



**ROLE OF INDIA IN NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**  
**A SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE  
AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
**MASTER OF LIBRARY SCIENCE**

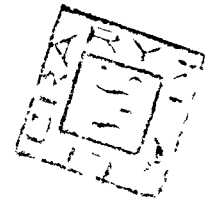
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BY  
**DEVENDER KUMAR GUPTA**

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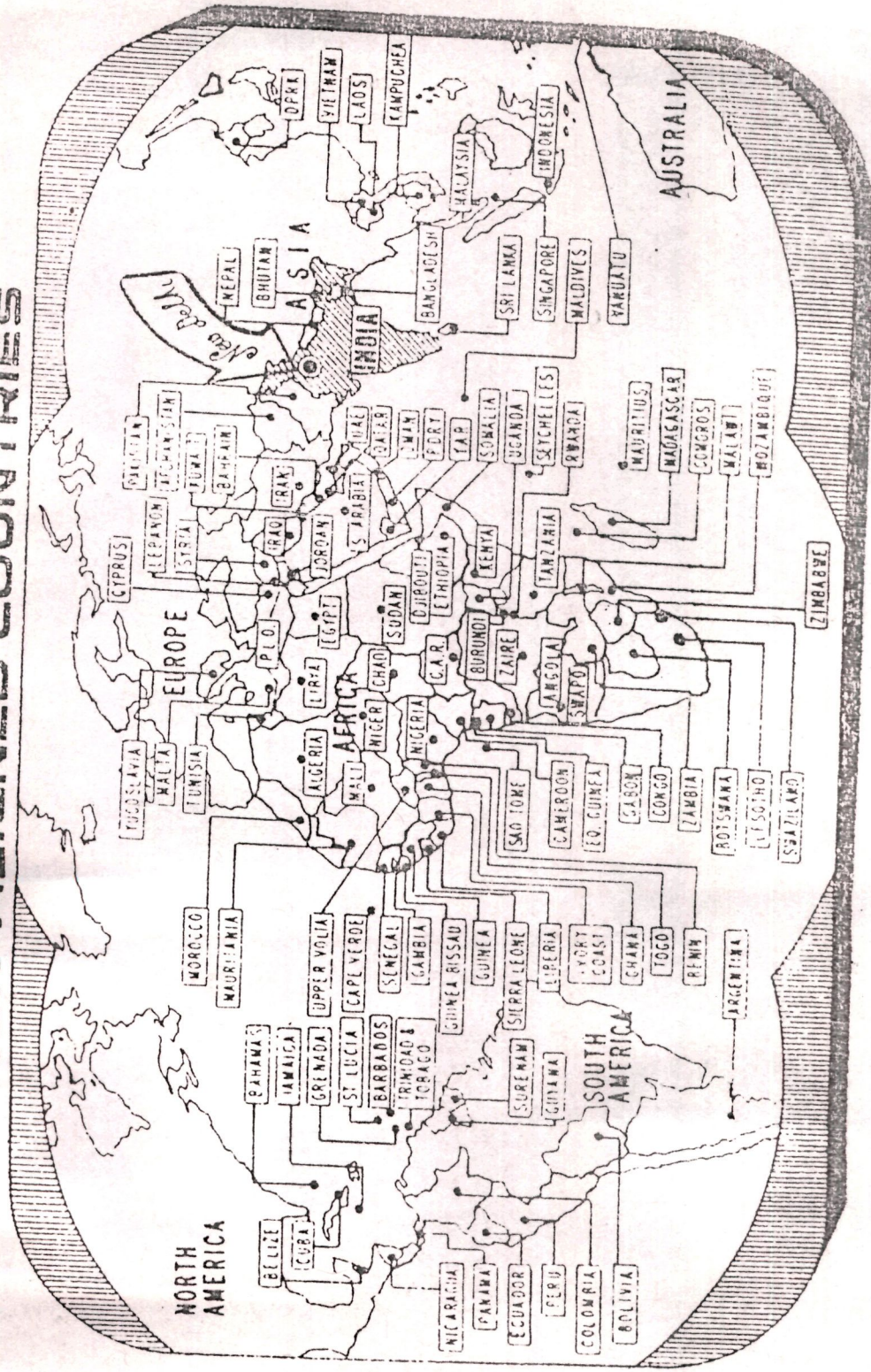
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This is to certify that the M.Lib.Sc.  
dissertation of Mr. Devender Kumar Gupta on  
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s. Husain  
( Shabbat Husain )  
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Dedicated to  
My Loving Parents  
Who have always been a  
Source of Inspiration for me

# NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES



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## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

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No account of thanks can suffice for my parents & brothers blessing which they bestowed upon me, without which this work had never been completed.

(Devender Kumar Gupta)

### SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

India's role in Non-Alignment can hardly be overemphasised. The present work is intended to bring at one place, in the form of annotations, all the significant literature that is available in the field. The bibliography though selective in nature, covers almost all the aspects of Non-alignment.

This bibliography is expected to be useful to all those who have some interest in the field of non-alignment.

### SCOPE AND SOURCES OF COMPILATION:

The bibliography comprising 255 entries is fairly representative of the subject. While starting this venture, a general survey of the literature available in important Libraries viz. Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, Sapru House Library, New Delhi and J.N.U. Library, New Delhi was made. Out of the large number of periodicals covering this field, only important ones which are usually cited by authorities on the subject, were selected for the purpose. A list of these periodicals alongwith the abbreviations used is given in the beginning of Part-II.

### STANDARD FOLLOWED:

As far as possible the Indian standard recommended for bibliographical references (IS: 2381-1963) has been followed. After a thorough literature search, entries were



recorded on 7" x 5" cards, which were assigned subject headings and finally arranged alphabetically. Each entry contains an informative abstract giving the essential information about the article documented.

ARRANGEMENT:

Efforts have been made to arrange the entries under the Co-extensive subject headings. For this purpose a comprehensive list of subject headings was compiled. Although there is always scope of difference of opinion on any issue, the list of subject heading will generally be found following a logical helpful sequence. For example all entries on subjects like India's role of NAM Conferences were brought together, as shown below:

Example-1

NON-ALIGNMENT, ROLE, INDIA  
 INDIRA  
 NEHRU  
 RAJIV

Example-2

NON-ALIGNMENT, SUMMIT CONFERENCE, ALGIERS  
 BANDUNG  
 BELGRADE  
 COLOMBO  
 DELHI  
 HARARE  
 HAVANA  
 LUSAKA

Entries in bibliographical parts have been arranged alphabetically according to their subject. Under the specific subject heading, the entries were arranged alphabetically by author. The entries are serially numbered to facilitate location of an item through Indexes given in Part-III. Each bibliographical entry contains following items of information as per ISI:-

- a) Serial number
- b) Name of author/authors
- c) A full stop (.)
- d) Title of article including sub-title and alternative title, if any
- e) A full stop (.)
- f) Title of periodicals, underlined
- g) A full stop (.)
- h) Volume number
- i) A comma (,)
- j) Issue number
- k) A semi colon (;)
- l) Year
- m) A Coma (,)
- n) month
- o) A semi colon (;)
- p) Inclusive pages of the articles
- q) Full stop (.)

(v)

SPECIMEN ENTRY:

176. ANAND KUMAR (T). Non-Alignment - a growing force.

Modern Review. 142, 5; 1977, Nov; 295-8.

AUTHOR INDEX:

To make this bibliography more helpful, all the authors in the index are arranged alphabetically by their Surname followed by location i.e. entry number.

TITLE INDEX:

Title Index is also given to ease consultation. All entries are arranged alphabetically along with entry numbers.

...

**PART ONE**  
**INTRODUCTION**

I N T R O D U C T I O NMEANING OF NON-ALIGNMENT:

The term non-alignment denotes different meanings to different people. The Western Scholars like Hans J. Morgenthau, George Liska, Lawrence W. Marton and others have preferred the term 'neutralism' to 'non-alignment'. Without going into the polemic of the meaning of this term, non-alignment is defined as 'a policy of keeping out alliances in general and military pacts in particular. The term is very close to neutralism, since the basic object of the two is 'non-involvement in Cold War' in particular, and in actual war in general.

Some scholars have used these two terms interchangeably, but non-alignment has broader meanings. It means that a nation following such a policy need not be neutral under all circumstances. It can participate actively in world affairs under exceptional circumstances. Political neutrality means keeping away from a particular issue while non-alignment means the same thing with a difference. The non-alignment also aims at keeping away but it keeps away not from a particular conflict or issue but from a containing international situation - the Cold War. Since military alliances constitute an important feature of Cold War, non-alignment naturally insists on keeping away from these alliances.

### ORIGIN OF NON-ALIGNMENT

The non-aligned movement arose from the struggle of nations including India for freedom and independence against Colonialism, Imperialism and Fascism. Indeed one may say that the acceptance of the non-alignment arose logically from the struggles and storms of Indian nationalist movement which was opposed not only to Colonialism and Imperialism but to Facism and Nazism as well and indeed to all forms of dominations.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru propounded for the first time the policy of non-alignment on 7 September 1946. He declared:

"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 world wars and which may again lead to disasters to even vaster scale".

India was still five months away from freedom when the Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi from March 23 to April 2, 1947. The Conference was attended by 28 countries and representatives of some republics of the Soviet Union. The observers from the UN and the Arab League

were also there. At the Asian Relations Conference, Nehru declared:

"For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in Western Courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be play things of others".

The year 1947 was one of great uncertainty. Newly independent India was in no position to decide on a definite foreign policy course. Stalin's Russia was not adored much by the nationalist leaders of Colonies though it stood committed to the freedom of Colonies. As for America Nehru had already presaged its emergence as an imperialist power on the ruins of the nineteenth century empires. He knew that Washington would be guided by the British Foreign Office on Indian affairs.

#### NEHRU'S FAITH IN SOCIALISM:

In spite of all this, his faith in a brave new world of Socialism stood firm. In a resolution which he moved in the constituent Assembly formed in December 1946, on eventual goal of an "independent sovereign republic", Nehru reiterated his faith in Socialism and a Socialist form of Society. He said:

"I hope India will stand for Socialism and that India will go towards a constitution of Socialist State and I do believe that the whole world will have to go that way. What form of Socialism, again, is another matter".

His address at the Asian Conference reflected the hope that the newly independent nations would by and large opt for Socialism of some kind and follow an independent foreign policy. This was called the Nehru Line then and not non-alignment. Pakistan did not opt for this. But Burma and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) did.

Another Conference was held in Delhi in 1949 in connection with events in Indonesia. Notwithstanding the opposition of the imperialist powers, the Delhi Conference mooted the idea of an Afro-Asian group of mutual consultations for their conference. Thus came into being an Afro-Asian group in the UN, with V.K. Krishna Menon as its main spokesman. The Afro-Asian group at the UN began to take active part in global affairs in defence of peace.

#### BANDUNG CONFERENCE:

These conferences were preludes to the Bandung Conference. In a note to the leaders before Bandung, Nehru suggested that:



The whole object should be to create an atmosphere of cooperation, and to put Asia and Africa more in the world picture since the old balance no longer holds good".

In the meantime America was taking the world along a perilous path. By the end of 1949, NATO was created and Warsaw Pact became a reality. There was tension over Berlin. The Baghdad Pact came into being and Manila Pact was being mooted. For India, US Plan to arm Pakistan in order to create a power balance on the subcontinent was perhaps the proverbial straw on the Camel's back.

Nehru was worried about the new weapons of mass destruction. He told the Lok Sabha on April 2, 1954:

"A new weapon of unprecedented power is being tested, unleashing its massive power, as a weapon of war. We know that its use threatens the existence of man's civilization".

Peace became one of his supreme concerns. It was against this background that the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian nations was held.

The Bandung Conference; which opened on April 18, 1955 was attended by 29 countries of Asia and Africa and

was one of the greatest Milestones in the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa. It brought the peoples of Asia and Africa for the first time on a common platform and laid down the foundations of the unity of the two continents, which is still a vital factor in international relations.

PANCHSHEELA:

The Conference adopted a declaration on promotion of World peace and Cooperation (Panchsheela) which was based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence which were enshrined in the preamble of the agreement of trade ties between Tibet and India in April 1954 Indo-China agreement.

The Conference denounced racism and called for elimination of all vestiges of racism in Asia and African countries. The participants condemned atomic and the nuclear war weapons, urging a ban on these monstrous devices of mass annihilation and expressed their support for disarmament. The declaration on World Peace and Cooperation stressed that all countries must display tolerance and live in peace with each other as good

neighbours and develop friendly cooperation on the basis of principles as follows:

- (i) respect for basic human rights and the aims and principles of the Un Charter;
- (ii) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries;
- (iii) recognition of equal rights of all races, and equality of all nations, big and small;
- (iv) respect for the right of every country to individual and collectiv<sup>e</sup> defence in conformity with the UN Charter;
- (v) refraining from intervention and interference in the internal affairs of another country;
- (vi) (a) refraining from the use of agreements on collective defence for the private interests of any of the great powers;  
(b) refraining on the part of any country from bringing pressure to bear on other countries;
- (vii) refraining from acts or threat of aggression, or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;
- (viii) settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiations, recognition, arbitration or legal settlements;

- (ix) assistance to mutual interests and cooperation;
- (x) respect for justice and international commitments.

The concept of nonalignment was further developed during the meeting of President Josip Broz Tito and Gamal Abdel Nasser and Nehru had on the Island of Brioni (Yugoslavia) in July 1956.

At their historical meeting on Brioni in 1956, Tito Nasser and Nehru fully endorsed the principles of coexistence approved at the conference of African and Asian countries at Bandung in 1955. The meeting of Tito, Nasser and Nehru, who were later joined by Sukarno, Nkrumah and others prepared the ground for the successful work of the First Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries. Their meeting did not have a regional character, but represented an initiative of global significance, an appeal for the union of independent, countries outside blocs with a view to resisting and opposing the division of the world into military political blocs and the Cold War and building new international relations founded on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and tenets of active peaceful existence.

During the fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in 1960. Nehru, Titó, Nasser, Sakarno and Nkrumah met and addressed on behalf of the non-aligned countries, a joint appeal to the General Assembly. The appeal called on great powers to restore broken contacts and to endeavour to solve their disputes and international problems by peaceful means.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

##### (i) BELGRADE CONFERENCE (1961):

However, non-alignment as an international group emerged at the Belgrade Conference of September 1961. In this Conference 25 Afro-Asian Nations and one 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. Some of the important feature of the declaration were that it made an appeal to the Super powers to preserve and protect international peace and condemned all manifestations of Colonialism and imperialism. It demanded freedom for all

Colonial people and condemned the policy of racialism being practised in certain parts of the world. It praised the freedom struggles being waged by Algeria, Tunisia, Angola, Congo etc. and called for withdrawal of foreign forces. The Conference also made appeal for complete disarmament. The principles greatly appealed to the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa and they joined the movement.

(ii) CAIRO CONFERENCE (1964):

The next meeting of the non-aligned group was held at Cairo in October 1964. This Conference was attended by 47 countries and eleven observers from all over the world. This Conference was significant because since the last non-aligned meet at Belgrade important developments had taken place.

The world had passed through Cuban missile crisis; there was conflict between India and China in 1962 which gave a staggering blow to Panchsheel; and Jawaharlal Nehru the pioneer of the Non-aligned had passed away. The Cairo Conference adopted a Declaration entitled 'Programme for peace and International Cooperation'. The declaration

asserted that peace could be strengthened only if principles of universal freedom equality and justice were observed and imperialism and Colonialism were abolished. It laid emphasis on the principle of peace coexistence and insisted on the settlement of all international disputes through peaceful means. The principles emphasised by the Cairo Declaration were non-interference in the internal affairs of other states support to armed struggle of Colonial people against Colonial powers who were suppressing their natural aspiration and full cooperation by the developed countries to the developing countries in the economic sphere.

(iii) LUSAKA CONFERENCE (1970):

The Lusaka Conference was held six years after Cairo. Global events were not in favour of the movement. The war with Pakistan in 1965 had created new problems for India, and there were greater divisions within the non-aligned movement because of Chinese and US machinations. The Vietnam War was on and China was throwing feelers towards the USA after the "cultural revolution". There was confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. Sukarno was no more on the scene in Indonesia. West Asia was in disarray

after the Israeli aggression of 1967. The only positive feature of the times was the thaw in Europe between the West and the East.

A consultative meeting of the representatives of the non-aligned countries was held at Belgrade in July 1969 in preparation for the Lusaka Summit. Another meeting was held in New York by the UN representatives of the non-aligned countries in 1969. From April 13-17, 1970 a preparatory meeting of the foreign ministers of 51 non-aligned countries was held at Dares-Salam to finalise the arrangements for the Summit.

India was represented at Lusaka by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sri Lanka by Srimavo Bhandaranaike. President Tito of Yugoslavia the last of three surviving founding fathers of the non-aligned movement was still around to guide the participants. The Summit which was attended by 53 members and 12 observers, adopted two declarations: 'Declaration on Peace and Independence, Development, Cooperation and Democratisation of International Relations', and another declaration which laid down guidelines for mutual economic Cooperation.



The first declaration called on the non-aligned to strengthen their solidarity, to continue their struggle against military alliances for equality in international relations, for disarmament, for structural changes in the global economy to liquidate colonialism and racial discrimination, to strengthen the UN systems and advance mutual cooperation. In separate resolutions, the non-aligned condemned the Israeli aggression in West Asia, the US aggression on Vietnam and Cambodia and demanded decolonisation of Portuguese Colonies in Africa.

(iv) ALGIERS CONFERENCE (1973):

The Algiers Summit (September 1973) took the movement further along the radical path. It was held against a background of positive and negative factors. Detente had come to Europe. SALT 1 was signed. China had moved closer to USA. A new country had emerged - Bangladesh. Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissu had won freedom, America had managed to overthrow the regime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia and instal the puppet regime of Lon Nol. The American war in Vietnam ended in a humiliating defeat for the super power. President Nixon of the USA had visited China and UCSR and detente seemed to be holding firm. The Paris agreement on Vietnam was signed in June 1973.

Before the Algiers Summit, a consultative meeting of the UN representatives of 55 non-aligned countries was held at New York in September 1971. In August 1972, a ministerial conference of foreign ministers of 59 non-aligned countries was held at Georgetown to discuss the agenda for the fourth summit. The prolonged preparations helped the Algiers Summit to register significance advances. It was attended by 73 full members and nine observers.

The Algiers Summit became a major land-mark in the movements progress. It issued an Action Programme of Economic Development which was comprehensive. Separate resolutions were adopted on West Asia, apartheid, Namibia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Spanish Sahara etc. It was at Algiers that the demand for a new international economic order and a new information order was taken up. The economic sections of the declaration were significant in the sense that it made certain specific demands on both the capitalist and socialist countries.

(v) COLOMBO CONFERENCE (1976):

The fifth summit of the non-aligned at Colombo (1976) was also memorable in many ways. It took place at

a time when America was rocked by convulsions. The water-gate scandal preoccupied the American Administration and the American people. Detente still held firmly in Europe. At the United Nations the non-aligned had already managed to make a declaration in favour of a New International Economic Order. Of course, the global economic situation was growing worse with the perpetuation of oil and energy crisis. The debt burdens and the new diversion of resources for oil import made the position of the non-aligned nations indeed precarious. However, there was a sense of satisfaction that they were on the right direction.

Prior to the Colombo meeting a ministerial conference of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned nations was held in Lima in August, 1975. The Colombo Summit was attended by 82 full members and nine observers. Seven guests were also present there.

The political declaration of Colombo covered so many issues that it made about 170 points. It said:

The Conference emphasised that the joint activities of the non-aligned countries constitute an essential

requirement for their successful participation in the world affairs as well as for promoting mutual cooperation.'

A Coordinating Bureau of 25 members was created. The question of converting the Indian Ocean into a peace zone was one of the highlights of the Colombo meeting. The non-aligned also made progress on establishing a Non-aligned News Agencies Pool.

(vi) HAVANA CONFERENCE (1979):

The Havana Summit (1979) is also memorable because it was held in a country which was not only revolutionary but also highly ostracised by the United States, its neighbours. Washington was certainly not pleased with the choice of venue nor with the prospect of Fidel Castro being the Chairman of the movement till the next Summit. The Havana Summit was preceded by a series of meetings. An extraordinary meeting of foreign ministers and the UN representatives of 84 non-aligned nations was held in July 1978 attended by 85 non-aligned countries. Subsequently two more such meetings were held to make final arrangements for the sixth Summit, which was attended by 92 countries, 20 observers and 19 guests.

The Chinese and American fear was that the radicals in the non-aligned movement would dominate the Havana Summit. Efforts were made by the USA to have its proxies to oppose the deliberations. The Havana Summit was, therefore, Controversial and one remembers the controversy over the usage of natural ally in respect of the Soviet Union.

These were indeed unfortunate developments as also the efforts to divide the non-aligned on the question of Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. America came out with one of those propaganda stories about the presence of Soviet troops in brigade strength in Cuba. This was followed by military manoeuvres and naval exercises in the Caribbean and the Cuban shores in a provocative manner and efforts were made to have the Summit postponed. But Havana remains important to the history of the non-aligned.

The Declaration issued at the end of the Summit condemned the hegemonic politics of the super powers and gave a call for dissolving military alliances and military bases. It emphasised the need of more vigorous steps to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor nations and



Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the outgoing Chairman Dr Fidel Castro Ruz, President of Cuba, Mr. Natwar Singh, Secretary-General of NAM, and delegates to the 7th NAM Summit paying respect to the National Anthem of India at Vigyan Bhavan New Delhi, on 7 March 1983

keeping the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. It also gave call for the strengthening of non-aligned movement.

(vii) NEW DELHI CONFERENCE (1983):

The Seventh non-aligned meet was held at New Delhi from 7-12 March 1983 which was attended by 101 members nations. In addition 15 countries were invited as observers and 26 countries and organisations as quest. There were held two-phased meetings of the Non-aligned countries, first at the level of their officials and then at the Foreign Ministers level. These meetings were preparatory in nature and served the extremely useful purpose of understanding each others point of view and also of arriving at compromises on some of the most ticklish issues facing the movement.

At the end of the Summit a Message was adopted in which an impassioned appeal was made to Great Powers imploring them to desist from disastrous drift towards a nuclear conflict. An appeal was made to them to give up their protectionist and inward looking policies; to work for new world order; to participate in the proposed international conference on money and finances for

development and promote a spirit of enlightened multi-lateralism free from tension and connotations. The Summit also adopted political, economic and other declarations in which the need of collective Self-reliance among the non-aligned and other developing countries through South - South Cooperation was emphasised.

(a) POLITICAL DECLARATION

In political declaration it called for immediate prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and a comprehensive treaty banning test of nuclear weapons; nuclear disarmament under effective international control; nuclear freezones in different parts of the world, starting of a process of reducing military presence by big powers in the Indian Ocean and return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius; unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Palestine and other occupied territories condemned USA for giving military and political support to Israel; demanded withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea; called for support to the people of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa in their struggle and urged the non-aligned nations to sort out their differences by peaceful means.



(b) ECONOMIC DECLARATION

It insisted on new measures to bring about new international economic order. It pleaded for official Development Assistance to the least developed countries as well as cancellation of their debts; increase in IDA finance for developing countries; early establishment of a food security system of the non-aligned and other countries; it sought the creation of special international programme of food aid and financial assistance to help the food deficit in developing countries, it condemned the use of food as an instrument of political pressure and urged the developed countries, international institutions and other donors to substantially increase development assistance to food and agriculture sector in the developing countries.

The declaration also called for a thoroughgoing restructuring of the existing economic order through a process of global negotiations. It pledged to import fresh impetus to collective Self-reliance on the basis of principles of equality, justice, mutual benefit and full respect for independence and sovriereignty. It impressed upon the rich nations that the economic revival

of the North was not possible with economic survival of the South and urged them to help in the restructuring of the existing international economic order. The Delhi Summit also called upon the members and other developing countries to strengthen bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of sports.

The Declaration received general approval all over the world. However, USA expressed regret over the political ports of the declaration which made an attack on the United States without in any way criticising Soviet Union. It expressed the hope that the non-aligned movement shall remain true to the principles of Non-aligned movement and apply these principles more faithfully in future.

Despite this criticism the nonaligned meet at New Delhi was an event of great significance. It displayed the unity, vigour, wisdom and remarkable sense of purpose among the non-aligned nations. A notable achievement of the meet was that the tilt towards USSR in the movement, which had existed since Havana Summit was corrected. The Summit for the first time called upon two great powers to halt arms race through a formal message. Another significant achievement of the movement was that it

succeeded in maintaining unity despite differences on Kampuchea by taking the decision to keep the Kampuchean seat vacant.

(viii) HARARE SUMMIT (1986):

The eighth Summit of 101 non-aligned countries was held in Harare from 1-6 April, 1986. The Summit adopted resolutions on familiar lines, reiterating the ideology they stand for and, in particular a package of staff economic measures proposed to be applied by the international community so as to compel the South African authorities to end the abominable system of apartheid. The Summit also unanimously adopted a special declaration which made it clear that the measures contained in the package would be applied against the Pretoria regime pending the approval of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the UN Security Council.

The Summit urged the convening of a special session of UN Assembly to take necessary steps in this connection and also to ensure the independence of Namibia. The Summit rejected the US policy of 'Constructive engagement' vis-a-vis South Africa. The participants also adopted the Harare

appeal on disarmament and the reports of the NAM Political and Economic Committees calling for a just economic order. An appeal was made to Iran-Iraq to end their war, to abide by the principles of the Non-aligned movement and the UN on the question of using force in international relations. The Summit stressed the need for South - South Cooperation. Dr. Mugabe welcomed the formation of the independent Commission of the South under the Chairmanship of the former Tanzanian President, Dr. Julius Nyerere.

The Harare Summit was marked by acrimony, two angry outbursts against the Non-aligned Movement, disputes between certain states and outside interference in the internal affairs of some NAM members. The Summit, however, ended with unanimous resolutions, rededicating NAM to the basic principles and objectives of the movement. The Summit reiterated that the essence of non-alignment was the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, Zionism and all forms of foreign domination, interference or hegemony, as well as against super power blocs.

The Summit reiterated the formulations on Kampuchea, Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war as recommended by the

Delhi meeting of the Non-aligned Bureau. It pledged supports to the inalienable right of Palestinians to have their homeland and solidarity was expressed with Cyprus in restoring its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It urged the parties to cooperate with the UN Secretary General in his last initiative to get the Turks out of the island.

At the initiative of Rajiv Gandhi, the NAM Summit decided to set up an 'African solidarity Fund' to help the liberation movements fighting the South African apartheid regime and also the front line states. India's Prime Minister himself will be the Chairman of the fund. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will be its Vice-Chairman. Representatives from Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Congo, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Peru and Algeria will be the members.

The fund will provide both emergency assistance, such as food and other relief material to the freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia. It will also provide assistance to the frontline states in developing their infra-structure, particularly transport and port facilities passing through South Africa and reduced their dependence on the racist regime.

NAM AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The basic principles of non-alignment include 'Struggle against imperialism, Colonialism, neo-Colonialism apartheid, racism, zionism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination interference, of hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics. In the economic sphere the non-aligned movement has worked for the achievement of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) . .

It was the only in 1960s that the non-aligned movement started thinking in terms of NIEO by this time the process of decolonisation had made further progress and it began to be emphasised that economic emancipation was essential ingredient of the political decolonization. At the Cairo Conference the non-aligned countries played a leading role in the evolutions and declarations.

It was only in 1970s that the non-aligned movement made a determined bid to establish an NIEO. A blueprint for the NIEO was prepared at the Lusaka meet and specific guidelines for policies and action programme for economic progress were prepared. The Algiers Conference emphasised

that Self-reliance and collective reliance were pre-requisite for the attainment of international economic development. Above all, it asked for the UN General Assembly "to draw up a Charter on Economic rights and duties of states.

The Idea was developed further at the non-aligned meet held at Colombo (1976) and Havana (1979). The Colombo Summit paid special attention to the Economic Action Programme. One of the outstanding feature of this action programme was emphasis on a new universal and equitable monetary order.

The Havana Summit in its declaration also asserted that "the establishment of the NIEO is one of the most important and most urgent task facing the non-aligned movement and that democratization of international economic relations constitute its political substance"

The Seventh Non-aligned Conference (New Delhi, 1983) again emphasised the need of establishing a new international economic order and emphasised that "the prevailing, international system which run counter to the basic interests of the developing countries was profoundly unjust and incompatible with the accelerated

development of the non-aligned and other developing countries and warned that failure to establish the NIEO based on equality and justice would be serious adverse economic political consequences for all.

The Conference asserted that the Movement of Non-aligned countries has played and will continue to play an important role in the struggle for political and economic independence of all the developing countries and their people, for the attainment of full and permanent sovereignty and control over all types of natural resources and economic activities; and for the promotion of a fundamental restructuring by a establishment of NIEO.

