

# Highlights of Nonaligned history

The "nonaligned movement" was once labeled "immoral" by U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. At the height of the Cold War it was looked on with suspicion by the Soviet Union. Great Britain, the former master of many of the newly independent nations, eyed it for possible manipulation. In the 1960s the movement was paralyzed by Maoist China's effort to use it as a vehicle to secure a solid condemnation of the Soviet Union by the Third World.

All these efforts to "align" the movement are better remembered today than its founding principles. It began and it remains a basic effort to secure a coherent, nation-building mandate for the developing nations in the context of a post-World War II world. Its efforts have faltered at various times in the postwar years, but the movement has expanded dramatically to include close to 100 nations today, either as full-fledged members or observers. It is the core negotiating body for the developing nations at all world forums. Its activity or its inaction are decisive for the future of a major part of mankind.

The first idea of creating an organized nonaligned movement came at the end of 1954 at the initiative of five nations meeting in Kandy, Colombo. They were two of Asia's pivotal nations, India led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indonesia led by President Sukarno, along with Burma, Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) and Pakistan, all three newly independent of British rule. A heads-of-

state conference was held to "consider problems of special interest to the peoples of Asia and Africa," particularly those problems "affecting national sovereignty and the vestiges of colonialism."

This was the first summit convened in Bandung, Indonesia on April 10-24, 1955. In retrospect it is viewed as the founding of the nonaligned movement, although it was convened as the first Afro-Asian Conference. The heads of state of twenty-four newly independent countries, the bulk of them former states of the British Empire, gathered to frame the principles around which they would develop, support, oppose and negotiate in the postwar order. Through the efforts of Nehru, Communist China was also represented by Chou-en Lai.

The Bandung Principles were highlighted by the following points:

- Economic development as the prerequisite for safeguarding the newly free nations;
- Emphasis on the "development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes," with the recommendation that international facilities be used for training skilled manpower in the developing nations;
- Condemnation of violations of human rights carried out consistently in Africa;
- Particular attention to find a solution to the bloodshed in Indochina, the Middle East, and support for the liberation of African states from direct and indirect British rule.

## Who's in the Nonaligned movement

### Africa

Algeria  
 Angola  
 Benin  
 Botswana  
 Burundi  
 Cameroon  
 Cape Verde  
 Central African Empire (Fr. Equatorial Africa)  
 Chad  
 Congo  
 Comoro Islands  
 Djibouti  
 Equatorial Guinea

Ethiopia  
 Gabon  
 Gambia  
 Ghana  
 Guinea  
 Guinea-Bissau  
 Ivory Coast  
 Kenya  
 Lesotho  
 Liberia  
 Libya  
 Malagasy Republic (Madagascar)  
 Malawi  
 Mali  
 Mauritania  
 Mauritius  
 Morocco  
 Mozambique  
 Niger  
 Nigeria  
 Rwanda

São Tomé and Príncipe  
 Senegal  
 Sierra Léone  
 Seychelles  
 Somalia  
 Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO)  
 Sudan  
 Swaziland  
 Tanzania  
 Togo  
 Tunisia  
 Uganda  
 Upper Volta  
 Zaire  
 Zambia

### Asia

Afghanistan  
 Bangladesh  
 Bhutan

Summing up their worldview, the Afro-Asian Conference attendees stated:

The problem of peace is correlative with the problems of international security. In this connection, all states should cooperate, especially through the United Nations in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would help answer the needs, particularly of Africa and Asia, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

### War or Peace

Yugoslavia's Marshal Josip Broz Tito sponsored the unscheduled 1961 conference, redefining the movement away from its Afro-Asian focus into the realm of "international nonalignment." Growing troubles between India and China had made Nehru oppose the convening of a Second Afro-Asian Conference, but Tito along with Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser made possible the Belgrade Conference for "the purpose of consolidating world peace" because of the "unfavorable development in international relations."

Belgrade, Sept. 1, 1961 was the midpoint in a period of very aggravated U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations, as exemplified by the 1960 U-2 incident and the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis and Sino-Indian War. Twenty-five nations attended the summit, and notably one of the founding members of the Nonaligned was Cuba. The main declaration to emerge out of Belgrade was titled "Statement on Danger of War and Appeal for Peace" which in part read: "War has never threatened mankind with

graver consequences than today. On the other hand, never before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations." The heads of state noted that "Acute emergencies threatening world peace now exist in a period of conflict in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, and big power rivalry likely to result in world conflagration cannot be excluded; that to eradicate basically the source of conflict is to eradicate colonialism and all its manifestations and to accept a policy of peaceful coexistence in the world. ..."

