
UNIT 8 NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

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8.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the concept of non-alignment and analyse the factors that led to its emergence;
- trace the evolution and functioning of the Non-Aligned Movement; and
- examine the relevance of both non-alignment and the non-aligned movement in a Post Cold War as well as a post Soviet world.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'non-alignment' is used to describe the foreign policies of those states that refused to align with either of the two blocs led by the two Superpowers i.e. the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and instead, opted to pursue an independent course of action in international politics. The Non-Aligned Movement (N.A.M.) emerged when individual non-aligned states came together and coordinated their efforts on a common platform. It changed the nature of inter-state relations by enabling the newly independent developing countries to play a significant role in world affairs.

8.2 CONTEXT AND IMPERATIVES

Non-alignment emerged within the context of two simultaneous global developments — Afro-Asian resurgence and bipolar world politics.

The reawakening of the nations of Africa and Asia kindled in them the urge for freedom from colonial rule and infused a determination to shape their destinies on their own. This led to the development of a distinct idea of active and independent involvement in world affairs based on one's own perspectives of national and international interests. Therein evolved an independent stand on national and international issues amongst the newly emergent nations.

This Afro-Asian resurgence occurred at a time when the world was divided into two hostile camps, each representing two different ideologies and two socio-economic as well as political systems, and led by the U.S. and erstwhile U.S.S.R. respectively. Each aspired for greater spheres of influence through military alliances with other states. In this context, the independent position of the newly emergent states came to be viewed as non-alignment, as they refused to be allied with either bloc.

The impetus for the non-aligned approach stemmed from many sources. One of the foremost objectives of these states was economic development for which they needed resources in the form of economic assistance as well as increased trade. Non-alignment enabled them to have economic relations with all countries. The second imperative was the need for peace without which there could not be real development. A third source was that their need be secure from global threat perceptions emanating from Cold war politics. Other domestic imperatives also existed which varied from country to country. For example, in the case of India, its internal political plurality, its political processes, its historical role and geographical position were important contributing factors for the emergence of non-alignment.

8.3 THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Non-alignment means the refusal of states to take sides with one or the other of the two principal opposed groups of powers such as existed at the time of the cold war. Non-alignment can be defined as not entering into military alliances with any country, either of the Western bloc led by the U.S. or the communist bloc led by the U.S.S.R. It is an assertion of independence in foreign policy.

Some Western scholars have persistently confused non-alignment with isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralism and non-involvement. Non-alignment is not neutrality. Non-alignment is a political concept, whereas, neutrality is a legal concept. Unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not a law written into the Constitution of the state. Neutrality is a permanent feature of state policy, while non-alignment is not. Further, unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not negative, but is a positive concept. It stands for (a) an active role in world affairs and (b) friendship and cooperation with all countries. It consists of taking an independent position based on the merits of each issue, and, on the requirements of national interest. It is not directed against any ideology but seeks to promote peace and friendship in the world, irrespective of ideological differences.

Non-aligned nations continuously opposed the politics of Cold War confrontations. They underlined the necessity of building peace and "peace areas" in a world of clear bipolarism. Non-alignment was also not a policy based on opportunism which tried to gain advantage by playing one power against another.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What kind of historical situation led to the development of non-alignment?

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2) Which of the following statements are right or wrong. Mark (✓) or (×).

- a) The newly independent states chose the path of non-alignment because the consequences of world war-alliance building and armament production threatened these backward economy states with neo-imperialist control. ()
- b) The attitude of non-alignment is anti-imperialist in nature because it does not allow domination or control of any state from outside. ()
- c) Yugoslavia did not choose the path of non-alignment because it did not feel threatened by the hegemonic role being played by the Soviet Union. ()
- d) Non-alignment does not mean equidistance from the two power blocs and it is an attitude which asserts independence in world politics. ()

- e) Neutralism can be another name for non-alignment. ()
- f) Non-aligned group cannot be called a third bloc. ()