In view of the widening gulf between the developed and developing countries the North - South dialogue was initiated with a view to establish international Economic Order. The nonaligned countries acted with remarkable unity at UNCTAD I and passed a unanimous resolutions emphasising the responsibility of international community with regard to stabilization of commodity prices, volume and terms aid and preferences. At the UNCTAD IV meeting at Nairobi in 1976 the nonaligned countries extended full support to the sharp rise in oil prices by the OPEC.



With a view to reduce burden of debt on the developing countries the UNCTAD IV demanded, land-lacked and island developing countries. A demand for rescheduling of debts over a 25 years period was also made. However, most of the developed countries were opposed to cancellation of debt on moratorium on debt service payments. As a result no concrete result could be achieved in this direction.

Yet another proposal for evolution of the NIEO was taken in 1979 when UNCTAD insisted on the establishment of common fund to buffer stocks in the price stabilization scene. It urged the developed countries to reduce and eliminate protectionism specially with regard to imports from the developing countries.

Thus we can say that the non-aligned and developing countries have been consistently working for the evolution of a NIEO with a view to gain greater share in the world economy for the developing countries of the third world.

NAM AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER (NIIO)

The greatest achievement of the Non-aligned Movement is the NIIO which has gained total International acceptance in the sense that since the 20th session of UNESCO in Belgrade in 1980 the NIIO has become not just an objective of the Non-aligned Movement but an agreed objective of the entire international community.

The international consensus contains three important elements. The first, is that it is recognised as part of the NIIO that the freedom of the Press is an essential component of the basic human rights and it is in this sense that the NIIO stands for the free circulation of information. The second component is that flow of information should be designed to strengthen peace and understanding. And third component, is that the communications infrastructure of the developing countries which is essential to the free flow of information should be promoted by the international community.

It was at the meeting in Versailles of the seven most industrialised nations of the world that President of France, Francois Mitterrand launched a call for a character of communications, as a representative of developed countries and the industrialised Western world, he said that, such a character has become necessary because domination of rest of world by a few countries carried within it the seeds of the danger that it would deprive the other nations of their collective national memories. And

if national memory goes, then he said, it jeopardises the sovereignty of nations and the freedom of thought and freedom of action of all peoples. Everyone is thus agreed that there should be a New International Information Order.

### NON-ALIGNMENT AND DEFENCE

The concept of nonalignment first put forward by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was purely a national strategy designed to save India's national interests and security. After ten years Prime Minister Nehru, President Nasser and President Tito made nonalignment as international movement. Non-alignment as a national strategy and its relevance to and its impact on our problems of defence.

In the early years of our independence the policy was severely criticised by many sections of our elite. The marxists at that stage felt that it was sitting on fence and extending covert support to imperialist camp. It was only in the early fifties that they changed their views and came to see the merits of non-alignment.

In the area of defence we continued the British Chiefs of staff for some time after our Independence.

Our armed forces were strongly imbued with admixture of US equipment. We were sending our officers for training in British service Institutions. Quite a few of the Senior Officers of the armed forces at the stage believed that non-alignment came in the way of forces being equipped with Western armaments. Some even felt that India should have accepted the Eisenhower offer of military equipment made at the time when Pakistan was incorporated into the Western military alliances of CENTO and SEATO. While India continued to purchase equipment from US, UK, France, Sweden, Japan, Switzerland and Germany, during the fifties, true to our principles of non-alignment we refused to be drawn into any entangling alliances. At the same time our non-alignment policy won recognition of the Soviet leadership especially Khrushchev and led to an increasing economic collaboration between the two countries. Similarly India also received large scale economic aid from the United States and other western countries.

#### MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS:

A certain mutuality of strategic interest started between India and Soviet Union since 1950s. For the first time in 1959-60 India purchased the supply dropping aircraft, and helicopters from the Soviet Union. In 1962 the two

countries also signed the agreement to manufacture MIG-21 aircraft in India. The policy of non-alignment enabled India to have access to defence technology from both Soviet Union and Western Countries like France and UK..

The Chinese attack on India in 1962 provided both a challenge to and a vindication of the policy of non-alignment, in respect of defence. India was able to secure assistance both from the West and the Soviet Union in its defence preparedness. The war of 1965 between India and Pakistan proved that non-alignment insures a country's security better than entangling alliances.

Again in 1971 when the country faced a major security threat the policy of non-alignment paid handsome dividends. Not only the Soviet Union provided a reliable countervailing power through the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty against the Pakistan-China-US axis. India was able to secure the sympathy of the Western European countries and even of the press and the congress of the United States. Further, vindication of non-alignment is provided by the collapse of two military pacts - CENTO and SEATO and Pakistan itself jointed the non-aligned movement.

We are a poor developing country and consequently we can not afford to spend large amounts on defence. We also have a major balance of payments problems which acts as a constraints in regard to large scale defence imports. Thirdly, as a developing country with large scale industrial and scientific potential we are interested in acquiring as much technology as possible. Lastly, consistent with our role in the world, and our sense of Sovereignty we cannot allow any other country to have influence over our decisions of war and peace through light control over rulers and regulations of the supply of spares and ammunition for imported weapons and equipment.

Therefore India insists on licences to manufacture all equipment which our forces need on a large scale. Manufacturing programme reduces payments and enables the country to continually upgrade its technology.

NECESSARY LEVERAGE:

Non-alignment gives the country necessary leverage and flexibility to negotiate with industrialised countries for best possible for ecquisition of weapons of our choice.

The rupee payment arrangement and credit repayment through export of goods through annual trade plans with the USSR reduces the balance of payment burden and enables the country to use our scarce foreign exchange resources to buy the more sophisticated and increasingly necessary technology from the west.

Viewed in retrospect non-alignment has served our defence and security interests exceedingly well. Out of two major nations in our neighbourhood which preferred alignment in the fifties, one had to switch alignment and the other had to become non-aligned. On the other hand what Prime Minister Nehru formulated a national strategy for India has today become the security and foreign policy doctrine for nearly two-third of the nations of the world.



Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Chairperson of NAM, addressing the Plenary Session of Heads of State Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, on 12 March 1983



### INDIA'S ROLE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NAM

In March 1983 when due to unforeseen circumstances India was called upon to host the Seventh Summit meeting of the Non-aligned nations, it was both a challenge and an opportunity for India because, first a controversial debate was going on in different parts of the world about the ideology of the Non-Aligned Movement; second, it was plagued by a serious internal crisis due to fratricidal war among some NAM countries; third the major thrust of the movement against politics, Cold War and Colonialism was being shifted to the growing tension over the North - South debate; and finally the general impression that one could gather from India's participation in the NAM activities from the very beginning was that of a calculated and cautious rather than an enthusiastic partner. Although, Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the three brains behind the NAM, India did not express its keenness to host a Summit meeting for at least twenty years since its inception in 1961.

### INDIRA GANDHI'S ROLE:

Ever since Indira Gandhi assumed the chairmanship of NAM, she remained very active until the cruel blow of death snatched her away. As the Chairperson of NAM she sent several letters to many

heads of the government of the developed countries, requesting them to attend the 38th session of the UN General Assembly during which time there were informal meetings and consultations among the leading world leaders and the NAM. In her special appeal to the leaders from the US, USSR, UK, France, West Germany, GDR, Canada and Australia, she highlighted three distinct issues;

- (1) the threat of nuclear war and global economic crisis confronting mankind;
- (2) urgency of such political issues such as Palestine and Namibia; and
- (3) the need to arrest and reverse the arms race in order to release resources vitally required for economic development.

Thereafter in the UNCTAD VI Conference at Belgrade, Indira Gandhi on the one hand wanted to avoid confrontation with the US, on the other, she tried to bargain from more favourable terms to Least Developed Countries (LDCs).

A two-day ministerial Conference of nine nonaligned nations was convinced by her in New Delhi in the last week of April 1983. It had representation from two South Asian States. Sri Lanka sent its Foreign Minister, whereas

Bangla Desh was represented by its Minister of Agriculture. The prime motive of such a high-level meeting was to identify a NAM strategy to ensure the early stand of global negotiations to restore economic problems facing the world. Narasimha Rao, the then India's External Affairs minister while inaugurating the conference, suggested that the meeting would discuss the modalities of contacting heads of govt of industrialised countries to bring their attention the concern of NAM over the current economic crisis.

There was a positive response to Indira Gandhi's written appeal and several world leaders came to attend the 38th session of the UN General Assembly. Prominent among the galaxies of statesman who attended the session were the President of France and top leaders from Canada Hungary, Poland, Surinam, Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus and EEC. Indira Gandhi chaired a number of informal session. All the discussions were conducted in a very cordial atmosphere.

In December 1983, New Delhi hosted the first ever Namedia Conference. It was attended by ninety-eight print and electronic media journalists and UNESCO officials. Indira Gandhi as Chairperson of NAM addressed the gathering. The

Conference in the course of its deliberations decided upon the following broad objections.

(1) To exchange national experience and explore new possibilities of ~~mutual~~ cooperation among media personnel of NAM countries so as to achieve collection ~~of~~ self-reliance in professional and technical fields.

(2) To consider ways and means of speedily realising the goals of the New World Information and Communication Order, to deepen and enrich understanding of its objectives and to coordinate approaches and programmes, which could be speedily carried out in the context of proliferating technological developments and their impact on information and economic activities.

(3) To project the appreciation and thinking of media personnel of NAM countries on problems of common concern.

Two major themes were given prominence during the deliberations:

- (i) imbalances - retrospect and prospect; and
- (ii) technological opportunity and challenges.

The final declaration of the Conference called upon fellow professionals to intensify their endeavours to

widen and strengthen the base of freedom of communication and to democratise it. It was believed that Namibia would be a precursor to many such endeavours.

Soon after that another development took place. The NAM Information Ministers had a meeting in Jakarta on January 30, 1984 and a declaration was issued at the end of the 5-day session. An appeal was issued in the context of current climate of political conflict and economic disorder in the world gripped by a pervasive sense of insecurity and vulnerability. It emphasised that any cooperative action by NAM countries would rectify the serious imbalances in the flow of global information, thereby providing the badly needed catalyst to step up the process of decolonisation of information. India's then information minister HKL Bhagat pointed out that decisions taken at the Jakarta meeting would give a further impetus to the cause of a balanced information flow.

A five-day session of NAM Foreign Ministers was held in the first week of October 1984 at the UN. The ministers reviewed the international situation and dwelt with several trouble spots. The Indian team was led by

G. Parthasarthy who, welcomed the disarmament talks conducted by the leaders of the US and the Soviet Union and sincerely hoped that it would lead to relaxation of global tension. Major controversies cropped up among several delegations as sensitive developments which had taken place in Latin America and the Caribbean region as a result of increased intervention and destabilisation of the USA.

The communique particularly mentioned that an increasing number of nonaligned states were being subjected to all kinds of pressures designed to weaken the unity of the movement. The NAM Foreign Ministers particularly regretted the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries which had led to the continuing impasse in the North - South dialogue. They reaffirmed the three-pronged strategy of the New Delhi Summit which provided a balanced set of policy measures for global recovery and development. They called upon the super powers to resume the dialogue for detente and to broaden the scope of their dialogue to cover all regions, address to all issues and be open to participation of all states.

During Indira Gandhi's short tenure as NAM's Chairman, India's role was clearly visible on several crucial issues.

#### RAJIV'S CONTRIBUTION

With the brutal ~~assassination~~ assassination of Indira Gandhi, the Chairmanship of NAM was practically thrust upon Rajiv Gandhi, once he was elected unopposed as Prime Minister of India.

The first major step that he took was to convene a six-nation Summit on disarmament on January 28-29, 1985.

The presidents of three nonaligned states Tanzania, Mexico and Argentina joined the Indian Prime Minister, along with the Prime Ministers of Greece and Sweden in issuing the Delhi declaration which calls for a comprehensive test ban treaty, prevention of any arms race in outer space. Strengthening of the UN system and the diversion, of expenditure from arms to development.

Four of the Summit leaders also attended a follow-up Summit soon afterwards in Athens to take stock of the situation such a bold initiative by India provided a backdrop to the disarmament talks in Geneva between the Foreign Ministers of the USA and the USSR.

The next major step by the young Prime Minister of India was the convening of an extraordinary NAM ministerial meeting on Namibia in New Delhi during April (19-21) 1985. In his inaugural address, Rajiv Gandhi recalled nostalgically that Mahatma Gandhi had launched the civil disobedience movement in South Africa before coming to India. He was highly critical of the 'settler-colonialism' imposed by South Africa in Namibia since the First World War. Since then South Africa has illegally treated it as its fifth province and has practised unabashed deception and illegality.

While decrying over the latest move of Pretoria to set up a puppet transitional government without any popular backing, he also took a bold initiative by formally giving diplomatic recognition to the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) led by Dr. Sam Nujoma.

The final decision to which India and other South Asian states richly contributed very categorically condemned the efforts by the USA and South Africa to link issue of Namibia independence with extraneous elements. In its view, 'they had the objective of distorting the issue



and transforming what was basically a decolonisation problem into an East-West issue'. It was emphasised that there was an urgent need to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime if it persisted in its intransigence. It was also emphasised that the NAM countries would take direct action not only to isolate South Africa but also to set up military and material assistance to SWAPO.

On April 20, 1985 with India's initiative an eight-member Committee on Palestine met in New Delhi. It heard a detailed report by Yasser Arafat and it was agreed to convene on behalf of NAM an international Conference on the Palestine issues.

In April 1986, when the United States launched a major offensive in Libya by air raids, the NAM countries felt very much concerned about such an unprovoked aggression by a Super Power. The NAM Chairman decided to send a five-member team to Tripoli to express the movement's solidarity with Libya in the face of US military action. A NAM team was also sent to an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council. A vote on NAM draft condemning the US action was not adopted because of the Veto exercised by both the US and UK. However, NAM initiative on Libya did generate a major world reaction against American violation of international norms.

C O N C L U S I O N

India which was normally maintaining its low profile in most of the NAM Conferences adopted a much more positive outlook ever since Indira Gandhi consolidated her power base at home. It is by and large agreed that at the fifth NAM Summit in 1976 held in Colombo, she emerged as the star performer. By then she was already emerging as a major leader of the Third World. With her political decline at the Sixth parliamentary poll in India in the year 1977, New Delhi again suffered a set back at the high level NAM deliberations. At the six-th Summit in Havana India's voice with representation at the level of an External Affairs Minister was hardly paid any attention. The Seventh Summit in 1983 can be regarded a high waterwork in India's association with NAM. Indira Gandhi as the Chairperson not only proved her worth as a warm hostess to a galaxy of world leaders from all the continents but also displayed a remarkable sense of accomodation and resilience by defusing certain crisis areas, which were nearly sapping the vitality of the movement.

Until the assassin's bullet silenced her forever, she took a number of follow up measures to strengthen, rather than divide, an unusually large number of non-aligned actions. She utilised all the available forums in the cause of nuclear disarmament and "New International Economic Order. She never defaulted from playing a mediating role in defusing the Gulf crisis. She mobilised world public opinion for an honourable settlement of the Palestine problem and the condemnation of the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

When Rajiv Gandhi succeeded her as the NAM Chairperson fortunately for him the non-aligned group had got rid of its inertia. While, on the one hand effort were made to solve some of the internal crisis of the movement, these were not allowed to gap its vitality. Rajiv Gandhi did not leave any stone unturned to complete the unfinished task of his mother.

By convening of the Six-nation Summit on disarmament soon after his massive victory at the eight Parliamentary poll, he displayed his personal drive to strengthen the movement. Besides, by holding of an extraordinary ministerial meeting on Namibia, the Apartheid South African Govt. was

further mobilised to enforce several sanctions against the Botha regime. The NAM Chairman also initiated a number of moves to find a solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The nonaligned solidarity was displayed with complete vigour when the United States committed unprovoked air raids on the Libyan territory. Vigorous efforts have been made to take a common positive stand on behalf of the NAM countries, whenever, there have been any global debate on trade, technology transfer and financial aid by the donor nations.

When the eighth Summit took place in Harare on September 1-6, 1986, it has been universally accepted that India by its farsighted moves has injected new life into the movement. Some of the Intra-NAM Conflicts have been either diffused or side tracked, so that it may not lose sight of its major objectives. The major focus of NAM during the next three years seems to be on the African continent, especially on the burning issues like liquidation of the last vestige of colonialism and apartheid.

MEMBERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

1. Republic of Afghanistan
2. People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
3. People's Republic of Angola
4. Republic of Argentina
5. State of Bahrain
6. Commonwealth of the Bahamas
7. People's Republic of Bangladesh
8. Barbados
9. Belize
10. People's Republic of Benin
11. Kingdom of Bhutan
12. Republic of Bolivia
13. Republic of Botswana
14. Republic of Burundi
15. United Republic of Cameroon
16. Republic of Cape Verde
17. Central African Republic
18. Republic of Chad
19. Republic of Colombia
20. Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros
21. People's Republic of the Congo
22. Republic of Cuba
23. Republic of Cyprus
24. Republic of Djibouti
25. Republic of Ecuador

26. Arab Republic of Egypt
27. Republic of Equatorial Guinea
28. Ethiopia
29. Cabonese Republic
30. Republic of Gambia
31. Republic of Ghana
32. Grenada
33. Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea
34. Republic of Guinea-Bissan
35. Cooperative Republic of Guyana
36. Republic of India
37. Republic of Indonesia
38. Islamic Republic of Iran
39. Republic of Iraq
40. Republic of the Ivory Coast
41. Jamaica
42. Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
43. Democratic Kampuchea
44. Republic of Kenya
45. People's Democratic Republic of Korea
46. State of Kuwait
47. Lao People's Democratic Republic
48. Lebanese Republic

49. Kingdom of Lesotho
50. Republic of Liberia
51. Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
52. Democratic Republic of Madagascar
53. Malaysia
54. Republic of Malawi
55. Republic of Maldives
56. Republic of Mali
57. Republic of Malta
58. Islamic Republic of Mauritania
59. Mauritius
60. Kingdom of Morocco
61. People's Republic of Mozambique
62. Kingdom of Nepal
63. Republic of the Niger
64. Federal Republic of Nigeria
65. Republic of Nicaragua
66. Sultanate of Oman
67. Islamic Republic of Pakistan
68. Palestine Liberation Organization
69. Republic of Panama
70. Republic of Peru
71. State of Qatar

72. Rwandese Republic
73. Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe
74. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
75. Republic of Senegal
76. Republic of Seychelles
77. Republic of Sierra Leone
78. Republic of Singapore
79. Somali Democratic Republic
80. Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka
81. Democratic Republic of the Sudan
82. Republic of Suriname
83. South West Africa People's Organisation  
(SWAPO), Namibia
84. Kingdom of Swaziland (Nagwane)
85. Syrian Arab Republic
86. United Republic of Tanzania
87. Togolese Republic
88. Republic of Trinidad and Tobago
89. Tunisian Republic
90. Republic of Uganda
91. United Arab Emirates
92. Republic of the Upper Volta
93. Republic of Vanuatu



94. Socialist Republic of Viet Nam
95. Yemen Arab Republic
96. People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
97. Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
98. Republic of Zaire
99. Republic of Zambia
100. Republic of Zimbabwe

Non-Aligned Conference of Heads of State or Govt.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Observers</u>
I	Belgrade	Sept 1961	25	3
II	Cairo	Oct 1964	47	10
III	Lusaka	Sept 1970	55	12
IV	Algiers	Sept 1973	75	15
V	Colombo	Aug 1976	85	19
VI	Havana	Sept 1979	97	12
VII	New Delhi	March 1983	101	17
VIII	Harare	Sept 1986	101	

**PART TWO**  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

LIST OF NEWS PAPERS AND PERIODICALS DOCUMENTED

<u>NAME OF PERIODICALS</u>	<u>ABBREVIATION USED</u>
AFRICAN REVIEW	-
AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA	-
AUSTRALIAN OUTLOOK	-
BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS	-
CARVAN	-
CEYLON DAILY NEWS	-
DECCAN CHRONICLE	-
DECCAN HERALD	-
EASTERN ECONOMIST	-
ECONOMIC AND POLITICA WEEKLY	-
ECONOMIC TIMES	ET
FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPORTS	-
HINDU	-
HINDUSTAN TIMES	HT
IDSA JOURNALS	-
INDIAN EXPRESS	IE
INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS	-
INDIAN NATION	-
INDIA QUARTERLY	-
INDIAN REVIEW OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS	-
INDIAN YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	Ind Yb Int Aff

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS	-
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	-
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES	-
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	J Int Affairs
JOURNAL OF MAHARAJA SAYAIJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA	-
JOURNAL OF POLITICAL STUDIES	-
LINK	-
MAINSTREAM	-
MODERN REVIEW	-
NATIONAL HERALD	NH
NEW AGE	-
NEWS TIME	-
NGN ALIGNED WORLD	-
PACIFIC COMMUNITY	-
PAKISTAN HORIZON	-
PANJAB JOURNAL OF POLITICS	-
PATRIOT	-
PEOPLES DEMOCRACY	-
POLITICAL CHANGE	-
POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	Pol Sc Rev
REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	-
RISING NEPAL	-
SECULAR DEMOCRACY	-
STATESMAN	-

SWARAJYA	-
TIMES	-
TIMES OF INDIA	TI
TRIBUNE	-
WESTERN POLITICAL QUARTERLY	-
WORLD AFFAIRS	-
WORLD FOCUS	-

LIST OF ABBREVIATION USED

April	Apr
August	Aug
December	Dec
January	Jan
July	Jul
June	Jun
March	Mar
May	May
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
November	Nov
October	Oct
September	Sept

LIST OF SUBJECT HEADINGS

## NON-ALIGNMENT

- .. , CONCEPT ANALYSIS
- .. , CONCEPT DEVELOPMENT
- .. , CONCEPT ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT
- .. , CRITICAL ANALYSIS
- .. , CULTUROLOGICAL APPROACH
- .. , EVALUATION
- .. , IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH
- .. , INDIA, FOREIGN POLICY
- .. , INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
- .. , PROBLEMS
- .. , PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS
- .. .. , SURVEY
- .. . , DEFENCE
- .. . , DISARMAMENT
- .. . , COST BENEFIT
- .. . , NUCLEAR ARMS
- .. . , SUPER POWERS
- .. . , ECONOMIC
- .. . , COOPERATION, ACTION PROGRAMME
- .. . , INTERNATIONAL
- .. . , CRITICISM
- .. . , EVALUATION
- .. . , INTERNATIONAL

## N - A, PROBLEMS, ECONOMIC, MONETARY REFORM

.. , .. , .. , NORTH SOUTH COOPERATION  
 .. .. , .. , SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION  
 .. , .. , .. , WORLD ORDER  
 .. , .. , INFORMATION COMMUNICATION  
 .. , .. , .. , NEWSPOOL  
 .. , .. , .. , ORDER  
 .. , .. , INTERNAL DISPUTES  
 .. , .. , PEACE  
 .. , .. , .. , EGYPT-ISRAEL TREATY  
 .. , .. , .. , INDIAN OCEAN  
 .. .. , .. , POLITICAL  
 .. , .. , .. , BILATERAL ISSUES  
 .. , .. , .. , EGYPT MEMBERSHIP  
 .. , .. , .. , INTERNAL DISPUTES  
 .. , .. , .. , .. , INDIA'S ROLE  
 .. , .. , .. , KAMPUCHEA  
 .. , .. , .. , .. , INDIA'S ROLE  
 .. .. , .. , PALESTINE  
 .. , .. , .. , WORLD ORDER  
 .. , .. , RACISM  
 .. , .. , .. , NAMIBIA  
 .. , .. , .. , SOUTH AFRICA  
 .. , .. , SOCIO-ECONOMIC  
 .. , ROLE, INDIA  
 .. , .. , INDIRA  
 .. , .. , NEHRU  
 .. , .. , RAJIV



N - A, ROLE, RAJIV, GULF WAR

.. , .. , .. , RACISM, NAMIBIA

.. , SUMMIT CONFERENCE

.. , .. , .. , ALGIERS

.. , .. , .. , BANDUNG, CRITICAL EVALUATION

.. , .. , .. , BELGRADE, APPRAISAL

.. , .. , .. , COLOMBO

.. , .. , .. , .. , DECLARATION

.. , .. , .. , .. , EVALUATION

.. , .. , .. , .. , PROBLEMS

.. , .. , .. , DELHI

.. , .. , .. , .. , ANALYSIS

.. , .. , .. , .. , CRITICISM

.. , .. , .. , .. , DRAFT DECLARATION

.. , .. , .. , .. , .. , AFGHAN ISSUE

.. , .. , .. , .. , .. , ECONOMIC ASPECT

.. , .. , .. , .. , .. , POLITICAL ASPECT

.. , .. , .. , .. , EVALUATION

.. , .. , .. , .. , KEY NOTE ADDRESS

.. , .. , .. , .. , PROBLEMS

.. , .. , .. , .. , PROSPECTS

.. , .. , .. , HARARE

.. , .. , .. , .. , PROBLEMS

.. , .. , .. , .. , VENUE

.. , .. , .. , HAVANA

.. , .. , .. , .. , INDIA'S ROLE

N - A, SUMMIT CONFERENCE, LUSAKA

,, , UNITED NATIONS

,, , WOMEN

,, , WORLD EVENTS

,, , YOUTH CONFERENCE, DELHI

..

## NON-ALIGNMENT

1. BURTON (JW). Rights and obligation of nonalignment. Australian Outlook. 16, 3; 1962, Dec; 292-302.

Discusses that non-alignment is the term now used to describe their foreign policies by political leaders who claim that their nations are not allied with either the communist, and Western bloc. However those who introduce the term meant more by it than mere neutrality in a current conflict between certain powers. Indeed, they declared the term "neutrality" after using it for some years precisely because it proved misleading. In their opinion it failed to convey the nature of their approach to the conflict.

2. CHAVAN (Yashwant Rao B). Nonalignment in the eighties. Mainstream. 21, 27-28; 1983, Mar ; 22-7.

Describes that Nonalignment is, in essence an alternative vision of the management of relations between States. The accommodation between and among States is seen by the Nonaligned World as a strategic compulsion in contrast to the Great Powers who see it as a tactical retreat. The alternative methods to be pursued by the NAM in the Eighties might be referred to the Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Palestine. The consensus of opinion is the essential characteristic which distinguishes the Methodology of Power bloc rivalry. Apart

from its stand on specific flashpoints around the globe, the new world order sought by the Nonaligned Movement in the Eighties comprises the continued struggle against the last remaining vestiges of colonialism and racism, disarmament; a thorough revamping of economic relations both between developed and developing countries themselves in the interest of the development of all; and the accelerated decolonisation of information and communication systems. Nonaligned Movement stands for complete and general disarmament as the only effective guarantor of a stable peace. At the forthcoming Summit, India will certainly press for detailed consideration by the Movement of the proposals mooted by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in her message to the Second United Nations Session on Disarmament.

### 3. GIANG (Vo Dong). Nonalignment's worthy contribution.

Mainstream.21, 27-28; 1983, Mar .; 71-4.

Describes that in the fierce struggle currently taking place between the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism on the one side and the imperialists and other reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism on the other, the balance of force is changing ever more in favour of the world's people's common struggle. In order

to regain its lost position, US imperialism is trying its best to play the China card, stepping up the arms race, creating an atmosphere of Cold War, undermining international detente and opposing the revolutionary forces. Recalling the history of nonaligned Movement. We are proud of its contribution which constitutes an ardent encouragement, a great political support and a sense of solidarity with the peoples struggling for national liberation independence, peace and freedom and for the establishment of a new and equitable international economic order. The nonaligned countries not only enthusiastically supported the anti-US War of resistance of Vietnam but also considered the victory of that heroic struggle as its own victory. The Vietnamese people are determined together with the other newly independent nonaligned countries to strengthen the solidarity and to strive for the Movement's objectives.

4. GOPAL (S). Role of nonalignment in a changing world.

Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 15; 1976, May 15; 11-2.

Discusses that in the changing world context the nonaligned countries can continue to work for basic principles adopted by the founding fathers by flexible approaches and individual freedom of action but never letting to go of the firm ropes of purpose. No country can claim to be nonaligned if it is still party to military alliances formed in the

context of great power conflicts. If nonalignment is to retain its character and continue to function, the nonaligned have to protect the genuine stuff of our creed from pressure as well as infiltrations.

5. NAM ON World Situation. Mainstream. 23, 10-11; 1984, Nov; 25-32.

Discusses that during the 39th session of UN General assembly in New York the Ministers and Heads of Delegation of Nonaligned countries expressed their determination to be guided by the principles and objectives of the movement as expressed in the declarations of the Nonaligned Summits in 1961 and in particular the New Delhi Summit of 1983, and to build up on the consensus position expressed in the communique of the Ministerial meeting of Oct. 1983. They reiterated their stand to maintain the spirit of unity and solidarity of the Nonaligned Movement.

