INTRODUCTION

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The Non-aligned Movement has greatly helped the cause of peace and Disarmament. The historic role of the Non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament is a fascinating subject for study. The Non-aligned movement is the voice of the people of the world who aspire for global peace and Disarmament. The policy and the movement of Non-alignment were responsible for easing international tensions and spreading the idea of Disarmament. Disarmament is the only hope of mankind today in the existing rivalry of super powers. If Disarmament comes true, then the part of the resources utilized for the manufacture of armaments can be diverted for economic development of the under developed countries. This will motivate mutual trust and friendship between the countries and people.

The United Nations organization and Non-aligned Movement are two distinct structures serving the two different requirements of the global aspirations of human beings were established sixteen years apart-the one in 1945 and the other in 1961.1 The maintenance of peace and security has been and continues to be the major preoccupation of the United Nations Organization since its inception. The

1 Harcharan Singh Josh, India's foreign policy, New Delhi, 1989, p.13.
major concern of the Non-aligned movement and Non-alignment are quite in tune with the principles and purposes of the United Nations charter.

In order to protect the civilizations that humanity erected over thousands of years, Disarmament is essential. In the world we hope for there won't be wars between nations and groups of nations, no country will use its superior material, military or economic strength to abuse or violate the weaker countries, an end to the causes of strife with nations, no endless class struggles, international relations will be governed by clear, just principles which always respect the people's rights and a lasting peace, free from fear and oppression.¹

The Non-aligned countries firmly believe that world peace can be achieved through the U.N.O. The Non-aligned states played an important role in international policies by making the super powers give up the course of action leading to direct conflict and engage instead in peaceful competition in the progress of countries less developed than themselves.² No one had made a proper study of India's contribution to the United Nations because we only go by newspaper headlines. It will take many years to understand what we did in the early


years. Krishna Menon who stated the above mentioned words particularly contributed for the evolution of the concept of Non-alignment.

The Non-aligned movement is not a monolithic bloc. The Non-aligned countries follow different foreign policies. It is a system of ideas and an approach to global problems, which governs a foreign policy, which affects a foreign policy rather than a single foreign policy. If all the one hundred and fifteen Non-aligned countries follow a single foreign policy then the Non-aligned movement would have become another bloc and not an independent group of states. The United Nations was founded upon the principle of "the sovereign equality of all peace loving states." While becoming a member of the U.N.O. a state does not surrender its sovereignty. The United Nations and the Non-aligned Movement are both founded on peaceful co-existence of nations of different social, political and economic systems.

The role of the Non-aligned Nations in U.N is important because it scored some valuable victories such as convening sessions on Disarmament, work on a resolution to reduce nuclear weapons and Declaration on non-interference. The

Non-aligned Nations are active champions of Disarmament. This research work is an effort to highlight the role of Non-aligned Nations in U.N.O for peace and Disarmament from 1960 to 1987.

This research work begins from 1960 and ends in 1987. The reasons for choosing the above mentioned dates are the following. The Year 1960 is a watershed in the history of the liberation of colonial countries.\(^1\) By 1960 the process of decolonization has gained importance and the western military alliances in Asia has suffered a set back due to collapse of Baghdad pact and racial upsurge in Cuba. Some of the pro-western countries of Asia and Africa and Latin America had also changed their political orientation particularly after the Revolution of 1958 in Iraq and Fidel Castro’s victorious emergence in Cuba in 1959. This has an impact on other Caribbean and Latin American countries like Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia and Mexico. But U.N witnessed a major change in its composition by inclusion of countries including Cuba in 1960, which increased U.N membership from 83 to 100. It was a boost to the ranks of the Non-aligned as their strength increased to twenty five out of hundred mostly new inclusions and partly by the change of regimes in some states.

The path towards the advancement of the Non-aligned Movement started in 1960. At the session of the U.N General Assembly in New York in September

\(^1\) Harcharan Singh Josh, *India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989, p.29.
1960 the leaders of India, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and Ghana-Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamel Abdul Nasser, Josip Broz Tito, Ahmed Sukarno and Kwame Nkrumah-agreed to call a conference of all like-minded countries of Asia and Africa, Latin America and Europe,¹ to chalk out a future programme of action.

The year 1987 produced a more favourable element for future U.S., U.S.S.R., co-operation. Mikhail Gorbachev’s initiatives bore fruit in summer meetings with President Regan in Reykjavik (1986) and most successfully in Washington D.C. in December 1987. At Washington summit an agreement was signed to dismantle intermediate range Nuclear missiles in Western and Eastern Europe, a cautious beginning to a process that according to Gorbachev, might eventually end the nuclear threat.² Practical implementation of the ideas and principles of the new political thinking in the field of Disarmament has led to the signing of INF treaty.³

The aim and objective of this research work is to narrate clearly and coherently the role of the Non-aligned Nations in the U.N.O. for peace and Disarmament beginning with the emergence of the movement, evolution of the movement the in the light of its responses to various challenges, the establishment of a New International Economic order as the basis for future development in the

developing nations and highlight the point that if Disarmament becomes a reality the resources used for armaments can be diverted to economic development of the underdeveloped and developing countries.

The methodology adopted in this research work is analytical operation. The analytical operation concern itself with collection, scrutiny, shifting and testing the validity of the data. Thus the process of cutting historical material to its smallest unit to test its validity was undertaken backed up by proper documentary evidence.

For conducting research work on the role of Non-aligned Nations in U.N.O. for Peace and Disarmament experience no dearth of material. Besides the U.N documents devoted to Disarmament affairs and United Nations General Assembly proceedings, the primary sources of considerable assistance include the various documents of gatherings of Non-aligned countries, addresses delivered by the Heads of the state or Government of Non-aligned countries and the other related documents on international affairs.¹

The following documents are of great help to enrich our knowledge on Non-alignment.


From these documents we get a clear idea about the activities of non-aligned countries and their achievements and also the contribution that they have made in the U.N.O for Peace and Disarmament.

Apart from the above mentioned there are many works written by Indian and foreign scholars on Non-alignment, Peace and Disarmament, periodicals published by different Non-aligned nations on international affairs and proceedings of seminars and conferences held on Non-alignment from 1961 onwards are of great
importance to know the depth of the problem of Disarmament.\textsuperscript{1} Review of International Affairs, newspaper reports and publications of Indian institute for Non-aligned studies, New Delhi also gives many details. The summary of proceedings and presentations of the international seminar on Non-alignment retrospect and prospects, held at Delhi in 1986 gives the view points of reputed scholars and political leaders.

