

India and the Emergence of Non-Alignment Movement: Challenges and Image



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Abstract

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) has lost its significance and importance with end of cold war from the international platform. Numerous scholars and policy makers believed that the international structure was poignant towards a enduring unipolar new world order. However, the last decade witnessed the appearance of new-fangled power-centers with the capability to streamline the world order into many power blocs. Nowadays, a few people believe in a Second Cold War begins. In spite of these changes many of widespread challenges faced by societies of the international forum and South Asia globally as well. Many new challenges have emerged frequently. The Global South does not have to reinvent the helm to efficiently agreement with the emerging new-fangled global realities and challenges. As the institutional structure, the NAM is immobile operational but in currents political state of affairs NAM, needs to be restructure, reform and reenergized.

Keywords: Non-Aligned Movement, Cold War, International politics, Global south, Asia, Africa.

Introduction

The end of cold war brought about a dramatic transformation in the political landscape of the world. The origin and development of Non-Alignment has been the most popular and influential development of post cold war time. It is presently being followed by nearly 2/3 of the several states which constitute the world community and has been one of the most spectacular and leading developments of the post war international relations. Emerging as a principle of the foreign policies of a small number of newly emerged sovereign independent states. It has come to develop into an active and the most popular movement of our time.

Meaning

Non-Alignment first used by "George Liska" the term non-alignment denotes different meaning to different people. The western scholars like "Hanse J.Mergenthau", George Liska and "Lawrence W.Marton" and others have preferred the term 'Neutrality' to 'Non-Alignment'.

'George Schwarzenbwerger' refers to a number of terms like 'Isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralization and non-involvement'. But each term have different meaning, "non-alignment is a policy of keeping out of alliances in general and military pact in particular"

Non-alignment movement took its birth way back in 1901 with the perspective vision and initiatives of te three prominent leaders of the developing world, first Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the P.M. of India, Abdul Naseer, the then president of Egypt and Marshall Tito, the then president of the Yugoslavia.

The policy of non-alignment is regarded as the brainchild of Nehru, who explained it ever before independence, in the national broadcast on 7th September 1946 as-

"We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to two world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an ever larger scale"

Thus, non-alignment as fundamental principles stands for:

1. No undue domination of great powers over the weaker states.
2. Democratization of the decision making process at international level and thereby making all forums participatory.

3. All forums of economic assistance should be free from political strings.
4. Global interdependence which is inevitable should not be hampered by protectionists attitude and
5. It is only through total disarmament that a new working peace system can be made a reality.

The sum and substance of these tenets is that non-alignment is not for or against any kind of strategy. On the contrary it has taken a holistic view on international society and suggested measures to remedy the situation.

It is in the favor of a collective and concerted approach to international problems rather than to have a fragmented perception and power oriented solution.

It is in favor of a collective and concerted approach to international problems rather than to have a fragmented perception and power oriented solution. There are some factors responsible for the adoption and developments of Non-Alignment movement are:

1. Nationalism
2. Anti-colonialism
3. Underdevelopment and Economic aid
4. Racial and Cultural aspects
5. Need of Peace for development

Thus, as the world celebrated the end of cold war and disappearance of the ideological political and military rivalry between Washington and Moscow, for decades, India had seen itself as the leader of third world, an idea that was itself a construct of the cold war.

The view was that the newly independent nation's emerging out of the shadow of decolonization could follow third way, one different from, capitalist west and socialist east. India believed that political unity within third world and collective economic bargaining with the advanced nations was necessary to improve the condition of the developing nations.

NAM includes the importance of solidarity with the recently decolonized nations, opposition to power politics and military alliances, democratization of international order, emphasis on genuine multilateralism and promotion of global collective security. However, Non-alignment has its predominant merits which have led most of the Afro-Asian countries to adopt it as their foreign policy. The chief merits are:

1. Preservation of world peace
2. Desire for independent foreign policy
3. Need for economic aid and development : (Nam can win the favour of both the blocs and receive economic assistance for their development from both. i.e. India received the maximum aid from Soviet Union as well as the USA)
India received up to 1962 \$2726 million from USSR
India received up to 1962 \$963 million from USA
4. Check on the big powers ambitions- the super power USSR, USA and now even China have embarked upon ambitious policies of economic domination of the world. Non-alignment notions

by keeping aloof rejected the imperialistic ambitions of all the superpowers.