6. RAJAN (MS). Non-alignment through tinted glasses. IDSA Journal. 13, 3; 1981, Mar ; 350-62.

Discusses that the continuing problem of Western Writings on non-alignment is lack of understanding of the real nature of the policy. The articles by Michael Brecher are not true. His conclusions that as a result of the Sino-Indian War of 1962, Indian Policy of nonaligned has

got changed from equidistance to equal proximity from Super powers. Has misperception of the changes in India's non-aligned policy arise from his looking at non-alignment through tinted glasses of alignment.

7. SHARMA (Rahul). NAM-brain without brawn. HT 1986, Aug. 22;8.

Discusses that NAM has grown into worldwide movement. It includes 40 percent of World population, 36 percent of world area and 66 percent, countries of the world. But since its inception in 1961, decolonisation is not complete and neocolonism has emerged as a menace. It recognised that NAM is only a moral and political force. NAM members realise the limitations in which they are acting in the world area today. What is more they are aware of the conflicts among themselves, which have prevented in some measures their <sup>and</sup> solidarity/unity. Today the main struggle is on economic front. The eighth Summit is expected to take up the challenge on economic front.

8. SHUKUL (HC). Nonalignment as an evolving model of international relations. Journal of Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. 30, 2; 1981; 115-25.

Describes that Nonalignment as an alternative to Power model is one of the most significant contributions made by nonaligned movement. Although the non-aligned movement may not be in a position to prevent, the growth of power-based peace yet it has checked any further augmentation of Power-based crisis. Nonalignment is the only relevant response to nuclear age.

#### CONCEPT ANALYSIS

9. CHATTERJEE (NC). Ahinsa and the principle of Non-alignment movement. Indian and Foreign Review. 17, 24; 1980, Oct. 1; 15-8.

Discusses that Egyption Revolution reflects that it is anti-imperialist, anticolonialism. President Nasser followed it in his foreign policy as an Islamic goal. President Tito's approach to Neutralism was more than a negation; it was a liberal interpretation of Marxism. Neither of these two philosophy of Nonalignment was completely represented as enunciated principles of Pandit Nehru. Non-alignment is a



negative term with positive content. It is moral in attitude, while neutrality is only reflex, a negative reaction against a situation dictated by pragmatism. Nonalignment is a theory governing praxis in international relations. The philosophic root of peace may be traced to the Chandogya Upanishad in the word Ahimsa or Non-violence. Of the five ethical principles enunciated—repentance, liberality, rightness, truthfulness and non-injury to life. Leaders of NAM have a special task to perform to convince mankind and their way is the only way to progressive realization of ideals humanity has set before it.

10. DAS GUPTA (KK). Nonaligned movement and the New International Economic Order: Some Conceptual Issues. Non-Aligned World. 2, 2; 1984, Apr. -Jun.; 273-88.

Discusses that the non-aligned movement has put forth a new philosophy of co-existence and cooperation for a lasting peace. Side by side, the movement for New International Economic Order has now become powerful as a force complementary to NAM. For which cooperation and mutual dependence in economic negotiations with developed economies of both the systems have become the guiding principle. The strategy of "global

negotiations" accepted at the Delhi Summit is for ensuring a condition of equality between developed nations and the third world, as neither the economic security nor political stability of nations within NAM could be ensured in an international framework of domination and dependency.

11. KORANY (B) and TAWFIK (N). Nonalignment: Its conflict reducing the international system. International Studies. 3; 1972; 47-84.

Discusses that the contention of the non-aligned actors that their foreign policy behaviour is the most effective means of reducing conflict and maintaining the system which seems vital to be discussed. The statement that nonalignment has a conflict reducing function is not justificatory in nature. It is not meant to be a 'defence' of nonaligned States, nor it is intended to be an assertion beyond reputation. It is possible to adopt it as a working hypothesis in order to examine its validity and its limits.

12. MINIC (Milos). Non-Alignment and detente. Review of International Affairs. 30, 702-3; 1979, Jul. 5; 1-5.

Discusses that preparation for the Sixth Summit of Non-Aligned countries in Havana are unfolding in World situation aggravated by tension in all important fields of international relations particularly in certain regions. Tendency toward the independence and equality of countries continue to gain momentum. In recent decades, they have comprised the essence of decolonization and of democratization of international relations. The fight for new and international political and economic order is moving forward. In the past three years the international relations reverted to snowballing deterioration which posing a great threat to world peace. Fresh disputes erupt between states constantly while local wars pregnant with the danger of escalating into military confrontations increase in frequency. Interference in the internal affairs of independent States in intensifying. All conferences from Belgrade to Coloumbo and now have had to face up to such manifestations. The international conditions surrounding the sixth non-aligned conference are even more complex. The Sixth Conference will have to cope with and overcome certain difficulties in order to preserve and strengthen the movement.

13. NADARAJAH (K). Non-alignment: Alignment with all.

Ceylon Daily News. 1979, Jun 5.

Discusses Nonalignment as central to India's foreign policy. It is based on the principles of good neighbourliness and international cooperation for the benefit of those who inhibit all. Non-alignment is alignment with all, President Tito has described it as "Conscious of mankind". The Co-ordinating Bureau has several crucial problems such as the proposal for border disputes, commission to strengthen in the unity, non-aligned strategy for the third World Development, the decision by Arab States to seek Egypt's suspension from the movement Mr. Vajpai, India's Foreign Minister said the challenges that the Non-aligned face are in a penalty of its success. The major challenge is to rise above the immediate national or group concerns to give this movements real ingredients of solidarity.

14. NEUHOLD (Hanspeter). Permanent neutrality and Non-alignment: Similarities and differences. India Quarterly. 35, 3; 1979, Jul-Sep ; 285-308.

Discusses that in terms of numbers, geographical local, political structures, legal status, economic development and

system and basic positions in the two global conflicts of our age permanently neutral and non-aligned. States are basically dissimilar, when it comes to actual behaviour in the international states they are not as far away as they could be expected to be. Their similarities, unity are in fact creating the atmosphere for greater cooperation between them.

15. NON-ALIGNED STATES (editorial). IE. 1976, Jun 2; 6.

Discusses that at the Algiers meeting of the coordination bureau, Y.B. Chavan Warned that any dilution of the established criteria for admittance whether as member or guests, observers would reduce nonalignment to a shapeless concept. India's opposition to indiscriminate admittance to nonaligned group shows her commitment to the ideals of which this country was the prime originator. At the same time the desire of nations now entangled in rival military alliance to come closer to the nonaligned way of thinking should be welcomed. The purpose of nonalignment was to oppose attempts to divide the world into mutually hostile power blocks and tendency to drag smaller countries into the cold war. The purpose of the whole movement will be fulfilled only when the UN becomes fully effective in keeping world peace.

16. PARASHER (SC). Non-alignment: In perspective. Foreign Affairs Reports. 33, 1 & 2; 1984, Jan-Feb; 1-16.

Discusses that nonalignment is the creed of people who believe in the kingdom of peace. They belong to nations which liberated themselves from the yoke of imperialism. It is a philosophy of live and let live. It is a guide to action in international behaviour. Nonalignment is not negative as some of the western believes it to be. It certainly arose out of a particular historical situation but its relevance is for beyond the categories of that time. It is as relevant today as it was when it was first mooted. Since its inception in 1961 there has been phenomenal rise in its membership. It is indeed a tribute to its inherent strength and resilience that countries that had abused it earlier became keen to get its membership later. The super powers treated it with disdain but they can no longer ignore it because it represents the innate yearnings of humanity for peace and justice. It is this universal in particular which has sustained it, nourished it and made it a powerful force in international affairs. It was the genius of statesman like Nehru, Nasser and Tito who gave it shape and direction. It is equally a tribute to the statesmanship of Indira Gandhi who as chairperson of the NAM has steered its course in the turbulent time through which the world is passing today.

17. POLITICAL DECLARATION. Role of Non-alignment. Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 11; 1983, Mar 15 ; 13.

Points that in the struggle against colonialism and the growing polarization of international relations resulting from military bloc, military alliances and the cold war, the Movement has consistently struggled for all round development of the peoples of Asia, Africa Latin America and the Caribbean and other parts of the world. Since its inception despite many obstacle, the Movement and policy of non-alignment have achieved significant. Successes and have continued to play a decisive role in its efforts to promote a new world order based on justice equality and peace. The heads of State or govt. reaffirmed their commitment to and stick observance of the principles and objectives of non-aligned movement.

18. RAJAN(MS). Non-alignment: The dichotomy between theory and practice in perspective. India Quarterly. 36, 1; 1980, Jan-Mar ; 43-67.

This articles deals with the answers to questions such as what is the nature and extent of the gap between theory and practice of the non-alignment? To what extent the gap is justified both interms of original objective

of the movement and the changing needs of members and the movement and the international community? What is the relevance of non-alignment and his movement thereof to the current and foreseeable future of international relations? The answers are provided as the headings such as: lack of definition and discrimination in membership; Institutionalization of Non-Alignment; The question of unity; Disputes among non-aligned nations. The question of equidistance.

19. RANA (AP). *Detente and non-alignment: A Conceptual Study*. International Studies. 13, 4; 1974, Oct-Dec; 751-74.

Discusses the viability of contemporary nonaligned policies by the nature of super power detente behaviour an almost inextricable mesh of collaboration, collusion and competition. This is conceptualized as "Collupetive" behaviour and examined within four categories of super power interactions: crisis management, management of overall international status quo, economic management and management of arms control. An exploration of some determinants of detente behaviour suggests that it represents an adroit adjustment of nation-state behaviour to contemporary demands of Science



and technology, rather than any fundamental departure from intensive engagement in great power rivalry. Contrary to this nonaligned policies are demonstrated as considerable aiding the super powers in the more effective management of their "Collupetive" relationship, and thus exercising an effective pull over them. The creditability of nonalignment is further explored by projecting its perspective dynamics within the context of continuing super power "Collupetive" behaviour.

20. RANA (AP). Foreign Policy and national capability: A note on the paradigmatic dilemma of contemporary non-alignment. Panjab Journal of Politics. 3; 1979, Oct; 23-30.

Discusses that Nonalignment within the nation-State system like any other foreign policy has attempted to generate national capability with varying degrees of success to sustain the basic requirements of sovereignty and security of developing nations. However significant this effort may be for the evolution of world society, it represents negative operation. Developing nations will have to depend on or play in the hands of great powers politics. But simultaneously they will need to develop dimensions in their foreign policy behaviour which will help them to improve international relations as an alternative to construct more conductive to their real welfare and security.

21. VIJAY ANAND. Non-Alignment examined. Swarajya. 23, 34; 1979, Feb 18; 8-9.

Discusses that the concept of Non-alignment had its origin when prevailing international political atmosphere was based on mistrust and confrontation. In 1961 the torch of independence, non-conformity and non-militarisation was lit in Belgrade by the Prime Minister Nehru, President Nasser and President Tito. The developing countries have common problems because of their colonial past occupy a different position in international community, compared with the general principles of UN. It is basically committed to struggle against imperialism, expansionism, colonialism and neo colonialism.

#### CONCEPT DEVELOPMENT

22. BANDOPADHYA (Jayantanuja). Non-aligned movement and international relations. India Quarterly. 33, 2; 1977, Apr-Jun; 137-64.

Discusses that the non-aligned movement has grown rapidly since 1961 and included by 1976, 86 member nations comprising approximately two-thirds of the membership of the UN and a clear majority of mankind. It has developed as an inevitable consequences of the decolonisation process, and not of the cold war. In fact the proliferation of nonalignment has been directly proportional to the erosion of the cold war. It is an essentially anti-imperialist and anti-racist movement. In recent years there has been a

shift from the political to economic aspects of anti-imperialism. The non-aligned movement has led the struggle of the South in the North economic order. The movement has also undergone considerable institutionalisation including procedure building for participation, organization, interest articulation and aggression, and international communication. It has made a major contribution to the transformation of the international system and proved to be a viable and futuristic alternative to the balance of power model of international relations. It should receive more attention from Western scholars as a model of international relations that it has received so far.

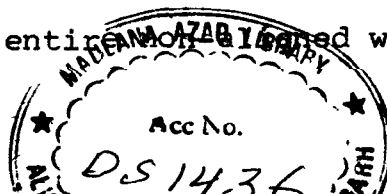
23. GEORGE (Sudhir Jacob). Concept of Nonalignment - its nature and characteristic. Foreign Affairs Reports. 34, 12; 1985, Dec; 123-33.

States that nonalignment which emerged during the Cold War was an antithesis to the divisions of World into blocks has now attained new approach. Today the nonaligned community which comprises almost all the newly independent States of the world is a potential force to be reckoned with in global relations. As its founding leaders of the

movement. India, Egypt and Yugoslavia have played a great role since its inception in strengthening it. Similarly Zimbabwe the leader of the movement should devote fully to bring about racial equality in Africa and also take concrete measure to end the suffering of the black community in South Africa.

21. KHANNA (RG). Non-alignment: Looking back. TI 146, 62; 1983, Mar 4; 8.

Points out that New Delhi is being transformed into a huge ~~palace~~ <sup>palace</sup> for marriage without a bride and a groom and without in laws. India is said to be the home of non-alignment. For instance, the home of Panchshila a term that acquired sanctity during the days of Sino-Indian brotherhood. Non-alignment was born during the dawn of Asian and African freedom, the Chief architect of which were Nehru, Nasser and Tito. The contradictions in nature were reflected in Nehru and in the non-alignment. There was Sukarno who was diminutive like all Indonesian but who had a heart so big that it contained many lovers. To day the landscape of non-alignment has naturally changed. The present meeting at New Delhi will be weighed down by the presence of delegate from half of the globe. The north-south problem applies not only to India but to the entire civilized world.



28. MEHTA (Jagat S). Nonaligned principles and nonaligned movement. Mainstream. 21, 27-28; 1983, Mar ; 51-4, 62.

Describes that there has been two aspects to the story nonalignment, the principles which were asserted with great courage and insight against pressures and prejudice on the onehand and the movement which got institutionalised in the succession of Conferences at the Summit, Foreign Ministers and their declaration to act as custodian of those principles on the other hand. The Delhi Declaration is a sort of Nonaligned Panch sheet, rising above current issues and prevailing controverties could become a fixed loadstar for international politics for decade ahead. Paradoxically, the Nonaligned faith will endure and shine brighter if the movement-its institutionalized Church-no longer obscures its original rationale which was to protect the right of dissent, the reality, of diversity and yet, the imperative of peace and cooperation in a system of nation states.

26. MUKHOPADHYAY (P). Havana to New Delhi: Search for  
 Concensus. IDSA Journal. 16, 1; 1983, Jul-Sept; 1-12.

The Sixth non-aligned Summit meeting held in Havana in September 1979 had to handle a number of controversies, some of which were resolved while other spilled over to the Delhi Summit in March 1983. There is a process of give and take in the decisions and declarations that are formulated in the non-aligned conferences. This democratic approach to the decision-making process provides strength to the movement and assist different states to take a balanced view of the World order.

27. NEW DELHI Summit: Base Camp for new heights. Secular Democracy. 1983, Mar; 15, 18-21.

Discusses that the Seventh Conference of Heads of States or Government held in New Delhi from March 7 to 12 was the biggest gathering of its kind so far. Total membership of the Movement crossed hundred. Conceived as a new movement for protecting world peace and for promoting freedom and development the Movement developed new dimensions of awareness and action. It has called for another Summit at the UN in September and decided upto concerted moves for democratisation of the world economic system.

28. SUBRAHMANYAM (K). Global reach of the non-aligned.

TI. 146, 75; 1983, Mar 17; 8.

Discusses that everything in the world is assessed with reference to the perspective of the observer. The non-aligned movement with the sayings and doings of individual practitioners of non-aligned is a common failing among the developing nations. In India during the recent Summit, signs of political maturity emerged, leading to a consensus policy of non-alignment. The appeal of the non-aligned at the largest peace movement goes beyond the non-aligned world and finds response in the peace movement in the Western countries and in the policies of socialist states. Non-alignment which started as an Indian national strategy then became common strategy for India, Egypt and Yugoslavia was transformed into international movement outside the two blocs and is now poised to become a global movement. The seventh non-aligned Summit registered a clear advance in favour of internationalism and has returned to the spirit of the first Summit and Jawaharlal Nehru and has resorted the focus on international peace and security threatened by the ever-mounting nuclear arsenals. Thereby the non-aligned movement has developed for itself global constituency.

## ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

29. CHALAPATHI RAU (M). Origin and growth of nonaligned movement. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 1983, Mar . 7.

Discusses that word Nonalignment was first used by Nehru in 1946 and it became established with the first nonaligned Summit held in Belgrade. Nehru was joined by Nasser, Tito, Sukarno and Nkrumah at Belgrade and were known to be the founding fathers of NAM. It is based on five principles known as 'Panch sheel'. Since its beginning the Non-aligned movement has grown enormously. At Belgrade in 1961 the non-aligned countries were 25; at Cairo in 1964, 47; at Lusaka in 1970, 54; at Algiers in 1973, 85, at Colombo in 1976, 85; and at Havana in 1979, 96; at Delhi in 1983, 101. New Delhi Summit has a chance to impart a new significance to the basis objectives of the movement. It can carry the fight forward to a new world order, including new economic and a new information order.

30. FROM SUMMIT to summit. NH. 1983, Nov, 14, 6.

Dictates that although the Non-aligned Movement was launched at the Belgrade Summit in 1961, the seeds were sown at the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in March-April, 1947. Since then it passed from Cairo Summit



in 1964, Lusaka in 1970, Algiers in 1973, Colombo in 1976 Cuba in 1979 and New Delhi in 1983. New Delhi conference has been the biggest such gathering. So far the total membership of the movement crossed century mark. Delhi Summit took place at a time when the war between Iran and Iraq had necessitated the change of venue from Baghdad. At New Delhi with Nehru's daughter as Chairperson, NAM has assumed the role of the biggest peace movement in the world, joining its voice with all those seeking to eliminate the threat of nuclear disaster that looms large over the world. The noteworthy feature of Delhi Summit was a new respect and recognition for the national freedom movements. A special provision was made to representation in the Bureau of the Conference and in the coordinating Bureau of NAM to freedom struggle of PLO and SWAPU.

21. GANDHI (Indira). Nonalignment to give a lead in new concept of human emancipation. Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 22; 1976, Sept 1; 13-4.

Discusses that the concept of nonalignment was shaped in the long years of our freedom struggle, much before the cold war developed and blocs were formed. The concept of nonalignment took birth in Belgrade and since than

movement has grown in strength. Economic exploitation persists in old and new garbs. Military presences are being extended/ <sup>rather than</sup> diminishing. Unity amongst ourselves is must to retain its utility. A strong nonaligned group will make an impact on world peace and on evolving of a new economic order. Today we are confronted with challenges and opportunities. Despite tremendous pressure we are to reinforce our basic unity and integrity and stick to the basic principles that served us so well. Through collective power and united will, to achieve enduring peace and freedom for all through detente, disarmament and cooperation and freedom through development and maintaining our dignity. Let the movement give a lead in true independence, in a new concept of human emancipation.

32. MALHOTRA (Inder). Belgrade to New Delhi: New Vistas for the Non-Aligned. Times of India. 146, 54; 1983, Feb. 24; 8.

Points out that even in the midst of the savage butchery in Assam the statemate in the talks with the Akalis and the unending comic opera signed by congress (1) dissidents in various states, preparation for non-aligned

Summit have gone briskly. Since the first Summit in Belgrade the number of full-fledged participants in the Seventh Summit at Delhi have gone upto 100. Some of the issues which tormented the non-aligned movement at Belgrade continue to agonise both it and mankind even today though the change in situation since then has also been sweeping. Because of the Iran and Iraq war the seventh non-aligned Summit is taking place in New Delhi which the non-aligned community should do something to stop the war. Bilateral conflicts among other members of the non-aligned family are also ubiquitous. The non-aligned have come a long way from the days when the mutual economic cooperation among the poor nations was considered a joke. The non-aligned nations control a quarter of the world economy even though because of their reliance on commodity exports and other weaknesses, they remain highly vulnerable. Moreover, it is worth noting that though the third world carries a whopping and 600 billion debt burden, nearly half of it is accounted for by a handful of countries. Finally, the style that will do the non-aligned movement a lot of good if the stridency introduced into its tone during the Cuban stewardship is moderated without in any way compromising on any issue of principal.

33. MEHTA (JS). Non-Alignment. Review of International Affairs.

30, 701; 1979, June 20, 4-7.

Discusses that the concept of nonalignment emerged in the fifties. The last conference of Foreign Ministers in 1978 was attended by over two-thirds of the members of the United Nations and over half of the total world's population. Since Non-alignment was born as a defiance against the political implications of multilateral systems does it need for its survival the countervailing existence, the continuing threat and pressure from the philosophy behind the alliances? Can in other words the approach of Non-alignment provide the guidelines to serve national interest in the present complexities of today's environment? It provided options which cut across the interjection of militarism in international relations. Nonalignment recognised the resilience and validity of the vast cultural, economic and political diversity amongst the nations. In a world where propensity to violence and confrontation is all too evident, adherence to the true spirit of Non-alignment has and can play a significant role in facing dangerous tensions. Non-alignment has striven for peace and can now contribute to the restructuring of world economic relationship.

34. MUNI (SD). Non-Alignment from Bandung (1955) to Colombo (1976). Political Science Review. 21, 2-3; 1982; Apr-Sept; 149-64.

Describes the issues like the criteria for membership; its observance, application and continuing relevance; changing pattern of leadership. Assumes an equidistant policy from the two super powers and military blocks in the concept of NAM. Shows NAM as a platform on the global issues of security, peace and disarmament.

35. PRABHU (AN). Belgrade to Delhi. ET. 9, 342; 1983, Mar 6; 5.

Deals with the origin of the Non-aligned Movement which can be traced to Asian Relations Conference in 1947. The seeds of the Nonaligned movement were sown at Brioni. The conceptual framework was thus formulated by the pioneers of Belgrade Conference attended by 28 members which increased to 94 at Havana. New Delhi Summit will be a landmark in the movement history as a number is expected to touch a century. Over the years the members felt it necessary to have periodic consultations for the promotion of world peace. The Delhi Summit is under the shadow of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the Kampuchean issue and the continuing border conflict between Iran and Iraq which show no sign of abating. Though economic issues are crucial for their survival, it remains to be seen how far they would overlook differences in political area and work shoulder to shoulder to solve the economic problem.

## CRITICAL ANALYSIS

36. MOHAMMAD BADIUL ALAM. Concept of non-alignment: A critical analysis. World Affairs. 140, 2; 1977, Feb; 166-85.

Points that the concept of non-alignment is conceptually distinctive from "neutrality" and "neutralism". While by neutrality is meant non-involvement in war voluntary or by force of circumstances, neutralism implies non-participation in the Cold War and attempts to reduce tensions between blocs for maintaining peace. Thus the former is isolationist while the latter is interventionist and activist. By contrast, non-alignment emphasizes on the refusal to military entanglements with World powers and stresses on the prevention and furtherance of national interest. Non-alignment in its classical sense of the fifties is not longer practical in the seventies when nonaligned countries of the third world are aligned with the bloc by the forces of changing situations in order to attain large-scale military economic and political backing on national interest.

37. RUBINSTEIN (Alvin Z). Does nonalignment have a future?

Nonaligned World. 2, 3; 1984, July-Sept; 389-99.

In the 1960s the cohesive force that bound the nonaligned movement was a desire to avoid becoming embroiled in the Cold War between the two blocs and to foster common goals; in the eighties, by contrast NAM's members are very much part of the problem that is generating international tension. The present era is marked by a high degree of polarization, intense partnership and narrow vision. A range of principle changes have wrought a systematic transformation of NAM (1) Third World leaders are less international minded more concerned with narrow regional and national issues (2) Most NAM leaders lack domestic legitimacy (3) The NAM has become more interested in economic lobbying than political brokering. Due to internal differences it has not been able to solve regional conflicts. Its attention to high visibility issues, such as NIEO is an attempt to paper over the low level of cooperation. Finally, its salience in setting the Third World's economic agenda may be expected to decrease, as UN forums take precedence.

## CULTUROLOGICAL APPROACH

38. EHRENFILS (UR). Culturological approach to non-alignment.  
Ind Yb Int Aff. 4; 1955; 124-36.

Non-alignment is not only grammatically, but also conceptually determined by a negation. It expresses a refusal to participate in the ideology of either of the two contesting 'fronts' without trying to stress its own ideology. The expression and the content of non-alignment have a deeper connection with the Indian Cultural tradition. Nothingness was considered a positive value during the Buddhist period. The Indian-mother-goddess concept is unique in its identification of world energy and Shakti with the goddess. She is the only source of tangible power in the phenomenal world without which the divine principle as such could not be perceived. Creativeness is essentially nothingness here but of the greatest imaginable importance, in much the same way as zero is nothing, and yet is the key stone of higher mathematics. Related to this typically Indian mother-goddess concept is the role of womanhood in the structure of Indian culture. In the patriarchally organised class of Hindu Society woman was a legal zero. But matrilineal Social Structure places the mother in an important position along with her brother and husband. This is nonalignment in social sphere.



## EVALUATION

39. DINESH SINGH. Non-aligned movement: Aftermath of the New Delhi Conference. Indian and Foreign Review. 18, 12; 1981, Apr. 1; 10-11.

Discusses that since its inception in 1961 its strength has increased from 26 to more than a century. The non-aligned are not a bloc, not even a group; they are sovereign members of the movement devoted to peace independence. Their assessment of world events can be different, so can be their perception of threats. They are not monolith. However, they are committed to not joining Super Powers, not having military alliances with their and not lending to Cold War politics. They believe in the freedom of all countries, in non-intervention in two internal affairs of countries and in their self-resilience. Their objective is peace and international cooperation on the basis of sovereign equality to all.

40. LAKSHMAN BAHADUR K.C. Non-alignment Movement: Achievement and challenges. Rising Nepal. 1986, Aug 25, 4.

Discusses the basic principles of NAM, struggle against colonial system, strong opposition to racial discrimination, especially the apartheid and disarmament,

and development, strengthening of UN have also been well recognised as basic characteristics of NAM. A few more essential objectives like individual and collective self-reliance, Socio-economic development, restructuring of international economic system and establishment of new information order have also been added to basic principles. The major achievement of NAM is the admission of some countries to this movement who broke off their old military alliances to join this movement and the gradual increase in its struggle from 25 to 101 at the seventh Summit. The challenges like economic independence among nonaligned countries problems of South Africa and support to Namibian people for independence. Besides expressing solidarity with the front line States and SWAPO they must be given material support to these objectives. In spite of the grave challenges which NAM is facing, the international movement still remains the biggest ~~at~~ <sup>international</sup> peace movement.

41. MALHOTRA (Inder). Seventh Non-Aligned Summit: Rendezvous in Delhi. TI. 1982, Aug 12; 6.

Discusses that after hectic diplomatic activity in Delhi, President Saddam Hussain of Iraq has dropped its plan to host the Summit and wants it held in New Delhi. Cuba had consulted Yugoslavia, Algeria and some other leading members of the non-aligned movement, before putting forward its proposal to shift the Summit from Baghdad to Delhi. The phenomenal expansion of the non-aligned family is a measure of the movement attraction to the third world countries and, by implication the ensuring relevance of non-alignment. With certain limitations, the non-aligned movement, has stood the test of time. It has served the useful purpose of protecting and preserving the interest of third world. It was at the non-aligned foreign minister's Conference in New Delhi in February 1981 that a formula for political settlement of Afghan crisis, acceptable to both Pakistan and Afghanistan, was hammered out. In no other field, however, have the exertions of the non-aligned been more fruitful as in thirdworld's case for a just international economic order. As the conflict between the super power is sharpening, the need for a strong, United and resourceeful non-alignment is much greater than ever before.

42. NON-ALIGNMENT (editorial). EC. 7, 138; 1980, Aug 11; 5; 1-2.

Nonalignment concerns over deteriorating situation in the world. Do the nonaligned strongly feel that they have the role to play in a world in which two super powers assumes that international relations are the result of arrangement between Russia and USA. On both Afghanistan and Kampuchea there are serious differences among the non-aligned group. India felt that the best solution to resolve the Afghanistan issue would be through bilateral negotiations where as the intervention in other countries will be taken up for consideration by the non-aligned nations. The stated issue has been rendered tricky by India's recognition of the regime in Kampuchea which has been propped by the foreign intervention, India is unclear to take a stand on the issue of foreign intervention.

43. NON-ALIGNMENT: Acid Test (editorial). Mainstream. 19, 24; 1981; 1-2.

India's importance in the world has been reiterated in the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of ninety five nonaligned countries the biggest ever gathering at that level outside the United Nations. While the concept of

nonalignment today faces danger of disruption more than at any time in its career. While New Delhi meeting was in favour of the withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of any nonaligned countries and those who were in favour of it remained silent over the US project of a rapid development force in west Asia and the giant of US base in Diego Garcia. The Chairman of the meeting reminded that the nonaligned community has to think over many dimensions of nonalignment than and only than it shall be lifted from the morass of pious platitudes to the clarion call for the higher level of true patriotism which includes wisdom of not undertaking even peaceful Nuclear Explosions.