It is often noticed that the policy of non-alignment has been often misunderstood and misinterpreted in India and abroad research. Plethora of books, research papers and articles by Indian and foreign scholars have appeared. Among them special mention may be made to the following.

M.S. Rajan one of the historians of NAM in his study points out the remarkable features of the policy of Non-alignment, the Non-aligned Movement and Disarmament.\textsuperscript{2} He expressed the view that the existence of the Non-aligned Nations has provided a certain degree of stability to the United Nations. This book is an asset for the proper understanding of Non-alignment. The role of the Non-aligned states in the United Nations is highlighted by him\textsuperscript{3} in his thought provoking and enlightening article when the seventh summit conference of the Non-aligned

\textsuperscript{1} Social Science Volumes. USSR Academy Sciences.
movement decided to observe 1985 as the "year of the United Nations". He points out that when the U.N was established in 1945 it was an "aligned" one. But in early sixties the Non-aligned member states have come to constitute a majority of membership, the U.N has been transformed from an originally "aligned" and select membership organizations to a genuinely "Non-aligned" and universal one as of the present. The Basic international concerns of the NAM and the United Nations are the same.1 The Non-aligned countries pledged their support to enable the United Nations to play a more effective role in preserving peace. M.S. Rajan adds that the declaration of the third or the Lusaka summit urged the strengthening of the peace-keeping operations. According to the author, without the Non-aligned states, the U.N.O. would have become a forum for confrontation between the great powers and the cold war blocs, which might end up in disaster to the organization and eventually even to the world. For maintenance of peace and security, the part played by the Non-aligned states to spear head the U.N efforts to assist the economic and social development of colonial countries and cultural co-operation are properly discussed in the article. The merits and demerits of the role of the Non-aligned states in implementing the purposes or principles of the charter with particular issues are traced in a fine manner. Non-aligned countries have become a factor in U.N., yet, unlike regional groups, it is not formally recognized by the organization and hence no formal status in it. In fact M.S Rajan here justifies the

1 Ibid., p.303.
view of K.P. Saksena that "the so called Non-aligned states have as a group failed
to cut much ice or to acquire a position of influence in the political processes of the
United Nations". ¹ M.S. Rajan in his unique article 'Non-alignment at cross roads' ²
examines the new trends and challenges to Non-alignment in the contemporary
international situation. His article on "Indian Foreign Policy in Action. 1954-
1956"³ reveals many aspects of the Indian Foreign Policy based on Non-alignment.

In his another work M.S. Rajan⁴ has compared NAM to U.N. According to
him members of both United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement seek to promote
the respective national interests but in terms of purposes of both. And since these
purposes are similar, if not identical in all respects, the functioning of each
reinforces the other. Maintenance of international peace and security, peaceful
settlement of disputes, promotion of right to self-determination, co-operation in
solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian
color character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and
fundamental freedom for all without distinction are objectives according to the
author equally shared by both association.

¹ K.P. Saksena, 'Non-Alignment and the United Nations' in International Studies, New
² M.S. Rajan, "Non-Aligned Movement at Cross Roads", World Focus, Vol.1, No.9,
September 1980.
⁴ M.S. Rajan, Non-Alignment and Non-Aligned Movement: Retrospect and Prospect, New
Delhi, 1990.
M.M. Rehman's book on Politics of Non-Alignment, brilliantly illuminates social aspects of Non-alignment like the goals of Non-alignment, its meaning and the part played by the movement by countries like India and India's role in Korean crisis, the Suez crisis, Hungarian Revolution and the Congo-crisis. In his study he has tried to clarify some of the misunderstandings by examining the policy of Non-Alignment in its proper perspectives as propounded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Joseph Broz Tito and Gamal Abdul Nassar. He has examined the Non-aligned movement in the light of domestic conditions in these countries and prevailing international situation.

Independent India formulated its foreign policy in an era of bipolarity and cold war. Foreign policy planning is a very difficult work. Every time new opportunities emerge and new challenges crop up, foreign policy framers plan to meet the new challenges and utilize opportunities in the best possible way. K.P. Misra, Historian of NAM, in his study deals with the planning of foreign policy of India. The author points out a major plan in the Indian foreign policy formulation. He is of the opinion that at the time of the formation of a foreign policy experts in the field are not consulted and the job is solely entrusted to career diplomats. He argues to remedy this inadequency at the earliest. A similar view is explained by P.

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Ratnam in his study,¹ which stresses the need for consultation with the parliament in general and opposition parties in particular. He maintains that this will ensure the elimination of personal factors in foreign policy planning and may lead to objective thinking in foreign affairs.

K.P. Misra² in his pioneering work described the super-power diplomacy in the U.N over the Indo-Pakistan War. Unlike Tashkent in 1972 they decided to sort out the things and settled the disputes through mutual consultations at Simla, rather than in a third country. While examining the Non-alignment policy of India, the capacity of political parties for influencing the foreign policy moves also may be looked into. In March 1977, the Janatha party came into power in India breaking the thirty-year rule of the Congress party. Observers in India and abroad felt that Indian foreign policy under the new regime might undergo a major change. A large number of articles appeared in different journals on different aspects of the Janatha Party's foreign policy. K.P. Misra's book ³ is a collection of such articles.

The change of government in March 1977 has not affected India's policy of Non-alignment. Speaking at a reception in Srinagar on August 1977, foreign

³ K.P. Misra (Ed.), Janatha's Foreign Policy, Delhi, 1979.
Minister Vajpayee said that when he was first elected to Lok Sabha, foreign affairs were being handled by Jawaharlal Nehru who had clearly stated that India could have no other policy except that of Non-alignment in dealing with foreign affairs. And it would not change even if any other party were voted to power in place of Congress. "Since then he added, it had not changed".\(^1\) Kamalakanta Panda and Pramod Kumar Mishra explain the Janatha party's foreign policy of India in detail.\(^2\) They point out that even though the political shade of the Government has changed, the policy of Non-alignment has not changed. Various chapters of the book discuss the theoretical content analysis of foreign policy making, Janatha Government's policy of "Genuine Non-alignment", its policy good neighbourliness, its relation with major powers and its performance in the international forums during a short span of twenty eight months. An attempt is made to analyze Janatha government's China dealings in a global perspective and to find out whether India had become a target of new Peking intrigue and its impact of New Delhi's role are explained in detail.

K.P. Misra\(^3\) point out that Nehru's dominance in the field of foreign affairs was an accepted fact in the Congress before 1947 and the pattern was maintained.

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\(^1\) The l'Industan Times, 10 April, 1977.