5. Recession in Cold War: with the decision of non-allied countries to keep off from all kinds of military pacts with either of the big powers, the continuation of cold war became difficult.

According to J.W.Burton there are four reasons for the importance of the non-alignment.

1. Non –alignment is a special feature of the current world system.
2. Non – alignment reflects some of the features of a developing world community.
3. Non- alignment has inherent within it certain features which are developing amongst aligned states.
4. Non- alignment offers an alternative game and set of rules which is likely to be important (one nuclear deterrence is no longer credible)

Negative Elements

1. Opposition to cold war,
2. Opposition to military alliances,
3. Opposition to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism
4. The fear of war

This all shows that, negatively, it is opposed to the every instinct of domination and hegemony. Positively, it stands for 'independence of Action' and 'Right to freedom of Judgment' on all issues of international concerns. It is also aims to maintains good relation to promote national interest to build bridges of understanding, to reduce international tensions and promotion of world peace.

Today all these challenges are rolled before humanity in its negative as well as positive aspects.

Non-Alignment Movement: Through Conferences Belgrade Conference (1961)

In this conference 26 Afro-Asian nations and 1 European nation took part. In addition 3 Latin American countries also took part in the conference. As observers, the conference adopted a 27 point declaration.

It praised the freedom struggle being waged by Algeria, Tunisia, Congo etc. and also called for withdrawal of foreign forces.

Cairo Conference

The next meeting of the non-aligned group was held at Cairo in October 1964. This conference was attended by 47 countries and 11 observers from all over the world.

This conference was significant because the world has passed through the CUBAN missiles crisis, there was a conflict between India and China in 1962 which gave a staggering blow to Panchsheel, and J.L.Nehru te pioneer of the non-alignment movement had passed away. The Cairo conference adopted a declaration entitled "PROGRAMME FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPRATION"

Lusaka Conference (1970)

The third non-alignment summit was held at Lusaka(Zambia) in September 1970. The summit was attended by 54 countries send their observers. The conference produced a General Declaration and six major resolutions. The general declaration non-alignment and economic progress highlighted the

relevance of non-align in general and the superpowers in particular to resolve their conflicts through pacific methods alone. It also called upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied areas.

Algiers Conference (1973)

The fourth non-alignment summit was held at Algiers in 1973. The summit was attended by 76 members and observers from 9 countries. This summit adopted a very detailed set of political and economic resolutions and detailed on action programme for economic resolution. The message of Algiers conference was best summarized by "Indira Gandhi" in her speech of 6th September 1973, she said:

"We are responsible not to our individual countries alone but to peace and prosperity of the world non-aligned countries should speak for those whose number were large but whose were muted. Their claim to a just share of world's goods, right to life of dignity was indisputable and could not be resisted. Indian tradition help to look at the world as one and today science and technology open immense possibilities to transform this dream into reality. How much necessary it becomes to ensure that various hues of racialism and other forms of narrow mindedness do not come in the way of man's freedom"

Colombo Conference (1976)

The fifth non-alignment conference as held at Colombo in August 1976 and was attended by 86 countries. The conference was significant in a number of ways:

Firstly

It was the first conference to be held in the continent of Asia, the original home to non-alignment.

Secondly

The African Latin American dominated the conference.

Thirdly

It discussed the concept of collective self-reliance and emphasized the right of the developing countries to secure their legitimate economic rights in international transition through use of collative bargaining power.

Fourthly

It demanded abolition of veto system in the Security Council through amendment of the UN charter.

Fifthly

It gave a call for all establishment of a new and just international order.

Havana Conference (1979)

Havana (Cuba) in 1979, attended by 94 countries which constituted two third of the world community and represented more than half of the world population.

In this conference for the first time, the NAM was confronted with divisions. Some of the radical members like Cuba, Vietnam etc asserted that in view of spirit of détente and cooperation prevailing between the two blocs, the movement could not afford to maintain equidistance between two blocs and must itself ally with the socialist bloc which was committed to principles of anti imperialism and anti-colonialism.

On the other hand state like Singapore and Zaire insisted that the non-alignment should more closely to the western bloc because west along with its abundant resources and technological superiority could help the non-aligned countries to attain economic development and realize its aspirations. Another serious threat was posed to the unity of non-aligned movement by the demand of the Arab members who wanted Egypt to be expelled from the group for betraying the cause of the Arabs and agreeing to sign the Camp David Agreement with Israel. It emphasized the need of more vigorous steps to bridge the gap between rich and the poor nations and keeping the Indian ocean as a zone of peace.