8.4 EVOLUTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The non-aligned movement evolved out of the concerted efforts of individual non-aligned states to build a common front against the superpower and neo-imperialist domination. Jawaharlal Nehru from India, Gamal Abdal Nassar from Egypt and Josip Broz Tito from Yugoslavia took the first step in building this movement. Among these first architects Nehru would be specially remembered. His early perception about the rise of neo-imperialism and the consequent insecurity that would be faced by the smaller states, made a major contribution towards building this movement. Nehru believed that the countries of Asia and Africa, should build up an alliance of solidarity to fight neo-imperialism. As a first step he tried to organise an Asian front in the forties. In 1947 he called an Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi. In the fifties as the states of Africa started gaining independence from colonial rule it became necessary to expand the base of this front. In April 1955, therefore, Nehru together with leaders of Indonesia, Burma, Sri Lanka and Pakistan convened an Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia. Both these Conferences highlight the political and economic insecurity that was threatening the newly independent states at the time. However, Bandung Conference failed to build a homogenous Asian and African front as a number of these States did not agree to conduct their foreign relations under the banner of anti-imperialism. They had either already joined the various Western military alliances or had closely identified their interests with that of the Western Powers. The rift between the two groups was visible at Bandung itself. In the post-Bandung years, thus, it became necessary to build up an identity for the non-aligned states on the basis of principles and not on the basis of region. The effort united these states with Yugoslavia which was similarly looking for a political identity in international affairs. The embryo of the later non-aligned conferences first came into being at Brioni, in Yugoslavia, in June 1956, where Tito conferred with Nehru and Nassar on the possibility of making real the unspoken alliance which bound them together. The efforts finally resulted in the convening of the first non-aligned conference at Belgrade in 1961.

Five basis were determined and applied, for countries to be members of the Non-aligned Movement. Only such countries as fulfilled these conditions were actually invited to the conference. There were :

- a) independent foreign policy, particularly in the context of Cold War politics;
- b) opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;
- c) should not be a member of any of the military blocs;
- d) should not have concluded any bilateral treaty with any of the two superpowers;
- e) should not have allowed military bases on its territory to a superpower, qualified for attendance at the Belgrade summit.

The NAM summit conferences from time to time, have discussed several issues and problems. At the first summit (Belgrade, 1961) 25 countries, who attended it, discussed the situation in Berlin, question of representation of People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Congo Crisis, imperialism as potential threat to world peace, and Apartheid. The Conference expressed full faith in the policy of peaceful co-existence. India was represented by Nehru.

The Cairo summit, held in 1964 was attended by 46 countries. The Indian delegation was led by Lal Bahadur Shastri. The conference emphasised the urgent need for disarmament, pleaded for peaceful settlement of all international disputes, urged member-governments not to recognise the white minority government in Rhodesia and reiterated the earlier stand of NAM against apartheid and colonialism. The demand for representation of People's China in the United Nations was also reiterated.

The third summit at Lusaka in 1970 (attended by 52 countries) called for withdrawal of foreign forces from Vietnam and urged the member-states to boycott Israel which was in occupation of certain neighbouring Arab countries territories. It requested governments of member-nations to intensify their struggle against Apartheid and as a part of the struggle, not to allow the fly over facility to the South African aircrafts. The summit resolved to increase economic cooperation. It rejected the proposal to establish a permanent secretariat of the Movement. The Indian delegation was led by Indira Gandhi.

There were signs of detente in Cold War Politics by the time the next summit met at Algiers (1973 attended by 75 countries). It welcomed easing of international tension, supported detente, and repeated NAM's known stand against imperialism and apartheid, and resolved to encourage economic, trade and technical cooperation amongst member-states. The conference demanded a change in the existing international economic order which violated the principle of equality and justice.