44. NORD (L). Movement of nonalignment: Harmony and dissent.

Bulletin of Peace Proposals. 7, 1; 1976; 90-5.

Points out that the influence of the Nonaligned Movement on concrete issues in world affairs has been insignificance. As to the functioning of the international system this might not be the case. The movement stabilizes this system by psychologically strengthening peoples and the nations aspiring to self-government in the long run a beneficial matter and the sense of unstable nonaligned States of being international, held in esteem and active. It has

failed to become a powerful international force since it has not managed to compensate for its lack of material power and weak organization by a positive goal. Economic cooperation within the Third World cannot bring this element of identity since it bypasses the distinction between alignment and nonalignment.

45. SOEDJATMOKO. Non-alignment and beyond. Non-aligned World. 1, 1; 1983; Jan-Mar.; 5-21.

States that non-alignment movement has lost its constituencies in a number of nations in the North on which it could count trade unions and the political advantages. There is a need to change in thinking in relation to North-South relationships. Most of the South problems are increasingly shared by a number of small and medium countries in the North. Moreover, the Movement needs more revive to become a popular movement.

46. VAJPAYEE (Atal Bihari). Movement that needs not till.

TI. 146, 59; 1983, Mar. 1; 8.

Describes that any attempt to non-aligned movement an ideological orientation either toward the Right or Left would not only destroy its character but deprive it of any useful role in international politics. The increasing domination of the world by two super-powers, both of whom behave as imperialists, weak nations whose security depends on the international security system, cannot afford to let the movement be a party to the super powers' conflict. Non-alignment was the outcome of cold war. It was a cry against the division of the world into blocs and spheres of influence the threat of which has still persists. Therefore, non-aligned movement must act as an autonomous force of action if it is to be a force for global transformation and democratisation of the system of international relations. The relevance of non-alignment should not be seen only in the context of cold war, but also in the context of complexity of the world and multiplicity of its problems. Leaders of the non-aligned nations are to be constantly reminded that non-alignment was not a historical accident, it was a historical and social imperative for helping peace, independence, and equitable relations among the nations. As Chairman of the Summit India has to prove itself worthy of the task of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned nations and recapture the spirit that guided the movements founding fathers.

IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH

47. FARAJALLA (Samaan Boutras). Non-alignment: Ideological pluralism. India Quarterly. 40, 2; 1984, Apr-Jun ; 198-206.

Discusses that in recent years the non-aligned countries have become deeply conscious of the shortcomings of their policies due to their military and economic weakness and disunity. This crisis is related to the complex phenomenon of non-alignment itself has always been beset by different currents and cross currents depending on divergent national interests. It is the global interest of the non-aligned countries to ensure the unity of their movement through diversity as a prerequisite to genuine political and economic emancipation.

48. GALTUNG (John). On the relation between military and economic non-alignment. Non-Aligned World. 1, 2; 1983, Apr-Jun ; 192-202.

States that non-alignment can become operational in a military sense only if it has solid ideological and socio-economic underpinning. Economically, if the country is in either camp then it will not be susceptible to ideological and remunerative force coming from the super powers, but also to the menace of punitive powers. Because of this very fact, India continues to be a leader among non-aligned countries and combines ideological, material and military non-alignment.



## INDIA, FOREIGN POLICY

49. DAMODARAN (AK). Nonalignment and India's foreign policy.  
Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 15; 1983, May 15 ; 7-9.

Claims that today the world is at one of the more dangerous movements' of history. Our civilization is threatened by twin dangers such as nuclear conflict triggered off by carelessness or too much zeal on the one hand and a major economic crisis on the other, either of which could lead to support of unexpected proportions for the millions of people on the earth. The great decades of decolonisation also saw the appearance of Afro-Asia as a new force on the world scene. Bandung signalled the emergence of a new and powerful body of opinion which could not be ignored by the Super powers. The seven years between Bandung and Belgrade when Nonalignment was institutionalised represented the near total elimination of colonialism in its older order cruder forms and emergence of the nuclear danger as an imminent one because of increasing antagonism, between the two power blocs. India's whole philosophy throughout the centuries has been tolerant and receptive of other views.

50. GHOSH (Partha S). Domestic sources of India's policy of non-alignment. India Quarterly. 36, 3-4; 1980, July-Dec; 348-62.

Discusses that the Non-alignment as a policy matter has so far been retained not only in relation to international environment but also in consideration to Indian domestic situation. The facts that the Indian Society is plural one having various castes, creeds and sects, India struggle for freedom through non-violence and non-cooperation have created a liberal tradition that shows anything claiming to be extremist. Although, it is difficult but not impossible to imagine a party in power declaring non-alignment as irrelevant.

51. IQBAL KHANAM. India's Policy of Non-Alignment and National Security. Indian Journal of Politics. 16, 3-4; 1982, Sept-Dec; 113-25.

Discusses India's policy of Non-alignment which was meant to keep India away from the power struggle, the arms race and military blocks. India was the first state to have pursued a policy of non-alignment that was new in the history of international relations. India's policy of non-alignment

was obviously an expression of the conscious to remain free in international affairs and to cooperate with others on terms of equality. It was based on the principles of balance of power. India's foreign policy actions since the beginning of independence shows that her policy makers have always been concerned about three kinds of threat to India's security namely the threat from politics of cold war and from its neighbours, Pakistan and China. The main changes which came in India's foreign policy after Chinese attack were about national defence.

52. MUNI (SD). Foreign Policy: New face of Non-Alignment.

Economic and Political Weekly. 12, 44; 1977, Oct 29; 1846.

Discusses that Janta Party had promised to correct the imbalances in India's policy of nonalignment and assured that they would pursue a genuine non-alignment policy. On fundamental questions like 'Human Rights and Nuclear Policy India has discovered identical views with United States India has received the fuel for the Thapar plant. Under the previous regime, India's approach towards the US was a

mixture of two distinct components of political and economic policies. There is a growing convergence in the political and economic component of the policy under the Janta government. The convergence is definitely in favour of U.S. position, so the atmosphere for Indo-US relations is "now free and relaxed. Such is the emerging dimension of India's 'genuine non-alignment'.

53. NANPORIA (NJ). India and Non-alignment. Swarajya. 23, 31; 1979, Jan 28; 8-10.

Discusses that foreign affairs are the area which is usually least affected by the change of govt. This is because of the role played by major powers, by a sustained Indian interest, in regional stability general indifference on this subject, traditionally attributed to the Jawaharlal Nehru's dominance in the field, the fortunate circumstances that the country has been spared any crisis comparable to Bangladesh or Goa or Sikkim. One wonders how the challenge of such a crisis could have been met in the present state of disarray in the Janta party. Delhi's motivation at the time are open to several interpretations Bangladesh, the U.S. tilt hostility and the need as New Delhi saw it for political and moral support were apparently responsible for new equation with Moscow. However U.S aid in the border affair failed to invalidate non-alignment. The Soviet treaty also failed to sway New Delhi from its independent path.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

54. NARSIMA RAO (PV). Non-Alignment a multipolar World.

Indian and Foreign Review. 18, 5; 1980, Dec 15 ; 9-10.

Discusses that the changing world situation and the new perceptions; it is yielding about the role of non-aligned countries. The world today is multipolar rather than bipolar, India remains committed to nurturing good neighbourly relations, economic and cultural cooperation with all other neighbours, based on the principle of equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit. We remain firmly opposed to Great Powers interference and competition effecting the freedom of nonalignment and security of other countries of the world. We are opposed to colonialism, imperialism, racial discrimination and domination and exploitation in any form.

55. NON-ALIGNMENT: A decisive factor of international life.

Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 14; 1976, May 1; 5-6.

Discusses that India and Yugoslavia stressed that the policy of nonalignment constitutes a decisive factor of international life. It was also stated that nonaligned

countries have consistently made a valuable contribution to promoting peace and cooperation among nations and to the attainment of the lasting solution to major international problems. The two sides affirmed that the main thrust of Colombo Summit should be on an integrated and balanced approach to problems of detente, disarmament and development and cooperation both on the global plans and the fields of development of relations among non-aligned countries.

#### PROBLEMS

56. CHALLENGES BEFORE NAM. Indian Express. 1983, Mar 8; 6.

Discusses that during the seventh nonaligned Conference in Delhi Mrs. Gandhi describes that World is forced with the threat of nuclear war as well as imbalanced economic system and pleaded for coexistence and cooperation rather than confrontation and exploitation which is the only way to build a same and new world order both political economic. On political side she warned against neo-colonialism and called for disarmament, non-interference and non-intervention and end racism and strengthening of United Nations. On economic side she stressed the importance of collective. Self-reliance and the creation of new world economic and information order.

57. CHARI (PR). Non-aligned movement at the cross-roads.  
Mainstream. 17, 43; 1979, June 23; 4-5.

Points out that the members of the non-aligned movements which were 25 at its first meeting in Belgrade has come to 85 at the fifth Summit in Colombo and more countries are expected to enter the movement during the sixth Summit meeting at Havana. The meeting of the Ministerial coordinating Bureau of the which concluded in Colombo recently was intended to prepare for Havana Summit. The issues which paralysed the Colombo meeting were the claim of Pol Pot regime to represent Kampuchea and the Arab move to suspend Egypt for entering into a separate peace treaty with Israel. The non-aligned movement is standing at the cross-roads and is in danger of breaking up. It is due to inner contradictions rather than external formation and introduction of ideologies foreign to non-aligned philosophy have led to bilateral disputes gaining importance over international issues. It is, therefore, serving as a platform for polemics rather than for constructive efforts. For its continuation new initiatives and structural changes are necessary. India, as a founder-member has a special responsibility in this regard.

58. CHARI (PR). Nonalignment contemporary justification and challenges. Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 16; 1976, June 1; 13-5.

Discusses that the nonalignment expressed the natural desire of countries emerging into independent nationhood after long years of colonial rule to constitute a force which could be independent of the major powers and simultaneously play a role in international affairs. On the issue of disarmament it was recognised that a particular danger to world peace today arises from the unbridled and increasing sophistication in weapons technology. It was agreed that Nonalignment remains as relevant to the world today as it was originally conceived. Unity was essential as there are decisive forces which could weaken, divide, destroy the movement.

59. GEHLOT (NS). Non-alignment: Crisis for a new conceptual definition. Journal of Political Studies. 16, 1; 1983, Feb; 83-95.

States that the non-aligned Third World is in a state of disarray for want of effective leadership. Regional Organisations have succeeded in diluting the non-aligned movements' solidarity. The importance of nonaligned countries, the application of this approach has given rise to a variety



of opinions among the countries themselves that has been exploited by the super powers.

60. GRAHM (John A). Non-Aligned Movement after the Havana Summit. J Int Affairs. 34, 1; 1980, Spring-Summer; 153-60.

Discusses that as long as internal dissension afflicts the Non-Aligned Movement its influence as global force will diminish, Whatever role NAM has played on World economic issues in the past will diminish further in relation to the role of Third World. This will give an opportunity to Western powers to ignore NAM and to deal bilaterally with other multilateral states with NAM. It is clear that NAM will resort itself.

61. JAISINGH (Hari). Nonalignment: Tasks ahead. Mainstream. 21, 27-28; 1983, Mar; 80-4.

Discusses that the challenge before the Nonaligned is formidable to bring about a new world order. Peace is the first objective of the Nonaligned which is still in danger. It is preservation does not lie in their hand. It is the responsibility of the two super powers. But the nonaligned can prevent the growth of tensions on their own

account and not allow themselves to be drawn into Cold War. Much of the tension around the world is in the Third World which could be due to colonial legacy such as Iran-Iraq War. The nonaligned nations have to evolve a system of resolve inter-state dispute which is necessary to prevent interference by global power. The nonaligned recognised it a long process. One of the problem faced by the Third World countries is the restriction on their mutual trade for want of foreign exchange. The Caracas Conference on economic cooperation held in May 1981 was a watershed in this regard. To promote collective self-reliance India has made generous offers of 50 per cent tariff cuts on products of developing countries as well as liberal terms for the export of technology and capital flows.

62. MURTHY (CSR). Between the Summit. Non-Aligned World.

1,1; 1983, Jan-Mar; 108-22.

States that during the seventh non-aligned conference held in Delhi in 1983, the Heads of State or Govt of non-aligned countries had the opportunity to review the world situation and put on record their views on issues bearing on the non-aligned movement and resolve to continue to work

for peace and progress in all parts of the world. The non-aligned movement expressed serious concern over the attempts by super powers to achieve transcendent superiority in the nuclear arms race by spending huge amounts on new types of weapons.

63. NARSIMHARAO (PV). Non-alignment: Problems and perspective. Mainstream. 18, 39; 1980, May 24; 7-10, 28.

Discusses that the non-aligned countries in their approach and effort for international peace and security have to adjust to entirely different and new circumstances. The first generation of leaders who formed and nurtured the NAM were influenced by their struggle for freedom in the colonial and anti-imperialist tradition. But today the movement is led by a new generation of leaders who are tempted by the inner tensions of newly developing societies, the danger of thermo-nuclear destruction and indirect forms of political dimension. The real objectives and principles of non-alignment have remained the same as defined two decades ago. However, the application of these principles must always be dynamic having regard to the arising international situation. We must remain every vigilant to safeguard our independence

and sovereignty against the interference policy of super powers, to achieve a more equitable economic order. Above, all, in the face of current deterioration in international relations and the threat of Great Power Confrontation, we have to difuse international tensions wherever they exist and promote detente and international cooperation.

64. NON-ALIGNED: Facing the truth. Hindu. 1979, June 12; 8.

Discusses that the real achievement of the recently concluded Ministerial level co-ordinating bureau of non-aligned movement at Colombo was the avoidance of suicidal break up into politically, ideologically and factionally wrongling camps. There are great many decisive issues among non-aligned nations-divergent ideological political orientations, varying relationships with super powers, bilateral boundary and territorial disputes. Vajpae observed that the challenges to the movement are internal rather than external. The changes in the contint and form of within the movement has shifted to the economic areas concentrated on North-South issues, unequal global trade and the striving for the New International Economic Order. In this situation the most worth while role that movement can perform is to serve as

an intelligently run, institutionalised forum for the arising of mutual view, summations of experiences and proposals such as Socio-economic, political and scientific issues- where areas of agreement, similarity, divergence and disputes can be mapped and cooperation worked for.

65. REDDY (GK). Difficult times ahead for NAM. Hindu. 1983, Sept 19; 4.

Discusses that as Chairman of non-aligned movement, India is increasingly concerned about the cumulative effect of the current turmoils in South, South-West and West Asia. The Indian visualisation is that the next year is going to be difficult one posing many complex problems for the future of non-alignment in a strategically important area that is vital for the existence/survival of the Movement as a major global influence. That is why India is keen on initiating some fresh moves to end the stalemate in Afghanistan, revive peace efforts to end Iran-Iraq War and find some way of averting the danger of total disintegration of Lebanon.

66. REDUCING TENSIONS and imbalances growing relevance of the non-aligned movement. Indian and Foreign Review. 19, 18; 1982, July 14; 5.

Deals with the address of Narsimha Rao, India's Foreign minister at the plenary session of Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Nonaligned Countries in Havana on June 3, 1982. He referred to several disquieting trends in the current world political and economic scene and underlined the importance of the role of Non-aligned Movement in reduction of tensions and imbalances.

#### PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

67. BROCK (Lathar). East-West competition in the Third World: The challenge of nonalignment today. Nonaligned World. 2, 3; 1984; July-Sept; 415-30.

Discusses the grand designs for change and development, which prevailed in the sixties and seventies, now seems to be fading away, Nonalignment as one of these grand designs has lost much of its determination to change the world. The world economic crisis and the further deterioration of the negotiating power of the Third World countries vis-a-vis the

industrialised countries at large have led to a new pragmatism which might help nonalignment to survive as an institution, but which might not suffice to keep it alive as a movement capable of generating new approaches to peace and development. Yet it remains fact that Nonalignment has the staying power of historical necessity.

68. DUTT (VP). Prospects before Nonalignment. Mainstream.  
19, 28; 1981, Mar 14; 9-10.

Points out that the New Delhi Nonaligned Foreign Ministers' Conference, February 8-13, 1981 sums up one aspect of both the strength and weakness of the non-aligned movement. Its very success has become its weakness. The non-aligned movement can not forget the progressive legacy left for it by Nehru i.e. the will and capacity to support Social Change and transformation to take a stand against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The recent conference demonstrated once again the central and unifying role that India and like minded countries played and will have to play and the increasing awareness among many countries that they can wreck the movement only at their own peril. After all, it is not a bloc that is why it is called a movement. It is the commonality of their interests and the need to have some instruments for protecting their independence and advancing their leverage that brings them together.

## SURVEY

69. NAM: Crucial hour. Mainstream. 22, 15; 1983, Dec 10; 1.

Describes that the flash points of global politics today are not difficult to identify: they range from West Asia to Central America alongwith the missile-rattling in the heart of Europe. South Africa with the intransigence of its apartheid regime, holding on to Namibia and threatening the neighbouring countries. Nonaligned Movement has to play a crucial role on these issues. Since the New Delhi Summit nine months ago, its leader expressed concern over the deteriorating situation threatening world peace. But it has no effect to halt nuclear holocaust. The time has come for NAM to set its priority and muster world opinion. India being the Chairman of NAM today has to play a key role to call for stoping of mounting of nuclear weapons, and to ask the super powers to sit together and negotiate to ensure world peace and not threaten to plungethe world into a holocaust. NAM has to concentrate on enforcing peace in West Asia and Central America. The NAM is required to demand for the vacation of territories of Palestinian held by Istael; aggression, and to bring to an end the US intervention. The massive mandat of millions beckons the NAM leadership to bestir itself and the world.



## DEFENCE

70. SEN (Mohit). Defence and Advance of Nonalignment: A mass revolutionary duty. Link. 25, 27-28; 1983; 21-3.

Describes that the masses making the revolution in and for India must as part of their revolutionary duty make nonalignment one of the banners they advance with. The defence and advance of non-alignment is a mass revolutionary duty.

## DISARMAMENT

71. BHAUMIK (Kirit). Argentina seeks India initiative. TI. 1984, Apr 23; 1.

Points that Argentina which has recently returned to the path of democracy after a long spell of military rule urged that NAM should seriously take up the thrust of disarmament if the movement is to preserve its credibility. The Argentina President said that being the Chairperson of NAM, India has special responsibility in getting its declaration implemented.

72. CHAKRAVARTI (Subhash). Summit calls for early ban on N-weapons. TI. 146, 71; 1983, Mar 13; 1.

Describes that the Seventh non-aligned Summit formally concluded and the first ever special message adopted by the Summit urged the great powers to stop the arms race which was consuming, at an ever increasing rate, the scarce material resource of the planet, destroying the ecological balance and wasting much of the finest scientific talent in sterile and destructive pursuits. The main thrust of political declaration of the Summit was also on immediate prohibition of use of nuclear weapons. The crisis which confronts our civilization today is unprecedented in history. We appeal to the great powers to give up mistrust and engage in sincere and fore-seeking negotiations in the spirit of shared good faith to reach on agreement on various disarmament measures to find out a way of depending economic crisis - which threatens all of us. All the members of the non-aligned movement are ready to do everything in their power to assist in this regard. The earth belongs to us all-let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on dignity and equality of man.

73. DAMODARAN (AK). ~~Is~~ Agenda for Nonalignment. Mainstream.  
21, 27-28; 1983, Mar; 55-62.

Points that the first item in the agenda of his Nonalignment Movement in 1983 would be the problems of nuclear disarmament. There is no other alternative to the Just as Belgrade Conference ended with a exhortation to the Supoer Powers to enter into direct disarmament negotiations, the New Delhi Conference should stress upon the five nuclear nations and particularly, the United States and the Soviet Union the need to seriously think upon the process of de-escalation of tension. The next urgent problems of disarmament would be a detated discussion of the economic problems. Inspite of its continuing role as a marginal force only in international decision making, the Nonaligned Movement today has a much more purposeful career to look forward to them any time in its short history. The agenda of Nonalingment, continues to be peace and disarmament; development and social justice. Today's crisis of conscience of mankind and the imminence of physical diaster for the whole race would have recognised by Nehru and his colleagues in the Nonaligned Movement with a sense of immediacy and anger. Perhaps it would be necessary to recapture that mood if the Nonaligned Movement is to fulfil its agenda.

74. KUNJU (N). Non-aligned Summit: What India should try to achieve. Caravan. 739; 1983, Mar; 20-22.

States that inspite of shadow boxing and sabrerattling against a non-existent Western imperialism, non-aligned countries should stop fighting among themselves and divert the money spent on buying armament to development purposes. Fidel castro propagates the theory that the Soviet Union is the natural ally of the non-aligned. The Delhi Summit can be called successful if it can resolve some of the bilateral problems among the non-aligned countries.

75. NEW DELHI message. Secular Democracy. 1983, Mar; 16-7.

Points the summum bonum of his New Delhi Summit was an appeal which Heads of State or Govt issued to super powers to put an immediate halt to arms race which is consuming resources and talents needed for development and which is destroying world's atmospheric balance. Speaking on behalf of a majority of mankind they also urged them to realise the essential linkage between the revival of economies of developed countries and survival of the developing nations. The current crisis originating in the Western industrial nations is global in character and can be met only by a multilateral approach, not resort to bilateralism as in 1920s and 1930. The member countries from all over the world were asked to attend the 38th session of the UN General

Assembly where these issues would be pressed by the Non-aligned.

76. SHARMA (Rama KVS). Global talks on aid to have-nots urged.  
NH. 1983, Mar 8.

States that during the seventh nonaligned Summit at Delhi, Indira Gandhi, Chairman of non-aligned countries gave a passionate call to nuclear powers to give up the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and resume disarmament negotiations with determination to reach agreement on world peace and reversal of the arms race. She stressed for the unity of non-aligned movement. She said it was the internal conflicts among members and their economic backwardness that paved the way for external intervention.

#### COST BENEFIT

77. NON-ALIGNED Summit: Stress on halting armament race.  
ET. 6, 92; 1979, Sept 4; 5: 7-8.

Discusses the nonaligned countries position on the need to halt the armament race and increase the official and overall assistance for development. The two issues are directly related. Since rising military expenditures result

in a continual drop and limitation of the so called transfer of funds to the developing countries with the continual rise in petroleum prices and growing import expenditures the developing countries are compelled to seek more loans. The annual armament expenditure of two blocs total between \$ 360 and \$ 400 billion.

#### INDIA'S ROLE

78. BHANDARI (Ramesh). India and NAM: Two years after New Delhi Summit. Mainstream. 23, 28; 1985, Mar 9; 6-9, 65.

Points that Nonalignment which is the product of the hectic condition of our freedom struggle and since then India has remained at the forefront of decolonisation efforts both at the United States and outside. The world today is faced with nuclear threat. Commitment to the Movement's goal and objectives and determination to promote unity within the movement is the need of the hour. The democratisation of international relations today is a truth which is fast becoming a truism. A fresh and world wide efforts must be made to halt the arms race. The recent appeal of the

Prime Minister of India together with heads of states to five nuclear weapons states represents a significant initiative in mobilising wider support for the nonaligned objectives on disarmament. It was NAM that called for New International Economic order with regard to individual hotbeds of tensions in the world, West Asian and Southern Africa remained at the top of world agenda.

#### NUCLEAR ARMS

79. MATHUR (Girish). Peace moves: Contrasting responses.

Link. 29, 5; 1986, Sept 7; 11-3.

Describes that in 1961, Nehru's peace move initially attracted great power misgivings but now the situation is different. Before 8th Summit at Harare the history of the movement was reviewed. Harare document sharply blame US imperialism for supporting the South African and Israeli racist sub-imperialism in opposition to liberation struggle of their people. Thus, on all important political and economic issues the Harare Summit has rededicated the non-aligned movement to firm anti-imperialists positions. Today the danger of a nuclear holocaust has become much greater than ever before. The first task of the non-aligned is to such

ban on all nuclear weapons tests which would include Reagan's pet Star Wars project and freeze nuclear arms. On India's initiative alongwith five other leaders from different countries USSR pronounced unileteral moratorium on nuclear tests but it is becoming difficult to continue obtaining from tests while the US goes on carrying out its test an forging new nuclear weapons.

80. NARSIMHA RAO (PV). Disarmament: A vital problem. Indian and Foreign Review 20, 10; 1983, Mar 1; 17-8.

States that for the success of disarmament efforts, it is imperative that detent and dialogue among nations should be resumed. Since no real headway has been possible in the talks that have been going on for some time now on so-called strategic or other nuclear weapon systems, the principal basis of these negotiations should be reconsidered. It would be better to treat all nuclear weapons together rather than making any artificial distinctions between so-called strategic, intermediate range, tactical or any other category of nuclear weapons or weapon system.



## SUPER POWERS

81. DUBEY (M). Nonaligned, Star wars and disarmament.

Mainstream. 24, 2; 1985, Sept; 8-10, 28.

Describes that the Nonaligned and neutral states have consistently taken the position that development of space weapons and arms race in the outer space must be prevented at all costs. They have called for undertaking of negotiations by convening of conferences on disarmament for reaching an agreement. The arms race in outer space can be prevented only if there is a genuine desire and requisite political will on the part of those who are developing such weapons and their allies to prevent such an extension of arms race. This is possible if the countries decide to forego defensive option and commit themselves to negotiation of a new agreement. India welcomed the important unilateral step taken by the Soviet Union to ban nuclear test.

82. JAYANT PRASAD. Non-aligned view of disarmament. ID SA

Journal. 16, 1; 1983, July-Sept; 77-94.

Disarmament has been one of the most important concerns of the Nonaligned Movement. Since its inception. This concern was nurtured by the historical experience of the non-aligned countries whose endeavour has been to guard their newly won freedom and remain outside the spheres of influence of the great powers. During the successive summit meetings over

the years they have shown progressive sophistication in dealing with specific disarmament issues. Despite various inherent limitations, they have constructively contributed to the disarmament debate through mediation between the two super powers, shaping the consensus in multilateral for including the General Assembly and the Conference on disarmament and making people conscious of the threat of a nuclear holocaust in an over-armed world. The Non-Aligned Movement has thus become "history's biggest peace movement".

83. NEW DELHI message: Summit call to halt arms race.

Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 11; 1983, Mar 15; 21.

Describes that the New Delhi Summit of nonaligned countries urged the Great Powers to halt the arms race which is consuming the scarce material resources of the planet at an ever increasing rate. The Summit said that the resources released by measures of disarmament should be diverted to promote the economy of developing countries.

84. REDDY (GM). PM pleads for reversal of armament race.

Hindu. 1983, Mar 8; 1.

Highlights that Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi during the Seventh nonaligned Summit at Delhi made a appeal to the big powers on behalf of the nonaligned community to reverse the suicidal arms race and refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances. She also appealed to Iran and Iraq to end war and pleading for early normality in Afghanistan. She reiterated in full support of the non-aligned community for the heroic Palestinians and Namibians Non-alignment is the history's biggest struggle. She said that independence, development, disarmament, and peace are indivisible and reaffirm the unstinting faith of the community in the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

#### ECONOMIC

85. BANERJEE (Subrata). Economic dimensions of the movement.

Link. 25, 27-28; 1983; 34-9.

Describes that two major issues facing the nonaligned today are disarmament and economic development and they are interrelated. This relationship has assumed importance because of the persistence of the crisis of World capitalism.

Each of the developed country is directing its attention towards more export of capital and goods and in the field of trade and finance they have adopted a policy of resolving their crisis at the expense of the developing countries. India has played a key role in the past in maintaining the unity of non-aligned movement. As the Chairman of the Seventh nonaligned Summit it has the opportunity to provide the dynamic leadership and direction to the movement which can only be achieved if clear cut positions are taken on economic issues and at least a few pracial steps towards collective self-reliance. The basic task before the nonaligned today is building the economic muscles of its mmembers individually and collectively. Collective Self-reliance and unity of the non-aligned, together with the cooperation of the socialist community and the peoples of the advanced capitalist countries fighting for peace can today save humanity.

86. MISHRA (Girish). Struggle for New Economic Order. Link.  
26, 31; 1984, Mar 11; 12-3, 16.

Discusses about the implementation of the decisions taken at New Delhi Summit particularly new economic order. Nonaligned countries have come to realise that without economic independence their political freedom and sovereignty

will be meaningless. They have also come to know that the period of hard struggle lie ahead and the vested interest will not easily allow them to usher the world in NIEO. Arms race will curtail the flow of concessional aid and official development assistance to developing countries from the West Mrs. Gandhi branded the NNC's as one of the biggest obstacles to the progress of developing countries. The debt burden of many countries has assumed menacing proposition. SDRs has not been linked to the development or balance of payment deficits which have given rise to foreign exchange.

