; large and small; would have equal opportunity and their fair share in the economic and technological advancement of the world. To conclude it can be stated that in this book the author judges the role of investment and education in accomplishing socio-economic amelioration as envisaged by the non-aligned and other developing countries.
K.Y. Daud, in *Non-Aligned Movement: Belgrade to Durban* has made an attempt to explain the history and development of non-alignment movement and to explain the relevance and validity of non-alignment. He stated that the non-alignment has been the ideal choice for the less privileged nations to achieve socio-economic development that would help translate their political independence into a tangible reality. The non-aligned nations, despite their growing numbers at the United Nations, were regularly castigated by either or both the super powers. The movement, however, survived the criticism during the fifties and sixties. The author examined that with the end of Cold War and more particularly after the collapse of the USSR the question of the relevance of non-aligned movement was raised more loudly then ever. What is the secret of this movement? What was the nature of non-aligned movement in the sixties? What is its nature today? What were the issues NAM handled in the sixties? What are the issues that NAM is facing today? These are some of the questions that are discussed in this book by the author. The book covers the entire period of non-alignment movement form its inception in 1961 to the twelfth summit Conference which took place in Durban in 1998.

S.B. Jain's *India’s Foreign Policy and Non-Alignment* has discussed the role of non-alignment in the foreign policy of India, covering different governments starting from Nehru to Atal Bihari Vajpayee. This study has thoroughly examined the various shades of non-alignment pursued by different governments— the lofty idealism of Jawaharlal Nehru in his perception of non-alignment, the pragmatism of Indira Gandhi in her non-aligned policy and the ‘genuine’ non-alignment of the Janta Government. This study has tried to answer some relevant questions in the context of India’s foreign policy vis-à-vis non-alignment. Some of the pertinent questions like whether India’s non-alignment has undergone a change with the changing milieu of international politics; whether it has served our national interests; whether India’s non-alignment is respected and valued in the world; what after all were the obstructions to the understanding of non-alignment initially; and many such other questions related to the working of India’s foreign policy have been posed and answered in the course of the present study. The Main purpose of this study has been to enquire as to how the concept of India’s non-alignment emerged, shaped itself, gradually developed to its fullness, gained recognition and how it impinged upon the other parameters of foreign policy of India during Nehru, Shastri, Indira, Janta periods.
and other governments. This study has followed a historical-analytical approach. The approach is historical and in that respect an attempt has been made to establish the line of development of India’s non-alignment in different phases.

The book *Non-alignment Movement Extending Frontiers* includes articles contributed by intellectuals belonging to disciplines of political science, economics, history and science and professions of teaching, journalism, diplomacy and public life. Their contribution makes this volume multidisciplinary. They cover the period from the origin of non-alignment to 2001, and also focus on emerging issues, trends and challenges. K.P. Misra has dealt with the aspects of non-alignment, K. Natwar Singh has highlighted the importance and relevance of non-alignment, N. Krishan has dealt with the need for NAM in the present scenario. Ruddar Datt has examined the relevance of NAM in the unipolar world while Harcharan Singh Josh has explored the role of NAM in the new world order.

