CHAPTER V

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: THE NON-ALIGNED PERSPECTIVE
Now, we do find ourselves at the crossroads and the destiny of humanity depends on the turn of international relations. Tensions are growing everywhere. In an age of mutual confidence suspicion and mistrust loom large. In times of cooperation and peace, force is being used ever more frequently, overtly if not covertly. Independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are being blatantly undermined. The international and regional - bilateral or multilateral - channels for contacts and negotiations are immobilized as dialogues on most issues are cut short by narrow fundamentalist interests. Interdependence is a far more compounded and deeper reality of the modern-day world than what one might conclude. Now, it is more vital than ever before to explore every possibility of achieving an effective system of collective, yet more precisely, "common security". It would be impossible, without peace and security for all countries, to ensure the elementary conditions for a life worthy of human beings. The vestiges of colonialism are increasing the difference amongst the developing and the developed, and hence menace the dynamic, stable and even development of all.

A comprehensive and detailed analysis is necessary to understand fully the meaning and inherent implications of
common security. It will call for a detailed probe into structure of power and interests that have taken charge of the world. One common symptom closely associated with such study is that it usually considers and address itself to the governments, 'perhaps the most conservative of all human institutions'. Moreover they deal with single dimensions and do little to understand the interrelationships that form the totality of the crisis.

We are faced today with not just one but many crises. There is a real danger that by the year 2000 a large part of world's population will still be living in poverty. The world may be become overpopulated and certainly over urbanized. There are glaring disparities — the North 'including East Europe has a quarter of world's population and four-fifths of its income; the South including China, while supporting three-quarters of world population has access to only one-fifth of the world's income. True, the difference cannot be absolutely done away with, but it can still be maintained at the minimal level so that the deprived may have access to, at least, basic amenities for human beings. The North-South divide has been so marked that it will cause a tremendous strain on the international system. While the international system has become much more complicated with more independent nations, more institutions and more centres of influence, nonetheless, it has also
become much more interdependent.

Development does not mean to be mere transition from poor to rich or a sophisticated urban society. It carries along with it the very idea of economic betterment, greater human dignity, security, justice and equality. Certainly it is associated with improvement in living conditions for which economic growth and industrialization are essential. It involves a massive transformation of entire economic and social structure for improvement in income distribution and employment. Few in the developed world can imagine the plight of the poor and underdeveloped countries who are preoccupied solely with survival and elementary needs - home, electricity, piped drinking water, proper sanitation, health services and education. Here it seems permanent insecurity is a condition of the poor and abject poverty is their fate. It should be a matter of concern for all humanity if people die due to starvation or malnutrition, whether it be in Somalia or Ethiopia or back home at Kalahandi. This is the "common crisis" that the Brandt Commission report refers to. \(^1\) Hence, Willy Brandt called it a memorandum and not a report.

Whatever happens in the world today happens more and more in an international context, as we no longer live in an

isolationist world. The world itself is divided; there is the North-South divide and the East-West divide. The North itself is divided into two – both industrialized: one private corporate capitalist and the other state bureaucratic socialist. The South too is divided – the poor and developing except the OPEC, and the least developed Fourth World. Yet the prospects of total destruction and the grave consequences of rapidly escalating arms-race threaten not just peace and security but also other dimensions of well being and survival. There exists a close linkage between political and economic issues which the world is facing. In the North-South Commission report, Willy Brandt has pointed out "a moral link between the enormous arms expenditure and the shameful inadequate spending on measures to eliminate famine and sickness in the Third World."

Evolution of Security in NAM: Their Security and Developmental Compulsions

It is difficult to explain how to promote International Security, especially on a global level, in order to preserve peace in the world and establish international relations on a more stable basis in favour of all people and countries? Often it seems impossible to come out of the vicious circle of arms-race and attempt to achieve security on an ever higher level of arms of mass destruction, and divert the
development of international community to a gradual liberation from nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. A system of universal security does not simply boil down to an armament-disarmament relationship. Instead it implies an integral approach to the matter. Security is not just the relations of military forces and its potentials. It is closely tied with political and economic issues. But it is an absurdity of our age precisely that the growth of military power is snapping the world’s resources and preventing broad based international cooperation, which makes for a dangerous situation for everybody. An expert group report in 1977 considerably strengthened the existence of broad and intimate relationship between development and disarmament; it states "development at an acceptable rate would be hard if not impossible to reconcile with the continuation of an arms-race."²

Arms race is primarily an expression of deeper political difference between states. But as armaments accumulate, military security becomes both an intensifying concern and a more elusive state, whereby the underlying political issues are magnified. As a result the process -

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political, economic, social and cultural fabric of societies. A rough calculation suggests that conventional forces account for something like 80 per cent of all resources devoted to armament world wide. The arsenal of Big powers and their allies might have presented a precarious balance under the present political conditions, but the resultant build-up of arms in large part of Third World has undermined development and caused instability and insecurity. It does not guarantee peace. Any spending on developmental project will dwarf in comparison to world's military spending of over a trillion dollars per year. Of course, thus there is a moral link between vast defence expenditure and a disgracefully low amount spend on effort to remove hunger and ill-health. It is significant enough to point out that South comprises 70 per cent of North's sale of conventional weapons. While the North exerts restraints on commercial pressures for arms purchase, it should be equally shared by the developing countries, as often the increase in military expenditure bears little relationship to their security needs and is at the expense of their peaceful development. Global threats through weapons are paralleled by the global challenge of pressing problem in the South.

The Third World countries, being a relatively homogenous group, can be put to test a hypothesis to
investigate the linkages between security, defence and development.

- Do military governments tend to have a higher defence burden than a civil government.
- Do resource-constrained nations tend to have a negative casual effect of defence on growth while resource-abundant countries have a positive relation.
- Do countries with greater international interdependence spend more on military as compared to countries relatively isolated.
- Are countries with greater arms imports are also those with higher domestic spending.

To most of the issues raised we may decide in the affirmative. A militaristic government usually tend to be dictatorial and thus lean back on a strong army to gain legitimacy. Scarcity of resources tend to divert efforts towards armament instead of developmental projects. Similarly greater interdependence and greater arms imports enhance defence spending. For many of them security is manifestly endangered by external threats – arms-race, historical legacy and socio-cultural feuds and mutual animosity. Their internal threats may pertain to legitimacy or economic development and strains of socio-economic transformation may be source of conflict.
For millions in the Third World, it is simply struggle for physical survival which is equally a struggle for defence of social and cultural values against external encroachment. With a worsening of the crisis of world capitalism the struggle for regional and ethnic components of existing states over scarce resources will reinforce political cleavages, sharpen hostilities and produce repression and violence of established state structures. Shorn of all the rhetoric and hypocrisy, interdependence today is based on a high degree of insecurity.

It may be insecurity about power balances and alliances, or about access to and control over resources. To redefine security and disarmament it is necessary to reconceptualize development itself. Development cannot be conceived as more and more affluence for a lesser proportion of humanity. It will have to be conceived in dynamic and transformative terms instead, to be survival for all. The crux of the global problematique is that peace and development are two basic dimensions inextricably intertwined, which stand juxtaposed to the other two dimension - conflict and arms-race. While the 'developmental approach' emphasize the former, the 'power theorists' still uphold the latter. Thus, in broad historical context of the problematique of peace and security, the world is already in the throes of fundamental
transformation. We have to understand and accept the relationship between economic development and the politico-military issues. It is a paradox that in 1980s, the British complained when their average income rose by just 5 per cent i.e. £400 per year, while countless millions in the Third World have to live and die on an annual income far less.3 Today when half the world population lives in "absolute poverty, where 1.2 billion do not have access to safe drinking water and public health facilities, 700 million are seriously undernourished, 550 million are illiterate, about 250 million live in urban areas without adequate shelter, where millions others go unemployed, where 860 million children in various developing countries do not go to school, one is bound to ask whether all the resources being channelled into armament are at all necessary?4

The distinction between the First, the Second or the Third World have a certain limited applicability in face of the common economic crisis, the threat to survival of humanity in an eventuality of nuclear war - deliberate or accidental - and the environmental threat to our existence. In the time it takes one to read an article, an area of


tropical rainforest, the size of one hundred football fields, will disappear for ever. Forest loss reduces the earth's ability to produce oxygen we breath. It is increasing cases of blindness and cancer in countries underneath the most seriously affected part of the ozone layer. Poverty seems to be the major cause of and the major effect of global environmental problems. It is futile to seek solutions to environmental disturbances without considering them from a broader prespective that encompasses the factors underlying world poverty and the inequalities within and among the nations. In developing countires, poverty lies at the heart of all other problems. Meagre resources, and lack of technology leads to underdevelopment. Even if there are enough raw materials, they are seldom put to optimum utilization. The poor are forced to eat the next-year's seed corn and cut scarce forests for fuel wood. Such practices may be rational as a short term tactics for survival, in the longer run they can only result in a disaster.