87. SHAW (Timothy M). Political economy of non-alignment: From dependence to self-reliance. International Studies. 19, 3; 1980, July-Sept; 475-502.

States that the Non-alignment Movement has evolved away from a concern for strategic. Balance towards a demand for economic development. The movement has shifted from impartiality to advocacy of changed global crisis. Underdevelopment is seen as structural and not superficial condition. The nonaligned nations are increasingly critical about the co-existence of interdependence and inequalities and despite their critical position seek collective self-reliance to avoid further deterioration.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION,  
ACTION PROGRAMME

88. NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT: Action programme for economic Cooperation. ET. 9, 349; 1983, Mar 13; 8: 1-8.

Deals with the action programme for economic cooperation adopted by the Seventh non-aligned Conference. The Action Programme of the non-aligned countries was adopted at the Cario Summit. Since then forty-six meeting covering different spheres of cooperation were held which have made it possible to identify viable areas and determine priorities for cooperation. Important progress has thus been achieved in economic cooperation among developing countries both at the bilateral and multilateral level inspite of traditional and exogenous obstacles lying on the path. The development of collective self-reliance which is the purpose of these progress will help nonaligned and other developing countries to overcome the present crises and thus open the evernes of cooperation as the international economic environmental. The importance of financial cooperation among non-aligned and other developing countries and the need to strengthen the existing financial institutions of non-aligned and developing countries should also be stressed.

## INTERNATIONAL

89. COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE. Indian and Foreign Review.

19, 12; 1982, Apr 1; 6.

Deals with India's call for collective self-reliance among the non-aligned and developing countries. The Indian delegation at the fourth meeting of the Non-aligned coordinations of the Action for Economic Cooperation in Havana noted the pace of implementation of decisions and resolutions adopted in various non-aligned meetings had been slow. Mr. Khanna said that the participants at the New Delhi consultations recalled the policy guidelines given by the Havana Summit in 1979 for reinforcing the collective self-reliance of developing countries as a major step in the revolution of economic cooperation among them. Concrete implementation of agreed programmes and decisions could also constitute the test of success and adequacy of efforts to forge link among themselves.

## CRITICISM

90. RAINA (NN). Non-alignment: Illusions and blind spots.

Link. 24, 32; 1982, Mar 21; 25-7.

Points that the new economic order cannot be brought about merely by passing resolutions in the UN Assembly or any where else. The US is not ready even to start negoti-

ations unless it has the guarantee that the vital inter-related problems of food, finance, trade and development, the UN Agencies like World Bank and its affiliates will not be brought up for discussion. The most dangerous aspect of the situation in under-developed countries and even in developed ones as far as common people are concerned is the lack of adequate understanding of the twilight world of Transnational Giants. During the post War period dollar had had not been the main currency of the capitalist World U.S. could not have shifted its internal inflation so easily to the rest of the capitalist world.

#### EVALUATION

91. ADISESHAI AH (Malcolm) and PANCHAMUKHI (VR). Non-aligned Summit: Should it defer global talks? ET. 9, 334; 1982, Feb 26; 5: 7-8.

Discusses that the world today is at crossroads then ever before. Recession in the world economy particularly in developed world is threatening to assume the shape of a prolonged secular depression. The number of developing countries are moving towards total bankruptcy. This is due



to the continuance of efforts by the vested interests to such as U.S.A. to encourage the world economy to keep on drifting to their advantage. The inability of the South to give concreted shape to the concepts of collective self-reliance and South - South Cooperation and lack of proper and adequate appreciation in the North contributed to the crisis of the world. The non-aligned group has a record of rising to the occasion of the crisis and taking the right kind of strategies. The Summit should explore the possibility of holding global talks with the countries of the North who are sympathetic to the cause of NIEO and driving a consensus on the major interrelated issue. Initiatives in this regard should be launched without delay.

92. PANCHAMUKHI (VR) and NAGESH KUMAR. NAM: Economic nonalignment at Stake. World Focus. 7, 3; 1986, Mar; 22-4.

Describes that though NAM started as a political movement, it began to be more concerned about the economic aspect since Cairo Summit. Realising the inequitable nature of the economic relation between the industrialised and developing countries the Summits, have emphasised on

the achievement of collective self-reliance by developing countries through economic and technical cooperation among the developing countries. The presence of multinationals from the developed countries is regarded as a threat to the system of economic nonalignment. It would be appropriate that the forthcoming eight Summit of the NAM affirms its commitment to the thesis of economic nonalignment and the efforts motivated to weaken the economic independence of the developing countries.

93. SENGUPTA (Jayshree). Brandt to NAM: Implications of recent Brandt report and NAM Economic Declaration. Mainstream. 21, 35; 1983, Apr 30; 7-10.

Discusses that the NAM Declaration is quite different from the recent Brandt Commission Report. Unlike the Brandt Commission's report, the Heads of State raised their voices strongly and firmly to express concern over the structural deficiencies of the international monetary and financial system. While the Brandt Commission thought that the prolonged recession in the North was at the root of the crisis in the world economy. While realising that the Brandt Report and NAM's Economic Declaration are two important milestones,

in the ten-year-told march forward the establishment of New International Economic Order, the progress made by them is limited to the successful unrevealing problems of the South, and to agreeing on the major issues. But how to achieve their goal still remains the major question.

94. WORLD ECONOMIC situation: NAM Diagnosis. Mainstream.

21, 32; 1983, Apr 9; 26.

States that the structural imbalances and inequalities of the present global system which are an important cause of the current economic crisis, in particular that the developing countries facing give cause for grave concern. The economic crisis has depend since the Sixth Summit and now threatens to engulf the whole world in a major depression worse than the Great Depression of the 1930s. Economic Declaration of the Nonaligned Summit meeting in Delhi in March, gives a brilliant anatomy of the present world crisis which serves as a guide for the stand of the South with regard to World gatherings. The nonaligned countries were convinced that the present world economic situation required, more than ever before the resolute pursuit of appropriate national policies by developing

countries the utilization of the full potential of their mutual cooperation through their own mechanism, and greatly strengthened international economic cooperation.

#### INTERNATIONAL

95. GUPTA (Anirudha). Economic, Political Dimensions. Link. 25, 27-28; 1982; 49-50.

Discusses that at the global level, nonalignment seeks to defuse military tension among the Big Powers with a view to creating a climate of peace and security for the general good and well being of mankind, irrespective of national, racial or ideological barriers. At the regional level, nonalignment wants to limit military involvement in the affairs of the weakened nations. In economic matters, the nonaligned nations are striving towards the establishment of a new world order in which rich and poor can equally share man's worldly good and enter into mutually beneficial, social, economic and cultural relations. But by the very force of circumstances they have to choose a socialist path to achieve individual and collective self-reliance.

96. PROGRAMME OF mutual aid among nonaligned nations.

Indian and Foreign Review. 12, 23; 1975, Sept 15; 6-7.

Deals with an eight point plan to govern a new international economic order which was put forward by India's foreign minister, Mr. Chavan on 27th August at the foreign ministers conference of nonaligned, countries held from 25 to 29 August 1975 at Lima. On international political problem he expressed that today there was greater perception of the positive and constructive role that nonaligned countries had been playing and would continue to play in working for universal peace and progress.

#### MONETARY REFORM

97. SINGH (JD). Urgent need felt for world monetary reform.

TI. 146, 66; 1983, Mar 8; 8.

Describes that the turmoil in the international market appeared as an appropriate subject for discussion at the seventh non-aligned summit. Political issues having proved to be divisive. On the Kampuchean issue by the foreign ministers, the New Delhi Summit is expected to concentrate on the grave economic problems facing most member

nations. Frequent and wide fluctuations of exchange rates, apart from affecting the economic environment create grave uncertainty about economic policies of government. A notable feature of the exchange rates is the continuous increase in U.S. dollar in the past two or three years in relation to other currencies and even the Indian rupee. Because of the upvaluation of dollar in terms of oil prices, India is paying more for oil imports for OPEC countries in terms of rupee. The high interest rates in UP attracted a good deal of hot money from abroad. Until the world monetary system is suitably reformed the exchange rate situation will remain alarming. Unfortunately, the developed countries which have a dominant voice in the present system are opposed to the idea of reform. Experts felt that the non-aligned nations who are all members of group of 77 should bring suitable pressure to bear on the rich nations to agree to the long overdue monetary reforms.

## NORTH SOUTH COOPERATION

98. PANT (Girijesh). Global negotiations and the movement.

Link. 25, 27-28; 1983, 45-6.

Points that crisis in the North has severely affected the economic performances of the South. The inflow of aid and technology has become highly restrictive. The nonaligned movement is divided into two blocs because of the respective economic dependence. The spirit of nonalignment is the protection and promotion of freedom of its members. The Delhi Summit will have to focus on the common economic denominator which could unite its members. The Summit should focus on the role of regional cooperation as an instrument to reduce dependence on North. Unless the non-aligned nations do not become self-reliant in the field of basic necessities it will be difficult for them to ignore the pressure of donors of their bread. The Summit should have a smaller agenda of global negotiations while emphasizing the positive-sum aspect of the North-South relations and should also emphasize that negotiation would be beneficial to South only if it goes with strength. This can be possible only if the development process is made more autonomous and independent.

## SOUTH SOUTH COOPERATION

99. MATHUR (Girish). NAM and South-South Cooperation. World Focus. 7, 11-12; 1986, Nov-Dec; 33-7.

States that Nonalignment is essentially independence of judgement. From the point of view of Cold War it is going to acquire relevance as the cold War proceeds and is need to browbeat the newly independent countries into submission. In fact the NAM is going to be even an attraction for the West Europeans as well. The Prime Ministers of Sweden and Greece have already joined the leaders of four non-aligned nations to appeal to nuclear weapon powers to halt and reverse the nuclear arms. Likewise Gorbachav has joined Rajiv Gandhi in propounding the principles which should govern a nuclear free nonviolent world in the New Delhi Declaration. On the issue of New world economic order the response of West Europe to the aspirations of developing countries is not as negative as that of the US. India has the capability to play a leading role in the promotion of South- South cooperation. The economic agreement reached with the South African countries and kind of cooperation. India has extended to Vietnam and Rajiv Gandhi's response to Nicaragua's economic problems during Daniel Ortega's visit to New Delhi, are the steps towards the kind of South - South Cooperation.



100. NARAYANAN (KR). South - South Economic Co-operation:  
Need for bold action of self-reliance. Mainstream.  
24, 32; 1986, Apr 12; 7-9.

Discusses that when the international economic situation has become harsh and infavourable for the developing countries it is necessary for us to intensify our efforts at South - South Cooperation. The recession that has beset the world economy is amongst the worst. Since the 1930s Industrialised countries have shirked their responsibility to correct the imbalances and disparities in the world economic despite the increasingly - inter - dependent world where the North and South are closely interrelated. Since the inception of NAM the concept of South - South Cooperation gradually evolved and matured into a policy of world significance. In the Seventh Summit at Delhi pledged to strengthen and deepen economic cooperation in the South and accord high priority to the harmonization of programmes of economic and technical cooperation in our national policies and programme. In our preparation for the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau and the Eight NAM Summit we have ample opportunity to review the overall strategies and perspective in South - South cooperation. While moving forward with South - South Cooperation we have to keep a strict watch on developments in the North, keeping open our channels of communication, negotiations with the North.

## WORLD ORDER

101. EDOGUN (Clifford). Non-aligned movement today: Towards an ideological perspective of World Order. African Review. 9, 1; 1982; 68-84.

Points that realities of contemporary international trade relations which work to the demerits of the developing countries have forced a shift in the ideological posting of the non-aligned movement. On the one side, the new ideological commitment outlives the economic rationale for a new World order whereas on the other side it seeks to nurture among the developing countries a spirit of collective self-reliance and struggle against economic imperialism.

102. MPHAISHA (Chisco JJ). Non-alignment and the New World Economic Order. Indian and Foreign Review. 18, 11; 1981, Mar 15; 8-9, 21.

States that the perceptual shifts that has taken place among the members of the Non-aligned Movement since it has began twenty years ago, and the increasing importance in their perceptions and deliberations of global issues and the urgency of reforms in the present. world economic order.

The most of the developing countries have tried to combine their forces through the NAM and other groupings because of their politico-economic and military powerlessness to act alone in international affairs. However, the limitations of their coalitions as well as his most assumptional basis of their international behaviour must still be recognised.

103. NAMBOODIRI (PKS). Non-alignment and the new economic order. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 1983, Mar 7.

Discusses that historically, nonalignment was as much a product of colonialism as it was of East-West rivalry . Similarly the demand for New International Economic Order was as much a product of the neo-Colonialist thrust as it was of the new awakening of the erstwhile colonies. Nonalignment and NIEO concepts are the two aspect of same struggle of mankind against domination of weak by strong. Non-aligned countries have to fight the new colonist thrust not by shying away from the opportunities offered by modern technology but by blunting its sharpness through appropriate measures.

104. TARLOK SINGH. On giving substance to collective self-reliance. India Quarterly. 39, 3; 1983, July-Sept; 310-16.

Describes that non-aligned nations sought to be independent of the super powers and of their military alliances and blocs. Therefore, it was natural that after the oil crisis in 1973 and the declaration of the New Economic World Order by the United Nations, collective reliance should start as the key element of economic control of non-alignment. The nonaligned Movement and the Third World countries are one on these issues.

#### INFORMATION COMMUNICATION

105. PAVLIC (Breda). Non-aligned and the "information age". Non-aligned World. 1, 4; 1983, Oct-Dec; 483-97.

States that non-aligned movement and developing countries have achieved a considerable degree of cooperation in information communications fields such as the news agencies, broadcasting, training of journalists etc. However, they have been slow in organizing to face the challenges posed by crucial communications developments thereby diminishing their success in producing the basic changes in the prevailing development system.

## NEWS POOL

106. NON-ALIGNED NEWS pool: Coordinating Committee meeting.  
Indian and Foreign Review. 18, 10; 1981, Mar 1; 5.

The Sixth Meeting of the coordinating committee of the Press Agencies Pool of the Non-aligned countries was held in New Delhi from 16 to 18 February. 22 Press agencies out of 25 members of the coordinating Committee participated in the meeting which was hosted by the Press Trust of India. News Agencies, from a number of other countries as well as several international media organisations were also present. The meeting discussed and adopted several proposals for the expansion and working of the Non-aligned News Pool. Since the 1975 Lima Conference of Non-aligned foreign Ministers, the pool has come along way and has grown into an effective cooperative exchange arrangement between the news organisations of 70 sovereign countries spanning the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. Mr. Satha India's Information and Broascasting Minister said that the coordination Committee of the Nonaligned countries Press Agencies pool has done valuable work towards the achievement of new information order as well as in the fostering the spirit of collection self-reliance among the Non-aligned countries.

107. NON-ALIGNED NEWS pool. Eastern Economist. 67, 3; 1976, July 16; 129.

Describes that the six-day Conference of 60th World Countries held in the Capital for promoting the establishment of a non-aligned news pool after walk-outs and angry speeches ended with a happy note due to the untiring efforts of Mr. V.C. Shukla and Mr. Mohammad Yunus leaders of the Indian Delegation. The constitution of the pool of news agencies of non-aligned countries adopted by the conference laid the foundations for the dissemination of the correct and factual information about the happenings in the third world. India was elected as the first Chairman by the coordinating committee consisting of 14 members. In its first meeting presided by the Mr. Yunus, efforts were made to determine the ways and means of keeping the members in touch with one another and to evolve a framework for operation. So far as the draft of the constitution of the is concerned a good job has been done but it would be difficult to predict as how for it would survive under the buffets of the changing political scene in the world.

108. NON-ALIGNED NEWS pool. Problems and perspective.

Mainstream. 14, 50; 1976, Aug 14; 9-10, 29-31.

Deals with the problems of third World news pool. The newly independent people were of the view that immediately after freedom all their problems would be solved. But later on it became clear to them that mere disappearance of foreign rule would not mean end of exploitation. It was only in recent years that the countries of the developing world have begun to look into the inter connection of political, economic and social and cultural forces in the world. The demand for a New International Economic Order is an outcome of their awareness. Despite political freedom they were unable to have their full say in the Council of nations. This was not only due to the lack of power --military, economics and political but also because of the dominance of the channels of mass communication across national boundaries by a handful of developed countries and their agencies.

ORDER

109. CHOWLA (NL). New media order and the summit. TI. 146, 62; 1983, Mar 4; 8.

Describes that the non-aligned countries have made a significant contribution towards focussing world attention on the imbalance of information flow as between a few developed countries and the entire third world. There is no

doubt to say that the UNESCO adopted new world information and communication order owes its existence to the continuous efforts of the non-aligned countries. Similarly the international programme for development of communication (IPDC) could be agreed upon the concerted and behind the scene efforts of some of the non-aligned countries including India. On the emerging concept of a new information order the 6th non-aligned Summit at Havana considered that "the results achieved by the non-aligned countries in the field of information within the United Nations and UNESCO constituted a remarkable progress". The task of the 7th non-aligned Summit is more urgent to review the outcome of UNESCO's Belgrade Summit, held in 1980.

110. NON-ALIGNED PRESS pool. Indian and Foreign Review.

17, 4; 1979, Dec 1; 7, 14.

Deals with India's commitment of the Press Agencies Pool of the Non-aligned countries stated by Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Purshottam Kaushik. He said that the Press Agencies Pool represented, in an institutional form, the hopes and aspirations of the non-aligned countries



for a new International Information order. We are proud of our close association with the movement for decolonising the information system. He said India will continue to strive to make it useful instrument for achieving greater Self-reliance among the non-aligned countries in the field of information and improving their communication system. On the opening session of coordination committee of the pool in Belgrade on Nov. 19 D.R. Manekar said that non-aligned news pool launched in 1976 was still alive. He announced a plan for an integrated telecommunication network embracing the non-aligned world was being worked out, to modernise the outdated system. A crash programme of special training courses in news agency journalism was being conducted in five countries including India. He said how West was coming forward to grant technical and financial training facilities to the non-aligned bloc.

111. COMMENT (K Thomas). Non-Aligned news pool: Correcting the imbalance in news flow. Indian and Foreign Review. 18, 2; 1980, Nov 1; 13-4.

Describes that transnational news agencies coverage of Iran in recent years is that these agencies select and present news items only within the context of their stability

in their domestic market. The leaders of 3rd world have been criticising such selective coverage of world news. The non-aligned summit in Algiers in 1973, concrete steps were initiated to redress the pro-Western balance in international news pool. It was further explored at meetings in Lima in 1975 and the Nonaligned News Pool was created by statute at Conference in New Delhi in 1976. The pool is merely an association of equal partner exchanging news about themselves through a network Keyed to redistribution centres. It was never planned to assume the role of an alternative to transnational news agencies. The pool has encountered loud criticism. Some of it from sympathetic sources that wish the best for the pool.

112. SHUKLA (Vidya Charan). Information media in the non-aligned world: The New Delhi character. Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 20; 1976, Aug 1; 15-21.

Points that the first ever ministerial conference of nonaligned nations on information during its meeting in New Delhi evolved the charter for the non-aligned news pool agency which was attended by delegates from 62 countries

including 32 information ministers and 45 representatives of news agencies with the UN, OAU, Arab league and OAAPS present as observes. The decision taken at high level conference have invested the subject of information media with the significance and political connotation which it has for the nonaligned world. The Conference was able to elect a coordination Committee of the countries with India its Chairman to promote the news sharing activity. The draft paragraphs was also adopted for inclusion in the political declaration to be issued by the Colombo Summit.

#### INTERNAL DISPUTES

113. BHAMBHRI (CP). Problems of dissensions. Link. 25, 27-28; 1983; 17.

Discusses that territorial disputes among some non-aligned countries have weakened the movement in its struggle against imperialism and institutional arrangements are required to face the gravity of the situation. The nonalignment moved is under serious threat from the imperialists but it cannot face outside pressure effectively if its members are involved in mutual disputes and war.

## PEACE

114. BEBLER (A). Security aspect of non-alignment. International Studies. 14, 2; 1975, Apr-Jun; 289-302.

States the nonaligned movement which developed out of a desire among technologically weak nations to avoid domination by outside powers, has contributed in several ways to maintenance of world peace. Above all, the position of the nonaligned nations in the United Nations has helped further the goal of a universal international security system. It has also among other achievements, acted as an active catalytic agent in the transition towards a polycentric power structure in the world community and has made world public opinion more sensitive to the gap between the rich and the poor nations, which possibly constitutes in the long run the gravest danger to world peace.

115. CHAVAN (YB). Ideals of Nonalignment - World peace and prosperity. Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 17; 1976, June 15; 13-4.

Discusses that impact of nonalignment has been a tonic and blessing to the newly independent nations. In has helped them to preserved and consolidates their hard

one independence. Since its inception in 1961 Nonalignment has made a principled and lasting contributions towards the maintenance of world peace and prevention of global and local conflicts. It has been in the vanguard of the continuing struggle against imperialism, Colonialism and racism. It has focussed attention on the major economic issues facing the world and has made a constructive for evolution of new economic order based on principles of justice and equality.

116. CHAVAN (YB). Methodology of non-alignment. Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 10; 1983, Mar 1; 24-5.

States that Non-alignment fejects the grafting of biological theory on to political science implicit in the assumption that relations between States are governed by some incluctable law of survival. Non-alignment postulates peaceful coexistence among states and the substitute to peace through over skill parity. The postulate rests on a moral imperative that the search for dominance is wrong and the violence it entails a sin-reinforced by the practical realizatiom that the search for dominance has always in the past insidiously undermined the stability of systems of interstate relations based on the balance of power.

117. VOICE OF sanity (editorial). Patriot. 1983, March 8; 8.

States that Delhi meeting has commenced its work as a Summit of peace, a Conference dedicated to the noble goal of saving humanity from annihilation and a platform over a hundred sovereign nations determined to preserve the unity of the movement. The struggles for national liberation and the battles for economic justice and democratisation of international politics are interlinked or inseparably linked.

118. VYCHODIL (F). Policy of non-alignment and detente in the World. International Relations. 1975; 61-73.

The nonalignment movement has an important role in putting into effect the principles of peaceful coexistence, in developing, strengthening and intensifying processes of international detente. Peace in the world will not become entirely irreversible until most of the nonaligned countries acquire a correct understanding of these fundamental world problems, until they actively cooperate in putting these basic principles into practice in international relations along with the socialist countries, and until they help by their political and numerical weight in international politics to isolate the opponents of international detente -- the forces of domination, aggression and imperialism.

## EGYPT-ISRAEL TREATY

119. CHAKRAVARTI (Subhash). Non-aligned assail W. Asia treaty.

TI. 1979, June 11; 1.

Describes that nonaligned movement escaped one of the worst crisis in its history by finally settling for a compromise resolution on Egypt - Israel, peace treaty which was major topic of discussion in the meeting. The final document condemns the United States for trying to logidate the Palestinian issue and its assistance to Israel is realising its expansionist, imperialist and racist policy in occupied Palestine, but it spared Egypt of any direct attack. The bureau expressed the hope that the earnest aspirations of countries of region for peace and stability would be realised on the basis of NAM principles.

## INDIAN OCEAN

120. MALHOTRA (Inder). Non-aligned and the Ocean: Problems that must be faced. TI. 146, 68; 1983, Mar 10; 8.

Indicates that the non-aligned Summit has got the contentions problems of Kampuchea's seat on the Afghan issue, is wisely concentrating on economic challenges confronting it as well as the world at large. The non-aligned movement should also face the issue of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace on which there has also been unanimity in the

non-aligned movement ever since the Lusaka Summit in 1970. The Delhi Draft declaration of non-aligned movement, opposes all military bases and permanent naval facilities in the Indian Ocean by outside powers - the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain and France. Contrary to this the United States has made it clear that its reason for establishing a permanent presence in the Indian Ocean might change from time to time but its objective would not. It has been argued that the building up a formidable naval base in the Gulf, the West is responding to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. But this does not mean that non-aligned countries should left its quest to make the India a zone of peace.

121. RAJAN (MS). NAM; Constructive approach. World Focus.

7,8; 1986, Aug; 23-5.

Discusses that among the many constructive proposals made by the NAM under the rubric of disarmament, perhaps the one of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is an important one. Despite the fact that it has become a United Nations proposals, the movement has not succeeded in establishing the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It is entirely due to the reluctance of big powers to espouse the proposal sincerely



and seriously that it has remained a mere aspiration of the littoral and hinteeland powers and major maritime States continue to dominate international politics.

## POLITICAL

122. KOTRU (ML). Tense talks among the nonaligned. Statesman. 1979, June 4.

Discusses that last minute efforts were on to reconcile the widely differing views of some delegates on crucial issues like the expulsion of the Egyptians, the seating of the Kampuchean delegation and the Cuban role in Africa in the formal opening of the Bureau meeting of the nonaligned Foreign Ministers will get under way here tomorrow. It also deals with the 20-point Agenda for Colombo talks.

123. PANIKKAR (KM). New challenges. Link. 26, 31; 1984, Mar 11; 10-11.

Highlights the challenges that the movement will face from the Africa and Latin America. Though most of the countries from these regions are the members of the

movement, some of them have granted facilities to the United States. America's animosity towards nonalignment is easy to understand. The members of NAM judge issue on merit which means U.S. cannot depend on a block vote to support, however, indefensible the position. African commands the largest block of votes both in the UN and the UNESCO. Africa which is dependent on American aid for bread and butter can be black mailed by American to alter voting pattern. Whereas in Latin America who have developed sense of nationalism and are far superior to African countries cannot be black mailed by U.S. easily for obedience. It is in Africa that NAM is the weakest. It is in the year after New Delhi Summit that the threat has come into open when U.S. linked aid to the voting in U.N.

124. SABHERWAL (OP). Non-alignment: The new challenges.

Mainstream. 17, 38; 1979, May 19; 4-5.

Discusses the way in which the new challenges are coming before the non-aligned movement through the intense and heated discussions among the leading members of the non-aligned community that have commenced prior to the Colombo ministerial meeting. From the highlights of the eve-of-Colombo discussions in New Delhi, Somalia and certain

other countries were keen to press the stand that the venue of Summit should be shifted from Havana because of the role played by Cuba in Somali-Entthopian conflict over the Ogaden region. The ground on which Arab States built their case against Egypt, in Delhi brought before the sharp tussle between Egypt and other states that the treaty had been concluded under American aegis and as such Egypt had allowed itself to the fold of America. The non-aligned have not been relieved of the task put forward by the Colombo Conference. Today, the primary function of the non-aligned remains the fighting of unequal relations and domination arising from neo-Colonialism and similar forms of dominations. "India's effort to promote the unity of the non-aligned community have to be simultaneously reinforced by equal determination to carry forward the objectives which the Non-aligned movement has thrown up in the course of its long and sustained efforts to device the way.

125. SARDESAI (SG). New Stage and new problems of nonaligned movement. New Age.1979, Aug 26.

Points that the non-aligned movement has reached a new stage and is faced with new problems. Sharp differences

on such questions as the recognition of new govt. of Kampuchea, the exclusion of Egypt from the non-aligned conference, the admission of Pakistan into the nonaligned group are clearly not technical or procedural. They are highly political.

126. SETHI (JD). Opportunity for Mrs. Gandhi. IE. 1983, Apr 29.

Discusses that the defence of puppet regimes in Kampuchea and Afghanistan has lowered India's position in the eyes of ASEAN. Mrs. Gandhi as the Chairman of NAM has got the Chance to transform the mistake of the past in to an opportunity she has got to activise NAM. Her efforts may not be totally effective but if she can acquire the support of important nations it may work. If Mrs. Gandhi takes a neutral attitude between Hanvi and Asean Australia and France may support India.

## BILATERAL ISSUE

127. CHAKRAVARTI (Subhash). Bilateral issue raised at non-aligned meet. TI. 146, 68; 1983, Mar 10; 1.

Author discusses the bilateral issues raised during NAM 83. Pakistan inaugurated its entry into the non-aligned Summit by making a reference to Kashmir in total violation of the established practice in the movement to keep bilateral issues out of any of its meetings. There was a sharp response to Gen Zia's remark by the Indian spokesman who said that the only solution to Kashmir was for Pakistan to vacate its illegal occupation of Jammu and Kashmir. The major achievement of the Conference was the agreement on the final draft on Afghanistan. The Summit appreciated the sincere efforts of United Nations Secretary General for political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and supported constructive steps in that direction. President Zia asked the non-aligned movement to raise its voice of protest and exert itself to ensure the early withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. He completely ignored the Indian Ocean. Many other leaders expressed their views against the military preparation in the area and stressed the need to keep the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

## EGYPT MEMBERSHIP

128. RESPECTING ARAB feelings against Sadat's Course.

Hindu: 1979, May 30; 8:1-2.