New Delhi Summit (1983)

Held at New Delhi from 7-12 March in which 99 nations took part. two of the members could not take part in the summit. While St. Lucia did not turn up the seat of Kampuchea was kept vacant. In addition 20 countries were invited as observers and 19 countries and organization were invited as guest.

At the end of the summit a message was adopted in which an impassioned appeal was made to the great powers imploring them to desist from disastrous drift towards a nuclear conflict. Starting of a process of reducing military presence by big powers in the withdrawal of Israel from Palestine and other occupied territories; condemned USA for giving military and political support to Israel; demanded withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; and Kampuchea; called for support of the people of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa in their struggle; and urged the non-aligned nation to sort out their differences by peaceful means.

It impressed on the rich nations that the economic revival of the north was not possible without eco survival of the south and urged them to help in the restructuring of the existing international economic order.

Harare Summit (1986)

Eighth summit held at capital of Zimbabwe from 1-7 September 1986, and was attended by leaders of 101 countries. The summit adopted a concrete plan to strengthen the African frontline states facing destabilization due to action of racist Pretoria regime. Summit support to the Palestinian demand for a homeland and expressed solidarity with Cyprus summit condemned US aggression against Libya in April 1986 and its bid to eliminate Col. Gaddafi. Finally the summit reiterated its resolve to carry on struggle against imperialism. Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, apartheid racism, Zionism and all forms of foreign aggression occupation, domination, interference of hegemony.

Belgrade Summit (1989)

From 4-7 September 1989, in which leaders of 102 countries took part. in this summit non-aligned nations supported the four nation Paris initiative for international economic summit to insure higher growth rate for all nations.

NAN foreign Ministers Meet at Accra (Ghana) (1991)

In September 1991, the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries met at Ghana and adopted a

declaration "A world in Transition: From Diminishing Confrontation towards Increased Cooperation"

Jakarta Summit (1992): from 1-6 September 1992 which was attended by 108 members. Though there were differences among members over the complex Yugoslavia tangle, there was a virtual consensus on situation in Bosnia Herzegovina.

It impressed the need of south-south cooperation for development and insisted on reducing undue dependence on the North.

NAM Foreign Ministers Met at Cairo (1994)

In June 1994 amidst call to reform the movement to fit the post cold war the foreign ministers felt the NAM's role was political, while G-77 aimed at achieving parity between the developed and the developing countries in trade and other area of development.

Cartogena Summit (1995)

With 113 members was held in Colombia in October 1995. It called for the establishment of nuclear weapon free zones. They also demanded writing off of the debts of low-income developing countries.

NAM Foreign Ministers Meet (1997)

Met in New Delhi in April 1997. They adopted a final document and two special declarations on UN Security Council expansion and on Palestine including a nuclear weapons convention.

Durban Summit (1998)

12th summit discussed the issues of cross-border terrorism, global disarmament and relevance of non-aligned movement in the era of economic globalization. It also called for a dialogue to review the role of the IMF, World Bank, and WTO in the developing countries.

NAM Foreign Ministers Meet at Cartagena (Colombia) (2000)

13th summit in April 2000. In this summit 50 foreign ministers from 115 members countries deliberated on three main issues: Peace, Disarmament, and Development.

At this summit India proposed a comprehensive international convention against terrorism and demanded an immediate end to foreign military support to Taliban ruled Afghanistan. Another notable proposal mooted by India related to withdrawal of military ruled member states from NAM. This proposal was accepted and it was agreed that the final declaration will call for adoption of this clause during the next summit in Dhaka.

In short, the scope of the non-aligned movement has greatly grown over the years and it has become a strong constructive moral force in the international politics.

It has greatly contributed to international understanding and promotion of world peace. It has prompted collective self reliance among the non-aligned countries and helped them to retain sovereignty and authenticity.

India and NAM

If we see Indian position in the present changed and changing context of international relation in highly conducive to India continuing its policy of

non-alignment and to playing an active role as a non-aligned nation.