*Foreign Policy of India*—the study by Subhash Shukla has covered the evolution of India’s foreign policy since the end of the Cold War in 1991. This book has been divided into three sections. Section first deals with the background of Indian foreign policy before the Narasimha Rao Government. It covers the Indian foreign policy under the Nehru era, the Shastri era, the Indira Gandhi era, during the Janta Party Government, the Charan Singh Government, the Rajiv Gandhi Government and as of the National Front Government under V.P. Singh. Section second of the book deals with the foreign policy of India under the Narasimha Rao Government. It is an exhaustive study of India’s foreign policy under this government. It covers India’s relations with the major powers (USA, China and Russia), and its neighbours; human rights, nuclear non-proliferation and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM); India’s economic diplomacy; personality of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and the decision making process; and an overall appraisal of the foreign policy of India during this government. Section third of the book covers the foreign policy of India after the Narasimha Rao government. In three separate chapters foreign policy of India under the United Front Government, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Government under A.B. Vajpayee and the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) Government under Dr. Manmohan Singh have been covered.
Capitalism, Colonialism and Globalization: Studies in Economic Change edited by Shireen Moosvi, consists of several articles by various authors who tend to throw light upon various aspects of new economic order. The global crisis that broke out in 2008 raised many fundamental questions about the present economic order. This volume brings together essays by some of India’s leading economic historians and economists. Of the eleven pieces in the collection, seven are mainly historical and three are focused on the contemporary situation, while the one of the editor Shireen Moosvi, emphasizes the need for a change from the perilous present to a more assuring future. Basically, the volume seeks to show, with Indian experience as the backdrop, that the three historical processes – capitalism, colonialism and globalization – are closely interconnected to each other. Interestingly, Surender Rao’s paper brings out the role played by nationalist leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji in persistently laying bare the imperialist exploitation of India that led to its impoverishment and, thus “de-legitimizing the imperial rule”. The essays by Raj Shekhar Basu and Sanjukta Das Gupta discuss how subaltern communities fared under colonialism. These unfortunate people suffered under the double burden of colonialism and exploitation by the socially advantaged communities. Nationalist leaders like Gandhiji did bring out this fact and fought on both the fronts. India’s tryst with neo-liberalism and the predicament of contemporary capitalism are presented well. Continuing endemic poverty, intensified inequality, and conspicuous shortfalls in human development are all brought out respectively by Prabhat Patnaik, Vamsi Vakulabharanam and Jayati Ghosh in their essays. They argue that these negative features are inherent in the very nature of capitalist development India has opted for.

Rama Rao, in his article Non-alignment: Its Continued Relevance very clearly mentioned that ‘the non-aligned countries are weak individually but non-alignment can be viable if these countries attain self-reliance economically, technologically and militarily. He suggested that non-aligned movement countries have far to go. However, if they act with wisdom, they could intensify co-operation among themselves to increase mutual trade and technology transfer in addition to cooperation at the political level, and so attain collective self-reliance if they realized that non-aligned countries can exist as independent entities only by unreserved mutual cooperation. The author puts forth that the concept of non-alignment is sound and was
very relevant when the idea first took shape in India and remains equally relevant and valid even today.

Sarvepaili Gopal, in * Contribution of founders to Non-Alignment* stated that non-aligned movement is an interactive outcome of internal and external milieu. Objective of NAM can be appreciated in the context of prevailing international environment. He suggested that cooperation is particularly important in the present day international situations, when it is necessary to actives all the progressive, peace-loving forces in order to counteract the imperialists’ aggressive policy, to increase the trust to peace and improve the political climate in the world. This article lacks analytical approach to the non-aligned movement.

In an article *NAM’s Relevance and Rationale in the New World Order* R.B. Kumar emphasized that NAM is the biggest peace movement in the history of the world movement. NAM has been accustomed to living in a bi-polar world that emerged after the World War-II. He pointed out that the long shadows of the multinational corporations, transnational corporations, the discriminatory trade related intellectual property rights and trade related investment measures regimes and the environmental and ecological imbalances along with the increasing pauperization of the majority of the humanity is the new agenda and the fact-sheet at the entrance of the New World Order and the 21st century. The author observed that the NAM has its own bottlenecks and drawbacks because it has no money, no armies, or no military alliance but it is used to have a sane and moral voice listened throughout the world with rapt attention. It has long back lost the conscience of even the Third World. This work pointed out that NAM members have not only accepted the shares the superpower military assistance and the strategy but have provided location and base facilities to the foreign troops too. NAM has in turn failed in evolving any mechanisms to solve the problems and conflicts among the member states. NAM need not to waste time in taking a strong plunge into the processes of the things ‘neo’–new détente, New World Order, New International Economic Order, so on and so forth. He suggested that NAM should proceed to lessen the burden of the UN and should try to do away with the ‘bossism’ of super powers new Holy-Alliance who tend to meddle globally in the name of peace, order, justice and interest of their own. He emphasized that the relevance or the irrelevance of the organization like the NAM and the UNO depends upon their utilities. He also emphasized that NAM agenda
(Democratization of World Order, Disarmament, Development, New International Economic Order, protection of the Environment and the Planet) is as relevant today as it was when these headings were included for the first time. NAM should seek equality with the UN because it is more nearer to the UNO in size and in similarities of objectives than any organization can rightly claim.