Discusses that detailed interaction by the India's foreign Minister, Vajpayee with different shades of strong Arab opinions has led India to propose Egypt suspension from the membership of non-aligned movement. The methods that have been initiated in the Arab World to condemn Egypt's separate deal with Israel are economic, political and diplomatic. Egypt's position in the internal forums and notably support in the nonaligned movement is jeopardy support of internal political uprising will overthrow President Sadat and bring in a regime with a radically different orientation realising Israel especially only a comprehensive West Asia settlement, which has an independent Palestinian homeland and state as its core, can help to bring peace and security in the region.

## INTERNAL DISPUTES

## INDIA'S ROLE

129. KAPILESHWAR LABH. Intra-nonaligned discords and India.

India Quarterly. 38, 1; 1982, Jan-Mar; 64-75.

Describes that India's response to intra-non-aligned

discords has primarily been motivated by its desire to maintain unity and solidarity of the non-aligned group. India has shown tolerance of different ideologies and endeavoured to avoid an extreme ideological position at non-aligned meetings. By and large it tried to play the role of moderator between pro-Western and pro-Communist non-aligned groups at these meetings. It also tried to strengthen the NAN by emphasizing its economic aspect especially when the policy of non-aligned seemed less relevant with the advent of detente and polycentrism. With regard to Iran and Iraq conflict it has been deeply concerned and has made sincere efforts to bring it to an end. The failure of Indian efforts and those of nonaligned goodwill peace mission shows intransigence on the part of the belligerents as well as the limitations of the non-aligned countries as a peace-making group.

#### KAMPUCHEA

130. DESILVA (Manik). Kampuchea bags down progress at Colombo. HT. 1979, June 6; 4.

States that two contentions issues dealing with the hardline Arab demand for Egypt's suspension from the

nonaligned movement and who will take the disputed seat of Kampuchea delayed the nonaligned coordinating Bureau meeting. The admission of four members - Pakistan, Grenada, Surinam and Iran into the nonaligned movement was welcomed by the three dozen speakers including India. While supporting the inclusion of these countries on the Foreign Ministers Agenda Indian delegate said that he hoped these countries would abide by the principles long cherished by the movement. UNI quoting informed sources said that the Kampuchean issue appeared certain to be settled on the basis that the Pol Pot regime would continue to be seated without exercising the right to take the floor.

131. KAMPUCHEAN ISSUE. IE. 1979, Aug 30; 6.

Discusses that the non-aligned coordination Bureau meeting in Colombo last June failed to arrive at a consensus on Kampuchean representation and finally side tracked the issue. In the three month since then the position inside Kampuchea of <sup>o</sup>Hong Samrin and his Vietnamese backers on the one side and of Pol Pot and his gurillas on the other side have remained virtually unchanged. Neither of the contenders has much chance of being allowed to represent Kampuchea at the Havana Summit.



132. NAIR (VM). Summit may be extended: No accord yet on Kampuchea. Statesman. 1979, Sept 7; 1.

Points that during the Sixth Summit of nonaligned countries at Havana no consensus could be resolved on Kampuchea issue. At least on the economic issues, the Summit seems to be heading for a more constructive stand. This is particularly true of the energy issue. The political Committee of the Summit continues to be dead locked on West Asia. The African states wanted the milder formulation for the lines of the language used in the communique of the meeting of Organisation of African unity rather than condemnation of Egypt. The draft relating to rededication to the principles and objectives of the NAM is now as good as accepted. India and several long members of the movement introduced this innovation to balance the Cuban draft.

133. REDDY (GK). Kampuchea seat will stay vacant. Hindu. 1986, Aug 26; 1: 4-5.

Discusses that it was at Havana Summit in 1980 that the decision was taken for the first time against bitter opposition to deny Kampuchean seat to Pol Pot regime and leave it vacant until the issue was amicably settled in. After heated exchanges in the Political Committee on the ASEAN bid to get the Havana decision reversed, it was agreed at the Delhi Summit to adhere to the status quo

three Indo-China states have decided to let the Kampuchean seat remain vacant at the Nonaligned meet at Harare. The decision which was taken at a meeting of Foreign Ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in Hanoi has been conveyed to both India and Zimbabwe on the eve of the Summit Conference.

#### INDIA'S ROLE

134. *NAQVI (Saeed)*. India not for Pol Pot presence at Colombo. IE. 1979, May 10.

States that the India's permanent representative at the United Nations in his capacity as a member of the coordinating bureau of NAM supported the bureau's recommendation of Kampuchea's ousted Pol Pot regime be invited to Colombo but govt of India does not go along with the decision. Vajpaae foreign minister of India said that India wanted to promote good neighbourliness. He said non-alignment followed both by India and Vietnam enjoins upon us to keep out of military blocs and judge international issues within the framework of national independence and sovereignty.

## PALESTINE

135. MESSAGE OF solidarity with the Palestinian people.  
Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 11; 1983, Mar 15; 25.

Highlights that the heads of state or governments of Non-aligned countries in Delhi Summit have strongly condemned Israel for its repressive action in the occupied territories. In a message they expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people in their just struggle and assured them of unstinting support.

## WORLD EVENTS

136. MILLAR (TB). Alignment and nonalignment revisited:  
 A Western perspective. Nonaligned World. 2, 3; 1984,  
 July-Sept; 379-88.

Discusses that categorizing nations as aligned or non-aligned, black or white, north or south, east or west sheds little light on the reality of world politics today. In fact, the world situation is in constant movement. Among the Western aligned group, there have been varying degree of enthusiasm for American military protection, and even the most loyal must pursue their own national interests. Among the non-aligned, there is almost every degree of alignment.

## RACISM

137. CHHABRA (Hari Sharma). Nonaligned and the struggle against Apartheid. Mainstream. 23, 33; 1985, Apr 13; 34-42.

States that since the inception of United Nations, world awareness of the struggle of majority of black south African against the oppressive fascist minority white rule has spread and deepened. From the fifties, the nonaligned nations have been backing the South Africa's struggle for human dignity and justice against the inhuman policy of apartheid. This document provides a valuable historical record of the increasingly effective role played by the Nonaligned Movement in the struggle against racism and for democratic rights in South Africa and Namibia.

## NAMIBIA

138. ANATH CHARLU (S). Non-aligned meet on Namibia. Indian and Foreign Review. 22, 14; 1985, May 15; 7.

Describes extraordinary Ministerial meeting of the Non-aligned coordinating Bureau on Namibia held in New Delhi from April 19th to 21st. The grant of full diplomatic status

to SWAPO by India will no doubt give psychological boost to the heroic freedom fighters of Namibia. The Prime Minister's assertion of Namibia's right for freedom and determination of Non-aligned community to stand by the brave people of this country proved once again that Non-Aligned Movement, has been able to maintain its cohesiveness by standing together in its fight against racism. The final document adopted by the meeting consists of two parts, a Declaration and a Programme of Action. In addition to Namibia's freedom struggle, the members devoted some time to the critical economic situation in Africa. They considered a Report prepared by the Action Committee of the Bureau set up in January last at the suggestion of the Chairman of NAM.

139. GANGAL (SC). Issues before NAM Bureau. Tribune. 1985, Apr 19; 4.

States that during the NAM Bureau meet at Delhi. Independence of Namibia will be principal item of agenda and number of other issues of global interest. Such as disarmament and world peace; new international economic order, North-South dialogue are likely to be discussed. Apart from these the Coordinating Bureau may have to discuss the questions left to be sorted out by the Seventh non-aligned Summit held in Delhi. Should Kampuchea occupy the seat in the NAM and which should be the venue of eighth nonaligned Summit.

140. NAM AND Namibia. ET. 1985, Apr 26;4.

Discusses that after 18 years of war and eight years of meditation by major Western countries independence to Namibia, colonial occupation, terror and exploitation by the racist South African regime have continued unabated over the years. Pretoria has been behind the Namibian patriot and supporter of SWAPO. NAM at Delhi has virtually declared a war of Independence for Namibia. The Delhi meeting also took a far-reaching decision. Such as pledge of increased military assistance to SWAPO. The NAM meeting has called for an urgent meeting of UN Security Council to implement its responsibility in Namibia. India has also offered the SWAPO representative in New Delhi full diplomatic status.

141. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN. Namibia: A symbol of NAM's struggle against colonialism. Mainstream. 24, 52; 1986, Aug 30; 24-6.

States that at the Eighth Summit Conference of NAM at Harare the Namibia would be the central issue for NAM. The struggle of the people of Namibia and the support of members of the NAM and UN is a test of legitimacy and creditability of Nonaligned Movement. In NAM's perspective Namibia has passed through all the stages of relevance to obtain its firm support and solidarity - it appeared as a

problem of negotiated decolonisation, regional problem and opposition to racism and apartheid. This is the region for convergence of support of OAU, the NAM, the UN and its specialised agencies and the world public opinion in defence of the right of Namibia people for self determination and peace.

142. SATINDER SINGH. Namibian freedom: Preforia's stand condemned. Tribune. 1983, Mar 9, 11.

Points that at the session of seventh nonaligned Summit, speakers who participated in its deliberations unanimously and unequivocally condemn South Africa's attempt to block Namibian independence by trying to link it with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

143. SEN GUPTA (Bhabani). NAM's challenge to USA. News Time. 1985, Apr 14.

States that the New Delhi Conference on Namibia has taken the struggle against South Africa for liberation of this territory a step father by providing more effective

help than what was available hitherto to the freedom fighters. The political economic and military measures contemplated now make up impressive action plan of the non-aligned in the face of US support to the racist regime of South Africa.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

144. CHHABRA (Hari Sharan). Nonaligned and struggle against Apartheid. Mainstream. 24, 52; 1986, Aug 30; 36-46.

Discusses that in the 20th century where the world is advancing towards technological advances and equality of all men has become accepted norm, in one corner of the world, in South Africa prevails a system based on the outdated concept of supremacy of one particular race over the others. Nonaligned Movement which brings together nations that have experienced the humiliation of subjugation and the thrill of attaining freedom should fight to free the black majority in South Africa from racial burden of Apartheid. Since the New Delhi Summit, the Nonaligned Movement has continued its struggle against Apartheid.



India's decision to accord recognition to SWARPO and the opening of the Namibia Embassy in Delhi are the steps on the face of racist and colonial regime Pretoria. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the Front-line states of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Tanzania in May 1986 as Chairman of NAM was a reassertion of the NAM's unflinching solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa.

145. GUPTA (Anirudha). Sanctions against South Africa: Some issues and implications. India Quarterly. 42, 3; 1986, Jul.-Sept; 274-83.

Describes the relative strength of two opposite views on the subject of sanctions against South Africa shows that the pro-sanctions camp has won hands down. Supports for sanctions has spread far and beyond the range of African and non-aligned countries. The Eighth Summit of Non-Aligned Meet at Harare held in September 1986 unanimously adopted a charter of economic measures against South Africa. The range of sanction was extended to cover vital sectors of South African economy and for the first time NAM agreed to work out a plan of action to support the Frontline States because of their total dependence on South Africa for supply of routes, transport and energy.

146. PATEL (Hasu H). NAM as 'frontline' movement. Link.  
29, 5; 1986, Sept 7; 15-6.

Highlights that NAM is essentially an anti-imperial anti-colonial, anti-racial movement which is pro-peace, pro-development, equality, freedom and pro-liberation of subject people's movement. The nonaligned must directly involve themselves in the economic and military security of the frontline states of Southern Africa. As the Pretoria regime retreats further into self-made ~~lager~~ and as the revolutionary forces in South Africa mobilise further, South Africa will engage in more 'reverse sanctions' against the Front-line States. In this Scenario the NAM must become a real Front-line movement.

147. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN. Nonalignment and neo-colonialism.  
World Focus. 6, 9; 1985, Sept; 6-9.

States that nonaligned movement has become a worldwide phenomenon and one of the dominant trends in world politics with the increase in its membership as a result of the near-completion of the decolonisation process. But political decolonisation in essence is nothing more than the recognition of the right of an ex-colonial country to

organise its political, legal, administrative affairs in an atmosphere of national independence. It is merely the threshold to the domain of freedom for the people which can be governed effectively only by the completion of the process of Socio-economic decolonisation. In the pursuit of this vital goal the newly independent countries come face to face with the ramifications of that global reality called neo-colonialism.

#### ROLE, INDIA

148. AGARWALA (Sushila). Foreign policy and foreign aid in the Nehru era. Pol Sc Rev. 18, 2; 1979, Apr-Jun; 45-59.

Describes nonalignment which is based on positive factor also contributed to India's nation-building and state-building processes such as autonomy, power, national integration, economic development and world peace. Non-alignment enabled India to mobilize larger amount of aid on better terms from both the super powers without strings in cold war competition. After the Chinese attack in 1962, Russia had to overcome India's vacillation in order to face challenge of American policy of giving arms to India.

149. BANDYOPADHYAYA (Jayantanuja). Dynamics of India's strategic environment. International Studies. 17, 3-4; 1976, Jul.-Dec; 399-411.

States that the non-alignment and the North-South conflict constitute major linkages between India's global strategic environment and its immediate environment which means that India should initiate such goals of the developing countries as anti-imperialism and racism. She should also continue to demand for making the Indian Ocean into a nuclear-free zone of peace through nonaligned movement and at the UN. India must insist for the establishment of a new international economic order and abolition of the veto system as a revised programme of UN charter with a view to establishing world political order.

150. BHATTACHARJEA (Ajit). India's unique opportunity. IE. 1981, Feb 3; 6.

Discusses that combination of circumstances has placed India in such a position from which it can revive the nonaligned movement and possibly help pave the way for a negotiated settlement of the Afghan civil war. This opportunity does not arise only because India is hosting

the Conference and it is the largest and most powerful members of the nonaligned group. But the countries that are influential in the movement and willing to promote a peaceful settlement, feel that only India can pull off this coup at this time. Among them is Pakistan which is vitally interested in preventing the civil war from spilling over Afghanistan border.

151. GHOSH (Partha S). Domestic source of India's policy of Non-alignment. India Quarterly. 36, 3-4; 1980, Jul-Dec; 348-60.

Indicates that Non-alignment has become over the years and indispensable plank of India's foreign policy. To understand the Indian stance of non-alignment, one needs to know the intricacies of India's political culture. The non-alignment as a policy of posture has so far been retained not only in consideration of the international environment, but also in consideration of the domestic political situation. Besides, the fact that Indian Society is a plural society and various castes, creeds and sects thrive, the two hundred years of English education and peculiar sort of national movement such as non-violence and non-cooperation have generated a liberal tradition and

thus shuns anything which claims to be perfect or extremist. The Congress capitalised this national temper and it was continued by Janta rule also. There is a school of thought in India which seriously thinks that India's non-alignment has become irrelevant in the face of growing gap between the North and South. It is suggested that India should express its full solidarity with the South, because its future is linked with South only. Keeping in view the pluralism of Indian society, it will be expedient for the parties to take a traditional non-aligned posture, possibly with a little bias towards once super powers on the other.

152. GUPTA (Shyam Ratna). Nonalignment: A principled stand in world affairs. Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 21; 1976, Aug 15; 11-2.

Describes that basis of Indian foreign policy is non-alignment. Nehru conceived it in 1946 and in clearer terms in 1947 and defined its principle basis as conceptually anti-neutralism. The spirit of Bandung developed by Nehru, Nasser and Tito of non-aligned world achieved a cohesive form. These leaders worked steadily towards

the main objectives of nonalignment viz to contain both the blocs, to oppose the big power build up towards war and to seek to democratise international politics and diplomacy through the United Nations. These objectives were given formal shape of Belgrade Conference of nonaligned countries in 1961 which was attended by 25 countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since then the numbers of nonaligned nations increased to 84 at Lima. India has never viewed nonalignment as a temporary phenomena but a principle stand in external relations. That is why India is keen that nonalignment should maintain its identity.

153. HAMLIN (Michael). Non-aligned conference: Socialist block dominance checked under Gandhis. Time. 1986, Aug 25.

States that India was one of the original founders of NAM. Nehru, Nkrumah and Tito were the three principle figures in it. Since its inception in 1961 its membership has increased from 25 to 101. Before Mrs. Gandhi stepped back into the lead only Yugoslavia was leading any real to the movement, India's admirers praise the Chairmanship of Mrs. Gandhi for having enabled the organisation to re-assert its ability to indicate directions in which

problems of the world tension may be solved. India's proposal of new direction for the movement are to be seen in its concentration on disarmament particularly nuclear disarmament and on the global economy. India's main area of interest has been in South Africa and meeting of NAM co-ordinating Bureau on Namibia have enabled the Third World nations to express a concerted view on events in the area.

154. HAUSE (EM). India: Non-committed and nonaligned. Western Political Quarterly. 13, 1; 1960, Mar; 70-82.

Discusses that the mystic term Panchshila best suggests the influence of India's philosophical heritage upon her foreign policy and upon her standard of international ethics. These concepts predict an independent course in world affairs to design no alliances with either East or West. But this does not mean an isolationist neutralism, this is a policy of striving to steer a bipolar world away from self-destruction. In Nehru's eyes the domestic threat of communism is more than the external one. Therefore, India chooses to exploit for peaceful process<sup>es</sup> the permanent machinery of international organs such as the United Nations and the commonwealth of Nations.



155. INDIA AND Non-alignment. Mainstream. 8, 23; 1970, Feb 7, 10-11.

There is general tendency amongst us all to invest a degree of immutability in anything that we do or propose. This may be due to our shortcomings for continuity in tradition and history or the alleged absence of the concept of time in the Indian ethos. Whatever it may be, the Indian mind tends to stick to ideas once propounded and attempts has invariably been to indulge in repetitative reproduction. Whatever might be the result of this in other fields and spheres of action, in politics particularly our relations with other countries, this tendency may lead us in a very difficult position. India has to clear in mind (a) that the concept of non-alignment continues to be valid in her foreign relations; (b) that non-alignment will continue to guide her foreign policy; (c) that her pursuit of such policy need not necessarily involve her presence at non-aligned group meetings; if such participation would affect her bilateral interest; (d) that in formulating the pattern of her international relationship, she would not hesitate to reverse the trend which had so far given enhanced importance to multilateral obligations and lastely; (e) that when there is conflict between multilateralism and bilateralism, India would unhesitatingly plump for preserving her bilateral relations.

156. INDIA AND Non-alignment. Secular Democracy. 1981,  
April 6.

Deals with the movement of non-aligned countries entered a new phase as the February Conference in New Delhi showed India as one of those countries which built up the conception and the movement has to undertake a major responsibility in steering it clear of the new complexities and pitfalls. The role of India and the foreign minister Narshima Rao won all round praise for honest and earnest diplomacy.

157. INDIA FOR reconciliation, not confrontation. Indian and Foreign Review. 17, 21; 1980, Aug 15; 6-7.

Indicates the salient features of the present international situation and India's approach to the resolution of conflicts and reduction of tension in the world. The position today is that the developed countries today are simply not prepared to take any kind of bold decisions that they should take not only for the sake of developing countries but also for their own interest. The Nonaligned Summit Conference at Havana last year adopted

a resolution on collective self-reliance among non-aligned and developing countries. The policy of non-alignment as enunciated by Nehru and Indira has taken firm root in our national ethos. The policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence continues to be as relevant today as it was three decades ago. The greatest single factor in the situation in favour of peace is the urge of humanity, the desire of humanity to live, and that is represented by non-alignment, India is well placed to play her policy of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence of promoting international cooperation and defusing tensions in various regions of the world. We believe in the path of conciliation and not confrontation, of friendship and persuasion and not of hostility.

158. KAUL (TN). India's new tasks in Non-aligned World.

Mainstream. 18, 38; 1980, May 17; 7,9.

Describes India's Role in the Non-aligned World in its crucial periods the Nehru era, the post Nehru era, the present and future eras. At the Belgrade Summit in 1961, Nehru and Krishna Menon played a very positive and constru-

ctive role in emphasizing the need for peace and nuclear disarmament and in the formulation of five criteria of non-alignment. The Lusaka Summit which was the beginning of new dimension to non-alignment in the field of economic crisis, India emerged as a leading member of the non-aligned world alongwith Yugoslavia, Zambia, Tanzania, Egypt and others. After the death of Nehru, Nasser and Tito, the mentle leadership in the non-aligned world has fallen on leaders like Indira Gandhi, Julins Nyerere, Kanneth Kaunde. Non-alignment faces challenges from within and outside. The large increase in its membership has produced divergence approaches to world problems. India has to play a key role to keep the non-aligned movement as united, whenever peace and security are threatened particularly in the region. India must take the initiative to avert such threats and evolve a peaceful solution to such situations.

159. KHERGAMVALA (FJ). India at the NAM Summit. Hindu.

1986, Aug 29.

States that India's Chairmanship of the on going revolution of 65 percent of mankind can fairly be characterised as a phase of recovery of the movement. She has kept

a firm hand on the capstan in a turbulent environment without any time Dartering away its national interest. India's record on South Africa is praise worthy. However, Mr. Mugabe may be preoccupied with the nut and bolts of action of programme, he may need the help of India and Algeria and likeminded NAM members to see in foreign unity on a vital issues such as disarmament, North-South economic problems do are not given back seat. India is particularly interested to have the spirit of the five continental appeal to the super powers reinforced by the NAM. Similarly of economic issue agreed at NAM its interest was for the establishment of a standing ministerial committee of the nonaligned and developing countries for economic cooperation. On South Africa, India's and Zambabwe's opinions coincide. Their leaders believes that the West will have to accept some stick from the NAM.

160. KHERGAMVALA(FJ). Indian lobbying bears fruit. Hindu.  
1986, Sept 6; 8.

Points that energetic lobbying efforts by govt.  
of Indian officials have borne fruit on various issues

before the political and economic committees, at the Harare Summit. A spate of amendments to the Zimbabwe draft declaration had been tabled on issues of concern to India. Several provisions of the South - South Commission idea were noted to be repetitive to the Indian initiated standing Ministerial Committee for economic development among developing countries which was readily accepted. Similarly political committee unanimously accepted the recommendations of the working group on disarmament specially established under the stewardship of M. Dubey, Additional Secretary in Foreign Affairs. Another relief for the political committee was the unreversed acceptance of the Indian formulations on the use of chemical weapons. Iran and Iraq both agreed that the production and use of chemical weapons, including binary weapons was against international law.

161. MISHRA (RK). Firm faith in non-alignment: India against multilateral militarism. Patriot. 1979, Sept 7; 1.

States that at the Sixth Non-aligned Summit India's Foreign Minister reiterated that India is determined to oppose alliance system based on multilateral militarism.

He said the leadership and govt. have changed in India and will continue to change. But the entire spectrum of political view in India is unreservedly committed to the letter and spirit of the non-aligned.

162. PARTHASARTI (G.) India and Nonalignment. Mainstream.  
23, 22; 1984, Sept; 15-8.

Points that there was something inevitable about India's adherence to the policy of nonalignment. Our leaders during its struggle for freedom had refused to see India's independence purely in national terms rather they saw it as a part of global process which would be complete when all the subject peoples of the world attained full sovereignty. The challenges of decolonisation and prevention of a nuclear holocaust in an era of bitter antagonism were faced by the nonalignment. In order to survive, the non-aligned movement adopted peaceful coexistence as its objective. Tension mistrust and confrontation between the superpowers are increasing. India and other non-aligned nations have, both in the United Nations and outside, agitated for immediate banning of testing of nuclear weapons and for the prohibition of their use. Chairperson, India has tried to strengthen its role for independence peace and development.

163. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN. Decolonisation processes. World Focus. 7, 11-12; 1986, Nov-Dec; 25-8.

Discusses India's most heroic and persistent battle before and after independence against colonisation. The chief architect in its national policy in international affairs has been Jawaharlal Nehru. Nonalignment has been the dominant ethos of India's foreign policy. Decolonisation began in 1946, mainly in Asia and then extended to Africa and parts of Pacific in the sixties. Today the process of decolonisation is almost over, yet there vestiges particularly in Southern Africa is still going on. It is necessary to remember that India and the non-alignment movement, has consistently supported the cause of African peoples for liberation human dignity and justice and against the criminal policy of Apartheid.

164. VERMA (SL). Non-alignment and India's role in world affairs. Political changes. 3, 1; 1980, Jan-Jun; 79-90.

Discusses that non-alignment has become a matter of faith, philosophy and religion for India. India does not regard its foreign policy as an instrument of national



interest. India's nonalignment is devoted to world peace and the cost of its national interest. The need of the hour is that India should come forward as the leader of the group of non-aligned countries and uphold the UN charter to the maximum extent possible.

#### INDIRA

165. CHANDRASEKHARA RAO (PVR). Mrs. Gandhi's new role in NAM. Deccan Chronicle. 1983, Apr 30; 1.

Discusses that two-day Conference of foreign Ministers of eleven non-aligned nations at Delhi is intended to discuss to mobilise support among the outside world on NAM's objectives, particularly those related to economic cooperation and disarmament. As Chairperson of NAM Mrs. Gandhi would seek to indicate her position by an activist role as much as to project the movement into the international field as the project India.

166. CHOPRA (VD). Indira Gandhi's Role in Non-aligned Movement. Link. 25, 27-28; 1983; 25-8.

Discusses that next to Jawaharlal Nehru, in shaping India's foreign policy comes Indira Gandhi who played a

significant role. Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation of India's foreign policy which has been following by the Indira Gandhi with remarkable determination and flexibility in the fast changing world. Her concept of Nonalignment has not been merely a denunciation of power blocs and super powers. Nehru who was the chief architect of Non-Alignment and steered its boat in international waters, with the waves of cold war and arms race lasting with fury against it. Indira Gandhi brought it ashore safe as seen in the strength it has gathered in its Summit in New Delhi. During her stewardship India has brought into sharp focus on the economic aspect of the NAM. Since then the NAM has committed itself to the concept of collective approach to economic challenges to Non-Alignment owed to peaceful coexistence. The NAM with the biggest Nonaligned country. India is bound to emerge a decisive international factor in the eighties.

167. DUTTA (Sanjay). Aligned non-alignment. Indian Express. 1983, Aug 5; 6.

Points that at the 6th nonaligned summit in Cuba Dr. Castro advocated the Soviet Unions natural allies of the third world but at the nonaligned Summit India's

Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi assumed Chairmanship and said that Non-aligned movement had neither 'natural allies' nor 'natural enemies'. Despite the loss of his leadership role in NAM, Castro continued to work aggressively to project Soviet influence particularly in the Central America and the Caribbean. At the Delhi Summit Mrs. Gandhi reaffirmed the doctrines of Non-aligned movement and called for peaceful co-existence, disarmament and development which is the need of the hour. She called on the super powers to halt their arms race and divert the resources saved by disarmament to promote development in the third world.

168. KAUL (TN). NAM anniversary: An appraisal. Link. 26, 31; 1984, Mar 11; 9-10.

Despite the deteriorating situation of the world credit goes to Indira Gandhi that through her quiet diplomacy and personal contacts she was able to keep the movement going on. She tried to bring some kind of rapprochement between Iran and Iraq by sending her foreign minister to these countries. With regard to new international economic order, it was due to her initiative that the North realised the need for a meaningful dialogue with South.

It is expected that India as chairperson of NAM will increase its efforts in furthering South - South dialogue and struggle for individual and collective self-reliance among the non-aligned countries. Some progress seems to have been done for new international information and communication order in strengthening NAMEDIA and Non-Aligned News Pool which resulted to the U.S threatening to withdraw from UNESCO. The NAM is facing great challenges both from within and without. In such situation India as chairperson of NAM has a heavy responsibility which only she can shoulder.

169. KIDWAI (Anser). NAM and world peace. NH. 1983, Oct 11.

Discusses that since its inception in 1961 NAM has travelled a long way. The Movement, Broke a fresh ground with the recent visit of Indira Gandhi, to the United Nations as chairperson of NAM. She describes it as a quest for peace. The Summit level negotiations which she had with world leaders on vital issues such as political and economic have aroused a world-wide interest and wide-ranging effect Mrs. Gandhi as chairperson of NAM assumed new dimensions and new perspective in the UN. Her efforts not only found

echo in the NAM community but also struck sympathetic chords among the leaders of the East and the West in varying degrees. The recent Summit marks a watershed both in the history of the UN as that of the NAM.

170. KOTRU (ML). Mrs. Gandhi installed NAM Chief: World-wide Summit at UN Session, new economic order urged. Statesman. 1983, Mar 8; 1.

States that during the seventh non-aligned Summit after taking chairmanship of NAM from Cuba Mrs. Gandhi urged the member countries to demand more purposeful steps to carry forward the democratisation of international system and usher to international economic order. She also called for International Conference on Money and Finance for development to devise methods to mobilise finance for investments in the critical areas like food, energy and industrial development. She called for collective self-reliance among the nonaligned and developing countries.

171. MALHOTRA (Inder). India and the Nonaligned movement.  
World Focus. 6, 9; 1985, Sept; 29-31.

States that Mrs. Gandhi as the chairperson of Non-aligned movement has taken quite a few initiatives in pursuance of the Summit's mandate and with a view to translating in reality its aspirations. The most inevitably has been the series of steps aimed at rousing the conscious of the rich industrialised nations and persuading them to do the right thing by the poor and developed part of the world so that human race can live and cooperate within the framework of a just and equitable world economic order.