\(^2\) Kamalakanta Panda and Pramod Kumar Mishra, New Perspectives in India's Foreign Policy (The Janatha Phase), Delhi, 1980.

\(^3\) K.P. Misra, "Foreign Policy Planning in India", in K.P. Misra (Ed.), Foreign Policy of India, New Delhi,(1977).
indeed reinforced by the apparent successes of Indian Non-Alignment after independence. It was only after the Indo-Chinese war and Nehru's death that a degree of institutionalization took place in regard to the making of Indian foreign policy. K.P. Misra\(^1\) in his study point out that there are large group of countries which is sympathetic to at least some of the concerns of the Non-aligned countries. He further argues that there is similarity of views between them on several peace initiatives which have taken by them within and outside U.N. The same author\(^2\) points out terminologically, since the term Non-alignment owes its origin to India, it is relevant to consider the ways of thinking of Indian people. Even a casual look at the philosophical and civilizational tradition indicates that the Indians have been fond of the noun with negative. He also argues in another work\(^3\) that Non-alignment is not neutrality. This aspect has also attracted wider attention in diplomatic pronouncements and scholarly writings. He points out\(^4\) Non-Alignment's similarity with Monroe doctrine. Though this doctrine was formally enunciated in December 1823, it has been more or less a running theme of American foreign policy since the founding of the republic till the Second World War. Since the United States rose to the top position in international system, some


people attribute it, at least party to its policy of neutrality. It is further suggested that the Non-aligned Countries are attempting to follow the same policy in order to reap a similar harvest.

K.P. Misra\(^1\) point out that NAM consists of 101 independent sovereign states having their own geopolitical and geostrategic compulsions, their distinct historical and political experience. According to him they differ in cultural and economic development. The ideas and ideals of their rules were different. But there is one thing common among all the Non-aligned Countries. All of them have experienced political and economic exploitation by the developed countries. Their vast source of raw materials and cheap labour had been exploited and the goods produced by the industrialized countries were marketed in those poor countries. He further argues that since the Non-aligned Countries are economically poor, militarily weak and in some cases their rulers may have connections with the industrialised world it is but natural that great powers are able to make a section of Non-aligned Countries to dance to their tunes.

He further says that differences of opinion in the movement have been flashed in the front page of the western influenced newspapers and the contribution news of NAM has been ignored. According to him the NAM is working for peace, security and disarmament on one hand and independence, development and co-

operation among nations on the other. But this difficult task cannot be attained all on a sudden. The author points out that if the movement had achieved some success in the field of decolonization, Disarmament, Détente, Development, Dissemination and Democratization of international relations, one can be optimistic about its future.¹

K.R. Narayanan while he was the Union Minister of State for External Affairs in an article pointed out the "Relevance of Non-Alignment".² He says that it is more relevant today when we are facing many divisive, fissiparous forces, may be at a higher level of development, but still they are fissiparous and divisive. In such a situation co-existence among different parties and different forces in our country becomes increasingly difficult. So from the point of view of nation building, from the point of view of having even a slender consensus for working together in India and the world as a whole, we need Non-Alignment and peaceful co-existence as a policy. Mr. K.R. Narayanan is of the opinion that the origin of Non-alignment was rooted in the search for peace. In this nuclear age, the world is threatened by virtual annihilation not only by nuclear weapons through the pursuit of policies like power politics, balance of power and deterrence. These are different incarnation of the same theme whether we style it deterrence or balance of

power. Therefore he is of the opinion that it is not necessary for any one to labour the point. He therefore expresses firmly that from the point of view of world peace, Non-alignment has very practical relevance for the world.

The evolution and progress of Non-Alignment and the basis of India's foreign policy is described in detail in addition to other aspects by Shashi Bhushan in his work on Non-Alignment, Legacy of Nehru.¹ The Indian National Congress in the pre-independence days passed many resolutions. All these resolution reflected the general outlook of the party towards world affairs. There was rarely an important international development to which the Congress did not react. Nehru visualized a linkage between Indian struggles for independence with worldwide struggle against imperialism. So foreign affairs cell was established in the office of the All India Congress Committee in May, 1936. Thus Indian National Congress was the representative of the Indian mind. Its importance has been recognized by several writers on Indian foreign policy. Bimal Prasad's study² traces the background and the origins of India's foreign policy with special references to the role of Indian National Congress. Karunakar Gupta's scholarship has enormously enriched the study³ of India's foreign policy analytically and, concluded that India's initiatives for maintenance of international peace and her detachment from the

¹ Shashi Bhushan, Non-Alignment, Legacy of Nehru, Delhi, 1976.
² Bimal Prasad, 'The Origins of India's Foreign Policy', Calcutta. 1962.
³ Karunakar Gupta, Indian Foreign Policy-In Defence of National Interest, Calcutta, 1956.
super power rivalry were in the service of her larger interests. Yuri Nasenko's study\(^1\) examines Nehru and his policy of Non-Alignment in the historical and political context. Various noted scholars like C.P. Bhambhuri, A.P. Rana, Nikhil Chakravarty, V.P. Dutt etc. have contributed articles\(^2\) on the genesis, development, the role and the new trends and challenges to Non-Alignment in the contemporary international system. Sanripada Bhattacharya's book\(^3\) is another study of India's foreign policy in Nehru era. The major thrust of the book is to examine and evaluate, in the author's own words, "correlation between India's national interests and Non-alignment neutralism as defended by her decision makers during the period 1947-64 and over that in most important respect India's national interests were indeed served by her chosen diplomatic instrument of Non-Alignment-cum-neutralism".

A.P. Rana illustrates the imperatives of Non-Alignment. It is a detailed study of India's foreign policy strategy in Nehru period. His work\(^4\) may be designated as a 'proto theory' of India's foreign policy technique during the time of

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1 Yuri Nasenko, *Jawaharlal Nehru and India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1977.


Nehru. M.L. Sondhi in his critique of India's foreign policy of Non-Alignment asserts that it hardened into a static view, which hindered India from fully utilizing her policy options. He is of the opinion that indiscriminate appeasement ingrained in Indian foreign policy resulted in failure to formulate national objectives with clarity, especially in the context of Indo-Pakistan relations. In order to restore dynamism to India leadership on world affairs and in order to foster an improvement in India's image abroad, the status quo attitude towards the super powers and the dogmatic moralization of the foreign policy has to be replaced with a new approach in the foreign policy on the bedrock of Non-appeasement.