In 1976, the Colombo summit was attended by 85 countries. The U.N. General Assembly had given a call for a New International Economic Order in 1974. The NAM at Colombo not only gave whole-hearted support to this demand, but asked for a fundamental change in the world monetary system and form. It was proposed that the Indian ocean be declared a zone of peace.

As there was a caretaker government in India, the then Prime Minister Charan Singh decided to send his foreign minister to represent the country at the sixth summit at Havana (1979). The number of participant rose to 92. Pakistan was admitted to the Movement and Burma (a former member) left the NAM. The Cuban President Fidel Castro described the former U.S.S.R. as a natural friend of the Movement. The summit reiterated the well known position against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid. The summit resolved to support freedom struggle in South Africa and to stop oil supply to that country. As Egypt had resolved her differences with Israel, some of the anti-Israel countries sought suspension of Egypt. The summit merely discussed the proposal.

The Seventh Summit (due in 1982 at Baghdad) could not be held in time due to Iran-Iraq War. It was held at New Delhi in 1983 and attended by 101 countries. The New Delhi declaration sought to reiterate the known position of NAM on various issues. It hoped for any early end to the Iran-Iraq War and for liberation of Namibia. However, the conference failed to take any stand on Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviet occupation was openly supported by Vietnam, S. Yemen, Syria and Ethiopia. It was strongly opposed by Singapore, Nepal, Pakistan, Egypt and Zaire.

The Harare Conference (1986) adopted the Harare declaration and sought greater economic cooperation among its members and North-South cooperation for faster development in the South. The summit gave a call for new International Information and Communication Order to end the western monopoly over news disbursement. In view of likely retaliation by the apartheid regime of South Africa against Frontline countries who were applying sanctions, the NAM decided to set up a fund called Action for Resistance against Imperialism, Colonialism and Apartheid. In abbreviated form it came to be known as the AFRICA Fund.

The 1989 Belgrade Summit was the last one to be held before Yugoslavia disintegrated and at a time when Cold War was just ending. It gave a call against international terrorism, smuggling and drug trafficking. The principle of self-determination was reiterated particularly in the context of South Africa and her continued rule over Namibia.

The tenth conference at Djakarata in 1992 was the first assembly of NAM after the end of Cold War. The summit was at pains to explain that even after the collapse of Soviet Union and end of Cold War, there was utility of the movement as a forum of developing countries struggling against neo-colonialism and all forms of big-power interference. The main issue was preservation of NAM and strengthening its identity as an agency of rapid development for its members in a tension-free world.

The eleventh NAM Summit was held at Cartagena (Colombia) in October, 1995. India was represented by a high-power delegation led by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

The summit, second after the end of the Cold War, tried to find its role in the changed circumstances of a world without blocs. An effort was made by Pakistan, at the foreign ministers level, to persuade NAM to evolve a system in which bilateral disputes may be sought to be settled by the movement. This was a clever way of bringing Kashmir on the agenda of NAM. Pakistan did not succeed in its design. An important decision taken by the 113-member NAM summit was to give a call for general and universal disarmament. India won a spectacular victory in its lone battle against the monopoly of the nuclear power countries over atomic weapons. The NAM resolved to take the issue to the United Nations by moving a resolution for the complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. This endorsement of India's position gave encouragement to India's consistent stand against signing the discriminatory Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). The endorsement of India's position on NPT by NAM was all the more significant because 111 out of 113 members of NAM have already signed the NPT. They had earlier in 1995, voted at New York for indefinite extension of the NPT. Pakistan continued to favour a regional nuclear arrangement and did not share India's concern about discriminatory nature of the NPT. Pakistan's view was also accommodated in the final communique which urged states to conclude agreements for creation of nuclear weapon free zones, wherever they did not exist. Pending creation of such zones, Israel was called upon to renounce possession of nuclear weapons, to accede to NPT, and to promptly place all its nuclear abilities under full scope of International Atomic Energy safeguards. This summit also called for total and complete prohibition of the transfer of all nuclear-related equipment, information, material and facilities.