The article *NAM and New World Order* describes the NAM and the new world order. The non-aligned movement is passing through a critical period in its life. It is trying to find its identity, reorient its perceptions and endeavours to determine the role it has to play in the changed context of international politics. The author has mentioned that even though the social scenario has changed yet the non-alignment remains ineffective and its value and relevance has also deteriorated. The policy of non-alignment had some utility in the cold war bipolarity. It had its origin in the reaction of certain countries to the cold war. The two main contenders for political ascendancy had almost reached the point of extermination. It was the desire to preserve independence, as distinct from merely formal sovereignty, which led some nations to resist absorption into one or the other of the power blocs. Presently the international system is no longer bipolar and the cold war is over.

Sally Morphet, in his article *The Non-Aligned in ‘The New World Order’: The Jakarta summit, September 1992,* (a) gives an account of the background to, and the main issues of the 1992 summit; (b) looks back at the way the movement has developed since Harare summit (1986) in order to put the Jakarta summit into context, and to consider how the non-aligned have adapted to the major international changes which have taken place since then, particularly at the end of the Cold War, which some have designated as the ‘New World Order’; (c) assess the Jakarta Summit; (d) discuss the debate on the ‘New World Order’ and its relationship to Third World aims and actions; and (e) concludes by examining various possible dimensions concerning North-South relations, and the future influence of the non-aligned movement.

In the article *Jawaharlal Nehru and NAM,* the author mentioned that non-alignment movement was one such important principle for which Nehru stood throughout his life. He threw light upon the non-alignment from Nehru’s point of view. He described that in present time the NAM is much relevant in four areas: “Political, economic, strategic and humanitarian”. The collapse of the USSR and Gulf
war has given birth to a new world order”. Nehru’s perceptions about the future role of NAM are still relevant.

Zaheer M. Qurashi, has very clearly mentioned in his article *Relevance of Non-Alignment* that after the end of cold war NAM is relevant. This is certainly true if it is interpreted as a foreign policy posture of equidistance between the two blocs of the bipolar world. Despite the end of the cold war and the strains on relations between the countries of the South inter se, neither non-alignment has become redundant nor the pursuit of a nonaligned policy ceased to be operationally valid. He stated that nonalignment and the non-aligned movement has not been gratified in its long-term objectives.

In *Non-Alignment in the New World Order*, Shashi Shukala refuted the arguments that the end of cold war has completely eliminated the ground on which NAM stands and that it is both irrelevant and useless now. This view is based on an erroneous understanding of the historical development of NAM and its philosophy. The author critically examines:

a) Whether the relevance of NAM was limited to the bipolar situation only, and

b) To ascertain the relevance of NAM in the present phase of international politics which is essentially a transitional phase in a state of flux.

According to the author the NAM is a policy of keeping aloof from bloc politics, military pacts and cold war rivalries. Thus cold war may be called a reference point of non-alignment but not its raison d’être. Therefore cold war was by no means the cause of emergence of non-alignment. Some opine that unipolarism existed for a brief period in 1990-92. Since then there has been a transition from unipolar to multipolar world. Others consider that multipolarity has already arrived. The author observed that the US and the G-7 is concerted to manage the world. The situation has been described as ‘unipolar oligarchy.’ A new kind of hegemony grips the world in economic and political arena. The practice of NAM in this situation becomes difficult because elbow room for manoeuvring is no longer there and there is also the loss of intermediary role, the practice is not impossible rather it is more challenging.

John Charian, in his article *Optimism and Doubts: The Cartagena Summit and NAM’s Future* has focused on the new agenda of NAM. The eleventh summit held
in 1995 at Cartagena (Colombia), called for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The final communique of the summit also pledged a united fight by the 113 member countries against the evils of terrorism, poverty, drug-trafficking, environmental destruction and human rights abuses. NAM draft merely stresses that the proposal to expand the UN Security Council “must be global in nature in order to improve its credibility”. The sad fact is that the majority of NAM countries, including India to some extent, are attaching more importance to their political security links with the West. Regional grouping like ASEAN and organizations like the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) have under mined the efficiency of non-aligned movement in many ways.