Development has taken its toll, too. It might appear that science has provided us with all comforts and necessities in life, but it is the same technological advancement which is responsible for the penetration of the earth's ozone-shield by ultra violet rays of the sun. Excessive use of chlorofloro carbon (CFC) gases results in
over-heating of our planet leading to atmospheric disturbances, rise in level of the seas/oceans and exposing humanity to many more disasters. Deforestation, over grazing and over-cultivation has turned fertile land, barren and undulating. If this over-exploitation of natural resources is not slowed down and stopped it might lead to scarcity in the near future. It is up to us 'What kind of Planet we went our children to inherit? Will they have room to roam, air to breath and food to eat? Will they ever see an eagle flying free or enjoy the solitude of a pristine mountain lake? Certainly not if we do not stop now. The environmental pollution, the threat of nuclear holocaust, the radiation from breakdown of nuclear-power plants that effect human life and the fauna-flora, are incidences that may take place in any parts of the world and yet affect, directly or indirectly, our survival. Thus understanding the potentially horrifying consequences environmental problems hold for us and our loved ones demands prespcetive. Slowly but surely, the world is waking up to the dangers. But is awareness alone enough to save the planet? The Rio-de-Janeiro "Summit to Save the Earth" in June 1992 was an effort to chalk out a plan to meet the global challenge at international level. The Earth Summit, accepts as its central premise that environmental problems can no longer be solved at the national level. It needs a vision and
leadership necessary to protect our planet for future generations. The answer may not be yet certain, but there is hope.

Armaments and militarization have had their share in contributing towards international instability and conflict. The linkage thesis seeks to establish a connection between size and sophistication of nuclear arsenals and international behaviour of the superpowers. Here, complications arise due to super-imposition of East-West tensions on a variety of indigenous conflicts. This calls into question the view that identify border-disputes as most important cause in Third World conflicts. Except conflicts of Somalia-Ethopia and Iran-Iraq none of the conflicts in Third World - Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Chad, Western Sahara, Namibia and Southern African States - had border disputes as underlying cause. Instead, of the 148 major intra and inter-state conflicts after Second World War, most were anticolonial-war and insurgencies. Another important reason underlying the insecurity of developing nations is the interventionism of industrialized nations.

Wars have generated instability and enormous changes, resulting in mass movements of people across the globe. Such mass displacement have resulted in national instability, disturbing international security and emerging
new world order. For many other reasons - war, famine, environmental degradation, employment and persecution - a large portion of people move, although such movement is mostly taking place in the developing world. The policy makers turn their attention to the ethnic conflicts that generate movements of refugees and internally displaced people which subsequently cause foreign policy problems for neighbouring states.⁵ Already the ethnic discrimination within Romania and Bulgaria has resulted in movements of Romanian Magyars and Bulgarian Turks, and of Romanian gypsies and Bulgarians across international borders. Henceforth it has also resulted in break of Czechoslovakia into twin republics. The difficulty of building durable state structures in the context of deep ethnic divisions and economic underdevelopment have resulted in many of domestic conflict and political instability compounded with difficulties of nation building and social transformation. The bipolarity and superpower rivalry was a massive stimulus to militarization and conflict in Third World.⁶

⁵ The civil war, disintegration and redrawing of boundaries are creating both massive internal haemorrhaging in Yugoslavia and large number of refugees in Hungary and Germany. It has also created concern that should there be further escalation, it will precipitate military intervention of neighbouring countries.

⁶ Klaus Knorr, "Military Trends and Future World Order", The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations (Jerusalem), vol.11, no.2, pp.68-95.
The warring factions serve as surrogates of the superpowers drawing from them economic and military assistance. As a by-product of super power regional rivalry they witness huge refugee flow. The forced population movement of ethnic minorities, similar to the one in inter-war period, has recurred. Hence ethnic conflict and unresolved minority problems will continue to produce both political instability and refugees. Moreover revolutionary regimes encourage mass exoduses to rid themselves of political dissidents and 'undesirables'.

Such mass refugee movements become instruments of warfare and military strategy as the refugees are considered to be a potential challenge to integrity and security of both the sending and receiving states. Governments usually come under strong pressure against migration for fear of creating ethnic strife within their own borders by disturbing equilibrium. Mass migration can also threaten communal identity and culture by directly altering the ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic composition of the population and integrity of their countries. Such displacement may also take place within the frontiers of their own countries as has been the result of civil wars in Mozambique, Angola, Cambodia or Afghanistan. But they do not have a refugee status being inside their national borders. Finally, migration can take place due to economic
reasons i.e. in search of better employment and opportunities. The key criterion in determining refugee-status is persecution, which is usually an act of government against individuals. What complicates the matter is the movement of people for reasons other than persecution. In recent years, such movements are in conjunction with intensification of growing economic disparities between the North and the South and of out-migration pressure in the Third World. The Gulf War (1990-91) demonstrated both the impact of regional events on migration and on the stability of labour supplying neighbouring states, and the vulnerability of migrant workers to sudden and violent upheaval. The superpowers have also used arms transfer as a means of exploiting already existing hostilities within developing countries. They used refugees for military purposes to maintain pressure against and destabilize revolutionary states.7

The present world order reveals various contrasting trends. There have been both integrative and disintegrative tendencies at work. On one hand, we witnessed German unification prospects of a greater Europe and resolution of

7. In Afghanistan, 3 million Afghan refugees formed base for Mujaheddin resistance to Soviet backed Kabul regime. The armed group of exiles - the 'refugee-warriors' - has military assistance from US, Arab nations, China and Pakistan. Similar was the case in Cambodia.
some of the many international problems; on the other there are nationalistic and ethnic currents blowing leading to break up of Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. A new form of conflicting nationalism is asserting itself in Hungary. Romania and Germany, Polarization is even stronger and sharper today. The potentials of small countries have been reduced. There are still differences on economic and security issues and the poor appears to be sidelined. Though the new world order ended some threats, they have only been diffused with many new sources of danger. The present world order far from revealing a stable correlation of forces exhibits conflicts between the forces of stability and change. In the post cold war era, the dichotomy between politico-strategic power and economic forces has been even more clearly manifested. The "new order is struggling to be born, in a world quite different from the one we have known, a world where the rule of law supplants the rule of jungle, a world in which nations reorganize shared responsibility for freedom and justice, a world in which the strong respects the right of the weak." 

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A great gulf exists over the basic issues of what constitutes security, and therefore, of what constitutes the most legitimate, desirable and appropriate method of pursuing that goal. A controversy exists even at the level of determining what the appropriate targets are for security policies:

a) there are those who saw security mainly in terms of stability - underpinned on military sanctions;

b) those who have a holistic approach - see social and economic change not as a threat to but as an integral part of security - for whom the security of individual was a prerequisite for security of states and indeed of the international system.

At a broader level, the basic tension was in the relative importance given to military and social factors, and the necessity for change. It has been not unusual for security to be assessed in an East-West framework and for scant regard to be given to indigenous developments, concerns and priorities of the developing states although they constitute three quarters of humanity and a major bulk in international community. This economic dimension of security, which is prominent in southern perspective but rarely enters the formulations of northern analysts, has a prominent role.

One basic reality of contemporary world is connected with the emergence of the independent Asian, African and
Latin American states. This process turned the colonial and dependent countries from being the objects of imperialist exploitation into subjects of world history, into the actors, "solving the destiny of mankind". It refers to objective aspirations of developing countries to equal cooperation with other states and the recognition of their legal rights and interests. Non-alignment emerged as a result of demands imposed by the Third World, the urgent need to strengthen collectively the independence and sovereignty of newly liberated nations and to set forth their own views on peace and development. The Belgrade declaration (1961) of the non-aligned movement established the indissoluble link between peace and development. It identified the economic and social development of its people to be one of its fundamental problems and called for international cooperation to achieve it.\(^\text{10}\) In times when war threatened mankind with graver consequence than ever the non-aligned rejected the view that 'war was inevitable and reflected both helplessness and hopelessness.'\(^\text{11}\) The non-aligned were in fact, the prime movers of detente to assume

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\item Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade (September 1-6, 1961); Two decades of Non-Alignment (1961-82), Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983, p.6.
\item ibid, p.5.
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a global phenomenon and that it should become a coherent strategy conducive to peace.

The crisis of world economy has been gathering momentum, which recently assumed dangerous forms. Problems such as underdevelopment, unemployment, inflation, lack of energy, technology, labour and capital are being felt. The crisis of world economy is in fact a crisis of economic system. "The idea of the leaders of the non-aligned nations... in determining their national interests attempted to harmonize nationalism with internationalism, a mix which gave much of the positive contents to the concept of non-alignment... the first non-aligned countries were convinced that a war would imperil all chances of their socio-economic development. They were keen on giving economic content to their newly achieved political freedom...." 12 A serious economic crisis has encompassed the whole world and the ever widening gap between the developed and developing countries as one of its basic contradictions. The nature of crisis is that developed countries and the principal centres of world economy refuse to adjust their economic structures to the nascent economic realities of world economy. Instead, they shield their inherited privileges with force, protectionism and subsidies. These policies are keeping the world economy


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in a downward deflationary and stagnationary spiral. Such development introduces an alarming syndrome of "interdependence". A solution to this lies only in truly balanced and equitable international interdependence developed among the sovereign national economies.