D.N. Malik has traced the historical origins of Non-Alignment in India's foreign policy from the attitude of the Congress party from November 1921 to August 1946. He has also studied the progress and decline in the policy of Non-alignment from September 1946 to October 1964 or from the establishment of the interim Government in India to the Cairo-conference of Non-Aligned states. Various aspects of Non-Alignment like the origins, bases and the various dimensions and implications of Indian foreign policy of Non-Alignment has attracted the attention of many scholars, notably, T.M.P. Mahadevan, N.G. Ranga,

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Joze Smole and C. Parameswaran. All of them made great contributions to the study of Non-Alignment. Thus Non-Alignment became one of the best-studied areas due to their contributions.

Rikhi Jaipal while discussing about the origin, growth and potential for world peace point out the following. The status of neutrality in war was recognized as one of several possibilities open to Indian kings in the Arthasastra the well-known work of Kautilya otherwise known as Indian Machiavelli. Some of the Indian writers trace the origin of Non-Alignment to Buddhist roots and indeed the teachings of Buddha were against war and violence. The above mentioned author says that one must turn to Nehru, the architect of Non-Alignment for truth, as it was he said once: "I have not originated Non-alignment, it is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India in the conditioning of the Indian mind during the struggle for freedom and inherent in the very circumstances of the world today."

Rikhi Jaipal says that since 1921 the All India Congress Committee began to take an increasing interest in India's relations with its neighbours and to make pronouncements on the elements of the foreign policy of independent India. Nehru

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became the head of the foreign department of this committee in 1925 and shortly thereafter in 1927 the Indian National Congress deplored the use of Indian troops in China, Mesopotamia and Persia. The following year it sent fraternal greetings and support to the peoples of Egypt, Iraq, Palestine and Syria who were fighting against imperialism. And in 1939 it proclaimed the desire of the Indian people to stay clear of the war between imperialism and fascism, to both of which they were opposed and thus to preserve peace and freedom of India. This Indian trend to keep aloof from the power games of European states was a natural by product of the main struggle for independence form the imperial rule of Great Britain. India refused to alien itself even with Britain's enemies in the hope of furthering its own nationalist aims, because it had always been its policy to stand on its own feet and do its fighting according to the above stated writer.

Harcharan Singh Josh¹ argue that the Non-Aligned nations have the supreme task of chalking out, in the light of the latest developments in the world, a programme of action which should be followed to formulate positive programme. They should be the following five points. (1) Nuclear Disarmament (2) Peaceful settlement of border disputes (3) Freedom from foreign domination, aggression, subversion and racial discrimination (4) Acceleration of economic development through international co-operation and (5) Full support for the United Nations and

¹ Harcharan Singh Josh, *India's Foreign Policy*, New Delhi, 1989.
its programmes for peace and development. He is of the opinion that a United Non-Aligned group will make an impact on world peace and on the evolution of new economic order for the millions of poor.

A.K. Damodaran in his article says Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Sukharno and Nkrumah were the founding fathers of the NAM. In fact certain objective compulsions united them. There were however, local, regional and also intensely personal factors, which from the very beginning, led to difference of emphasis and tactics between the members of the movement. In his paper on 'International situation', presented in a symposium held in May 1980 in New Delhi A.K. Damodaran stated the three great positive developments making détente have been agreement between the super powers, their allies, their clients and also several neutral and Non-Aligned Nations animated by idealism, nuclear non-proliferation followed by bilateral negotiations between the United States and Soviet union to halt nuclear arms race through the SALT agreements. Secondly there has been the achievement under conditions of comparative stability, of legitimacy in the post war borders in Europe as marked by the Brandt Brezhenev agreement on German question, followed by normalization of West Germany's relations with the East European countries. Almost as if to underpin these political and nuclear


arrangements, there has been an indispensable third factor, the achievement by the Soviet Union of comparative equality in strategic and tactical fields with United States and its allies.

The work of Peter Willets\textsuperscript{1} describes Non-Alignment as an ideology, the institutionalization of Non-Aligned movement etc. The subtitle of his study is clearly objectionable because like the term "Power Politics" the term "Alliance" too has in international relations come to acquire distinct meaning. About the meaning of alliance one may refer to the writings of well-known American Scholar, Arnold Wolfers who observes "In technical language of statesmen and scholars an "alliance" signifies a promise of mutual military alliance between two or more sovereign states." R.A. Mortimer\textsuperscript{2} also mentions about the origin of NAM.

The Korean War created an international climate whereby the Non-alignment of India was put to an acid test. Nehru said in his speech\textsuperscript{3} "we have always been of the opinion that the problem of Korea can only be solved with China's co-operation, whatever the result of the Korean conflict might be in the military sense, the problem cannot be finally solved with the acquiescence, if not active co-operation of China. We laid stress on this fact right at the beginning.


\textsuperscript{2} R.A. Mortimer, \textit{The Third World Coalition in International Politics}, New York, 1980.

That was one of the reasons why we felt that China should be represented at the United Nations and the issue at stake was an urgent one. R.P. Kaushik in his work has dealt with the dilemma of Non-aligned countries in the Korean War. The main aspect of the book is that it was in Korean War that the Non-aligned assumed its pronounced positivist character in international relations.

Contrary to this Michael Brecher in his article explores the interaction between India and the West during the 1962 war and its immediate aftermath. The author maintains that due to this interaction the principle of Non-alignment stood at the brink of collapse. India's birth as an independent sovereign state on 15 August 1947 could materialise only at the cost of partition into two separate political units, India and Pakistan. Surendra Chopra has analyzed the role of U.N in the Indo-Pakistan War keeping in view of the changing super power perceptions in the light of the changed political condition in the subcontinent in the wake of Chinese diplomatic offensive in Pakistan since the early sixties.

A study of Nuclear weapons, Indian Ocean, Peace, Détente and the role of the Non-aligned Nations in the United Nations is made in the scholarly work of

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Attarchand. This work is immensely useful to know about the part played by the Non-aligned countries in the special sessions at the United Nations and summit conferences.

The twenty years history of the United Nations by Clark M. Eichelberger gives an over all view of the development of the United Nations and the principles of United Nations charter.

Oksana Reznikova has authored an eminently readable volume. A clear view about Non-Aligned Movement and the West is properly traced by the author. The book examines both general and specific features in the policies of the United States, western Europe and Asian Pacific nations with regard to Non-aligned movement, some areas where interests are likely to clash and possible fields of cooperation.