John Cherian, in another article *New Momentum for NAM* pointed out that the non-aligned movement has been at a crossroads for some years, but there is hope now that the activist leadership of South Africa will help it recapture the dynamism of the past. After the apparent triumph of “globalization” and after the end of cold war, many third world leaders, including those who were once in the forefront of the movement, have questioned in private the rationale for the continued existence of the movement. The author stated that the Durban declaration also endorsed India’s proposal for an international summit to formulate a joint global response to terrorism, but opposed “selective and unilateral action that violated the United Nations Charter”. It also rejected any third party mediation in bilateral disputes. The Durban declaration stressed upon the significance of universal adherence to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty by the nuclear weapon states, including India and Pakistan. There will be no surprise if NAM, under South Africa’s leadership, plays an active role. Undoubtedly NAM needs renewed vigour if it is to recapture the dynamism of the past. The “new kinds on the bloc” led by South Africa, could soon sideline the “old guards” such as India, Egypt and Indonesia if they continue to take NAM for granted. NAM’s limitations should in no way be used to undermine its relevance. It remains an additional foreign policy choice for many countries.

Amit, while writing on *Challenges before the NAM* has mentioned the new challenges before non-alignment. In the twenty-first century, there are a host of new problems and challenges before the NAM countries to tackle. The most fundamental problems are that of poverty, illiteracy, over population, disease and unemployment. Many countries are facing the problem of terrorism and extremism. The terrorism has crossed national frontiers. The non-aligned countries will be called on to meet new
challenges their priority will remain domestic, economic and social development. The author points out that one of the major priorities of NAM in the 21st century must be strengthening of the international organizations and the preservation of the spirit of multilateralism. There is a need for democratization and reforms of various organs of the United Nations, some quarters have raised the questions about the non-aligned movement. Now that the cold war has ended, the fact is that the NAM is as relevant as its member states prepared to face the 21st century and its myriad challenges. The author has mainly focused on the forth coming issues which the developing nations have to face in the 21st century. But according to the author NAM can be called irrelevant because in the meetings of NAM hardly any concrete steps and solutions are visible to tackle the problems, however its members must continue to strive for a world where there is lesser injustice and greater happiness.

Fr. Marneni William Raja and B. Bhoomaiah, both in their article *NAM: A Shield of the Developing Countries*\(^ {68}\) mentioned the emergence of non-aligned movement. According to them this movement found its real source in the hearts of Jawaharlr Nehru, Marshal Tito, Abdil Guyum and Sukarno. They threw light on Panchsheel agreement between India and China. In this article history of non-alignment is discussed with a brief reference to the 12th summit of NAM that was held at Durban.

S.A. Palekar, in an article *Relevance of Non-aligned Movement*\(^ {69}\) described the importance of the NAM which came into existence after the second world war in an international situation in which the countries of the world themselves polarized into two blocs headed respectively by the two super powers, USA and USSR. It was in such a hostile atmosphere that the newly independent countries of resurgent Asia, Africa and Latin America were emerging and they found themselves being enticed to join one or the other of the power blocs. It was under these circumstances that Nehru framed the concept of non-alignment with the help of Tito and Nasser. The author further said that the principles that had united the movement were: a commitment to peace and disarmament, the right of self determination of colonial people, the right of equality between all races, economic equality, cultural equality and finally the movement had constantly sought to utilize the UN as the most appropriate forum to deal with all international problems. He argued that during the last few years the movement had played a positive role in international politics and fought against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racialism. He suggested that the
movement should redefine its goals in the changed context of international politics. It has to reorient its sights to make itself relevant to the changed international situation because international politics have changed from being bipolar in nature to unipolar and America is the sole super power dominating the world and dictating terms to the third world countries. It should become more realistic in highlighting problems and articulating practical and action oriented programmes in finding solutions to various problems. The movement should take up issues which are concerned with human beings at large. In this article the author also discussed the issues/problems like international terrorism, disarmament, replacing the present economic order, protecting environment, extending détente to the entire world, protection of human rights, hegemonism, and fundamentalism and strengthening the UN which needs the immediate attention of the movement. Finally, it can be concluded with the remarks that non-aligned movement is a relevant factor for creating a new world order. The need of the hour is that NAM countries must speak with one voice, for the welfare of the humankind of the third world countries which are equally the part of the world wealth organs.