The existing inequitable international economic situation further heightens the negative effects. All this is happening in a world which has attained a high level of material, spiritual and technological development; a world which has never before been so interlinked or interdependent and simultaneously so different and divided; a world never before so disposed of such vast riches while at the same time, hundreds of million people living in its suffer from hunger and live in conditions of poverty. There exists a general feeling of danger and uncertainty regarding future, which is further deepened by the volume and destructive power of contemporary nuclear weapons. A constantly worsening economic and political situation is bound to lead to grave class-conflicts and international confrontations, seriously threatening peace and security. There are basic contradictions engendered in the difference in levels of development; and the antagonism of East-West relations gets transferred to the field of economic cooperation. Interdependence has a negative effect when the developing countries import capitals both for their economic growth and
their immediate consumption. This type of interdependence is rather fragile. Protectionism, anti-inflationary measures, policy of high interest rates have devastating effect upon the economies of developing countries. However, new structural changes within the productive forces and the orientation of most highly developed countries towards intensified development of informatics... the globalization of world economy" might result in "further concentration and centralization of capital, which in turn will increase the dependence of developing countries on the developed."13

When in 1974, the United Nations adopted several documents dealing with a demand for a new international economic order (NIEO), strongly favouring the Third World and NAM, it accepted the need for structural changes based on sovereign equality, equity, interdependence, common interests and cooperation among all countries stressing on the growing interdependence of the world. It has often been asked - is it not time for the developing countries to be treated as real partners? There is a growing need for cooperation, as the Lisbon declaration states, 'the future of Europe and other industrialized countries depends on future of the South', and 'stronger North-South relations

will accelerate economic growth in an expanded market.\textsuperscript{14} They also understood that they must build the basic dynamic source of development inside their own economies - South-South cooperation. Development is not only increasing the production of goods but it is also building material background for political independence.

There is a dialectical relationship between the struggle for democratization of the present global order and the struggle for democracy within the Third World. The present global system ensures for the two worlds of the 'North' relative stability, security, freedom, access to resources and quality of life at the expense of the 'South', the countries permanently condemned to the periphery of the rigid structure of power. These countries share a common legacy of the past humiliation of exploitation and of poverty - a legacy which bound them together in a vast fellowship of the dispossessed. The Non-aligned Movement, quite naturally not an alliance of states, is a voluntary gathering of sovereign states, who on jointly approved principles and objectes, agree to alter the unfavourable state of affairs in international relations. Here, the Che Guevara's observations about the Third World applies to the

\textsuperscript{14} Filip Svet'c, "North-South Relations: The Role of Europe ", Review of International Affairs, vol.35 (821), 1984, p.24.
Non-Aligned as well, that tendency to unity come "from a similarity in economic and social conditions and from similarity in desire for progress and recuperation." In the immediate post-war era, there was an ideological divide, based on military and political realities. With little inevitability it was extended to the divisions in the Third World, between those militarily aligned to the West and those opting to remain non-aligned. This important source of conflict and division in the Third World was the direct consequence of the extension of European cold war into this part of the world. The temporary set back to Europe in economic development was more than off-set by zealous reconstruction sparked off by the cold war. The North capitalized on the momentum for political stability and economic development within the framework of ideological rivalry, while comparable policies extended towards Third World created qualitatively different range of distortions.

The 'containment alliance' invariably involved heavy defence outlays which was in sharp variance with their objective developmental imperatives. Even country like India had to struggle against heavy odds where a situation of militarily aligned neighbour in an adversary relationship, 15. Che Guevara, Guerilla Warfare, J.P.Morray, trans. (New York, 1961), p.119.

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fuelled a regional arms race. The entire Third World suffer under the spectre of instability, spilling over into sovereign states from pressure of rivalry within the global system. The role of non-alignment has been as a bridge in this interdependent world and to contribute towards overcoming the existing situation through negotiations and strengthening of international intercourse. But the rigidity of the bipolar structure had put most critical structural constraints in exercise of national sovereignty by Third World countries. The nature and logic of bloc policy actually consists in reproducing force as a regular behaviour, regardless of whether different methodological approaches prevail at given moments, because all phenomenon in the world were viewed from the standpoint whether they coincide or do not coincide with the interests of the opposite bloc. The cold war not only distorted the problems, perceptions and priorities of the Third World from the initial stage of their nation-building process, but also reinforced some of the historically inherited distortions of colonial era by exacerbating regional tensions based on primordial loyalties.

Yet the system is manifesting signs of its atrophy and producing considerable internal challenges in crucial areas.

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16. For a case study of Indo-pak Relations see A.K. Ray, Domestic Compulsions and Foreign Policy (New Delhi, 1975).
of global interaction. The hazards of the 'South' are spilling over to the core area with its globalization. 'Terrorism' and 'Fundamentalism' are on the increase. Regional conflicts get internationalized by virtue of their nature and the number of nations involved. Nuclear proliferation, till late, a prerogative of the core area of global system has assumed horizontal dimensions. Both quantitatively and qualitatively such arms have reached a stage of total annihilation. War and repression has caused mass movement of people across the borders. Today there are seventeen million refugees in the world, of these, seven million are children - the 'children of war'. Most of them will never see their home again. Such displacement causes immense instability and insecurity for both the receiving and the sending countries. It may also lead to international intervention on behalf of the refugees, on humanitarian grounds, as has been in the case of Kurd refugees in Iraq. Such steps put undue strain on the system and create new tension zones. Hence, the system provides little scope for flexibility within the structural hierarchy determining the relationship between the core area at the apex and its periphery at the base. Although most Afro-Asian nations emerged from a similar situation under similar circumstances, the members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) had their own geopolitical and geostrategic compulsions,
their own cultural identities and a ruling elite with diametrically opposite views. Though "NAM is pluralistic with some fundamental unifying factors", nevertheless, "any attempt at rigidly defining or to make it coherent will be counter-productive."17 Since its inception NAM has devoted all efforts in trying to persuade superpowers away from confrontation, towards negotiation. In essence, it helped members to fight and maintain their sovereign political independence and achieve economic development to redress imbalance between them. Its objective is to evolve an order based on justice and peace. If only some success is achieved in field of decolonization, disarmament, detente, democratization, dissemination and development; as these dimensions from the basis of security in a broader context.18 NAM had form the very beginning realized the importance of independent sovereign nations and thus decolonization has been on its agenda ever since the first summit conference to the last. Much success has been achieved on this front as the community of independent sovereign nations has increased more than four folds. Then disarmament has been considered as imperative need and an urgent task for mankind. The Belgrade declaration (1961)

18. ibid.
stated, "War has never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today. Never before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations."¹⁹ It were with the efforts of non-aligned countries, that the 1970s were declared as the 'Disarmament Decades'. The Columbo conference expressed the conviction that universal peace and security can be assured only by general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.²⁰ The entire question of stopping arms race and inaugurating real disarmament is naturally most closely related with relations between the nuclear powers, having greatest possibilities and responsibilities for world peace and security. Fresh non-aligned efforts took the form of "Six Nations Initiative" by Argentina, Mexico, Tanzania, India, Greece and Sweden. It called for an urgent ban on testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, and a stop to militarization of outer space. Armaments, as one of the most formidable and most dangerous world problem, is acquiring new proportions world is becoming more and more

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militarized, instead of getting democratized and all this is leading to general catastrophe.

One of the major goals of NAM is to contribute towards the maintenance of peace and security, a goal which is also the main focus of the United Nations. The concept of security is not only vague but also somewhat negative in essence. When no threat exists from external or internal turmoil or from economic inequalities and disparities, one feels secure. Political, economic and military power is sought to neutralize such threats. Power leads to prosperity and prosperity generates more power. A similar process seems to persist in the international system, where prosperity is generating power and prosperity for the developed, but also breeding insecurities, not so conducive to all its member units. Such economic, physical and power disparities are part of the international system. Any system of autonomous units in mutual interaction tends to produce a hierarchy among the units. Their impact upon the equilibrium of the system distinguishes the core from the periphery. No state admits making another one insecure, yet favours creation and preservation of such equilibrium as would maximize its security. The major target of the non-aligned group was the policies of the great powers in the post-war era. The bloc-politics threatened world security by their continuous efforts to enlarge their sphere of
influence. But they often failed to perceive that mostly conflicts occurred due to their domestic and indigenous factors.

In a world of growing interdependence and with prospects of such trends strengthening in future, international and regional security are emerging more and more as mutually coordinated phenomenon. Security and its many aspects—national, international and human—are inseparable from the freedoms of people and from the character of international relations. Peace and security are linked with disarmament, development, extinguishing hot beds of crises, and elimination of bloc division and rivalries. Security is thus viewed, not through the prism of individual measures and mechanisms, but primarily in the context of overall international relations and equitable cooperation among countries as opposed to the interests of large and powerful states. The present era is essentially an era of sharp conflicts between the old and new. The old values are resisting and defending themselves sturdily, by adjusting, frequently, quite successfully, to the emerging historical conditions. New values lack the strength to supersede the old ones and thus the specific state of interpolarity set in with old and new. Although global peace was maintained in the shadow of ever present nuclear threat and balance of forces between leading powers and
military alliances, wars were being waged almost constantly. Conflicts and disputes flared up at the expenses of Third World. Peace has never been stable or universal. Although the diagnosis of the reason for this remained contradictory we may not just accept the view put forward by the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, during her visit to Moscow in April 1987, against elimination of nuclear weapons and nuclear deterrence: 'without nuclear weapons the world would be less stable and more dangerous for everybody'. She cited forty years of European peace to nuclear deterrence. But this might be purchasing security at a higher risk or insecurity.