Cold war blocks no longer provoke misunderstanding or misrepresentation of India's action- for example:

1. The Indian votes in the UN on the Hungarian question (1956)
2. The Czechoslovak question (1968)
3. India's non-aligned role in the Korea (1950s)
4. Indo-China conflicts (1960s)
5. The recognition of the Heng Samrin regime in Cambodia (1980)
6. India's stand on Soviet military intervention into non-aligned Afghanistan (1979)

The all pervasive cold war propaganda of the western camp provoked allegations of India's "tilt" towards the Soviet Union and of course, the terrific propaganda of the western bloc countries of India having compromised its non-aligned stance by signing with the Soviet Union in August 1971, "a treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" in the context of the looming war with Pakistan over India's support for the liberation of the people of the former East Pakistan.

But, the truth of the matter was that the Soviet Union used to follow certain foreign policies parallel to those of India and other nonaligned countries such as on colonialism, racialism, the NAM support for the eco development of the developing countries, which was disliked by the western camp because of its ideological and power struggle, and also because India was the pioneering country.

Relevance of Non-Alignment Movement

Today, the question of relevance of non-aligned movement has become a subject matter of great academic discussions in international arena and the recent 14th summit held in Havana from 15th to 17th September 2006 has opened up the debate once more.

Today, we are living in an altogether new world the end of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, 15 new republics in place of Soviet Union, A United Germany and a new Europe as a socio-economic and political entity and because of these new developments, some people have started arguing that non alignment, which was the product of cold war and bipolarism should be disbanded as the cold war is ended and the Soviet Union is no more and non alignment lost its relevance.

However, though it is true that non-alignment was a child of cold war but during the five decades of its existence, it has acquired a life of its own and should not be defined solely in terms of cold war politics. It has assumed dynamism of its own and has become pre-occupied with third world issues other than purely cold war super power rivalry and confrontation.

According to some other scholars, its task has, by and large, been accomplished, for instance colonies have gained independence, apartheid is being dismantled the cold war is ended, foreign bases are losing relevance and when alliances are disintegrating there is no more for non-alignment.

Nations be supposed to understand that the basic objective of non-alignment in both sides as a

national policy of a large numeral of states and as a global movement has been the insolvency of economic imperialism to safe and sound economic expansion and progress. as well, there are a lots of issues which has to take up in the imminent time, like the democratization of international relations, security for small and developing nations, disarmament collective measures for achieving economic world order, vague the failing terms of trade, the north-south dialogue, human rights issues, environmental issues, boarder disputes, drug and human trafficking, International terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, new international economic order, new information and technological international order etc.

Secondly, those people who think there is no requirement of non-alignment seeing as alliances are losing their significance should keep in mind that in spite of several changes in the 350 years mature independent state structure including the most recent reevaluating institution like NAM. Still the organizational system of non-alignment movement has consistently maintained several reputational features.

Hegemony of super power nations and the opposition of the overpowering preponderance states towards the hegemony. Hence, to the question comes in mind that the non-alignment is against whom? The brief answer is against the hegemonies who ever dominating the world. This reflection of ethos is quite visible in the recent 14th summit declaration- the 92 page NAM political declaration responded strongly against the unipolar hegemony of the USA. It called for the defence of multilateralism and the principles of the UN charter. Moreover, the declaration signaled the determination of NAM members (i.e. 1/3 of the UN)-

“Remain United, firm and to shoulder a greater level of criticism”

Further, the harmonizing of global political constraints with domestic compulsions is actually the challenge that NAM is always called upon to tackle an in the present world it has become even more so.

Moreover, the importance of NAM or for the matter other such groupings as the commonwealth and the G-77 should be measured in terms of not merely what they actually achieve but what they are potentially capable of achieving in building bridges. Here, in the relevance of NAM in today's stratified world.

Moreover, as previously mentioned, in the domain of multilateral economic cooperation, NAM can pave the way for the joint negotiation strategy at the WTO and other such global economic for a. there is no escaping the truth that some sort of global trade unionism is necessary to deal with the attitudes of a few global bullies. The 116 members' strong NAM can play that role quite well. Moreover, the adoption of historic approach to the question of peace makes this policy even more relevant today.

There are numerous scholars who believe that non alignment be supposed to be disbanded because of its present performance, it is not as dynamic as it was in the past and as in post cold war period. The NAM characterized by slow response to

ongoing dynamics profound and rapid changes. On the global sight to mention example we can see NAM's unfortunate response to contemporary gulf crisis. Thought, it can't be denied that it suffers from several defects. To illustrate it is not properly institutionalized and so lacks particular ideology. Moreover, all the member countries pursue disparate policies. Further, no, solidarity is seen among the member countries.