G.N. Srivastava in his book describes the constructive contribution of the Non-aligned movement as a major factor in the developing countries struggle against colonialism, domination and subjugation and the movement's positive role in consolidating not only peace and security but also to create favourable conditions

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1 Attarchand, *Non-Aligned Nations, Arms race and Disarmament*, Delhi, 1983.
2 Clark M. Eichelberger, *UN the First Twenty Years*, Delhi, 1966.
for the establishment of a new international order based on co-operation and fraternity and not on exploitation and oppression.

Mahendra Kumar's work\(^1\) analyzed the meaning of certain key concepts of international politics namely ideology, foreign policy, Non-alignment, collective security, Disarmament and arms control. The analysis of these concepts not only brings out their theoretical implications but also examines their relevance in the nuclear age.

Massive literature is available regarding the Non-aligned Movement and its role in the United Nations and contemporary international politics. They are the works of R.L. Jackson, A.W. Singham and U.S. Bajpai in addition to the works of K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan.\(^2\) Also many books have been written about the key role played by India in the establishment and conduct of NAM. They are the works of K.P. Misra, P. Mathur and K.M. Sritastav, H.D. Malayia and M.K. Saini.\(^3\)

The western media has always attempted to underestimate the achievements and success of the Non-Alignment; it has also tried to magnify the differences

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\(^1\) Mahendra Kumar, *Theoretical Aspect of the International Politics*, Delhi, 1980.


among the Non-aligned members. But the relationship of the Non-aligned movement with the socialist countries, particularly U.S.S.R was very cordial. G.N. Srivastava's unique work¹ NAM and Soviet Foreign Policy based on the primary sources include the papers relating to NAM summits, Asian Relations Conference and Bandung Conference. The primary source also includes the documents of the Congresses of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. As secondary sources, the author examined the books written by Soviet, Indian and Western scholars. It is a useful book for scholars as well as the general readers keen to understand the identity of the perceptions of Non-aligned Movement vis-a-vis the Soviet Foreign policy. The author points out that since 1950, India became the cornerstone of Soviet Policy in Asia and vice versa. Indo-Soviet relations in 1950's were the test case for Soviet Union's foreign policy in Asia, it led her to establish relations with other countries of Asia and Africa. The Soviet Union realized that to establish peace, policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism of the newly free countries should be given backing, because they alone could not resist western pressures. Gradually the Soviet path was followed by the other East European Socialist countries and interaction between the developing and the socialist countries became a striking phenomenon of 1950's.

¹ N. Srivastava, NAM and Soviet Foreign Policy, New Delhi, 1989.
The attitude of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries towards the policy of Non-alignment is described by Dr. E.K.G. Nambiar.\(^1\) He says that Soviet attitude during the period from 1946 to 1954 reflected a lack of proper understanding of Non-alignment formulated by India. But after that period India's policy of Non-alignment was hailed by the Soviets. The attitude of the socialist countries towards the policy of Non-alignment is pointed out by J.D.B. Miller.\(^2\)

Peaceful spirit and outlook of India is projected by T.B. Mukerjee\(^3\) in his work dedicated to the problems of disarmament. India's perspective of peace, India's view point on Disarmament, India's concept of security and India's action plan for nuclear weapon free world is dealt in detail by Mukerjee. The role of the United Nations in peaceful co-existence as conceived and promoted by its Secretary General is analyzed by Smt. Padma Srivastava.\(^4\)

Francis Parakatil's book\(^5\)discusses in great detail India's role in Korean, Middle East, Congo operations as well as the reaction to UN's intervention in Kashmir. He also points out India's contribution in implementing effectively the United Nation's peacekeeping decisions. He adds that Non-alignment policy and

\(^3\) T.B. Mukerjee, *Peace, Security and Disarmament, Indian Perspective*, New Delhi, 1989.
Non-aligned states have played a great role in the United Nations. One of the major benefits in connection with peacekeeping operations was that Non-aligned Nations enhanced the role of the United Nations General Assembly in which all members are represented equally and reduced the role of Security Council. They also forestalled the dangerous consequences of the United Nations functioning as a peace enforcement agency in a bipolarized world and converted it into peace observing and peacekeeping organization.

The part played by the Non-aligned Movement in the world arena is properly examined by Yuri Alimov. The Non-Aligned Movement is a new and unique phenomenon in the system of international relations, which is still a puzzle to many people. The debates according to the author are directed on questions that seem quite simple: Non-Alignment with whom and why? Whom or what should the movement oppose? With whom does it not align itself and why? Who are its friends and enemies? What role does it play in the international scene? Why does it enjoy international prestige? How does the movement develop organizationally? What are the general goals and principles of Non-alignment? Yuri Alimov\(^1\) in a fine manner attempts to give answers to these and other questions.

Jai Prakash Srivastava\textsuperscript{1} closely examines the dimensions and trends in a nuclear race and relationship between security, disarmament and development. The Non-aligned countries stated even in 1961, in the true tradition of Non-alignment, that the greatest peril facing the world is the threat to the survival of humanity posed by the existence of nuclear weapons. The author points out that there are different categories of weapons-nuclear, biological, chemical and conventional and argues that the Disarmament is essential for the best interest of humanity and it cannot wait.

V. Benevolensky\textsuperscript{2} gives an account of the origins of Non-aligned Movement, its major landmarks, the unity of the Non-aligned Movement and the enemies and allies of the movement. He is of the opinion that after coming into existence in the early 1960's the Non-aligned Movement emerged as an influential force in the struggle for easing international tensions, for disarmament, peace, freedom and progress throughout the world. He points out the movement has tried to establish a new world order based on respect for independence, equality and cooperation which envisions a radical restructuring of both economic and political international relations. He examines in detail the origin of the Non-aligned Movement, its major land marks, the Non-alignment, neutrality and equidistance

\textsuperscript{1} Jai Prakash Srivastava, \textit{Towards a nuclear weapon Free and Non-Violent World}, New Delhi, 1989.

\textsuperscript{2} V. Benevolensky, \textit{The Non-Aligned Movement: Belgrade to Delhi}, Moscow, 1985.
from the bloc of states and the "non-bloc" nature of the movement. He also narrates the relationship of US and attitude towards the Non-aligned nations. The US mass media never cared to highlight the merits of the movement. He argues that the US has launched an offensive against the developing countries in general and the Non-aligned states in particular. On the other hand the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries welcomed the foundation of the Non-aligned movement and have always considered it as a positive factor in the development of international relations.