Check Your Progress 2

Note : i) Use the space below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) How did Jawaharlal Nehru contribute to the development of the Non-aligned Movement?

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8.5 GOALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NAM

A major goal of the Non-aligned Movement was to end colonialism. The conferences of the NAM continuously supported the national liberation movements and the organisations that led those movements were given the status of full members in these conferences. This support greatly facilitated the Decolonization process in Asia and Africa.

It also condemned racial discrimination and injustice and lent full support to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and Namibia. Today in both countries this obnoxious policy has ended with independence and majority rule.

A third area in which the NAM made a significant contribution was towards the preservation of peace and disarmament. Its espousal of peace, of peaceful co-existence and of human brotherhood, opposition to wars of any kind contributed to the lowering of Cold War tensions and expanded areas of peace in the world with less states joining military blocs. It also continuously strove for disarmament and for an end to the arms race stating that universal peace and security can be assumed only by general and complete disarmament, under effective international control. It underlined that the arms

race blocked scarce resources which ought to be used for socio-economic development. They first called for a permanent moratorium on nuclear testing and later for the conclusion of a treaty banning the development, production stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons.

Fourthly, the non-aligned states succeeded in altering the composition of the U.N. and consequently in changing the tenor of the interstate relation conducted through its organs. In the forties and fifties deliberations in the U.N. organs were entirely dominated by the super power and their associate states. The emergence of non-alignment has changed this situation. It has created not only a new voting majority in the General Assembly but also common platform from where the third world can espouse its cause. It is no longer possible to ignore this platform. Thus we see that non-alignment has facilitated third world's participation in world politics and in the process has democratized the international relations.

The fifty important contribution was with regard to economic equality. It was the NAM that called for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Despite their political sovereignty, the newly independent states remained economically unequal. They remained the same raw materials producing countries, which sold their commodities to the developed world at a lower price, and bought manufactured goods from them at a higher price. The tragedy was that they were and continue to be part of an oppressive economic system and that have to function within it. This makes them perpetually dependent on the developed North for capital goods, finance and technology. In order to end this economic exploitation, termed as neocolonialism, the NAM called for a restructuring of the international economic and monetary systems on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and cooperation.

Non-aligned Movement's struggle for economic justice has demonstrated how realistic it is to divide the world between the North and the South rather than between the East and the West. It has proved that what concerns the majority of humanity is not the choice between capitalism and communism but a choice between poverty and prosperity. Preachings of non-alignment has made the developed world realize, to some extent, that deprivation of the third world would some day affect adversely their prosperity too. This has, to a large extent, forced them to come to the negotiating table. Besides the general success in making third world's economic demands negotiable, non-alignment has won its battle for some specific issues also. For example, economic sovereignty over natural resources is now an accepted principle. Non-alignment has also succeeded in legitimizing the interventionist trade policy that the developing countries want to pursue. It has successfully turned world attention to the problem created by the role as played by multinationals, specially in the context of transfer of technology. It has also succeeded in pursuing the IMF to establish system of compensatory finance which help the developing states in overcoming their balance of payments difficulties.

In the cultural field the establishment of the Pool of News Agencies needs to be considered as an achievement. This is the first time in history that politically and economically weaker nations have been able to gather information and communicate with the outside world without the aid of the western communication system.

The most significant achievement of non-aligned movement lies in the fact that it has taught the developing world how to pursue independent economic development in spite of being a part of the world capitalist economic order which makes them dependent on the developed states for capital and technology.

Check Your Progress 3

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Which one of the following is not a pre-condition for the maintenance of peace that non-aligned movement emphasizes?
 - a) Dissolution of the military blocs.
 - b) Armament

- c) Avoidance of conflict between the super powers.
 - d) Democratisation of interstate relations.
- 2) Which of the following statements are correct?
- a) Political liberation is a kind of self-determination supported by Non-aligned Movement.
 - b) The non-aligned states ask for restructuring of the existing international economic order because colonial exploitation had made them unequal economic partners.
 - c) The Non-aligned Movement does not emphasize of the economic sovereignty of the developing countries.
 - d) Better deal in international trade is an economic demand put forward by the Non-aligned Movement.