Sudhanshu Tripathi, *Relevance of Non-Aligned Movement and India* deals with the relevance of non-aligned movement during the post cold war era. He mentioned that the end of the Second World War was marked by the emergence of bipolarity and beginning of schism between the USA and the USSR. This was a new international milieu having significant features like fierce Cold War, competitive bloc-politics, formation of strategic military alliance systems, racism, apartheid, and neo-colonialism etc. Then the concept of ‘non-alignment’ has become the foreign policy choice of many newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The author discussed the NAM and globalization, and NAM and disarmament and nuclear policy of India. The author analyzed that the NAM, during its course of journey, has faced several challenges in form of its very large and diverse membership; because of lack of unity and solidarity amongst its members; unclear and vague meaning of non-alignment; practically loose criteria for admission into the movement; violation of principles of the NAM by members and their resorting to war on trivial issues; absence of disciplining procedures; undue institutionalization; very wide range of concerns; internal challenges; ideological differences; process of consensual decision-making; radicals Vs moderates; rights Vs duties; violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms; question of security'; challenge of terrorism
and extremism of all forms and many more. The NAM has reasonably been successful in facing these challenges, and is still doing so because the movement is founded on democratic principles and its resilience is its inner strength. As a result it adapts the changes, but never forgets or compromises its principles. Thus, the NAM has good prospects as regards to its future.

Pankaj Bhan, in NAM: Rites of Rebirth stated that a movement is built and sustained by a set of objectives and ideals and it channelizes all the resources at its command to realize these. This article deals with the different phases of non-alignment movement. The non-aligned movement has not been a static movement with a static set of issues and priorities. In its first phase, the movement was primarily concerned with extending political and moral support to national liberation struggles taking place in a large number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism and its various forms and manifestations. In the second phase, non-aligned movement was principally concerned with charting an independent course free from the influence of the two super powers—named the US and the former USSR. NAM took bold stands on issues affecting the newly independent and developing countries and was a force that neither of the two superpowers could afford to ignore.

Globalization, with the active support of information technology and other innovative advances has brought the rich of the world closer the way it has made the wretched of the world aware of their common destiny. These developments have ushered in the third phase in the evolution of the non-aligned movement. In the present phase, the author examined that the non-aligned countries in their various nomenclatures like the Group of 77, the Third World, the developing countries, or the metaphoric South have to unite and get the best possible terms from the developed world on substantive social and economic issues. They also have to resolve their mutual problems at intra-NAM level and forge consensual unity on as many issues affecting the global society as possible. Finally, in this article the policy of non-aligned movement is discussed with a brief reference to the thirteenth conference of NAM that was held at Kuala Lumpur (2003).

Monika Srivastva, in the article NAM—A Beacon Light for the Third World Today has clearly mentioned that non-alignment was the defined policy orientation programme of India from the first day of independence. The author feels that, NAM as a movement as well as a foreign policy goal is alive and kicking. In this age of geo-economics, NAM continues to have its raison d’être. It could play a pivotal role in
pursuing the economic agenda of third world countries for a more equitable economic world order. NAM could act as a lynchpin to address issues of contemporary relevance like; US attempt to create a unipolar world, ‘global commons’, micro security like ‘FUNTERNARSA’ (fundamentalism, terrorism, narcotic smuggling and danger of the proliferation of small arms) factor, neo-interventionism, cultural imperialism, restructuring the UN etc. According to her NAM holds tremendous psychological importance for the smaller nations by giving them a large group identity and NAM is like a beacon light for developing countries. She stated that NAM is still relevant for third world countries as their foreign policy goal of possessing—what the former Prime Minister I.K. Gujral once remarked—“freedom of thought and autonomy of action”. According to her the future of Indian diplomacy should be to leverage our vast resources in economically creative ways, rather than get bagged down in the semantics of Kashmir or winning a mouth-eaten seat at the UN Security Council. The author stated that NAM could also work towards ending the nuclear apartheid.