Dr. S.K. Sahni and Dr. R.N. Srivastava¹ in their study made an effort to highlight the contribution of the Non-Aligned Movement towards nuclear and conventional disarmament. The contribution of NAM towards world peace is properly highlighted in this work. The book gives an objective assessment of the role of Non-aligned nations in U.N for Disarmament and peace. The financial implication of arms race, the risk of nuclear annihilations, disarmament efforts of the developing countries, the issue of international security are surveyed in detail in that book. It is argued that we in the third world countries face immense problems. The only war we can afford to fight is a war against poverty, disease and hunger. Thus it is obligatory on the part of Non-aligned countries to work for peace and disarmament.

¹ Dr. S.K. Sahni and Dr. R.N. Srivastava, Non-Aligned Movement and Struggle for peace and Disarmament, New Delhi, 1989.
In the 'Non-alignment-concepts and concerns' edited by D.R. Goyal an attempt has been made to put together some of the outstanding writings both on concept and concerns of Non-aligned movement. The book has been divided into four sections-concept, development, disarmament and decolonization. The contributors of the first section Narendra P. Jain, D. R. Goyal, K.P. Misra and K. Subramanyam traces the conceptual frame work in terms of its historical development and the issues it has taken up from time to time. They point out that Non-Alignment is less understood in the light of its various responses to different challenges. In the second section economic experts like Manmohan Singh, Sukhamoy Chakravarty, V.R. Panchamukhi and Subrata Banerjee analyze the problems of economic development, the key issue before the movement. In the third section, disarmament, peace and security, Martin Zuberi discusses in detail about the nuclear threat. Muchkund Dubey mentions about Non-Aligned, star wars and disarmament. He argues that the arms race in the outer space can be prevented only if there is a genuine desire and the necessary political will on the part of those who are developing such weapons to prevent such an extension of the arms race. This is possible only if these countries decide forthwith to forego the so-called defensive option and explicitly commit themselves to negotiation of a new agreement or agreements. In the same section on disarmament Jasjit Singh's article elaborates the developing countries and nuclear issues. He stated that what is

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required is the universal consent to outlawing nuclear weapons and declaring their use as a crime against humanity.

The Fourth section of the D.R. Goyal edited work puts together perceptions on the process of political and cultural decolonization by V.D. Chopra, S. Viswam, N.V.K. Murthy, A. Rahman and Jayashree Jalali. The Non-aligned countries have recently broken the shackles of colonialism and are faced with the problem of health, education, science and technology left behind as a legacy by the colonial rulers. Even though the various chapters of the book are written by different writers, in a single volume, we get lot of information.

India as the leader of the Non-aligned movement played an important role in the United Nations. There are many books, articles and documents, which narrate about that. C.K. Köchukoshy's monograph\(^1\) deals with the role and attitude of India in different organs of the U.N and the various problems it undertook from time to time. Charles P. Sehleiher and J.S. Brains in their study\(^2\) have examined the role of India in the UN. A noteworthy aspect of the study is that it deals with the administrative organization and procedures of various ministries particularly the ministry of external affairs for developing and administering policy of the UN and its agencies.

\(^1\) C.K. Kochukoshy, *India and United Nations*, Delhi, 1953.

Alka Gupta\textsuperscript{1} deals with India's role in the United Nations and its contribution to its peacekeeping operations in Korea. The Non-partisan attitude of India, towards the problem seems to have helped India to play an important role in the Korean crisis. Many other thinkers have dealt with India's role in the Korean crisis. R.K. Kaushik and Shiv Dayal have done remarkable studies\textsuperscript{2} dealing with the historical role played by India. Many books and articles deal with India's role in various disputes in the UN. Raj Govinda, C. Kondapi, P.C. Mukerjee and B.S. Rao\textsuperscript{3} have done useful scholarly works.

In the Nehru era the most influential decision maker was V.K. Krishna Menon. He was responsible for shaping India's foreign policy concerning the United Nations and issues before it, according to Michael Brecher.\textsuperscript{4} Achin Vanaik\textsuperscript{5} states in his book, the two of the most striking aspects of Nehru era were the high visibility of India in UN efforts to intervene in International disputes (Korea, Suez, Congo etc) and the complete dominance of Nehru himself in the formation of

\textsuperscript{1} Alka Gupta, \textit{India and UN peacekeeping Activities}, New Delhi, 1977.


\textsuperscript{5} Achin Vanaik, India and the Changing World, New Delhi, 1995.
foreign policy. For seventeen years Nehru held the portfolio as foreign Minister. Satish Kumar¹ had made a comprehensive collection of documents pertaining to India's foreign policy vis-à-vis United Nations in the year 1972-73.

Anti-colonialism and peaceful co-existence was the two major global objectives of India's diplomacy in the United Nations. These aspects are highlighted by Charles H. Heimsath and Surjit Man Singh in their thought provoking scholarly work.² During most of 1960s the emphasis was on getting arms control and ensuing a more balanced distribution of the world's resources among all states, they point out. Many other studies also narrate more or less similar views of the Indian efforts in the UN.³

One basic foreign policy objective of independent India according to Nehru was pursuit of peace with any major power, but through an independent approach to each controversial issue through a policy of Non-alignment⁴. K.P. Saksena in an article "The United Nations in India's Foreign policy strategy" argue that a perspective analysis of free India's policy and diplomatic interactions at the United

¹ Satish Kumar, Documents on India's Foreign policy 1973, New Delhi, 1976.
² Charles H.Heimsath and Surjit Man Singh, A Diplomatic History of Modern India, New Delhi, 1971.
⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign policy (Selected Speeches. September, 1946-April 1961), New Delhi, 1961.
Nations, reveals the sordid truth that we have not been able to grasp the reality of
the United Nations as an integral part of international power politics, nor its
potentiality as an instrument for promotion of national interest. The above
mentioned author in another article states that in spite of diplomatic laurels won by
India from time to time for its role in resolving international crisis, there is lack of
"consistent concerted and containing direction" due to weak institutionalization of
thinking and policy planning. Oran R. Young and P.N. Haskar have also given a
similar opinion about India's UN diplomacy. India's contribution to maintain peace
through the UN is the outcome of historical events that demanded similar leading
role to be played by India according to Swadesh Rana in an article.

By the early 1960s the newly independent developing countries had started
demanding better deal. Depending on such organizations as Non-aligned
movement and group 77, they created the United Nations Conference on Trade and
Development (UNCTAD) argued for fair terms of trade and liberal terms for
financing development. The formal idea of The New International Economic order
was put forward in the Algiers Conference of Non-aligned Countries in 1973. In

3 Swadesh Rana, India, the United Nations and World Peace, in M.S. Rajan(Ed.), Op. Cit.,
1975 a declaration for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) was adopted along with the programme of action in the sixth special session of the United Nations Conference on trade and Development (UNCTAD). In essence the New International Economic Order aims at social justice among trading countries of the world. D.M. Mithani\(^1\) provides the details mentioned above in his book. Mehboob-ul-Haque\(^2\) observes the demand for NIEO is to be viewed as a part of historical process rather than specific proposals. Its important facts are the emergence of Non-aligned movement, the politicization of development issue and the increased assertiveness of the Third World countries. The new international order has been the less explored area. It is because of this reason not much literature is available.