Peace and Security are problems common to the world community as a whole. One basic issue of the non-aligned ideology has been the stress on the need for general peace and equal security for all states. The promotion of international security has been one of the chief preoccupations of this new international force. The greatest danger to security of any given country is its internal weakness, instability, disunity and internal conflicts. The basic issue which forms the crux of the whole issue is that security for world community is a precondition of human survival. Without it, life will be destroyed and civilization come to an end. It is a paradox that all nations and peoples desire some form of security -
from attacks without or insurgence within - yet total security continues to be eroded. Security is equated to military strength in the usual broader sense. Sophisticated arms and forces create a precarious balance. Any break-down would let loose weapons of enormous potency on human community, winners and loosers alike. Ushered in the mid 1980s, there has been a growing opinion in the 1990s arguing for a broader and updated version of security, with a wider agenda, a more global outlook and a longer term perspective. All grounds should be cleared for the new thinking to flourish. Over the century war has become a threat in its own right, and can have global implications. One important task ahead is to convince all leaders of the international community that conflicts, armament and arms race will increasingly have a bearing on their own fields of interests. This 'underestimated interdependence' could be an area for some constructive contribution.

'Defence presumes and help reinforce the adversarial divide; security can help overcome it... if we share common security interests.' This could be so only if security is seen in terms of interdependence and community rather than in terms of military threat and national inclusiveness.

Multilateral global negotiations must replace the logic of mutual distrust and armaments, implement the necessary goals of disarmament and create collective institutional
safeguards, if mankind is to live in peace and strive for prosperity. Wars have turned bloody and threatening. The arms by national military establishments threatens world security in three distinct ways:\textsuperscript{21}

a) confrontation among nations, especially big powers keeps all on edge of the sword; 

b) "horizontal proliferation" of nuclear weapons might result in mass annihilation in different parts of the world; 

c) trading and availability of sophisticated weapons turn practically the whole world into storehouse of arms, and make even local conflicts bloody and threat to peace and security.

The idea of promoting cooperation and linking non-aligned countries and others outside NAM, at regional and sub-regional levels, could mean another concrete contribution of the non-aligned towards lessening tensions, widening detente and disarmament and also towards protecting their own security and promoting of their own development. Preserving the global approach of NAM to the problems of security and economic development, and the need to further elaborate this approach requires further analysis on how can

NAM participate more actively in tension relaxation and promote vital non-aligned interests, their security and economic development? Moreover, how can the non-aligned have proper communication with non-member states and seek cooperation for compromise in the best of their interests? There can be no security of non-aligned nations without global security and the development of less developed countries cannot be achieved in conditions of disruption of economic development of the world as a whole. Both North-South and South-South have to cooperate economically and help for building up a sustainable world security system.

What is happening now is something fundamentally new in the broadest societal meaning of the world. The big powers, primarily motivated by their internal needs, brought about transformation, but the result of their actions are far reaching enough to effect interests of all countries. Mankind's road to development must be a road of peaceful collaboration, a road unmanageable without mutual self-respect, tolerance and non-interference in internal affairs. The non-aligned policy must not remain outside the currents of peaceful transformation and integration in the world. The problem with a general assessment of the concept of security is not that it does not give consideration to the economic aspect of security but that it necessarily gives undue preference to militarized security and regard its
other aspects only as a corollary to its final goal. But such a view neither sustains security nor does it have a universal application. True, this westernized view might have originated because the developed nations had long ago undergone the industrialization and development process; but for the two-thirds of world community, that came to the global scenario much later only after the Second World War, economic security is the essence of their security to have a stable and sustainable system. International economic system has an extremely acute form, the economic position of the developing countries is growing worse and worse, especially the over indebted ones; the functioning of world financial monetary and trade system, including debt crisis and protectionism is affecting the position and development of the developing countries. The scientific-technological revolution has made the yawning gap between developing and developed, even wider. Vital problems - developmental questions, ecological and demographic problems, food shortage, poverty and disease - are therefore becoming acute. The interdependence among the countries and peoples of the world is growing rapidly, yet international cooperation is lagging behind.

Security is invisible and indivisible. It cannot be focused on anything particular and any one nation in particular. The non-aligned countries will act together
both within the UN system and outside, it in order to prevent the situation from deteriorating further and in order to create conditions which would make it possible to have more effective action in finding a way out of the present difficulties. When we refer to relationship between security and development, we talk about them in much broader sense. Development can be judged in economic, military, political, social terms. But in its international context, especially when referring to global security today, defence and arms should be the least emphasized. In practice, however, it is development of arms and ammunition and thus military security that is primarily pursued. It is a very narrow definition of security and does not correspond with its international component. Development has become more and more acute problem and the worst hit are the thirty least developed countries with a growth rate just 3.4 per cent during 60s and mere 3.2 per cent during 1971-80.22 The process of economic emancipation of developing countries, their achievement of full national independence and equality is being impeded. Recession of 1970s has led to high rate of inflation, greater unemployment, a fall in growth rate of world trade, monetary instability, a growth in balance of

payments, deficits, indebtedness in the world capital market. Between 1975-80, share of developing countries in the industrial output grew by a negligible 0.1 per cent. The raw material prices have dropped down to 1950s level, from which developing countries generate 60 per cent of their revenues, while prices of industrial products grew due to pressure of inflation and protectionist policies of developed nations.

Much of the reason for such hardships lie in a single factor of population explosion as nine-tenth of the increase will take place in the Third World itself, according to the North-South report.23 Expanded and effective family planning services are needed which should go in hand with community development. This is what will meet extensively the problem of poverty, ill-health, hunger, housing, illiteracy and employment. International support should be generated to aim at an appropriate balance between population and resources. It will check living standards from slipping lower. An ever increasing population is a strain on the ecological system and resources might not suffice to meet the needs, bulk of which are non-renewable. This is bound to lead to greater pressure on resources and environment, depletion of farmlands, water supplies, 23. Brandt, n.1, p.109.
forestry. Such deterioration would not only affect those in direct vicinity but also earth’s soil system and innumerable species of animals and human beings. Burning fossil-fuel at present standards in excessive proportions would have catastrophic consequences.

Poverty is another major cause and effect of global environmental problems. Hence we must also primarily consider the factors underlying world poverty and the inequalities within and among the nations. Poverty lies at the heart of all issues. Although poor might be responsible for degradation of forests for their short term tactics for survival, it would be ridiculous and an insult to them to tell them that they must remain in poverty to "protect" the environment. This would be the same as asking the developed countries to stop industrial development. No such thing has to happen. The World Commission on Environment and Development, in its report states 'that sustained economic growth, which is precondition for the elimination of mass poverty, is possible only within a more equitable international economic regime'.\textsuperscript{24} It further states that growth and development need not be environmentally degrading, that in fact growth can create the capital and

the capacity necessary to solve environmental problems. Policies, both national and international, will have to be changed so that capital transfers are sensitive to environmental impacts and can contribute to long term sustainability. It is environment and development that has come on the top of the international agenda. Taking into account the imbalances in international economic relations, both the North and the South should device policies for sustainable development. To secure our common future, we need a new international vision based on cooperation and a new international ethics based on the realization that the issues on which we wrestle are globally interconnected. We have the option and there is the call for fundamental commitment. "The strain on global environment... threatens the survival and development opportunities of future generations. All nations have to cooperate more urgently in international management of the atmosphere and other global commons, and in the prevention of irreversible ecological damage."25

Development is a double-edged sword. It may reinforce social conflict and undermine stability, particularly if it is effective enough to bring disparities into prominence. More successful development is, thus, the stronger the

commitment tendency for rise in living standards to prompt greater demands for public participation in political system and government process. As modern state-structures fail to meet the twin challenges of security and development, their citizens are compelled to fall back on primordial ties for collective survival. Serious threats to security of many developing countries come not from structural problems but from inherent vertical divisions in society. Communal identity plays a major role in determining political and economic power - a legacy of colonial heritage but now extending to other areas too. Religious fundamentalism made it appearance along with the resurgence of nationalism in 1960s, but till 1970s gained little significance in the Third World. The West was comparatively free of such forces except Basque units in France and Germany. These trends also developed, as in Israel, in societies torn by confrontation or by need to mobilize their populations. Both nationalism and religion are exploited by those in power or to seize power. There might be moderate nationalistic and fundamentalist movements which pose no threat to world security. Such movements can be integrated into international political life and their extremist potentials curtailed. Sometimes social frustration - poverty, corruption and unemployment - might breed extreme fundamentalism. The trends followed by Khomeini's Iran in
late 70s and 80s were alarming for world security. The unresolved dilemmas of the Palestinians in the Middle East are exploited by religious fundamentalists and give way to international terrorism.

Crucial changes have taken place in the system: communism has collapsed in East Europe, and the unification of Germany destroyed the bipolar structure. Nationalism that has spread over to Europe has led to disintegration of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia while Yugoslavia has been a target of both nationalistic and fundamentalist forces. The new global landscape reveals less ideology and more pragmatism i.e. nationalism in Europe and fundamentalism in the Arab World. It has been that Islamic fundamentalism is described as inevitably leading to violent confrontations and thus a source of conflict and threat to international security. It is considered that nationalism, on the other hand, will give certain people a sense of purpose. The problem with both nationalism and fundamentalism is their common potential of intolerance and domination of others. They carry with them the seeds of extremism, exclusion of minorities, fragmentation of states and destabilization. Due to massive population displacement in East Europe, they breed racism, xenophobia and antisemitism in a multi-ethnic environment. It is certain that world community will have to live and fight with both these
factors during the 1990s. Disruptive factors, with a combination of nationalism and fundamentalism may result into explosive issues. 'Right of self-determination' of the people is a long established principle, but if all separatists claims are unconditionally accepted as legitimate we will be approving "balkanization" of the international community.