Tripurari Narayan Pati, in the article Nehru—the Architect of Indian Foreign Policy has highlighted the basic principles of India’s foreign policy, and has pointed out Nehru’s contribution to India’s foreign policy. According to the author Nehru’s foreign policy has served the nation since independence and the successive government leaders have also followed the basic principles of his policy. Nehru favoured the principle of peaceful coexistence at an international level and favoured a set of principles as a code of conduct among nations known as Panchsheel. He opined that if nations follow these principles with sincerity there would be no threat to international peace and security. Nehru was the mastermind behind the non-aligned movement. He believed that NAM policy will not only keep India away from the cold war and power politics but will also be helpful in its social and economic development. The author believed that for Nehru the main task of India’s foreign policy was to promote national interest. However, he was of the opinion that since all the problems have become global, they could not be solved in isolation and hence there is a dire need of international cooperation. His foreign policy contributed in providing India a prestigious status. He was a great visionary and true architect of India’s foreign policy. This article is mainly confined to the discussion of Nehru’s contribution to India’s foreign policy.
C.P. Bhambhri, in *Non-Alignment in the Changing Context of Twenty-First Century* has stated that the NAM is trans-national and trans-continental in the real sense of the term, and unlike the United Nations, it was launched as a voluntary association of a few willing nation-states. Since its first Belgrade summit, held in 1961, the movement has gradually expanded to become a forum of 118 nation-states which represent every kind of diversity of cultures, histories and political systems. It has been suggested with an increasing frequency that NAM has outlived its utility because the international context of Cold War, in which it was born, has come to an end, and the bipolarity of Cold War era has been replaced by a 'unipolar global system'. What is being witnessed is the emergence of a new international military, economic and strategic system. It has been argued that NAM was born in the 1950s to maintain an 'equi-distance' from the two power blocs. It has since then exhausted the raison d'être of its existence as the “two centres of global powers” have ceased to exist; and now every country has to deal with the remaining sole centre of power in the international system. It is essential to state here that the idea of Non-Alignment always has had its critics and opponents; and all through from 1950s to the end of Cold War in the 1990s, the idea was challenged by many nation-states. Non-alignment is relevant to contextualize the global reality of twenty-first century to establish the case for the continuing relevance of non-alignment even in a unipolar world. The feature of the first decade of the twenty-first century is that it is not a question of bipolarity or unipolarity; today’s reality is that the community of nations has to deal with the sole hegemonic superpower which possesses an unchallenged military might.

The author feels that the United States changed its policy towards Afghanistan and Iraq after attack on World Trade Centre in 11 September 2001 with the conditions that Iraq has acquired the potential to produce nuclear weapons. This clearly indicates that this policy lead to direct interference into the internal policy decision of sovereign country like Iran. He emphasized that the NAM was a powerful movement of ‘dissent’ against ‘hegemonic super powers’; and India was one of the leaders of such an activist approach against hegemonism. India being leader of NAM changed its policy towards US to be ‘with’ super power in its perceived economic and strategic advantages. According to the author the NAM does not represent the conscience of dissenting developing countries because every Asian country in its own way is looking towards the US-dominated international order for favours and patronage. This
is the new political reality of the NAM countries which are rushing to promote their own individual interests without caring for their poor neighbours.