After attaining independence the leader of the Non-aligned movement, India has been advocating the cause of democratization of international, political and economic order. In this context the role of Indian policy of Non-alignment, cooperation and mutual trust has been most vital. It helped in easing international tension, but also promoting social and economic progress of developing countries.

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K.B. Lall\(^1\) has discussed the role that India has played and can in future in changing the international economic situation.

India's approach towards the New International Economic Order has been not to seek few benefits or little more foreign assistance. Its real aim has been to seek structural changes in the prevailing market mechanism and power structure. The New International Economic order, the essence of which was simply full and complete emancipation of developing countries. B.N. Mehrish\(^2\) in his article deals with these priorities and India's approach towards New International Economic order.

The need for New International Economic Order arises because of glaring inequalities between the rich and poor nations of the third world. A very wide gap exists between the people of advanced countries and the people of developing countries. The concentration of economic and political power in the developed states enabled them to make and impose decisions on the developing states. An important factor, which strengthened the need for NIEO, was the emergence of few developing countries as economically powerful nations. Those countries were

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Brazil, India, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Iran. Few weeks after the fourth Non-aligned summit, the members of the organization of petroleum exporting countries (OPEC) took matters into hand. These include Algeria, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Ecuador, Gabon, Qatar and Venezuela. The oil became for the first time a political weapon in international politics. Oil price was increased. Apart from that a political weapon against those developed countries, which sided, with Israel during the war between Egypt and Israel in 1973. Besides India emerged as a major industrial power. These details can be found in the paper of Santosh Taneja.¹

India being a leader of Non-aligned movement has always stressed the fact that USA being a leader of developed countries with vast resources can play an important role in the emergence and establishment of a New International Economic Order, Indo-US bilateral relations therefore can serve as a useful balance in the mechanism of such an economic order, according to A.K. Sen Gupta.²

A former Indian Diplomat, Perla Retnam in an article³ stresses India's consistent role in the United Nations since its inception in the decolonization process.

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³ Perla Retnam, the New World Economic Order: India's Role, In Verindra Grover (Ed.), International Relations and Foreign Policy of India, New Delhi, 1992.
process, readiness to assist UN peace-keeping operations in Gaza, Cyprus and Zaire, its initiatives in defusing explosive and tense situations, its pursuit of disarmament and the creation of zones of peace. It is further hoped that its role in the advancing international economic and social objectives would receive added impetus.

Prospects of a new International Economic Order depended on the co-operation of the developed countries. But in view of their reluctance towards various proposals put forwarded by the developing countries at various international forums, India favours regional co-operation and regional producers associations on the model of OPEC, for increasing their bargaining powers. V.K.R.V. Rao pointed out this view at a symposium held at Bucharest, Romania.¹

S.N. Tawale² has focused on India's role in promoting international co-operation under UN auspices. In recent years UN has become an important forum for bringing about an amicable and mutually beneficial solution of the North-South controversy. India has utilized the UN platform as the ladder of the Non-aligned movement for lobbing support for the New International Economic Order.


Mahendra Kumar in the chapter, "Disarmament and Arms control" states that after the First World War attention was paid towards finding necessary means to prevent the threat of war and guarantee peace. It was argued that war resulted from armaments and it can be checked only by disarmament. But efforts made in this direction before and after the Second World War show how difficult has been the attainment of the state of disarmament. Obviously, then one should be interested in knowing the nature of the problem of the disarmament in all its important aspects. The questions that are directed to this knowledge are; what is the meaning of Disarmament and what are its basic theoretical premises? What has been the nature of disarmament negotiation? What are the obstacles that stand in the way of the disarmament? What are the future prospects of the problem of disarmament? These questions are properly answered in the strict sense of the term in his work. His first argument in support of disarmament is that it is a direct approach to peace. His second argument in support of disarmament is economic, and his third argument in support of disarmament is moral.

The role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament is narrated in a beautiful manner by P.C. Sinha. The character of the United Nations according to him is against the use of force or threat of force in international relations. So

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1 Mahendrakumar, Theoretical Aspects of International Politics, Delhi, 1978.
disarmament plays an important role in the UN. He points out that in 1976 the General Assembly at the initiative of the Non-aligned countries decided to hold a special session entirely devoted to Disarmament. The details about the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, Arms Limitation and Disarmament affairs, advisory body on Disarmament studies, establishment of the Disarmament commission and the role of UN in the field of Disarmament, are treated in detail. Detailing comprehensive programme of Disarmament, nuclear arms race and Disarmament and nuclear weapon freeze the author argues the following. Non-aligned countries for their part held that a nuclear weapon freeze while not an end in itself, would constitute an effective measure for creating a favourable environment for the conduct of negotiation on the limitation of the nuclear arsenals. He also adds that the political declaration of the seventh conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries held at New Delhi in March 1983 had included a recommendation for a freeze on the development, production, stock piling and development of nuclear weapons. It is also stated that a freeze on nuclear weapon was also called in for in the New Delhi declaration of 28th January 1985 issued by the Heads of the state or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. In an envying manner the author narrates the question of prohibiting or restricting the use of conventional weapons, nuclear arms limitation, disarmament and related matters.
For the summary of Disarmament efforts made by the Non-aligned movement, the article written by Guijeto job and Mico Cusic¹ are of immense use. At the first Non-aligned summit meeting (Belgrade 1961), the three main documents were concerned with peace, Disarmament and aggression. The conference called upon great powers to conduct Disarmament talks under their auspices and conclude a treaty on general and complete Disarmament. Great realism has accrued over the years and it is now recognized that the total Disarmament must be sought in incremental stages with emphasis being placed on nuclear disarmament. Hence the later resolutions adopted at Non-aligned summit and other conferences have called for banning the nuclear tests, destroying existing stock piles, regional de-nuclearization and assurance from nuclear weapon powers that they would not use or threaten use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

The emphasis on nuclear disarmament was re-affirmed at the first session of Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly. The declaration noted: ....... effective measures of nuclear Disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority. To this end it is imperative to remove the threat of nuclear weapons, to that and reverse the nuclear arm race until the total elimination

of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems have been achieved and to prevent
the proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the same time other measures designed to
prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and to lesson the danger of the threat on use of
nuclear weapons should be taken.¹

At the Second Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General
Assembly, Indira Gandhi's and India's stand was explained by foreign Minister,
Narasimha Rao.² Indira Gandhi's message called for a binding convention on non-
use of nuclear weapons, freeze and stoppage of further production of nuclear
weapons, immediate suspension if all nuclear weapons tests, negotiations for
reaching a treaty on general and complete Disarmament and public education
programme highlighting the danger of nuclear war.