Relations Among Non-Aligned Countries: Their Security

We cannot deny that the security system of non-alignment had a cold war nexus, yet the basic interest of newly emerging non-aligned countries was directed towards preserving independence and enlarging the content of their security. The threats to international security have been shifting from colonialism, arms race, neo-colonialism to poverty, population, environment and economic issues. So has changed the scope and emphasis of the NAM regarding security. The ensurance of peace and security for all countries and for all the world has been the utmost priority of the non-aligned movement ever since its inception in 1961 at the Belgrade summit conference. 26 It had its basis in

26. Belgrade Declaration (1961), introductory passage, item 12; Lusaka Declaration (1970), item 12 and Harare (1986), closing declaration. But it was at Havana declaration (1979) that the Security of non-aligned countries themselves was mentioned as one of the goals of the movement.
the UN Charter which proclaims international peace and security aim of its activity. The non-aligned countries are striving for a new method to bring about a top level dialogue which would transcend the ideological, political, military and geographical boundaries of the existing segments of international community. Apart from military blocs, colonialism, imperialism, intervention, foreign military bases and arms race local wars have called into question peace and phenomenon of international security as a whole. At the New Delhi summit, the movement expressed concern over the conflicts among the non-aligned countries, particularly the Iran-Iraq war, which had caused heavy loss of human lives and jeopardized peace and cohesion in the movement. NAM has urged the creation of conditions which would make it possible for the UN collective security system to function more effectively.27 Further, highlighting the necessity of development, non-alignment emphasizes the strengthening of peace and security, explicitly stating at the Algiers conference (5-9 September 1973) that international security will be complete only if it comprises the economic dimension. It also stated that international security should be based not only on the renunciation of use

of force but also on abstention from any kind of aggressive action in the economic field.

On the doctrinaire plane the non-aligned movement has formulated the key points of a consistent problem of global security and outlined the starting positions of a conception of the security of the non-aligned countries. During the past thirty years or so non-alignment has truly grown beyond the confines of a policy geared solely to safeguarding the immediate interests of its members. During times of cold war and active confrontation between the blocs, the movement and the policy of non-alignment was nevertheless recognized as a legitimate antibloc factor. Ever since the policy was formulated and the NAM came into being it has been fighting against all odds in an organized manner to sustain and maintain international security. It has fought against super-power rivalry and their efforts to maintain their sphere of influence. 28 Military blocs had led to periodic abating of the cold war tensions. They have not helped to control the multitude of local conflicts involving non-aligned and developing countries, where superpowers were also involved sometimes. The non-aligned campaign against colonialism, its other vestiges - neocolonialism, zionism,

racial segregation and apartheid; against intervention, expansionism. Hegemonistic pretensions had all been its efforts to secure more and more autonomy in its international affairs. It was at Belgrade, the first conference, twenty five nations formulated guidelines for their mutual relations, applicable to the whole world in its "Declaration on world peace and cooperation", for the benefit of peace, security and well being. The principles were historic and universal: observance of Human Rights and self-determination, non interference; refraining from use of force, settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means. The non-aligned had first met 'at a moment when international events have taken a turn for worst and when world peace was seriously threatened.\textsuperscript{29} Compared to this, today "the world is at cross roads, tension is no longer at breaking point but neither is peace stable, stagnation is not general but neither is development while there may be reason for hope, there is no cause for undue optimism."\textsuperscript{30}

The non aligned countries are aware that international situation is highly unfavourable and it should act in preventing more acute confrontation which would further

\textsuperscript{29} "Declaration of the Head of State.....", n.10, p.5.

\textsuperscript{30} Declaration of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligened Countries, Belgrade (4-7 September, 1989), para 1.
jeopardize peace and security of all countries. Hence they have tried to stay out of cold war polemics.

The strategy of ensuring security within the ambit of non-alignment is, therefore, completely different from that of seeking alliances. Their intention has been to prevent the polarization of political forces within their countries and hence an anti status-quo dynamic policy. On the other hand arms-race emerged as a result of competition between the big powers. It continued with the search of weapons of greater sophistication to achieve nuclear superiority. The strategic equation between the two superpowers remained unstable as it was based on deterrence theory. Basic concern for the non-aligned was however the nuclear arms as any technological development which destabilized the nuclear balance would reduce the deterrent character of nuclear weapons. Any effort to enhance national and international security should thus have nuclear and conventional disarmament at its agenda. The intensive race to accumulate more sophisticated and destructive weapons is detrimental to international relations and hampers achievement of effective security. It creates not only a constant threat but also fuels local wars, generating anxiety, suspicion and fear about actual motivation of others. Some success has been achieved on the issue of nuclear disarmament with the signing of December 1987 INF Treaty and the START Treaty in
July 1991. Although we may say that the non-aligned nations are "outside the contest" between the big powers, it is not non-alignment that has lost relevance due to end of the cold war, but that cold war has become irrelevant for continuance of NAM. It faces further challenges and objectives to be fulfilled.

The non-aligned nations have faced discord and arms transfer to the disturbed areas of the Third World which has led to gradual militarization and massive military development in these areas. Ambitions of regional power, disputes over resources and territory provoke suspicion and insecurity. It instill a sense of vulnerability. Such militarization "impose severe financial strain and "structural pressures" on the economies. 'It is not to say that all disputes in the Third World were a creation of imperialist propaganda; but it is true that border disputes which could have been bilateral disputes — Indo-Pak, West Asia, Indonesia-Malaysia — were transformed into military confrontation only due to imperialist abatement.' 31 The advanced countries by encouraging super power 'proxy confrontation' and expansion of local conflicts into internationalized 'civil wars' played important role in

Third World. Even if in most of the cases military assistance comes at sovereign nation's requests, it may prove to be double edged-sword in the long run. It has been noted that 'the existence of developed state-suppliers of military aid has often made a client-patron relationship a more important determinant of security than indigenous military preparations made possible by progress in development.' It has been the local and regional factors in South-Asia, Middle East and the Gulf that keep the situation highly volatile and determinant in lasting demand for arms-purchase. While in Latin America, relatively stable boundaries and marginalization of inter-state conflicts have kept arms-race under control. Ultimately, it is the driving sense of insecurity among developing countries that generates arms-race and no country is yet free from that constraint. Over the last three decades the US and the Soviet Union have been delivering two-thirds of the required armaments, followed by Britain and France who account for twenty percent of the total. Appearance of

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32. The war of Iran-iraq, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Nicaragua are all examples where flow of external support changed balances on warfield and made it difficult to arrive at a decisive resolution till the intervening power did agree.

chemical and biological weapons along with ballistic missiles in Third World areas are serious cause of concern. One may speculate as to whether stability could be achieved through natural evolution to regional balance or through establishment of nuclear weapon free zones (NWFZs); as nuclear proliferation to highly unstable states in an especially complex and competitive environment will be disastrous.

According to the doctrine of non-alignment, the capacity and primary role in the safeguarding of peace and security in the world is assigned to the United Nations. It was recognized at the Cairo Summit that the UN was of paramount importance and should be enabled to carry out its functions to preserve international cooperation among states. But in absence of political will UN should not be held responsible for lack of effectiveness and results. Non-alignment, as a factor in contemporary international relations, builds up the solutions to most crises into the resolution and decisions of the UN. To safeguard peace it is necessary to diffuse regional and local conflicts, reduce tensions and halt arms-race. Collective self-reliance is one of the basic principles of strategy of the non-aligned countries. It is the process of understanding the socio-economic and political essence of the principles itself and its inevitability. The non-aligned are opposed to
isolationism on any issue. In its activities, in last quarter of the century, it insists on cooperation of one and all because NAM should have a global perspective not a sectorial one. While referring to non-alignment Julius Nyrere has rightly summed up, "I am not quite sure... that this movement has permanent enemies or permanent friends, let alone natural ones; but I am sure it has permanent interests". In other words he referred to peace, independence, disarmament, development and hence security for all the nations of the world. Without it nations cannot maintain peaceful coexistence in the "global village" that the world has become. The future of NAM has come to be closely connected with the UN. The bipolarity of the international system has certainly inhibited realization of full potential for peace, yet the very existence of UN and NAM has tended to impose some limit on expansion of the influence of superpowers. The non-aligned movement have further elaborated its stands on the UN by calling on all states to safeguard it against all attempts to disregard it by great powers. Nevertheless it has also to control the

34. Rikhi Jaipal, "India, Non-Alignement, the Superpowers and the UN", Review of International Affairs vol.39, no.912, 1988, p.12.