8.6 NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT TODAY

8.6.1 The Debate

According to some scholars, Non-aligned Movement was the product of Cold War and bipolarism. Since the Cold War has ended and the Soviet Union has disintegrated, the NAM has lost its relevance. Whereas some others consider, NAM's work programme which was charted out earlier, has been accomplished. For instance, colonies have gained independence, apartheid has been dismantled, foreign bases have lost their significance, a modest beginning has been made in the nuclear arms reduction and more particularly when alliances have been disintegrating where is the importance for non-alignment? Still there are some others who think that Non-aligned Movement has to be disbanded because of its ineffective performance which became particularly evident after the recent Gulf Crisis.

These critics of non-alignment need to remember that although NAM had emerged as a new additional foreign policy choice in the years of Cold War and the bipolar world, its continued relevance had little to do with either of contexts. It is a mere coincidence that the policy originated and evolved at the time it did. While decolonisation was the central basis of the Non-aligned Movement, the Cold War—or rather the aversion of Cold War bipolarity—only helped the course that the Movement would take in the years to come.

It also needs to be remembered that the end of the Cold War has not made the essence of non-alignment irrelevant. The essence is the right to consider every issue on merit and the right to take whatever action is considered feasible, against what is regarded as a wrong, irrespective of whether that wrong is perpetuated by one power bloc in a unipolar world or by one or both the superpowers in a bipolar world. As Nehru stated in his address to the United Nations in New York “where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral”. To say it in another way, “taking the essence of non-alignment as the assertion of independence in foreign affairs, non-alignment does not become irrelevant at any time. What is perhaps being objected to is the name.”

8.6.2 The Relevance of Non-alignment

Today the world is no longer bipolar. But there is also no consensus about the nature of its configuration. Some writers feel that it is unipolar with the U.S. being the sole Super Power. Other writers argue that it is multipolar with the European Union, Japan, Russia and China being important centres of power together with the U.S. Still others have referred to it as “uni-cum-multipolar. Whatever the terminology, that may be used, there is no doubt that the U.S. and the G-7 powers together are in a position to work in concert and manage the rest of the world. There has arisen what has been called the new Northern concert of Powers. Within this global scenario, the practice of non-alignment becomes difficult because there is no longer the space for manoeuvring nor

does there exist the intermediary role. Nevertheless, there is a vital need for its practice, precisely because the developing countries of the South need to assert their independence and act together, if they are not to be totally overwhelmed by the North.

The imperatives for a revitalized Non-aligned Movement springs from many sources.

For the developing countries this multipolarity presents an uncertain, complex and gloomy environment in which there may not be many new opportunities, but increased vulnerability. At present there seems to be no change of the developing countries being able to exploit the differences that are seen among the major economic powers. Of course, the situation may change in the medium or long-term.

The Third World countries are also being pressurised to agree to all the demand of the developed world on the question of opening of markets and intellectual property rights, even though the fact of the matter is that trends towards protectionism are rising in the developed countries at the time when most of the developing countries are seriously reforming their economies and providing for market deregulation. So also is the impression being fostered that the Third World is somehow responsible for environmental pollution when actually it is the wanton wastage of resources by the Northern when actually it is the wanton wastage of resources by the Northern countries that has been the chief source of environmental degradation. The Northern governments are bent upon maintaining their unsustainable production and consumption systems. At the same time, they expect the Southern governments to make all the adjustments and sacrifices necessary to keep the environment safe for the North. Now the prospects of the North imposing sanctions and other punitive measures on the South in the name of environmental protection looms large before us.