The other side of the coin is exposed by Nikhil Chakravaty.³ He points out
that the Second Special Session could not even prepare a document with the
consent of all and the Indian delegation had to disassociate itself from the report
prepared. Apart from that, he argues that, the Non-aligned countries could not
unite at this session. It shows the lack of purpose within the movement and the
victorious efforts by the great powers to sow dissensions in their ranks. This failure

¹ Final Document Adopted on 3 June 1978 in Strategic Analysis, New Delhi, Vol.VI,
² For text refer to Strategic Digest, New Delhi, Vol.XII, No.12, Dec. 1982.
³ Nikhil Chakravarty, Role of Non-Aligned, World Focus, New Delhi, No.28, April, 1982,
p.28.
according to him is not at all shocking for there has been a "conspicuous absence of any Non-aligned initiative in the last ten years on the question of Disarmament...... it has very little to contribute directly to the strategy of détente or its realization".

No Nuclear war has ever been fought. But there are so many instances of Nuclear threat in the past. In 1969 the Soviet Union threatened China during the Ussuri clashes. The United States used this threat in 1948 in Berlin crisis, in 1953 in the Korean war, Quemoy-Matsu crisis in 1958, Cuban Missile crisis in 1962 and fourth Arab-Israel war in 1973. But the incapacity of the nuclear weapons to achieve territorial gains, since the territory sought would be destroyed completely. This can be understood if we examine the report of the group of experts on a comprehensive study on Nuclear weapons made by the United Nations. Apart from innumerable casualties of human beings the nuclear blast would increase with collateral damage to essential services like water, electricity, communications, hospitals and so on. In addition to that the effects of the nuclear war may cause major epidemics and the possibility of unchangeable ecological changes.¹

The nuclear arms race anyhow is a threat to world peace. The multiplication of nuclear weapons increases the danger is being used by accident. The very existence of nuclear-weapons system, even under the most sophisticated command

and control procedures, obviously is a source of constant danger. Despite the most elaborate precaution, it is conceivable and technical malfunction on human failure, a misinterpreted incident or unauthorized action could trigger a nuclear disaster or nuclear war.\(^1\) The Non-aligned countries are aware of the fact that, greater efforts towards nuclear disarmament is a must. P.R. Chari\(^2\) in an article point out certain measures of Nuclear Disarmament. Firstly the Non-aligned movement should highlight the aspect of arms control and disarmament negotiations and pave the way friendly discussion with the super power to prevent war in future. Secondly UN study on relationship between Disarmament and Development,\(^3\) global expenditure on military R&D has been estimated at $35000 million in 1980, engaging five lakhs scientists and engineers comprising around 20 percent of the numbers available. The super powers account for 85 percent of the total expenditure. The Non-aligned countries must point out that the resources utilized for military purposes to be diverted to areas like new energy sources, pollution control, combating ecological degradation and so on that are useful to humanity. Thirdly the Non-aligned movement might make efforts to provide non-use guarantees to non-nuclear powers in clear terms from the western nuclear powers


\(^2\) P.R. Chari, "Non-Alignment and Nuclear Threat" in Verindra Grover, Op. Cit.,

\(^3\) UN Study on Disarmament And Development In Strategic Digest, Vol.XI, No.12, Dec. 1981 Paras 403 and 407.
for the benefit of world peace and stability. Fourthly cessation of nuclear testing is a must. The Non-aligned movement should press for comprehensive test ban treaty to reduce nuclear arms race. Fifthly nuclear arms race has so many dangers. The Non-aligned movement should pay more attention to the above mentioned according to the veteran writer.

The Meaning of Non-alignment, Causes of Non-alignment, Motives of Non-alignment, Role of Non-aligned movement in U.N.O. for peace and Disarmament from 1960 to 1987 and the importance given by Non-aligned countries for Economic liberation are discussed briefly in this thesis. The Non-aligned movement made the United Nations organisation a more powerful instrument for maintenance of International peace and Security and the promotion of justice in International relations. This aspect is highlighted in the first chapter of the thesis. Non-aligned in fact reduced International tensions and amplified the idea that arms control and disarmament is the only cure to the problem posed by War.

In the Second chapter of the thesis the evolution of the Non-aligned movement from Belgrade to Harare or its History of little over twenty five years are discussed and pointed out that one of the highly significant truth about NAM is its staunch commitment of strengthening the U.N.O. with remarkable ability from its very inception. All important aspects discussed by the Eight Summit of Non-aligned countries are stated in detailed manner.
At the first Non-aligned Summit meeting or the Belgrade Summit in 1961, the conference called upon great powers to conduct disarmament talks under UN auspices and conclude a treaty on "General and Complete" disarmament. Greater realism has accrued over years and it is now recognised that total disarmament must be sought in incremental stages with emphasis being placed on nuclear disarmament. Hence later resolutions adopted in all summits including Harare have called for banning of nuclear tests, destroying existing stock-piles, regional de-nuclearisation and assurance from nuclear weapon powers that they would not use or threaten use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

Disarmament ultimately depends on far-reaching changes in the political and economic structure of the world, leading to a removal of the basic causes of war. Proceeding towards the new international economic order and establishing socially just could alone remove those fundamental causes of conflict. How the framework and the design of a new international order was made at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, how it originated, the demand of the newly independent developing countries for a better ordering of international economy and trade relations and the dire need of the new international economic order, are properly analysed in the Third chapter.

The next chapter is devoted to the role of the Non-aligned nations in U.N.O. for peace and disarmament. How non-aligned countries became activities champions of peace and disarmament in U.N. is described in detail. It is also
stressed that disarmament would permit the creation of new International security regime based upon the Principles of co-operation and mutual accommodation between states to replace the present system which works so much to the disadvantage of weaker states.

Finest ideals of Non-aligned movement is a hope of humanity. Those ideals will become a reality in future. Non-aligned countries are not united by blood, birth or soil. They are bound by ideals and inspire them to play an active role in UN for peace and disarmament.