35. New Delhi Summit (1983), item no.175 of the Closing Documents.
erring member within who commit crime against the UN charter, the basis of international law and international order, as well as against the principles and aims of NAM. The Iraqi annexation of Kuwait on August 2, 1990 was categorically declared unacceptable and illegal act, demanding an unconditional withdrawal and restoration of its territorial sovereignty and integrity.36

Today, as they say, a new order is emerging. The old order based on balance of power system, bipolarity and struggle for supremacy has disintegrated. With the loosening of cold war, there is again an opportunity to strengthen peace, disarmament, tolerance, coexistence and cooperation in international life at large. This detente, like its earlier counterpart of early 70s, is not a result of deterrence. It stands on firm grounds, it is comprehensive in scope and more viable. In spite of several "fault-lines" it can herald much hope for future. Yet it need not necessarily imply a reduction in the need for effective security system. Till the time cold war ended, the European concern lay on the northern and the central part of the continent; "now... it runs through the Mediterranean - NATO's old 'Southern Flank' - and into the

old arena of central Europe, the Balkans and the Soviet Union, via the Persian Gulf, mimicking in part the original arc of crisis.\textsuperscript{37} More settled international relations and detente does not naturally mean that the international climate is idyllic. As matters stand, there will be crises, impasse and trials. Yet three sets of circumstances dominate the current international relations scene:

- cold war is passing into history and a new world order is about to be born;
- the Gulf crisis is becoming very much a global threat; and
- a new and exciting promise hold for the world organizations, especially the United Nations.\textsuperscript{38}

The development in the international sphere have taken place at a fast pace. The relations between the superpowers improved to the extent of negotiations, agreements and seeking joint solutions and compromise in political differences and disputes, including the problems beyond their domain of bilateral relations. Each in its own way found grounds for coordinated action to unravel regional and


\textsuperscript{38} Budimir Loncar, "Priorities and Preoccupations of NAM", Review of International Affairs, vol.41, no.974 (1990), p.3.
local crises. Mostly it was the strain on the domestic economy of the arms budget, that set off this series of efforts. Both the Soviet Union and the United States along with their alliance partners were exhausted of the protracted strife.

Although no definite line can be drawn from where it all started but mid-1980s was the time, when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union, which started off changes in the Eastern Europe. He took initiative in unilateral disarmament which prompted the US for similar action. Ultimately the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty (INF) was signed in 1987. This was followed up by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the Berlin wall was removed and the two Germany made one. What came next was withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the end of the Iran-Iraq war, independence of Namibia and stabilization of conditions in the Carribean and Latin American countries. Solutions to the Kampuchean and Korean problems seem to be within reach. All this has changed the international environment. A new architecture embedded in cooperation is coming up as has been witnessed by resolutions in UN General Assembly against the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait. Yet 'the competitive model of security is far from being formally discredited. It retains a strong emotional appeal'. Rationality and Reason, however, favour the 'cooperative
model'. It was feared that this detente would not last long as it was closely tied to the "Gorbachev factor" and his policies of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika'. Such fear were worsened when he had to hand over power in December 1991 to Boris Yeltsin, the President of the Russian Federation, and fifteen states followed from the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In this period of optimism, there are darker specters like nationalism, chauvinism, anti-semitism, xenophobia and religious fundamentalism which have come all over again. Religion and ethnicity witness growing resurgence and revival. To an extent they might help in nation-building, but beyond it when they are linked to political aims and processes, nationalism come to be defined in ethno-religious terms. Most states being not homogenous tend to generate strong pressures for separatism. Nationalism and fundamentalism has led to break up of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In fact, in Yugoslavia, inspite of all international efforts, war is intensifying between the Bosnians and the Serbs. History is evidence that there has always been political, religious and cultural division between the 'Eastern' and 'Western Europe. Ethnic revolt, migration, demographic growth and proliferation of weapons was nothing new to the area; except that individually any thing was a manageable preposition. The end of communist
rule, removed the self-enforced discipline and the semblance of stability they were used to. It embroiled them into the process of 're-nationalization' or the reassertion of the nation-hood and nationalities within the boundaries and beyond. The "blakanization" of international relations in this area has created further problem regarding nuclear proliferation. Today much of the nuclear armaments of erstwhile Soviet Union are situated in Russia, Byelarussia, Ukraine and Tazakistan. The security of nuclear warheads in a country with serious social unrest and economic crisis is a problem to international security.

Global affairs are thus showing contrasting trends. The new world order has ended some threats through, but threats have only been diffused with many new sources of danger.39 The dichotomy between politico-strategic power and economic forces has been manifested in much clearer form than before. Japan and Germany, though not asserting as military power, appear enroute to be an international power due to their economic capacity.40 The Soviet Union has disintegrated and the US is also economically not on a very sound footing. It is questionable whether the international


40. US share of GNP is just 23 per cent, way down from 40 per cent in 1955, in contrast Japan enjoys trade surplus of $27 billion, while US is the World’s largest debtor nation.

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system is heading towards a "unipolar" or a "multipolar" world. The way it handled the Gulf War (1991) demonstrates US to be 'the' only power and reject the economic power of Japan and European integration only as a myth. Yet, it has been underlined by Professor Langely. "The world is moving away from bipolar system, but there appears to be no consensus with respect to the direction of power configuration to which it is tending. What is most likely is the development of a multi-polar system." This view is also supported by Barry Buzan. He considered that the world is "multipolar" and provided regional powers with a more important role in the liberal security community after the cold war and end of ideological rivalry. Both the view have their shortcomings: protagonists of unipolar system fail to assess and accept the decline in US economic competitiveness; while multipolarists did not assess the strategic gap, the emerging power centres had with the US.

Another problem is where to place potential powers like China, Japan and India? The fact is that we still witness the transitionary period: the international system is neither truly unipolar nor multipolar.

Under such circumstances, a probable question may arise - can there by lasting security in the present situation? With a past history of innumerable conflicts among non-aligned nations, those involving outside powers, the Superpowers, for strategic or economic reasons, and those resulting from insurgency and separatism, we cannot say that the non-aligned nations have been fully successful in their efforts to ensure security. Instead it has been criticized for lack of an effective conflict-control mechanism. The criticism has become more vocal in the seventies after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan at the latter's request, the Iran-Iraq war that went on for a decade and in the 1990s the blatant annexation of Kuwait by Iraq, the first of its kind since the second world war. It is being stated that the non-aligned movement has failed dismally in preventing its member states from resorting to force and promoting peaceful resolution of conflicts. NAM could be a formidable force if members could resolve their disputes cooperatively.

and peacefully. A failure on this part is something that lie at the bottom of their own insecurity. It is noted that the accumulation of military strength by one developing country risks being either too successful or not successful enough: an exaggerated power may either lead to aggression or an arms build-up may alarm neighbours and provoke counter build-up, eventually threatening the first state and leaving it less secure that before.\textsuperscript{46} Although, on several occasions suggestions have been made to have a force of non-aligned nations to stop states from committing aggression or intervention, majority of non-aligned members showed no interest in the demand to create a military bloc like system of collective security among the non-aligned. The movement has not prevented, stopped or even clearly censored those states in its ranks that committed acts of aggression or occupation of a foreign country. For that NAM depends on UN system of enforcement.

Obviously, the whole issue does not revolve round a single point. The origins lay elsewhere. Ever since 1945, these nations have witnessed rapid militarization in spite of their non-aligned principles. To some extent this has been the result of decolonization, the rest was compounded

by the formation of alliances and bipolarization of the international system. Ambitions, national interests, disputes over territory and borders, all fuelled insecurity. Challenges of state building, that of gaining legitimacy and financial and structural pressure on the economies were additional factors contributing towards instability. This was fuelled by the superpowers own interests of prolonging the conflicts 'by proxy' or expanding them to internationalized civil war. The war between Iran-Iraq would not have prolonged so long had it not been for the arms supplies by USSR, France, China and United States. Similarly, external support in case of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Cambodia always shifted the balance on the field and thus it became difficult to reach any resolution of the problem. The developing countries have witnessed a continuous upward spiral in military spending since 1945, much of which has gone into importing modern weapon systems. No doubt, the continuing insecurity of the developing countries creates a market, but so does the desire of industrialized countries to maintain a lucrative market worth some $35 billion annually. In the Gulf, the shipments of military equipment to Iran and Iraq continued for a year even in disregard of the UN General Assembly resolution 598 calling for a halt of supplies. Ironically enough, nor the diffusion of tensions between US and the Soviet Union, as
since the late eighties, and nor a cut-off of external arms supplies will eliminate conflict within the Third World because it does have an internal dynamics. The detente process had no visible effects in the realm of non-aligned and developing countries, except where the superpowers were directly and discretely involved. They were battling with other problems in their internal domain - economic development, mutual relations and political consideration. The main constraint with non-aligned and developing countries is that while the domestic dimensions of insecurity - problems of development and state-building - are pre-eminent, they are complicated when these nations operate in highly complex and competitive international system. They face an urgent challenge of keeping pace with the world developments.