Thirdly, there is a tendency on the part of the developed countries to impose stringent restrictions on the transfer of technology to the developing countries. The ever-growing list of items subjected to the so-called dual use restrictions effectively threatens to deprive the developing countries of the fruits of technological progress in many key areas. Such restrictions have come to cover everything from computers to machine tools, to specialised alloys to chemicals and even to medical equipment. They are imposed in the name of preventing proliferation even though the major responsibility for proliferation often rests with the very countries that are imposing the restrictions. This is extremely unfair.

Fourthly, the world continues to be divided into the nuclear 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The nuclear 'haves' seem to be determined to retain their arsenals of the nuclear weapons, albeit on a reduced scale and to prevent others from acquiring such weapons. The irony is that the targets of nuclear weapons are now the countries of the Third World as these are being looked upon as the main threat to the security of the nuclear-weapons powers. Instead of being discarded after the end of the Cold War, deterrence is being retained and honed for being used discriminately against the countries of the Third World. The countries of the Third World are now under tremendous pressure to desist from developing weapons of mass destruction and to reduce their alleged excessive military expenditure.

Fifthly, instead of revitalising multilateralism under the United Nations, the new alliance headed by the United States has successfully mounted an all out campaign to destroy the multilateral character of the world body to alter its agenda and to undermine its functioning to certain areas. Hard-core economic issues like the removal of poverty, developmental plans, trade, money, finance and debt have been taken off the agenda of the United Nations and transferred to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, over which they have greater control and which permit them to use cross-conditionalities and cross-relation. Organisation forming part of the UN family are being held in leash through denial of the finances due to them. And in the UN Security Council, it is the permanent members which, acting in close cooperation, take all the decisions affecting world peace and security.

There are a number of ad hoc discriminatory regimes aimed at preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These include regimes for chemical weapons (the Australian Club), nuclear weapons "London Supplier Group" (LSG) and Missiles (the Missile Technology Control Regimes, or MTCR). The lists of dual purpose

technologies, substances and equipment which cannot be exported to the countries of the Third World under these regimes are so extensive as to have the effect of freezing the technological and industrial development of the developing countries in those vital areas. It is also very difficult to judge whether the restrictions applied in any particular case are motivated by the commercial consideration of preventing the country concerned from developing competitive capacity or by the consideration of ensuring non-proliferation. These regimes have no sanction of international law. As they are outside the United Nations and their membership is restricted, they have the effect of undermining multilateralism.

All the Third World countries are facing today the threat of the disintegration of nation-states. The examples are Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Being sure of their own national integrity, which is underpinned by their military power or that of their allies and in view of their own relative political stability and economic prosperity, the countries of the new alliances have started espousing causes and championing principles aimed to encourage fissiparous tendencies in those countries of the Third World where the economic and political situation is far from stable. This may lead to further disintegration of nation-states; recently discovered enthusiasm of the new alliance for self determination use its political and economic leverage to interfere in the affairs of other states in the name of human rights and good governance and the sanctions that it has successfully sought for intervention in other countries on humanitarian grounds—are all pointers in this direction. Sovereignty, of late, has never been absolute, but now it is being subjected to further curtailment and abridgement.

Then, there is a trend at present in the field of trade to resort increasingly to unilateral and bilateral coercive measures as exemplified in the application of the Special and Super 301 of the US Trade and Competitiveness Act, to negotiate reciprocal access to markets and to use cross-retaliation. This practice has not been stopped even after signing the GATT Treaty at Marrakesh by 115 countries including America in April, 1994. Moreover, the attempt by the developed countries to raise new issues not directly linked to trade, such as labour standards, social conditions and environment at the recently concluded GATT Treaty clearly proves that the newly formed world trading system is not likely to serve any better the interests of the developing countries.