C. Sheela Reddy's *NAM in a Changing World* deals with the challenges/problems and relevance of non-aligned movement during the era of globalization. The author argued that the significance and role of NAM needs to be analyzed in the context of globalization, as it has raised fears in the minds of developing countries, due to five main monopolies of developed countries i.e. Financial, Technological, Monopoly of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), Media and Communication Monopolies and Monopolistic access to world's bio-resources. The author examined that NAM could play a vital role in ushering a vibrant economic order and it could be a lobbying force in pressurizing the developed world to give concessions for the developing and less developed countries. She observed that the NAM should urge its member countries to pursue pro-poor globalization by liberalizing the rules for the entry of Foreign Direct Investments in the areas of infrastructure- roads, electricity, water supply, mass transport system, housing, education, healthcare etc., and insisting on a code of conduct for the MNCs to prevent the monopoly of pricing agreements. The NAM should support debt redemption or even total exemption for least developed countries. It can ask for an increase in the quotas for migrants from the developing countries to the developed countries and lower visa fees as well as regional visa arrangements. The NAM should have a clear consensus on key issues of common concern to all nations. Multilateralism, combating global terrorism and terrorism and reform of United Nations system would be the political elements of this agenda. Developmental issues, democratization of international financial institutions, constructive North-South dialogue and South-South cooperation would be its main economic plank. The NAM should concentrate on issues that unite rather than those divide them. The NAM's outlook and its agenda has to be a global one. The author pointed out that the NAM is facing new challenges and new situations of terrorism, HIV, AIDS, drug trafficking, environmental problems, financial inequalities accelerated by globalization, the adverse consequences of the IT revolution and it must think of peace, disarmament and development.

The author suggested that the continued relevance of the movement will depend on the unity and solidarity of its members as well as its ability to adapt to changing conditions. The NAM needs to reorient its role in the changed world.
situation while reaffirming its basic principles. Being the largest forum for the developing countries outside United Nations, it is a conductive platform where member states could collectively address economic, social and developmental challenges of a globalised world. Thus, the philosophy of non-aligned movement is as relevant as ever.

Mulk Raj Anand, in his article *The Ethos of Jawaharlal Nehru*\(^7\) pointed out that peace is the primary need for the world. This article deals with the philosophy of Indian constitutions which would respect all the different religions equally. He appreciated the achievement of Indian ancient civilization and deplored the immoral use of science to make bomb which could destroy mankind. He was impressed by the Nehru’s concept of planned growth in which the rich may not grow richer and the poor poorer. The author analyzed that after the disappearance of the small states of Europe and the breakdown of the colonial system, there would be need for the interconnection between the people of the world. Therefore, he evolved the concept of peaceful co-existence, based on the principles of *panchsheel* which are the essential pillars of non-aligned movement. He believed that the *panchsheel* have become the cornerstones of Indian foreign policy and they have become the manifesto of the non-aligned movement. This article is mainly confined to the discussion of Nehru’s vision of freedom and peace. This article is very helpful for the researchers to enrich them with various kinds of knowledge that relates to Nehru’s thought of non-aligned movement.

Pavithran K.S., *Non-Alignment and Post Cold War International System: Problems and Perspective*\(^7\) deals with the problems and relevance of non-aligned movement during the post-cold war era. The author stated that the disintegration of former USSR and the end of the cold war has radically changed the international environment and the United States have become the only dominant power in restructuring the international political and economic order. Non-aligned movement, as an idea was a concerned appeal to the nations of the world for a retreat to peace and security. In this way, Nehru favoured the principle of peaceful coexistence at an international level. He opined that if nations follow the principle of *panchsheel* there would be no threat to peace and security.

The author examined that as an international movement, the concept of non-alignment has changed in a significant way in the course of its rapid development. From a primarily political strategy against imperialism and colonialism individually
and collectively followed by the new states, it has transformed itself fundamentally into a collective economic movement of the third world countries. The author pointed out that during its decades of existence, the NAM has proved to be effective and even in present scenario it remains relevant because it is a movement of the third world countries or the developing countries. He believed that the NAM is turning into a club where one can discuss and debate international issues freely. The collapse of the bipolar system and emergence of unipolarity in political, economic and military terms is leading to inequality and injustice and the role of NAM becomes much more relevant as a counterforce to unilateral military and economic coercion. He suggested that unity and solidarity among the non-aligned countries is all the more necessary in the present moment of crisis in international relations. He also suggested that the further way to strengthen the NAM, as a biggest peace movement in the world, is to reinforce the non-aligned countries unity.

Importance/Significance of the Study

The present study is related to the Relevance of Non-alignment movement in the New World Order. Nehru's ideas of non-alignment movement have great importance and significance in the present world scenario. There are hostilities, wars, conflicts, terrorism, and strife everywhere. No country is externally as well as internally free from these ailments.