The period immediately after the end of the world war was followed by intensification of cold war politics, the East-West conflicts namely in Koreas and tension over the Suez Canal. It was the period when decolonization gained momentum and new nations eventually became NAM members. Resistance was building up against bloc politics among new nations and a positive programme was taking shape in peace, disarmament and development. The relations among great powers worsened, yet took a sharp turn for a renewed detente in early sixties. It was during this period that some
conflicts emerged between Ethiopia and Somalia. During next five years border disputes erupted between Morocco-Algiers (1963-64), Kuwait and Iraq (1962-63); Kenya-Somalia (1963-67); Arab-Israel (1967) and political clashes emerged in Bolivia and Chile. The US intervention in Cambodia and Vietnam, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and quite recently the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait proved a single fact: given the political consciousness of people today, it is easier to invade a territory than to keep it under control and occupation. These and the events in Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia all prove that occupation is too expensive for the occupying power. "Any reasonable cost-benefit analysis will prove that it is not possible for an occupying power to extract more out of an occupied territory than the cost incurred in occupying it." 47

During the early seventies, NAM was preoccupied with economic issues while conflicts flared up between Libya-Chad (1973); North and South Yemen (1972) and the October 1973 war between Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan. In late 1970s and 1980s NAM realized that conflicts among some non-aligned states began having an adverse effect on overall relations within NAM and was dividing them and hence need to


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be dealt with on a more comprehensive scale. Yet conflicts were gaining intensity and new ones erupted. In early 1979 Vietnam intervened in Kampuchea, occupying its territory; September 1980, war broke out between Iran-Iraq even jeopardizing the seventh NAM summit then scheduled for Baghdad; Soviets intervened in Afghanistan in 1979, disputes erupted between Tunisia-Libya, Malta-Libya, and Vietnam and China over Kampuchea. In most cases, either one or both the parties were non-aligned nations. As the Final Document of the Havana Summit stated, "the recently escalating tensions in relations between some non-aligned countries had even given rise to armed conflicts." It further warned that, "if these conflicts were not resolved, they might well menace the unity of the non-aligned countries and weaken their action capacity." Such events have a negative effect on solidarity and action, increase the danger of foreign interference, jeopardizing their independent and sovereign non-aligned status. The document emphasized that, "most of the disputes are due to unsettled territorial and frontier issues, often dating back to the times of colonialism". 

It is a practical problem for most of the developing countries when embarking on the process of democratization and development that there is a juxtaposition of their position in the world system, and the youthfulness of their state structures and the heterogeneity of their populations.
They face social problems such as demographic imbalances, rapid urbanization and migration. On the other hand ethnic, regional, tribal, religious conflicts reveal that they generally reflect the existing distribution of political and economic power. Communal divisions affect a large number of developing countries, mostly in Asia and Africa, which are formed of wide array of linguistically, ethnically and religiously defined countries. It is this inter-relationships between different internal threats, that form the basic sources of vulnerability of these countries to external threats of foreign intervention, arms-race and the cold war politics that undermine their efforts of larger dimension namely peace and international security. The conflicts among the non-aligned nations is a pretext that has attracted maximum criticism for the movement and it is true that in some of the cases it has failed completely to check such conflicts where mediation and bilateral talks could have done so but for involvement of a some third power. Hence outside support and some domestic compulsions have generally been instrumental in aggravating the situation. Moreover, as we analyze the conception of security in the non-aligned movement, we realize that though it emphasizes both national security of every individual national and the general international security, it lays
more emphasis and is more concerned with the latter. 48

There are two aspects of security which should be specially underlined:
- that Global and national security are largely interdependent;
- the multidisciplinary character of security.

These have been fully understood and assimilated into the non-aligned conception of security. Global security must be maintained and given full respect for personal, political, military, economical and ecological constituents if we have to take a full and un-biased understanding of security. The non-aligned conception of security does not emerge as a whole but presents itself in parts, under the influence of current needs. As stated earlier it was against all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, segregation, intervention or expansionism. It considered blocs and their rivalry as important factors endangering security and peace. Now that the Soviet Union has disintegrated and communism has collapsed in Eastern Europe, the world witnesses an easy situation. It were the internal compulsions of the

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48. This is very clear from the fact that while general international security was elaborated even at the first summit at Belgrade (1961), the security of non-aligned countries found a clear mention, precisely at the Lusaka Summit (1970).
superpowers, the strain of military expenditure on their economies and a case of overstretched capabilities and forces, that made them withdraw, announce cut in their military budgets. It was rise of fundamentalism in the Middle East and religious revivalism in many parts that prevented the big powers from supporting belligerent states. It was to ensure steady and safe flow of energy and oil from the Gulf and its strategic location that pursued US to check Iraqi expansionism with the initiative and under the auspices of the United Nations. The recent increase in terrorist activities and the fear of easy accessibility of modern weapons to terrorist organization have cautioned the arms supplying nations in their liberal arms policy.

It has been explicitly noted that the dangers in the area of arms-race and their stockpiling is desired first exclusively from arms of big powers and their blocs because they posses the most advanced and destructive nuclear weapons. The non-aligned admit that this arms-race has spread to these countries and they are themselves contributing to the growing dangers to peace. The conflicts among non-aligned states have been mentioned as factors jeopardizing the unity of non-aligned countries. Apart from worsening in recent years, it has caused heavy loss of life and resources. The Harare document states that such prolonging of conflicts was undermining the Movement itself.
and the efforts to strengthen international security and peace. The conflict-free approach of defining the conditions necessary for security characterizes the conception of the non-aligned countries which is opposed to the policy of forced cooperation for the transformation of the entire system of international relations and stands in sharp contrast with the concepts of balance of power, deterrence and arms-race. As regards disarmament, it was contained in the documents of the non-aligned movement from the very beginning. It was noted that the great powers own the prime responsibility for this process as the maximum arsenal lies with them. Realizing the universality and increasing efficiency of the world organization, NAM has urged the creation of conditions which would enable the UN system to function more effectively. It has been felt, of late, that the world organization is being prevented from doing its basic functions and the basic cause lie in the violation of its principles, erosion of multilateralism and an utter disregard for the decisions of the UN. Highlighting the necessity of economic development, NAM undertook to intensify their collective action for asserting principle of economic security in international relations and that "international security would be incomplete without

49. New Delhi Summit, item 175 of the closing document.
They understood that development is also building material background for political independence. A productive relationship between economics, politics and security is essential and a substantial progress in economic development of developing nations is a precondition for the improvement of their situation as well. Increasing of defence budgets is not a really viable solution any more, nor is reliance on external economic and financial assistance which has not given best results so far. The real issue is to promote development and thereby strengthen political independence and security.

There have been ebb and flow in the activities of the non-aligned movement, but they truly reflect the overall relations in the world. The effectiveness of non-alignment cannot be measured by the classical criterion of force and power. Rather they are effectively expressed in its stimulating historical developmental tendencies and meeting the demands of such development. It is therefore true that when international tensions lessen that the vistas open up of new opportunities for the principles of Non-Aligned Movement. The effectiveness of NAM or for that matter any other organization cannot be judged by a single act of success or failure, for it is a factor and component of the

50. Algiers Summit (1973), item 19 of the closing document.
process of change and transformation in the world and no
single factor contributes outrightly to a certain result.
The failure of the movement in checking conflicts among its
members has been a common criticism. True, the movement is
responsible for certain lapses but such failure is
accompanied by various internal and external factors as
stated earlier. Such foreign interference compounded with
internal instability, in a period of cold war rivalry,
certainly hinder any efforts towards containing disruptive
tendencies. Moreover, the critics, most of whom comes from
the developed countries, fail to realize that these are
compulsions of nation-building and how can the developing
and non-aligned countries achieve everything in just forty
years when they have achieved all this over last 350 years
when the theory of nation state came into being in the
seventeenth century. Criticism may be quite convenient but
most of the success of the developed world has been at the
expense and through exploitation of the erstwhile
colonies/dependencies, which now form independent sovereign
states. These non-aligned nations are going through a
process of reassertion and realization of their state
aspirations; the NAM has not split into camps of rooters nor
has it sweared from the demand that conflicts between the
non-aligned should be solved on the basis of principles of
UN charger and non-alignment. NAM is neither a court of
justice nor a collective gendarme capable to wrest and impose ready made solutions.

In the prevailing international situation, the world seems to be heading more positively towards a multipolar rather than unipolar world, after the disintegration of erstwhile Soviet Union. These are positive steps being taken towards disarmament - the INF Treaty 1987, the strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) Treaty July 1991 - and drastic cuts announced in the military budget. Thus great expectations have been built up about the "peace dividends" of a "disarming world". Again on this point, the NAM is being rendered useless by scholars. But non-alignment is independent of the contest between great powers. The same question was raised and a similar correlation built up during the detente in 1970s and it is being made an issue now. It is not the non-aligned movement but the cold war eccentricities that has become irrelevant to the policy of non-alignment. Today, when non-aligned countries in Europe are experiencing unrest and uneasiness to the growing burden of nuclear armaments, the idea of non-alignment is more than ever alive. But in such a transitionary stage, no country can be assured of its place.

51. US has planned a 25 per cent cut back in military expenditure and force levels by 1995. The economic crisis in erstwhile Soviet Union has already forced Russia's military procurement budget (1992) by 85 per cent.
in the international system, nor can it claim supremacy on the basis of force of arms.

The non-aligned countries were the first one to have a vision of the world where there was an opportunity for stable peace and they worked for it. It was unfortunate that the non-aligned were not made equal partners in such negotiations. The safeguarding of peace and strengthening of security in the world, as a whole, and the strengthening of security in the area of non-aligned countries still remain top priority for NAM. This does not exclude a relation of interdependence which implies that both peace and security depend on other factors too – preservation of independence, ensuring development and democratization of overall international relations. What can call into question the security of non-aligned countries and cause wider conflicts is their own internal instability, and stable development is a prerequisite for their security on a regional and international plane. The non-aligned should continue on their present line, gearing itself up for global security and the security of non-aligned countries without making any hierarchy of the two. In the nuclear age, by preserving world peace, the non-aligned are also promising their own survival; world security is only necessary, albeit not, also sufficient condition for their national security. Adjusting to the new world realities, now it might be in the
vital interests of non-aligned to participate as widely as possible in the multipolar world and become an active partner in global negotiations. There is some ground for coordinated action as the various parties involved in various crises are exhausted of protracted strife and this has created conditions for negotiations. Both the big powers are equally interested in the crises being settled peacefully. It is the NAM which has to benefit most from such changes. This will provide fresh strength and space for expansion of the movement and it will have a new extensive range of possibilities for attaining its vital economic interests. The effectiveness of non-alignment lie in developing an ear attuned to the demands of the history, in the timely and correct selection of priorities, and not in the mechanism of command and force.