The above analysis shows that with the end of the Cold War, the threat to and pressure on the independence of the non-aligned countries have assumed new forms. The present negative trends in the world are contrary to the aims and objectives of the Non-aligned Movements for a just, equitable and democratic world order. None of the NAM countries or group of countries, however, big or rich they may be, can face these new realities alone. Hence, the countries of NAM must continue to stay and act together for common thought and action. But question is how to bell the cat? The answer is: the non-aligned countries can reverse the above negative trends by three important ways:

- a) reforming and strengthening the United Nations;
- b) encouraging South-South Cooperation; and
- c) consolidating the Movement through necessary reforms.

Thus the realities of current global politics make non-alignment equally relevant today for the developing countries of the world as it was during the Cold War period.

However, while Non-alignment continues to be relevant, the role of the Non-aligned Movement in current global affairs has been somewhat declining. The NAM could not first prevent the conflict between two of its members—Iraq and Kuwait and neither could it play an effective role in the subsequent Gulf crises. Nor could it halt the civil war in Yugoslavia, itself an important member.

One of the reasons for its inefficiency is that today the NAM is faced with serious internal problems. Some of these include the membership criteria which is too liberal and often violated, the lack of self discipline amongst its members, the weaknesses in the method of consensus and the absence of any mechanism for monitoring of global events.

Check Your Progress 4

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss the achievement of the Non-aligned Movement.

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2) Can the Non-aligned Movement serve an useful purpose in future?

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8.7 LET US SUM UP

Non-alignment emerged in the context of two global developments: the national liberation struggles of colonies and the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. leading to two military blocs and alliances. Despite political independence, the new states were economically underdeveloped and vulnerable to new imperialist pressures.

The term non-alignment denotes the perspective of states that wanted to remain outside this system of alliances in order to follow an independent course of action in external policy and relations. The imperatives for non-alignment sprang from economic, political, strategic and indigenous sources.

These states came together on a common platform and formed the Non-aligned Movement. It provided an important forum for the discussion of common problems facing the developing countries of the South and for arriving at Concerted Action to achieve common aims. It upholds principles which seek to promote political and economic justice in the international system. Its achievement were significant. There is debate about the relevance of non-alignment in a world without Cold War or bipolarism. But while the context of Cold War may have changed, the world remains divided into the rich and the poor nations. The developing countries which constitute three-fourth of the worlds population remain only on the periphery of the international system. The policy of non-aligned will remain valid until the system operates on the basis of genuine equality and reciprocity. There is an urgent need to reactivate the Non-aligned Movement in order to work concertedly for a more egalitarian world order.

8.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Willette, Peter, 1978: **The Non-Alignment Movement: The Origin of a Third World Alliance**, Popular Prakashan: Bombay.

A. Appadorai & Rajan M.S., 1985: **India's Foreign Policy and Relations.**

Bandopadhyaya, J., 1970 : **The Making of India's Foreign Policy: Determinants, Institutions, Processes, Personalities.**

Rajan, M.S., 1990: **Non-alignment and Non-aligned Movement.**

Rajan, M.S., 1990: **The Future of Non-alignment and Non-aligned Movement.**

8.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) a) Cold War rivalry encouraged United States to launch a world-wide battle against communism.
b) In this pursuit it tried to make the Asian states its political allies.
c) This threatened the freedom of those states.
d) To protect their freedom these states decided to become non-aligned.
- 2) a) ✓ b) ✓ c) × d) ✓ e) × f) ✓

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) a) First Nehru tried to form an Asian-African front by convening the Asian Relations Conference and the Asian-African Conference.
b) Later he endeavoured to make this a world-wide front by joining hands with the like-minded countries like Yugoslavia and others.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) b)
- 2) a) b) d)

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) The movement has facilitated decolonisation, increased the chances of securing peace, helped in democratising international relations, made the world recognise the problem of economic justice and has partially won the battle for economic rights; and subverted the cultural imperialism of the West.
- 2) **Yes.** Since economic division is, and will remain in future, as the most significant division among states, non-aligned movement would be required to perform the important task of fighting for the economic demands of the third world.