172. MALHOTRA (Inder). Three years of India's NAM Chairmanship. World Focus. 7, 9; 1986, Sept; 17-20.

Highlights that it was due to the stewardship of Indira Gandhi that the nonaligned battalions of disunity and conflict had started bedevilling them. The polarisation was made a thing of the past. The distance of the nonaligned movement from two powers blocs would depend on what they do in relation to the sovereignty, survival, security and principal interest of either the movement or the individual

country. It was also due to Indira's success that it became possible for India to take the sting out of the polemics over issues like Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The Delhi declaration gave the pride of place to call for the elimination of nuclear weapons from the earth and the prevention of their spread to outer space through falution doctrines as the star wars. After Delhi Summit the concept of disarmament and development received powerful impetus. The Six Nation's Appeal was perhaps the last major act of Indira Gandhi in the cause of peace and nuclear disarmament. The problems of Africa in general and of Southern Africa in particular were given importance under the Chairmanship of India.

173. MATHUR (Girish). How Indira lent meaning to non-alignment. Link. 29, 4; 1986, Aug 31; 15-6.

States that the nonaligned movement has always managed to find the right leader for the situation facing it any time. After 2nd Summit the leadership of the movement became the target of destabilization efforts. Due to Indira's efforts Kenneth Kambo was persuaded to host the third Summit in view of the liberation struggle then going on in the neighbouring Rhodesia (New Zimbabwe).

It was this Summit that Indira Gandhi described the NAM as the "Unfinished revolution of our times" and gave the call for ending the economic consequences of colonialism. Since then the Summit have been held regularly and on time. The New Delhi Summit, however put the NAM back on its rails. It has taken up firm positions on every issue be it Afghanistan or Kampuchea, the struggle of the Namibia and South African peoples against the racist sub-imperialism of South Africa, the USA's undeclared war against Nicaragua. At a time when US air attack on Libyan towns and South Africa's aggression against the neighbouring states, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe will take the leadership from Rajiv Gandhi at Harare. NAM has come out categorically against the racist policies towards its people and its denial of the freedom to Namibian people. Robert Mugabe will prove to be a worthy successor of Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Nkrumah, Castro and Indira Gandhi and valuable colleague of Rajiv Gandhi, Castro and Pham Van Dong among the present day leaders.

174. MENON (NC). Making a name for NAM. HT. 1983, Oct 5; 9.

Discusses that both ardent admirers and implicable critics of Mrs. Gandhi will be at one that the 38th session of the United Nations was different and the change was for the better. Both the United States and Soviet Union failed



to participate in the heads of state meetings sponsored by Indira Gandhi. Not only the quest for peace that some of countries such as France, Canada, EEC and well as Hungra, Bulgaria and Poland are now willing to go with nonaligned movement but the new economic order and international monetary reform mooted by Mrs. Gandhi have drawn support from French President Mitterand and Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau. The two have a great deal of evout in trans atlantic councils. Whatever the process might lead but it is beyond doubt that Mrs. Gandhi has put herself, India and the NAM on global map in shining colours.

175. SETTING THE tone. TI 146, 67; 1983, Mar 9; 8.

States that two speeches of Mrs. Gandhi on the opening day of Seventh non-aligned Summit were full of sound sense and free from rhetoria have helped to set its tone. For which she received repeated standing ovations from the gathered heads of state and governments who collectively represent the two-thirds of the world community. She made a pointed references to the Iran-Iraq war. But her efforts clearly has been to persuade the Summit to concentrate on the two challenges facing mankind.

First is the looming threat to the survival of mankind because of the mounting weapons and her suggestion to freeze the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons should be the immediate first step towards complete disarmament. Disarmament and development are interrelated. Her call for global conference to discuss the economic crisis including debt restructuring, is as timely and welcome as her demand for the democratisation of the world order, including the U.N and its financial agencies.

#### NEHRU

176. ANAND KUMAR (T). Non-alignment - a growing force. Modern Review. 142, 5; 1977, Nov; 295-8.

Describes the concept of Non-alignment of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was one among the principal advocates. India has remained firmly committed to Non-aligned right since the dawn of independence. In 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru characterised Non-Alignment as a positive and vital policy which flows from our struggle for freedom. At the time of first Non-Aligned Summit in

Belgrade in 1961, the world was still divided into two hostile armed camps the Soviets and the Americans. The criteria for Non-Alignment was formulated by Presidents Nasser, Tito and Sukarno and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru were Independent policy based on peaceful coexistence, supporting of National Liberation Movement, Non participation in a bilateral alliance with great powers and rejection of Foreign Military basis. The strength of Non-Alignment has been growing steadily. Non-aligned nations contribute to the cause of world peace. They are always drawing attention to the permanent conditions of peace, disarmament, U.N collective security, liquidation of imperialism and racialism. They are playing a key part in strengthening the UN.NO; highlighting its ideals and fighting vested interest.

177. BASU (BK). Bandung Conference in retrospect, Indian and Foreign Review. 22, 14; 1985, May 15; 11-3.

Highlights the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in April 1955 not only signified the early emergence of a collective Afro-Asian voice against colonialism but marked a relative break through to promote and sustain an operational policy of co-existence Panchsheel, that

became the bedrock of the eventual expansion and development of non-aligned movement. Jawaharlal Nehru played a pivotal role at the conference as the envoy of resurgent Asia and Africa proclaiming their unity amidst diversity. On reaching Bandung on 16th April, Nehru had set the tone by expressing the view that the Conference should not address itself to particular problems, but instead, concern itself with broad principles on which unanimity could be achieved. He insisted on proper expression being given to anti-colonial aspirations, thus focussing on the common path of eliminating colonialism and for building a new world order based on peace, justice and equality.

178. DAMODARAN (AK). Nehru and Nonalignment. Mainstream. 21, 39; 1983, May 29; 13-7.

States that the idea of nonalignment from power block as distinct from neutrality of 'neutralism', is associated both in its evolution with Jawaharlal Neuru. Tito, Nasser and Nkrumah are the men who shared with Nehru the credit for anticipating the needs of the newly independent countries in a world dominated by very powerful

systems. The origins of the Indian policy of non-alignment have been recorded in the speeches of Nehru and documents of the Indian National Congress throughout the thirties. A great deal of Nehru's policy compulsion after Independence could be traced to his hypersensitive reaction to the nuclear weapon. India's refusal to abandon the path of nonalignment was ensured by Nehru's personal commitment at a very difficult moment which survived the India-China conflict. The another significant aspect of India's non-alignment during the Nehru years which is of continuing validity today was the post-war changes in the Soviet Union which helped in an innovative change in India's domestic economic planning. Nehru continues to be the most useful as pathfinder among his contemporaries either in India or abroad in the new challenges of contemporary world such as the questions of disarmament and development, the international economic order and the extension of nonalignment to economic and the technological plans. The nonaligned movement today is not only respectable, but even fashionable.

179. IQBAL SINGH. Indian Non-alignment - the formative phase. Link. 25, 27-28, 1983; 12-4.

Points that Nehru saw the emergence of India in world affairs as something of the major consequence in world history not because it satisfied his vanity as an Indian, but because he regarded it as a process in the emergence of a more equitable system of international relationship. The nonaligned movement was born at Belgrade in 1961, however, its foundation was laid at Bandung in 1955. A movement not confined to Asia and Africa but spread to other countries as well.

180. MISHRA (KP). Nehru and politico-security crisis. Link. 25, 27-28; 1983, 15-6.

States that at a time when the seventh Non-aligned Summit is being held in India and the Movement is under unprecedented stress due to politico-security crisis, Nehru needs to be remembered. When India became independent, humanity was reeling under the shock of nuclear weapons which had been used in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was this tense situation that made Jawaharlal Nehru realise that

that maintenance of world peace should be prime task of nonalignment. At Belgrade Conference leaders like Tito, Nasser, Sukarmo and Nkrumah stressed on Colonialism. Nehru highlighted threats to peace and he pleaded that the conference must look things in the proper perspective. The major component of Jawaharlal Nehru's non-alignment were peace and disarmament development and interdependence. So that imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations are liquidated.

181. MISHRA (RK). Nonalignment and evolution of Nehru's World view. Link. 25, 27-28; 1983; 18-20.

Discusses that Nonalignment was a natural and logical expression of Nehru's world view which evolved gradually, but with a vivid direction during the two decades before India got freedom. In order to combat attempts to spread confusion and disorient the spirit of nonalignment, it is extremely relevant to have a close look at the Nehru's World view. His world view which became the frame work of nonalignment was not isolationism, neutrality, opportunism or equidistance between forces opposed to it. He envisaged a world order based on equality,

non-interference and respect for sovereignty and independence of nations based on cooperation and harmony. More than anything else his vision was a world free from war, tension and conflicts. India in its role as the future Chairman of the movement has a special responsibility to preserve this spirit.

182. MUKERJEE (Hiren). Nehru, nonalignment and peace. [Link](#).  
25, 27-28; 1983; 9-11.

States that at a time when India is hosting seventh non-aligned Summit it is worthwhile to remember the role played by India in the NAM and especially by the Jawaharlal Nehru who is considered as the father of Non-alignment. Even before India attained independence Nehru had expounded before the constituent Assembly the essentials of country's foreign policy of peace and freedom aimed at bringing a world without war. Five principles of co-existence proclaimed by India and the People's Republic of China formed a basis of Bandung Conference, Nehru succeeded in a friendly fashion to provide leadership in a historic event viz. the political awakening of Asia and Africa after centuries of



colonial subjugation. Cuba from whom takes over has stressed that there can never be a so-called equidistance from both enemies and the friends of the movement.

183. NARAYAN (KR). Nehru's non-alignment: Origin and early phase. Mainstream. 18, 46; 1980, July 12; 9-12, 30.

Describes that Nehru was the first person who used the word non-alignment. In this formulation in 1946 Nehru not only spell out the principal ideas, objectives and aspirations that constituted non-alignment but adumbrated a frame work of relations with the rest of the world in accordance with the policy of non-alignment. He extended the hands of friendship to all nations, to USA, Soviet Union, Britains and the commonwealth, China and the neighbours in Asia and he declared his solidarity with the nations emerging from Colonialism and imperialism. He was one of the first statesman who felt strongly the necessity and inevitability of international cooperation in the modern age of Science and technology for human progress as well as survival. Nehru's refusal to attend San Francisco Conference and his conclusion with separate peace treaty with Japan, and his role in the Korean and Indo-China crissis, were achievements of policy of non-alignment which had Asian as well as global significance.

184. RAJAN (MS). Jawaharlal Nehru and Nonalignment. Indian and Foreign Review. 18, 8; 1981, Feb 1; 10-2, 19.

Discusses about the pioneering advocates of non-alignment by Jawaharlal Nehru. The objective conditions of India and international situation after the 2nd world war called for such policy of non-alignment. His policy was on enlightened national interest. Such interest which was in harmony with the interests of the other nations of the world community. To him the most important national interest was peace without which the newly independent nations would be unable to promote the other elements of their respective national interest. He was untiring in emphasizing economic independence to reinforce political independence. During his period of India's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, he sought to implement India's Non-alignment policy under critical conditions in India and series of grave international conflicts and situations.

#### RAJIV

185. CHHABRA (Hari Sharan). Behind the scenes at Harare. Tribune. 1986, Sept 2; 1.

States that Rajiv Gandhi had detailed discussion with important nonaligned countries like Zimbabwe, Yugoslavia, Cuba on bilateral issues. India's announcement of opening

its diplomatic mission in Botswana attracted a lot of attention. His major burden of talks with nonaligned leaders had been seek their support in preserving the unity of the movement. Indian Prime Minister feels that the demolition of the abominable system of apartheid will bring peace in Southern Africa. Rajiv Gandhi said although he supported the idea of South - South dialogue and the necessity of a new international order.

186. JAN SEN (GH). Rajiv steals the show. Decean Herald.  
1986, Sept 10.

Points that India did well at the Nonaligned Summit at Harare. The issues that has dominated this meeting has been sanction against South Africa. Rajiv Gandhi intervned various times and emphasised that there had to be sanctions than there would be reprisals by South Africa on frontline African States who had to be helped to withstand those attacks and that India would give that help and was already working out in Harare the details of this assistance with frontline states particularly the Zimbabweans. None of other leads sp in this down-to earth fashion.

187. KHERGAMVALA. (FJ). PM moves to get aid from frontline states. Hindu. 1986, Sept 6; 4.

States that despite distractions like the seizure of the Panans, aircraft with Indian nationals abroad and the British Governments' decision to introduce a new visa regime for Indian nationals. Rajiv Gandhi continued to make the fullest use of time to work on framework of a concrete steps to help the frontline African nations absorb the effects of sanctions against South African which resulted to the foreign Ministers tour to several African nations. The foreign ministers would discuss with frontline states for concrete steps on the agreement reached here with Rajiv Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi's role has left Robert Mugabe to handle the other burning issues at the NAM Summit in his capacity as Chairman.

188. KHERGAMVALA (FJ). Rajiv Gandhi presents a world view of NAM. Hindu. 1986, Sept 3; 1: 1-3.

Highlights the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi's speech at Harare which reflected India's exposition of the world view in the NAM in future. There was no direct reference to the U.S or Soviet Union on the issues such

as Indian Ocean, notably Diego Garcia, disarmament including the strategic defence initiative or on Nicaragua. While complimenting the Soviet Union pointed by for extending its moratorium on nuclear weapon tests a significant nuance has been introduced in seeking similar responses from U.S., China and U.K. On Iran-Iraq war India's position is also pragmatic. India's support for dismantling the racist structure not reforming it was time honoured and principled and not born out of compulsions as the Chairman of NAM. The speech called for comprehensive mandatory sanctions and NAM measures without waiting for industrial nations to initiate steps.

#### GULF WAR

189. MISHRA (RK). Rajiv initiates moves to end Gulf War, Palestine crisis. Patriot. 1985, June 7; 4.

Points that Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi on his visit to Paris has set in motion a major initiatives to end the Iran-Iraq war and the present state on the Palestinian questions, these two issues which have sharply divided the Arab World and threatened the solidarity of the Nonaligned movement.

## RACISM, NAMIBIA

190. NAM Solidarity (editorial). NH. 1985, Apr; 20; 8.

States that session of Nonaligned coordinating bureau on Namibia symbolises the NAM's concern over the unending reign of terror unleashed by the racist Pretoria regime against a freedom loving people Rajiv Ranghi being the chairman of NAM at the inaugural address set the tone for meaningful discussion with his announcement that Govt of India had decided to accord full diplomatic status to the SWAPO representatives in New Delhi. He also pledged the country to make a further contribution to the Non-aligned solidarity Fund for liberation of Namibia.

## SUMMIT CONFERENCE

191. MATES (Leo). Nonaligned countries between Colombo and Havana. Pacific Community. 9, 3; 1978, Apr; 291-301.

Discusses that political issue was the main stress during the first three conference of NAM but from the fourth conference the emphasize was on economic issues which was a definite departure from the previous concentration on aid to the developing countries. Instead emphasize was laid on self-reliance, mutual assistance and cooperation.

Now there is a demand for abolition of special privileges and controls over natural resources or productive facilities by foreign powers in the less developed countries. The Algiers Declaration (1973) on economic relations is a synthesis of earlier views and aspirations and lives of action for the future. Havana Conference will definitely continue in this direction.

#### ALGIERS

192. TADIC (B). Specific features and significance of the fourth conference of the non-aligned in Algiers. International Problems. 15; 1974; 15-34.

Describes that the Algiers Conference in September 1973 marked an important step for the nonaligned countries not only because of the growing number of participants and their exceptional agreement with respect to the appreciation of contemporary events, but also because of the adoption of concrete measures to develop these countries.

## BANDUNG, CRITICAL EVALUATION

193. JHA (CS). Fountain head of Nonalignment. Deccan Herald.  
1985, May, 2.

States that Chon was secretly envious of Nehru's prominence at the conference and that perhaps there was an element of playing his postures at Bandung. After ten years China with the collaboration of Indonesia and Pakistan wished to hold a second Asian-African Conference in Algiers dominated by China. This attempt did not succeed. In Bandung Declaration and nowhere in the conference word nonalignment was used. Nonalignment had been adopted by India as its foreign policy but it was not yet a wide spread doctrine. It is beyond doubt that Bandung declaration provided inspiration for the NAM, the organisation of African unity and the group of 77. The direct manifestation of the Bandung spirit was the creation of the Asian African group at the U.N which played decisive role in the early 60s for ending of colonialism.

194. THMAN (Haroub). Afro-Asian political map and the Bandung spirit. Indian Review of African Affairs.  
2, 3; 1985, June; 3-18.

Describes that the Bandung Conference is said to



be the fountain from which the concept of non-alignment and the feelings of Afro-Asian solidarity emerged. The founders of Bandung and non-alignment never wanted that their movement be a third force in the global system. They simply wanted to formulate certain principles in the conduct of political affairs. Their success today is judged according to the behaviour of states to the principles laid down at Bandung.

#### BELGRADE, APPRAISAL

195. MUKERJEE (Hiren). Nonalignment: Ordeal at Belgrade. Mainstream. 16, 52; 1978, Aug 26; 13-4.

States that recently concluded meeting of Foreign Ministers held at Belgrade by the nonaligned countries offer evidence of the malignant scheme of dividing and disrupting the movement by those world forces which are bent on setting up impediments in the path of advance towards freedom, peace and social progress for all mankind. There has never been a more contentious meeting in the history of the non-alignment, but it is good that at least a somewhat acceptable consensus could be worked out. In

1979 when Cuba will host non-alignment Summit, NAM will mark the 25 years of formulation in 1954 by India and China. India looks forward to the meeting at Havana the first born socialist country in the American continent with Fidel Castro. India played a positive role in Belgrade and succeeded in stressing the seriousness of the struggle against Colonialism, neocolonialism and racism etc. The economic declaration from Belgrade makes it clear that the interests of the non-aligned are attacked by imperialists and colonialists and never by those who support the growth, in freedom of all developing nations. May India that has played a seminal role in the movement since it was launched help to keep it clear of the road blocks so crookedly planted its way!

#### COLOMBO

196. HARI SWARUP. Programme for nonalignment Summit.

Mainstream. 14, 50; 1976, Aug 14; 14-6.

Describes that the Colombo Summit of the non-aligned countries is bound to be a major event in international life. It might succeed in framing the future course of world history. It might spell out new policies for stabilising peace and bringing economic justice to the nonaligned countries. The policy of nonalignment is based on the

principles of equality of nations and their right to peaceful co-existence. It has become a living force probably by reason of necessity. The need of the hour for the non-aligned countries is to protect themselves from the nefarious activities of the transnationals. The nonaligned Summit will do well to declare every damaging interference in the economy of a developing country as a crime against that country. The real strength of the nonaligned movement, however lies in the economic strength of the Third world, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has already stressed that detente should be extended to Asia and other parts of the world. It is expected that heads of states and govt at the Colombo Summits will devise ways and means for the practical implimentation of the principles of nonalignment.

#### DECLARATION

197. WIDE-RANGING DECLARATIONS and action programmes on world issues - Colombo Summit welcomes constitution of press agencies pool. Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 22; 1976, Sept 1; 7.

Discusses that both the economic and political declaration adopted at the fifth non-aligned Summit

Conference at Colombo called for elimination of foreign interference racial discrimination, apartheid, imperialism, Colonialism and neo-Colonialism an end to the domination and exploitation of developing nations. The Colombo Summit also welcomed and endorsed the decisions of the New Delhi ministerial Conference to set up a press agencies pool. It approved constitution of the news agencies pool. Welcoming the Conference Dr. Waldheim presented a fine point strategy to achieve equitable and prosperous world economy, namely movement towards international economic order, agreement on law on sea, bold new efforts to solve conflicts, old and new elimination of last remnants of Colonialism, and ensuring social justice and respect for human rights.

#### EVALUATION

198. SHAMIM (M). Colombo nonaligned summit - an appraisals. Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 22; 1977, Sept 1; 15-8.

Describes that the fifth Summit at Colombo was the first to be held in Asia. The presence of Tito not only provided the link between the founding fathers and the growing family but also stressed the continued relevance of the philosophy of nonalignment. Both Tito and Mrs. Indira Gandhi raised their voices above the clamour of claims

against neighbouring countries, provided a sense of direction to the movement and stressed that the task of the basis of solidarity, unity and cooperation. She described the movement as courage of independence. In a fast changing world she emphasised the continuing relevance and validity of the policy of Nonalignment. The Colombo Summit left no one in doubt that neither pressures from the left nor the right could deflect the nonaligned movement from its principled lines.

199. UNITY OF Nonaligned countries on fundamental issues -  
Mr. Chavan: Colombo showed greater sense of purpose.  
Indian and Foreign Review. 13, 22;.1976m Sept 1; 6.

Points that the Colombo Summit had shown greater solidarity among emmber states with regard to the principles of nonalignment. The economic resolution had collective self-reliance as its main theme Mr. Chavan said Mrs. Gandhi had made an important contribution to the conference by giving a load on basic issues. She was highly respected by all the delegates from all over the world. He said India would fully support Namibia and Zimbabwe morally and materially if they decide to take armed struggle for their liberation. He added that it was the duty of the non-aligned countries to help the liberation movement in South Africa.

## PROBLEMS

200. NINH IRAN VAN. Nonaligned but committed to the hilt.  
Pacific Community. 7, 1; 1975, Oct; 118-31.

States that in September 1976 the nonaligned countries will assemble in Sri Lanka to welcome the various revolutions in Indochina and Africa and to define strategy and study ways for the new phase of the common struggle. Fundamental issues are peace, security, economic development, racism, imperialism. Nonalignment is vast, deep and flexible to accomodate widely differing states. It is both tradition and revolution. But it is neither misleading nor irrelevant as secretary Kissinger thinks.

## DELHI

201. NATIONAL CONCENSUS on Nonalignment. Mainstream.  
21, 27-28; 1983, Mar; 17-8.

Describes that one day Seminar in Delhi was conducted by the Servants of the People Society on February 1983 to evolve a national consensus on the eve of the Seventh Summit. The participants belonging to different, parties, diplomats, academic personalities and journalists supported the Nonalignment. As a matter of fact, this

policy has grown out of the values of our freedom struggle under Gandhiji's leadership. This heritage found concrete embodiment in Nehru's visions to build the Nonaligned Movement incorporating anti-imperialism, anti-racialism, freedom of all peoples that Delhi Summit would provide added vigour and clear direction to the movement. Key to our solidarity lies in the re-affirmation and adherence to our commitment to the basic principles of Nonalignment.

#### ANALYSIS

202. REDDY (GK). Good progress on most issues at Summit.

Hindu. 1983, Mar 9; 1.

States that despite many hurdles a lot of progress was made in reconciling divergent views and narrowing down the differences in the respective working groups dealing with disarmament, apartheid, Namibia, new information order, central America, Western Sahara, Kampuchea and Afghanistan in the seventh nonaligned Summit Conference.

## CRITICISM

203. QURESHI (Yasmin). Seventh Summit of Non-Aligned Nations. Pakistan Horizon. 36, 2; 1983; 45-66.

Describes that the seventh non-aligned Summit held in New Delhi from 7 to 12 March was politically disappointment. After the Summit, it has earlier cohasiviness and strength because of its size. The peculiar point of Delhi communique was non- and it adopted a middle time. The non-aligned movement is capable of playing a key role in the future.

204. RAJAN (MS). Non-aligned movement: Need for membership criteria. Non-Aligned World. 1, 2; 1983, Apr-June, 222-34.

States that it is unfortunate that the seventh Non-Aligned Summit held in 1983 without discussing the 1961 criteria for membership of NAM reaffirmed its strict observance. Many of the weaknesses of the NAM can be directly traced to the looseness of criteria. There is an urgent need to review the criteria for the membership of NAM which was set in 1961 and revise and update on the basis of new consensus.



205. SUBRAMANYAM (K). Seventh Non-Aligned Summit: Desolate prophets of doom. TI. 146, 74; Mar 16; 1983; 8.

Describes that the purpose of this article is not to find fault with any particular event such the NAM failure - Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Indian Ocean and Iran-Iraq war, but to find out the solution of other problems such as the bilateral relations between U.S.S.R and U.S.A and the prism of super powers perspectives which dominate the international media. Because when the political analysts from the western would find it difficult to fault the logic of the NAM they start criticising the policies of developing countries while this provide a lot of entertainment politically all these comment are not meaningful. Non-aligned is a movement and as a international political process, continue to survive and march ahead.

DRAFT DECLARATION, AFGHANISTAN ISSUE

206. KOTRU (ML). Draft on Afghanistan a three nation compromise. Statesman. 1983, Mar 9; 4.

States that at the Non-Aligned Summit after an exasperating day long struggle a compromise was found by the 10 nation working group of Political Committee to put

across the controversial issue of a Afghanistan in the draft declaration in a way that would be acceptable to Pakistan; Afghanistan and India. Objections of both Pakistan and Afghan were met half-way while retaining the basic thrust by India.

DELHI, DRAFT DECLARATION,  
ECONOMIC ASPECT

207. ECONOMIC DECLARATION: For a new economic order.

Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 11; 1983, Mar 15; 15.

The New Delhi Summit of Nonaligned Nations adopted economic declaration which made detailed analysis of the world economic situation and suggested remedial measures. The Summit adopted 126 para economic declaration and decided that all possible efforts should be made to ensure the initiation of negotiations for the adoption and effective implementation of a programme of immediate measures in the interest of developing countries. It will enhance the strength countervailing power of the developing countries.

208. ECONOMIC ISSUE before the meet. Indian Express. 1983, Mar 7; 6.

Describes that 33-point economic draft to be considered by the non-aligned Summit has two distinct features: the spelling out of concrete measures to further South - South Cooperation and global look at the North - South problems hinging on the inter-dependence of the two regions.

209. NEW DELHI draft declaration. ET. 9, 341; 1983, Mar 5; 3: 1-8.

Deals with the economic part of the Draft of New Delhi Declaration. The Heads of State Governments reviewed the evolution of the world economic situation and expressed their concern that the world economic situation had considerably worsened and the economic problems of the developing countries had aggravated to that extent for the first time. In the present inequities world economic system the powers are in the hand of developed countries which are used to the detriment of the interests of the interests of the developing countries. They emphasised that promoting peace and achieving development were

interrelated and insparable objectives in international relations and needed to be pursued simultaneously. Stable global development and a sustainable international order require the halting of the arms race and urgent disarmament measures that would release surely needed resources for development.

210. SHARMA (LK). Economic declaration interests. W. Europe. TI. 146, 71; 1983, Mar 13; 1.

Points that the non-aligned Summit's economic declaration with its flexible approach to global negotiations has evoked considerable interest in the West European capitals. The EEC countries are much less beholdan to the OPEC now but even than they have retained their keenness over North - South dialogue. The West European diplomats see little change of the United States being enthused about the Summit proposal for an international conference on money and finance for development. The EEC countries are expected to mount pressure on U;S to join in the proposed talks in connection with the first phase of global negotiations covering only the agreed issues, India and other developing countries are expected to take up the monetary and financial issues at the IMF - World Bank meeting. The G-77 had already watered down its previous stand on global negotiations with

a view to interesting the north particularly the U.S which was identified at the New Delhi Summit as the major hurdle in the North-South dialogue. It is the group of 77 that has generated till now all ideas and concrete procedures, time-frame and agenda for the negotiations.

211. SUBRAHMANYAM (K). New turn to NAM's economic goals.

TI. 146, 76; 1983, Mar 13; 8: 7-8.

Describes that the recognition of the gravity of current global economic crisis by the non-aligned meet at its Seventh Summit is longer than the political declaration. The economic draft submitted by the host country underwent more intensive revision indicates that the current economic crisis has had global adverse impact and no country in any part of the world would have been spared from its consequences. Along with global approach to the problem of development, the Delhi declaration has also evolved some new perspectives on disarmament and development. The seventh Summit marks a new turn in the non-aligned movement in transforming it into a global movement for one world to promote peace and development.

## POLITICAL ASPECT

212. CHAKRAVARTI (Subhash). Summit finalises political draft. TI. 146, 70; 1983, Mar 12; 1.

States that the seventh non-aligned Summit today succeeded in finalising its political declaration but meeting could not be formally closed due to lack of unanimity on a formulation to end the war between Iran and Iraq. Officials engaged in the negotiations are hopeful that compromise might be hammered out by tomorrow morning. The Indian draft on Latin America was altered to make direct references to American intervention in some of the countries of that region. On Afghanistan, the conference reiterated its stand taken at the ministerial conference held in 1981 for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of the foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observation of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference. It reaffirmed the determination of the non-aligned states to continue their efforts to declare the Indian Ocean as zone of peace.