The most important and immediate threat to regional or global security and the initiated process of global transformation is an attack on peace and international law— Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. Each crisis would generate added economic difficulties and aggravate the already grave economic situation of developing countries. NAM, through the UN, should firmly meet such challenges and resolve the issues of international agenda. Today, the International Organization has become a powerful instrument of stability for each of its members a world at large.
Also, the Non-aligned should realize the limitations of NAM's capacity for effective action in the domain, as it would make easier to adequately select methods and the time at which any drive would be set in motion and avoid frustration when anything falls short of expectations. "The present changes have confirmed the correctness of non-aligned policies based on main principles and aims by the movement since its inception". The doctrine of non-alignment, as defined since its inception, remain valid and relevant to the changing world scene. It diffused ideological monopoly and urged ideological pluralism and peaceful coexistence. The tasks of NAM and its aims of its policy are being studied hard with modernization. Not just their rhetoric and behaviour of the non-aligned but also their view of world and strategy of action may have to undergo radical change to meet the inescapable demands of its time. Under such circumstances, when all members wish to strengthen the Movement's role; the consolidation of peace and international security still remain the top priority of its strategic orientations. The non-aligned will have to pay more attention to the link between increasing efficiency of their own economies and

corresponding prerequisite for development. The prospect of ecological disaster and human rights under personal despotism of autocrats can no longer be ignored either. At the moment, NAM is an international force, whose programme and activities require the least changes compared to the programmes of superpowers and their blocs. Much of what the system demand is on the agenda of the non-aligned, only need of the hour is to reorder the priorities. In a bipolar world, NAM was particularly concerned about economic, social and political security and international security in general it was arms control, arms reduction and disarmament. Under the present situation it will strengthen general security which will, in turn, enhance common security. The present world order is an ongoing re-structuring or relationship and institutions, which in time must also affect ideas, values and other areas of human concern.

The termination of war in 1945, had generated an international security paradigm which had its foundation essentially on insecurity. It was the competitive security paradigm and here vulnerability came to be viewed as an essential ingredient of security. The doctrine of deterrence, and that too nuclear deterrence, as doctrine of security had tended to freeze animosities among blocs of countries. "Si vis pacem para bellum", i.e. who wants peace should prepare for war; this sentence neatly summarizes the
theory of deterrence. It dates back to two thousand years and much change is not apparent in the fundamental beliefs and theories of human behaviour. Applied to a real situation, deterrence would mean keeping a military balance to maintain peace. If peace would depend on deterrence theory alone, war would always hang like a 'Sword of Domecle's' - inevitable and imminent, it would put avoidable strain on national economies. This is no peace, "Stable Peace" is characterized as a situation where there is no preparation of war, no expectation of war and where nobody sees war as a realistic alternative for deciding a political issue.53

Obviously we have to consider alternative forms of security in international relations; it would be an alternative to highly militarized conception of security operating at the level of sovereign states. In a world of growing interdependence and with such trends strengthening in future, security - international, regional or national - has to be mutually coordinated phenomenon. The problems of security are not only closely associated with every states' national existence, but also with peace and development. Security itself cannot merely consist of a system of

concrete measures and mechanism. It has to be based on principles which are acceptable and beneficial to all nations. Normally, we consider security with or without the backing of our citizens. It implies a state of mind and a spectrum of capabilities. The champions of power politics define security as the actual capacity of the government to protect its territories from foreign enemies. This was expanded by imperialist states to encompass the defence of values, ideology, interests and allies, access to market and resources and their geopolitical positions. This was something transcending the scope and overreaching the right of existence of other states. Such concept of security is highly unacceptable as such inconsistent definitions and perceptions of security requirements of governments often breed competition and warfare. At the extreme level, such an idea has produced a nuclear arms-race that is a threat to human survival. Even without this, the war system in modern world imposes an enormous and avoidable toll in human sufferings.

The contemporary world is more interconnected and interdependent than ever before. High degree of interdependence manifests itself within each individual society, among various areas of social activity, and in economic, political and cultural areas. The process of constitution of a global society is evolving inevitably and
constantly, precisely under the influence of such interdependence. Interdependence, within the framework of global society, manifests itself in a form of a kind of a 'global supra-determination'. The process of global integration is gaining momentum, much more on local and regional level. The superpowers, with however augmented capabilities can never be 'secure' against the devastating use of nuclear weapons. In this connection, it would be a 'Spartan Illusion' that an individual state can detach itself, if militarily strong and determined, from the overall structures of security operative in the world. It will only be a holistic perspective based on the reality of human unity that can provide a wholly adequate political and moral foundation of a new vision of security. As long as there exist fundamental contradiction stemming from class structure of society; from uneven development and distribution of forces of production and natural resources, from different pragmatic political and economic interests and objectives, conflicts are inevitable. The cause of war exists, although the emphasis might shift.

The orthodox orientation of security also impairs the quality of life in most societies. Under the present conditions, even the liberal democracies tend to be anti democratic in certain crucial aspects, when it comes to 'national security'. The demands of modernization have put
great pressure on Third World countries. Tension between state and society have linked their future to condition of great dependency on outside force. Also there are tensions in relations with outsiders for those government that have opted for autonomous development. Consequently, human rights and democracy are often sacrificed, results in violence and warfare, while social challenges of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and development are neglected. Hence, instead of considering security for the governments, consideration should be security for the people of the world against militaristic intrusion upon their quest for individual goal. It may mean many new things besides ways of finding effective strategies to resist rivals - an essentially negative quest. Security with a more comprehensive and positive sense may include creating arrangements to ensure distribution of adequate food supplies in a way that needy may be fed. It revolves around access to energy supplies. It is necessary to create a system which will ensure the collective survival of international community. Instead of security being built on ever increasing potentials of nuclear weapons, the only way to make general security in the real world, is to destroy all means of mass destruction.

The character of international security as such is often shaped by inequality of states and the powerful often
define their security in militaristic terms, in terms of protection of alliance partners. Such requirements may sometimes be satisfied at the cost of weaker states in its sphere of influence. The fundamental conclusion is that global security can be promoted today through international institution as the UN, which serves to protect all states. It implies collective responsibility for the fate of mankind. 'Collective Security' looks towards protection of all states against military attack by concerted and voluntary action of the international community. But a predominance of Machiavellian patterns of state craft, as well as the ideological geopolitics has generally prevented the formation of political consensus on this count. Other non-military threats to security in the current phase involve narcotics, food security and problems of transnational migration. Shortage of food in many African countries has reached alarming dimensions. The drug trafficking through the "Golden Crescent" (Pakistan-Afghanistan-Iran) and the "Golden-Triangle" (Burma-Thailand-Laos) explain how the arms get linked up with narcotics and become available to anyone who can pay for it.

All these arguments make the case for alternative security even broader. "International peace must rest on the commitment to joint survival rather than a threat of mutual destruction." The last few decades have watched
humanity drift towards ominicide, while the reliance on military strength and attempt to achieve nuclear superiority, is today a dangerous anachronism. In such a turbulent and unstable environment, the 'concept of common security' is a recognition of the fact that nuclear weapons have changed not only the scale of warfare but the very concept of war itself. Our world is destined for a common future - for better or for worse. Today we are more closely bound politically, strategically, economically, socially or environmentally into a 'global village'. In such circumstances, 'common security' is the most realistic and promising concept that can provide for global/ universal/general or mutual collective security against the "common crisis" the world faces presently. Common security implies that all the countries and people should be part of it. It gives priority to political, economic and cultural factors over military factors in order to achieve common survival. What is new and important in the concept of common security is the unequivocal emphasis of the fact that today one has to consider a potential enemy as a necessary partner in building and guaranteeing of global, continental or regional security.

There are some basic principles regarding common security which should be acceptable to all the nations. It recognizes the legitimate right to security of all states.
But renunciation of force is an important element of its policy as military force is no legitimate instrument to resolve disputes. Restraint should be an expression of national policy, as no security is possible through military superiority. There should be quantitative and qualitative limitation on armament and linkage between arms negotiations and political events should be avoided.54

It will be through 'common security' only that the world will be able to face its challenges. The world has shrunk due to scientific and technological advancements. We have to make a joint endeavour to ensure our survival. This has been rightly articulated by the non-aligned at the ninth summit (1989) while defining the link between development and detente. 'They would not be just a lobby primarily concerned with the problems of developing countries, however catastrophic the position of most of them might be, but rather a champion of universal interests of the entire international community, placing economic problems in the very focus of detente, as vital to stability and effectiveness.' Later at the Tenth Non-Aligned Summit at Jakarta (September 1992), the non-aligned countries pointed out that "interdependence, integration and globalization of

the world economy were the new realities of international relations'. They re-emphasized "renewed hopes for building a new and equitable international order, for stable peace and common security" by equitably shared responsibility and joint commitment to global cooperation.\textsuperscript{55} They did not consider war to be an eternal and unchanging fact of life in international community.