However, any of international organizations do not revolve out to be irrelevant merely because they have defects or weaknesses. The pronouncement about the relevance and rationale of quite old organizations should not be taken in quickness, since everything changes around us. Consequently, we should not have subsequent view about the relevance of non-alignment merely because of its unfortunate response, immediately as we do not have about UNO as a organization.

Even as delivering the Indira Gandhi Memorial Lecture to the associating of Indian diplomats, former president late R.Venkataraman rightly remarked in this context that:

“Non-alignment is not an “ism”. It cannot become outdated any more than common sence can become outdated. The cold war has ended. That does not make the UNO charter irrelevant. Non align countries represent the will add voice of 3/4th of mankind. No nation, no group of nations can disregard the NAM. There must be something to it for China to seek membership and Germany to get observer status of non-alignment. From the fifties thought to the eighties, NAM spearheaded the struggle against the injustices and inequities of the current decade and of the emerging 21st century.

As an worldwide movement NAM and as institution NAM might have its inadequacy or it may not be performing the responsibility assigned to it, other hand NAM as a foreign policy alternative, as declaration of independence in global affairs, has forever remained, immobile remains and will always remain applicable, significant and relevant.

Aim of the Study

The majority of the western world, from the beginning of the NAM, viewed this organization and its program with a sense of doubt and pessimism. Western world, with no reasons, supposed that the NAM was a pro-Soviet organization and quantity of actors considered NAM was intransigent. This paper is written by means of secondary data and fundamental aim of the meticulous paper is Firstly, to surveys the theoretical and practical problems faced by NAM and secondly, to explores the options of reshaping, reforming and transforming NAM into a strong, unifying and well built institution.

Literature Survey

It is a extensively thought that the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was extremely relevant for India and its foreign policy benefit during the bipolar world era of the Cold War. Since 1990s, it has lost its relevance in a unipolar international order. It is factual that NAM played significant role throughout the Cold War years and numerous books, research and surveys were done on this

particular dynamics of world particularly on Asia with special focus on South Asian circumstances. the majority of the accessible literature focuses on policy of India's support on decolonization, end to apartheid, global nuclear disarmament, ushering in of latest international economic and information orders, etc. But what is usually unobserved in numerous studies is the fact that NAM was more or less irrelevant for India in terms of helping to defend and endorse its security and welfare – the major criterion by which the efficacy of a multilateral group should be measured. Lastly, At the closing stages author consulted several study resources, in the form of books /reports/survey/internet links etc. all are mentioned as reference.

Conclusion

There is no forum today in the world that could boldly raise the voice of sanity and conscience against penetration of human miseries on the innocent civilian of the war ravaged countries like Iraq, Iran, Lebanon and Yugoslavia.

The urgent need is sought today NAM should care out a niche for itself an action programme that is aimed at saving the world from the dangers of collapsing into highly unequal order thereby pushing the have notes. The dire necessity is to make it more vibrant to revitalize it to meet the new challenges. The call for the dissolution of the Non-Aligned Movement gained currency with the end of the Cold War. The reality, however, was that some of the principal objectives of the organization became irrelevant even before the Cold War ended. The end of the Cold War contributed to the perception that the organization has been rendered irrelevant. This paper argues that there is a need for the movement to continue due to the unresolved issues that still haunt the Third World states, the fact that these states still need institutional support to effectively operate within an international order that is dominated by powerful Western interests, and the reality that the international system is evolving and may very well end up in a multipolar world.

Moreover scholars as well argue that, in progression of continuation and for effectiveness, the organization be supposed to be reshaped and reformed. Present paper suggests few most important changes: emblematic changes, organizational changes, and policy changes. as the categorization of "Non-Alignment" is a misnomer, the given name of the association ought to be changed. Organization should give attention to setting up a permanent secretariat in any of the creative member states from Asia or else Africa.

In addition to policy the contemporary political and economic prominence should prolong. as well, the reshaped and transformed institution

possibly will hold on to the notion of non-alignment the same as one of its guiding doctrine, except be keen to collaborate with the Western economies. In today's times global economic movements must endeavor to turn into self-governing throughout mechanisms to endorse South–South collaboration and control over natural resources within the South Asian region. The wealthy and ingenious states of the region should be encouraged and strongly motivate to invest inside the member states. The movement should also strongly give thought about setting up a southern Asian or African development bank to encourage and endorse financial and economic growth within the region, which leads to entire region towards the economic development.

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