## EVALUATION

213. HASKAR (PN). Unaligned after decolonisation. Link.  
29, 4; 1986, Aug 31; 7-10.

Highlights that nonaligned movement's evolution from New Delhi to Harare must be seen in a proper historical perspective and not to be seen merely one Summit to another. An important component of this historical perspective is the fact that the non-aligned movement has emerged and continues to gain momentum as a movement against imperialist domination and economic, social and cultural exploitation. This character of the movement is of continuing validity. Harare indeed would be a new watershed in the history of the movement, for it is in Africa that decolonisation unfolds itself in an extremely tortured form.

214. HISTORIC SUMMIT (editorial). Indian Nation. 1983,  
Mar 8; 8.

Describes that seventh nonaligned Summit at Delhi which was attended by 101 non-aligned countries and inaugural speech of Indira Gandhi will go down as memorable in the history of NAM. Quality has no doubt

suffered with the increase of membership of the movement. But any movement has to keep pace with the time. World today is faced with the threat from the proliferation of nuclear weapons, economic exploitation of the developing countries and the technological gap between the North and the South is further widening. Nonalignment is not negative nor enutral. It stands for peace and avoidance of military alliance. It wants global cooperation for the development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of world's diversity. Apprehension of annihelation through nuclear war has always been the concern of non-aligned movement. Mrs. Gandhi has given a new dimension and positive direction to the movement by raising the slogan that we are one the brink of the collapse of economic system. This is bound to catch as most of the developing countries are facing a grave economic crisis except oil rich west Asia.

215. MALHOTRA (Inder). Beyond the Delhi Summit: What not to do to NAM. TI. 146, 75; Mar 17, 1983; 8.

Describes that after the successful conclusion of seventh non-aligned meet, the non-aligned movement has enough divisions and differences within its ranks.



India's responsibility as its Chairman is to help it overcome these, and not to aggravate them by ibjecting into NAM her own domestic onnflits. The essence of non-alignment is to decide each issue on merit and not to be predisposed towards U.S.A and U.S.S.R of course this exercise is influenced also by each non-aligned country's p̄erception of its own national interests - such as Jawaharlal Nehru devised the doctrine of non-aligned primarily to preserve and promote India's national interests and only later commended it to Afro-Asian nations as a sound guidlines for international behaviour. This it is that some non-aligned nations are friendly to Soviet Union than to the West while the reverse is the case with some others. It is absurd to demand that NAM must maintain equidistance from both the super powers at all times. The first fruit of the Delhi Summit has been the hurried establishment of separate NAM division in the external affairs ministry. This was for three years period to provide adequate support and coordination with the NAM's Chairman.

216. MISHRA (KP). NAM since the Delhi Summit. Patriot.  
1984, Mar 7; 4.

States that during the one year's time since Delhi Summit India's Contribution should be judged essentially

in terms of generating and promoting rights kind of ideas which ensure national independence and freedom of the new states in Asia, Africa and Latin America most of whom are economically poor, politically instable and military of no value. One year after the Summit the movement is in better shape inspite of many difficulties. It needs moral help, political support and economic assistance to transform themselves into viable states. India's Chairperson of the moment is trying to faster the pace towards changes in the right direction with the faith that ideas and movements can be obstructed but not stopped.

217. NEW DELHI message (editorial). ET. 9, 351; 1983, Mar 15; 5: 1-2.

Describes that the Seventh Non-aligned Summit meeting has won more fresh launch for India. The political resolution traces the struggle between status quo and radicalism without any mistake. Every nonaligned nations criticised the Super powers for interference in regional conflicts. The nonaligned members appealed to Iran and Iraq to end war. And Iran issued its own conditions to end war. The economic declaration of the Summit is clear analysis of various ills that bedevil the third world

economy. The weakest part of the New Delhi message relates to South - South cooperation.

218. PRABHU (AN). Quick follow-up to NAM decisions in offing. ET. 9, 350; 1982, Mar 14; 1.

States that India is making prompt arrangement for quick follow-up to the numerous decisions taken at the non-aligned Summit. The Summit spirit has put a special responsibility on India as the Chairman of the movement. Inter ministerial cells are expected to process and supervise multifarious activities, required for successful implimentation of the decision. On global issues India will take up supportive action through diplomatic channel with nonaligned and other developing and developed countries. It is imperative of the host country is to retain its sparkling image in the 101 member movement and face the challenge boldly Hard work and determination will make the decision a reality.

219. STRONG STAND on IMF conditionalities: Non-aligned to pledge for collective Self-reliance. ET. 9, 348; 1983, Mar 12; 1: 1-5.

Discusses that the seventh nonaligned Summit is expected to pledge for collective Self-reliance based on

the principles of equality, justice and mutual benefits and full respect for other's freedom and sovereignty. It has the support of oil exporting countries. The crux of the pledge is that the developing countries should depend on their own resources, skills technologies and strategies for development. The role of non-aligned countries in the field of international economic relations is described as pivotal. The non-aligned countries expressed their determination to continue work for strengthening and promoting international economic order. The crisis facing the developing countries which are being aggravated by factors such as squandering on armament race, the inward looking policies of the developed countries a decline in global liquidity, debt burden, decline in income and flows of concessional aid for development.

220. SUBRAHMANYAM (K). Sense and nonsense on Nonalignment.

Mainstream. 21, 25; 1981, Feb 21; 8-9, 28-30.

Discusses the assessment and significance of the New Delhi Conference of the Nonaligned foreign ministers. The assessment will range from characterising it as a fiasco to calling it a resounding success. First misconception is that it is not as strong as was in 1961

at Belgrade and secondly nonaligned lack unity among themselves and is a motely group. Two of the West sponsored military alliances have dissolved - CENTO and SEATO. Infact, the only international grouping which has maintained a continuous grow the potential is the Nonaligned. The strong nonaligned reaction to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea are distinctly steps forward in the non-aligned approach to foreign intervention. So long as rival blocs exist nonalignment will continue to prevail. The world has become multipolar in economic and political terms, but in overall strategic terms the world continues to remain bipolar. Nonalignment today is more needed as the danger of nuclear war is increasing day by day.

221. TAPAN DAS. One year after ~~the seventh~~ summit. Patriot.  
1984, Mar 7.

Dictates that the prestige and influence of the non-aligned movement in the international field increased more than ever before during the past one year since the Delhi Summit. The bold initiative of the NAM Chairperson, Indira Gandhi has been cited by the UN Secretary - General

as a symbol of source of real encouragement. The Chairman, Indira Gandhi have reacted to almost every global problem concerning freedom and peace in the true spirit of nonaligned, movement. The movement has acquired new thrust viz-a-viz imperialism and colonialism which pose the main threat to small and militarily weak nations sovereignty and unity.

222. VISWAM (S). Reflections on New Delhi Conference.

Mainstream. 21, 25; 1981, Feb 21; 6-7, 34.

The most significant outcome of the non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference in New Delhi, February 8-13 is that despite the interminable wranglings that marked the deliberations at committee and group levels a Declaration was produced which was acceptable to the fraternity. The national position of India over many contentions issues of the last one or two years have themselves emerged in the light of India's commitment to the non-alignment which neither the Janta government, nor the present govt denies as the corner stone of the country's foreign policy. A opportunity arose for reaffirming the Indian approaches to issues like Afghanistan,

Kampuchea and the Diego Garcia base. The nuances have got necessarily blurred in the Non-aligned Declaration. This is understandable because it is a declaration by ninety odd countries each with its own perceptions which are based on their national interest. But New Delhi's own perceptions should not get by default for want of proper advocacy in shaping domestic popular opinion.

#### KEY NOTE ADDRESS

223. CHAKRAVARTI (Subhash). P/M asks big powers to end nuclear threat keynote speech to non-aligned meet: New economic order need of the hour. TI. 146, 66; 1983, Mar 8; 1.

Describes that the seventh non-aligned Summit opened here today with fervent appeal by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, to guarantee peace, facility disarmament and achieve economic justice. She assumed chairmanship of the movement today from President Fidel Castro, of Cuba and her inaugural speech was marshaled by a dispassionate assessment of the problems facing the world. The main thrust of her speech was acclaimed by standing ovation by the heads of delegation, was on disarmament and the thrust

of annihilation of the human race by nuclear war and a new economic order. Mrs. Gandhi appealed to Iran and Iraq to find a solution to end war between them. She explained that the non-aligned movement had stood firmly for thorough - going restructuring of international economic order based on justice and equality.

224. GUPTA (Pranay). PM: No NAM tilt towards Moscow.

IE. 1983, Sept, 28.

States that one the opening ceremony of the Summit of world leader Mrs. Gandhi warned that the very fabric of world peace is under serious threat and summoned other leaders to renew their efforts in solving global problems. She said the very goal of nonaligned movement should be complete and general global disarmament and process should be start with nuclear disarmament. The strength and effectiveness of the UN depends on our solidarity and our dedication to the principles of United Nations charters. She rebutted President Reagan's remarks that the non-aligned movement had lost its original moorings and was tilting towards the Soviet bloc. She said the movement had adopted its positions inaccordance with its traditions and principles that had guided us since its inception.



225. MRS GANDHI sets the tone. National Herald. 1983, Mar 8.

Describes that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has set the tone for the seventh nonaligned Summit in her key addresses to the assembled leaders. All her speeches reflect her deep concern over the prevailing state of affairs and at the same time underlines the positive approach to some of problems facing the world. Her diagnosis of economic crisis is apt and remedies suggested by her were both timely and appropriate. For this she was given standing ovation both at the beginning and end of her speeches. Beyond the economic framework, she has reiterated India's position on Palestine, Namibia and other political issues.

226. NAM SETS the agenda (editorial). HT. 1983, Mar 8, 9.

Discusses that Mrs. Gandhi's inaugural address to the Seventh non-aligned Summit is indeed a masterly explosion of what the movement. Signifies and the tasks ahead of the assembled sovereign nations, representing more than half of world. She emphasised that nonalignment is not negative or neutral, it is a living and growing force for independence, development and peace. Her main stress was on the need to right economic imbalances, with

mankind balancing on the brink of collapse of world economic system. She also called for international conference on money and finance for development. She emphasised on immediate South - South cooperation among nonaligned countries for collective-self reliance. She told that big power interference because possible not due to economic weakness but also because of differences within the non-aligned groups. She pointed out that the NAM is history's biggest peace movement.

227. NONALIGNED PRIORITIES. Tribune. 1983, Mar 9; 4.

Indicates that the two principal points of Mrs. Gandhi key addresses in the seventh nonaligned Summit at Delhi covered the need for disarmament as an inseparable step in the search for world peace and the obligation of the developed nations to help in the establishment of an economically more equitable world order. In the process the new Chairman set the leaders of the NAM the specific task of devising a Coherent programme which should be taken up immediately to help the developing countries. She put the priorities of the non-aligned movement in focus. She described the present international monetary and financial systems as out of date inequitable and inadequate.

228. NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT: Text of speech of Mrs. Gandhi.

ET. 9, 344; 1983, Mar 8; 4:5-8.

Present article deals with the text of the speech by the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the inaugural session of the seventh Conference of the heads of state or govt of non-aligned nations in New Delhi. She said when assuming the reins of govt in 1946, my father, Jawaharlal Nehru, declared India's determination to keep away from power blocks or groups, aligned against one another, which have led to past two world wars and which may again lead to disasters on even vaster scale. Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and avoidance of confrontation. Humankind is balancing on the brink of the collapse of the world economic system and annihilation through nuclear war. Since Havana Summit there has been decline in the world economy. In spite of the Ottawa, Cancun and Versailles, the dialogue between the developed and developing countries has not ever begun. The Nonaligned Movement has stood firmly for a thoroughgoing restructuring of international economic relations. We are against exploitation. We reiterate our commitment to the establishment of New International Economic Order based on justice and equality.

229. SATINDER SINGH. Nonaligned Summit begins. Tribune.  
1983, Mar 8; 1.

States that on the opening ceremony of seventh nonaligned summit of Delhi Mrs. Gandhi warned that mankind was threatened with two mortal dangers - annihilation through nuclear war and collapse of the world economic system. She appealed to the nuclear weapons powers to resume disarmament, negotiations with determination to reach agreement which would enable them to divert massive funds for the development of the third world. She took the mantle of leadership of the 101 nation movement from Fidel Castro. The mantle was thus passed on the daughter of the man who was one of the founding fathers of nonalignment which has emerged as world's larger peace force in course of time.

#### PROBLEMS

230. CHOPRA (Prem). New dimensions. ET. 9, 342; 1983,  
Mar 6; 4:6-8.

Discusses that the New Delhi Summit is going to face number of challenges such as threat of nuclear war from the two super powers. Tensions between two super powers and the resulting threat to world peace are steeply rising. Nonaligned movement has more adherants and more

allies that it ever had before. Its growing size and weight give it a better chance of unity and stability through sheer Ballast than it had before. The importance of NAM has enormously increased. Now it can tackle the power tactics of two power blocks in a better way, Global negotiations are high up on the agenda which would be taken up at the Summit alongwith some. Self help efforts by the Third World itself in his form of economic cooperation between the developing countries. On the issues on which movement is internally divided such as Afghanistan and Kampuchea on the one hand and on the other hand some of the Latin charges against USA and charges against the West in general by some West Asian, African and South Asian nonaligned countries, the movement has gained a lot of experience in modernising the extremists positions and forestalling schemes.

231. DUA (HK). Summit today: Plea for N-disarmament likely.

IE. 1983, Mar 7; 1.

Points that seventh non-aligned Summit opens today and after 21 years of NAM's inception India will take the Chairmanship from Fidel Castro of Cuba. The leaders of 101 non-aligned nations will discuss the vital issues

concerning war and peace disarmament, the crisis in the global economy, a better deal for the world's poor and controversial issues such as the Indian Ocean, Iran-Iraq war, Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

232. MESSAGE OF New Delhi (editorial). Mainstream. 21, 27-28; 1983, Mar; 11-2.

Discusses that the seventh Summit of NAM with one hundred members in the praternity representing the overwhelming majority of the world's population has a significance which no grouping of countries past, present can claim except United Nations in which too the Nonaligned constitute two thirds of its entire strength. The first task of the Delhi Summit would be to deliberate its first judgement on Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The other subjects before the Nonaligned Summit - the liquidation of apartheid and liberation of South Africa are the unfinished tasks of Decolonisation. Israel's barbaric offensive against the Palestine people's right to homeland is a matter of concern for the entire Movement. The central issue today is one of survival by nuclear holocaust. It is therefore incumbent upon the New Delhi summit to come out with a clarion call to mankind to

stand up to the immence of a nuclear holocaust and urge the nuclear weapons powers to stop the use of nuclear weapons and freez their stokpiles. If the nuclear arms race is halted then resources on a global scale could be made available for the purpose of uplifting the conditions not only of the Third World but for the humanity as a whole. There is close relationship between Disarmament and Development.

233. MUNI (SD). South Asian perspective. Link. 25, 27-28; 1983,; 63-4.

Describes that Seventh Non-aligned Summit in Delhi is being held at a time when the world as a whole is standing on the brink of economic collapse and armed (nuclear) explosion. The contribution made by South Asia in the origin, evolution and strengthening of non-alignment is unique. The most crucial factor behind and Indo-centric nature of the Sub-continent. It is because of the introvert security perceptions that South Asian Countries support the proposal of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

234. NEW DELHI Summit: Collective self-reliance among developing countries. Indian and Foreign Review. 20, 11; 1983, Mar 15; 17.

During Non-aligned Summit at Delhi, the nonaligned nations recognised that the strengthening of economic cooperation among non-aligned and developing countries has been the chief concern of the movement. Since its inception. They were convinced that collective self-reliance is an integral part of their efforts to restructure international economic relations with a view to establishing a New World Economic Order.

235. NICE START for NAM. TI. 146, 66; 1983, Mar 8; 8.

Describes that the seventh non-aligned Summit the largest ever gathering of heads of state and government has got off to excellent start refuting earlier misconceptions that it might be deflected from its real purpose. The Indian draft of Summit's declaration on Kampuchea issue was not in dispute at all. Mrs. Gandhi as NAM's Chairman reminded that there is the need to remove the horror of nuclear self-annihilation, haunting mankind.



Secondly, the prolonged world recession has accentuated the urgency of both the struggle for a new and more equitable international economic order and collective self-reliance by the non-aligned. Political settlement in Kampuchea would lead to a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. There is no two opinion about it. Nor it is a matter of chance, in this regard that even the Chinese has given a full point blue sprint to the Russians.

236. NON-ALIGNED: Grouping for meaning. Hindu 1983, Mar 7.

States that hundred states are meeting in Delhi as the nonaligned movement. The world today is faced with themselves of political and economic pulls and pressures. With the foreign ministers Conference the preparation for the start has been difficult and contentions. Which could be resolved by keeping the Kampuchean seat vacant. Allowing for the contradictory standpoints of the members a political programme should be adopted for bringing concrete and sustained pressure on the chief actors to negotiate arms limitation measures earnestly and to slow down the pace of their military build up.

237. TASKS FACING India. Link. 25, 27-28; 1983; 4-7.

Indicates that the Seventh nonaligned Summit is being held in New Delhi at a time when new tensions are building up and the threat of nuclear war has become real and the freedom movement in the subject countries are assuming a broader and wider sweep, imperialism and neo-colonialism are seeking to subjugate the Non-Aligned countries through a variety of means, ranging from using the instruments of inequitable economic and political relations to open attempts at destabilization. Imperialist forces continue to impede the efforts made by the developing countries to secure their rightful place in the international community. Apart from evolving the concept of Nonaligned and firmly upholding its banner, India has made a significant contribution to the movement by keeping it United to the principle of consensus. Despite differences, India has been making effort to keep all the developing countries United by common aims of easing international tensions, ensuring peaceful co-existence, shunning aggressive blocs and fighting imperialism and colonialism.

238. VAJPAYEE (Atal Behari). Seventh Non-aligned Summit: Need for principled Stand. TI. 1983, Feb 28; 8:3-5.

States that despite internal conflicts and external pressure the non-aligned movement has been growing since its inception in 1961 at Belgrade. During the last few years the movement has been unable to define clearly its irreducible principles as distinguished from general rhetoric. The struggle against imperialism, Colonialism, apartheid, racism and all forms of interference in internal affairs of states continues to remain the essence of the policy of non-alignment and must be strictly followed. India being the chairperson of the Seventh Summit of NAM has to solve the problems of Kampuchea and other problems on the basis of principles otherwise it will be accused of unfairness.

239. WELCOME INITIATIVE (editorial). Patriot. 1982, Aug 13; 6.

Discusses that President Hussain of Iraq has shown commendable detachment in appreciating that the Iran-Iraq has created obstacles for the conference which should have held in Baghdad. He has taken the welcome initiative to ask Indira Gandhi to host meeting in Delhi. In making this

statement, he has been exclusively guided by the interests of the movement. The venue of the meeting is not as important as the desire evident in the community of non-aligned countries that the movement should not suffer through national dissensions of member nations. The movement is under strain when member country is attacked by another. But crisis involved manifold when the member-nations get involved on opposite side in armed conflict. In spite of these problems in the movement which justifiably refuses to institutionalise itself, the strength and relevance of the movement are confirmed by the renewed cold war and the unresolved problems of global poverty. It is vitally important that the unity and cohesion of such a movement remain unimpaired and India does all it can to defend them.

#### PROSPECTS

240. NAYAR (Kuldip). Widening the non-aligned fold. Indian Nation. 1983, Mar 8.

Points that New Delhi has prepared for the nonaligned summit and is hopeful that it would be able to bring all the countries to what it believes and since most of the countries are in favour of nonalignment and the draft with minor changes should find the consensus

behind it. Both American and the Soviet Union are putting pressure on their supporters to have the draft altered in such a way that it tilts in their favour. Soviet Union has appreciated the India's role for world peace but U.S has not appreciated either India's role or the non-aligned factor. The essence of non-alignment is dissent but the efforts is to reach unanimity even at the expense of sweeping differences under the carpet. To counter the weight of super powers, it would be better to expand the movement to include France, Canada and West Germany.

#### HARARE

241. SWAMI (NUR). Harare set for NAM Summit. Deccan Herald.  
1986, Aug 25.

The eighth nonaligned Summit at Harare, assumes importance in view of the development with regard to South Africa and their impact on the region. At Harare Summit Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will hand over the chairmanship nourished by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, to Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and one of the articulate spokesman of Africa. The day also marked the 25th anniversary celebration of the Movement. Since Delhi Summit the movement

has gained in unity, strength and cohesion. The issues of terrorism economic order and the need to impart political impetus for greater South South Cooperation were expected to find place in the Harare document.

#### PROBLEMS

242. MISHRA (RK). Advancing struggle against apartheid.

Link. 29, 4; 1986, Aug 31; 11-3.

Emphasises that the Central question before the eighth Summit of nonaligned nations at Harare will be South Africa's blatant defiance of world public opinion her arrogant contempt for human values, aggression against front line states and the question of dismantling apartheid. Robert Mugabe is aware that NAM should confine it self to regional questions. But the struggle against apartheid is not a regional any more. It is the greatest challenge to human conscious and has all the potential of growing into a serious threat to world peace. The NAM can mobilize a multiracial peace force. in defence of the frontline states which racist. Pretoria could take only at grave risk.

243. MISHRA (RK). Nonaligned confront US at Harare. Link.  
29, 5; 1986, Sept 7; 7-9.

States that during the eighth NAM meet at Harare the presence of 101 member countries of UN attested to the fact that colonialism's last battle was being fought in South Africa. The nuclear threat to human kind's existence on earth is graver now that it was 25 years ago when Nehru drew attention to this in Belgrade in 1961. On the issue like dismantling apartheid in South Africa and securing of independence for Namibia, bringing to a halt the nuclear arms race; restructuring an international economic orders on the basis of the justice, equality and fairplay, the nonaligned find the US attitude arrogant calls and negative.

244. SARDESAI (SG). Harare and the Indian ~~left~~. Link. 29, 14;  
1986, Nov 9; 14-5.

Discusses that the Harare conference of NAM was different from its past conferences. Harare brought out that third world struggles on issues like US military aggression against the newly independent countries directly or through Zionism and Apartheid, and question of peace

and the nuclear threat of annihilation of the human race are covering and growing into a United anti-imperialist front for national liberation, peace and socio-economic progress. The nonaligned movement advanced from adopting policy resolutions to forging of concrete sanctions for the achievement of its aims at Harare. The front line states faced with aggression by South Africa are assured that they are not fighting the battle alone NAM will help them economically and with military aid, as they need. India played a prominent and laudable role at Harare as it does when the same issues arise in UNO the UNCTAD and other international forums.

#### VENUE

245. NAM MOVES into Africa. Mainstream. 24, 2; 1985, Sept 14; 2-4.

Present articles deals with the shifting of the burden of the NAM Chairman from RajivGandhi's shoulder to those of Julins Nyerere of Tanzania. But his decision to lay down office as country's President forced a search for an universally acceptable candidate. After long discussion



the Non-aligned Coordinating Bureau concluded to hold eight Summit at Harare with Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe as its Chairman. India played a key role in swinging the consensus in favour of Zimbabwe. The choice of Harare as the venue for next Summit should give a fresh impetus to struggle against the apartheid regime.

#### HAVANA

246. SURJEET (Harikrishan Singh). Havana Non-aligned Summit. Peoples Democracy. 1979, Sept 23.

States that non-aligned movement has become vital and influential factor in world politics. It has grown not only in numbers from 25 members in the first Summit in Belgrade in 1961, to 96 at the recent Havana Summit in September 1979, it has won its present position as a result of its powerful role in the world-wide struggle against, Colonialism and neo-Colonialism, racism and zionism, military blocs and military basis, imperialist threats and interference against the newly independent countries.

that President Tito and Moraji Desai took against the move for Egypt's expulsion had some effect. Indo-Yugoslavia stand had ~~some~~ restraining effect also on Cuban move to redefine the concept of non-alignment. The Cuban Vice-President Carlos Rodrigues, denied that Socialist countries would be designed natural allies of the non-aligned movement. India cannot afford to keep silent about such insidious attempts to subvert the movements independence.

249. REDDY (GK). Havana Summit: Tough and ~~tricky~~ task for India. Hindu. 1979, Aug 31.

Describes that Indian policy is not to display any undue eagerness, much less canvass actively for its continuance as member of Bureau. The idea is to leave it to the good sense of other members of the community to realise the importance of its uninterrupted membership of the Bureau in larger interests of the nonaligned movement. The idea is not to propagate permanent representation for any country whatever the degree of its importance but to make the smaller countries realise that the membership should be a mix of the old and new to give it the special character of political maturity and global weightage.

In this context the plus point in INDIA's favour is that it is going to host the mid Summit Foreign Ministers Conference in Delhi in 1981. At Havana, Indian delegation will have this issue with great fact not only in ensuring its continuance on the Bureau, but also averting open competition among countries for representation.

#### LUSAKA

250. GUPTA (Anirudha). Lusaka Summit. Link. 9, 4; 1970, Sept 26; 7-8.

States that Lusaka Summit highlighted the limits of nonalignment in the 1970s. In the changing pattern of world politics the non-aligned nations can either take a joint stand against the basic structure of the world; strengthen their self-reliance by increasing economic cooperation among themselves. The nonaligned have formulated the principles of economic cooperation at Lusaka.

#### UNITED NATIONS

251. INDER JIT. NAM and the UN Summit. Tribune. 1983, Sept 20; 4.

Describes that New Delhi is happy that all the regions of the globe will be represented adequately among

those who have agreed to carry one stage forward its struggle for peace and development in accordance with the ideas and thrust spotlighted in the New Delhi message. Thought will be directed towards specific issues of war and peace, such as Palestine question, the Iran and Iraq war and the problems concerning Namibia and Nicaragua. President Reagan's address to UN Session on 26 September should help the process. Once it starts ideas will begin to flow. The vital point is that the ball has been set rolling and a major step has been taken towards strengthening the UN at a critical time.

252. JACKSON (Richard L). Role of non-aligned states in the UN Security Council: A western perspective. Non-Aligned World. 1, 4; 1983, Oct-Dec;464-82.

Points that the non-aligned countries now regard the United Nations security Council as a media for their purposes rather than a special preserve of the super power. Once the issue reaches the Security Council, location of most crisis in the developing countries, tighter organisations and mechanism of informal consultations give the nonaligned unparalleled advantage. Sometime the non-aligned insist on raising issues during the non-member's presidency to make it special political point.

## WOMEN

253. HEM LATA SWARUP. Nonaligned movement and women.

Mainstream. 23, 28; 1985, Mar 9; 45-51.

Discusses that Nonalignment is a national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and avoidance of confrontation. It means equality among nations and the democratisation of international relations economic and political. Specific reference to woman was made for the first time in the Economic Declaration of the fifth Summit at Colombo in 1976. Since then it has been a part of Economic Declaration and there to of the Action Programme for Economic Cooperation among Nonaligned and Developing countries. The Seventh Summit took up a cause of two major objectives of the UN Decade for women, peace and development. The Heads of State reiterated importance of the effective mobilisation and integration of woman in social, political, economic and cultural life. India, Chairman of NAM is in a real situation of leadership in respect of woman's question. Equal partnership between woman and men in the 21st century is the real future than one can envisage.

## WORLD EVENTS

254. IMPACT OF nonalignment on world event. Indian and Foreign Rev. 12, 13; 1985, Apr 15; 7-8.

Deals with Mr. Chavan's view about nonalignment and its impact on world events. He said that all the nations

at Havana meeting of the bureau of nonaligned nations unanimously condemned the creating of tensions in the Indian ocean and also expressed deep concern at the prevailing situations. The oil crisis was also major issue discussed at Havana meeting. The OPEC Summit at Algiers, which met before this Conference had thought of additional aid to developing countries and had emphasised that there should be speedy implimention of this programme. Also cooperation among the third world countries for their development should be encouraged. The important idea which emerged as a result of discussion was financing the buffer stock of raw materials in developing countries was likely to be follōwed up at the forthcoming foreign ministers Conference in Lima. The gradual rise in the strength of nonaligned countries meant that the nonaligned mov=ment had become on accepted political force in world politics.

#### YOUTH CONFERENCE, DELHI

255. OPENDER SINGH. NAM youth meet focus on national liberation. Link. 28, 16; 1985, Nov 24; 8.

Discusses that New Delhi again witnessed an historical event along the lines of the Non-aligned meet

and the CHOGM. The significance of the three day Non-aligned Youth Conference was two fold. First it synchronised with the birth anniversary of late Indira Gandhi who had championed the cause of the suppressed and oppressed masses of the 3rd world. Second this was the first ever such meet with so high a level of participation. The Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi reiterated his govt's stand that it would continue to support and help the struggling Palestinians, the South African Namibians and those other fighting for freedom. His unequivocal condemnation of the Western countries was of considerable value. Both Arafat and Nelson Mendela's daughter stressed that it was not enough for the nations of the world and the youth merely denounce the racist and Zionist regimes, but to take more concrete action and push them into relenting and giving the Palestinians and South Africans their rights.

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**PART THREE**  
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