The present study is relevant from the research point of view because even after the end of cold war critics are raising questions about the relevance and justification of non-aligned movement. No doubt that non-aligned movement has came into being against the power blocs but with a span of time it has changed its focus and areas. After the end of cold war NAM has become a movement of economic affairs. It is still relevant because it is a movement of the third world countries for their genuine share in international affairs. Non-aligned movement has shifted its focus from power politics to economic, social, environmental, terrorism, drug-trafficking, natural disaster and bio-diversity issues. The NAM will remain relevant up to the time till there is discrimination between the rich and the poor countries, between the first, the second, and the third world countries.

Methodology

The study will concentrate both upon the textual as well as on the contextual approaches. Those scholars who advocate the textual approach argue that
"concentration on pieces of writings, 'text' is sufficient for the understanding of the ideas contained in them. They insist on the autonomy of the text itself as a sole necessary key to its own meaning".\textsuperscript{78}

While conducting research on 'Relevance of Non-alignment Movement in the New World Order', the researcher will examine the various original works, documents, and speeches, written on non-alignment movement with specific reference to the non-aligned movement. Besides this the secondary sources on non-aligned movement will also be consulted. However, it is felt that exclusive concentration on texts is inadequate to gain insight into a thinkers view. The textual approach assumes the existence of 'timeless elements' of 'perennial interest' in the past works of thinkers, which the researcher hopes to distil from his text, and in case even to learn from them. But as Quentin Skinner argues, "any attempt to justify the study of the subject in terms of the 'perennial problems' and 'universal truths' to be learned from the classic texts must amount to the purchase of justification at the expense of making the subject itself foolishly and needlessly naive".\textsuperscript{79} Any statement he adds, "is inescapably the embodiment of a particular intention on a particular occasion, addressed to the solution of a particular problem, and thus specific to its situation in a way that it can only be naive to try to transcend".\textsuperscript{80}

Consideration of social context helps us to have a better understanding of a thinkers ideas by grasping what sort of society the given thinker was writing for and trying to persuade, Ernest Gellner argues "Concepts and beliefs do not exist in isolation in texts or in individual's mind, but in the life of men and societies. The activities and institutions in the context of which a word or phrase or set of phrases is used, must be known before that word or those phrases can be understood, before we can really speak of a concept or a belief".\textsuperscript{81}

It is also observed that the meaning of the terms sometimes change over time, and the text itself does not indicate the way terms are used by the author. To understand the meaning of the terms, which a researcher comes across in a given text, he has to go beyond the text. Pure textual study also does not enable the researcher to understand the hidden or oblique references that the thinkers may be making or to see if the researcher is weaving irony into his arguments. For these again it is necessary to examine the social context in which the thinker is writing. Thus, an integrated approach would be followed involving the study of both the text and the social context in which the text is written.
Notes and References


7 Ibid., pp. 24-25.


12 The Warsaw Pact, formally the ‘Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance’ was formed in May 1955. The immediate reason given for its formation was the Paris Agreements amongst the Western Powers that included West Germany in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). To counterbalance this expansion of NATO, the Warsaw Pact set up a mutual defence organization, the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), with a unified military command and headquarters in Moscow, which embraced the German Democratic Republic (withdraw in 1990), as well as Albania (withdraw in 1968), Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and the Czechoslovak Republic. For details see, Iain Mclean and Alistair McMillan ed., *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, pp. 556-557.


14 Baghdad Pact was popular name for the 1955 pro-Western defence alliance between Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and United Kingdom. The pact purpose was maintenance of peace and security in the middle east region (preamble) and called on member state to cooperate for their security and defence (Article 1) and to refrain from any interference whatsoever in each other internal affairs (Article 3), open for accession to any member of the Arab League or any other state actively Concern with Security and peace in region. For details see, “Baghdad Pact 1955”, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/Baghdad_Pact.html, accessed on July 15, 2009.


Ibid.

Prakash Chandra, Studies in International Relations, p. 149.

Ibid., p. 150.


Prakash Chandra, Studies in International Relations, p. 149.


Ibid., pp. 43-44.


55 S.B. Jain, *India’s Foreign Policy and Non-Alignment*.


79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.