At Belgrade, a call for development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes was again made and the use of the United Nations as a main forum for negotiations was reasserted. Most emphasized was the group's policy of excluding nations participating in military blocs. Such original Afro-Asian participants as Pakistan and the Philippines were left out under this stipulation.

After the Belgrade Summit, a deep polarization developed within the movement as a direct result of the Sino-Indian War. India, one of the major promoters of China's entry into the movement at the beginning, suffered a major military confrontation with that nation and many countries in the movement were faced with taking sides. The Sino-Soviet split resulted in a major organizing drive by the Chinese to get an outright condemnation of the Soviet Union by the nonaligned. Technically, China was in favor of reconvening the Afro-Asian format, following its partially successful wooing of some African nations through aid policies endorsed by the British.

Egypt's Nasser deftly changed this focus to the economic concerns of the nonaligned as a whole, and with joint sponsorship of Tito, the Second Conference was held in Cairo, Oct. 5-10, 1964. At the time, China

Burma  
India  
Indonesia  
Kampuchea  
Korea, Dem. Peoples Rep. of  
Laos  
Malaysia  
Maldives  
Nepal  
Singapore  
Sri Lanka  
Vietnam

### Europe

Cyprus  
Malta  
Yugoslavia

### Latin America

Argentina  
Cuba

Guyana  
Jamaica  
Panama  
Peru  
Trinidad and Tobago

### Middle East

Bahrain  
Egypt  
Iraq  
Jordan  
Kuwait  
Lebanon  
Oman  
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)  
Qatar  
Saudi Arabia  
Syria  
United Arab Emirates  
Yemen Arab Republic  
Yemen, Peoples Dem. Rep. of

### Applicants for membership

Bolivia (Latin America)  
Granada (Latin America)  
Iran (Middle East)  
Nicaragua (Latin America)  
Pakistan (Asia)  
Surinam (Latin America)  
Zimbabwe Patriotic Front (Africa)

### Observers (all from Latin America)

Barbados  
Bolivia  
Brazil  
Colombia  
Ecuador  
El Salvador  
Granada  
Mexico  
Uruguay  
Venezuela

did not attend the Cairo meeting, as Tito was not overtly sympathetic to Peking.

Forty-nine nations attended this meeting, and 10 others went as observers. All Bandung's major points were reiterated but a major effort was made to keep the China controversy at a low key. Mainly, the Cairo summit chose to reiterate the principle of national sovereignty of member states and "economic emancipation as an essential element in the struggle against political domination." This was extremely significant given that, starting in 1960, major nonaligned nations such as India and Egypt began to be seriously pressured by the World Bank to surrender national sovereignty in exchange for financial aid.

The 1964 Cairo Conference and the 1970 Lusaka Conference kept the movement alive but without the spark of earlier periods. With the exception of Marshal Tito and the emergence of Algeria's Houari Boumedienne in this period, the movement found itself without the leaders of the past. Its direction from a strident anticolonial thrust to a frontal campaign on economic issues of the day had not yet been defined.

It was at Algiers, in 1973, that the new core of leadership began to assert itself, putting the China problem in the background and making the necessity of a New World Economic Order the movement's key plank. In 1973, Fidel Castro, Indira Gandhi of India, and Houari Boumedienne of Algeria played key roles in giving new life to the movement, learning much from the World Bank/Chinese/British combined operations in the overthrow of Sukarno in 1965 in Indonesia and Nkrumah in 1966 in Ghana.

At Algiers, Boumedienne asserted the necessity for a New World Economic Order and converted the Arab oil wealth into a negotiating weapon for technology transfer to the developing nations. The Special Session of the United Nations in 1975 and 1976 were part of this effort that was to culminate at the Fifth Summit of the Non-Aligned Nations in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in August 1976.

The upcoming Havana Summit will be the sixth summit, with over 89 heads of state or government present, making this group the largest ever assembled to deliberate the strategic politics and economic problems of the world today. The nonaligned has now become an organization that represents a very large portion of the world population, and its decisions will be crucial. Its current format includes meetings at the United Nations prior to each UN General Assembly. Its coordinating bureau of 24 geographically elected members meets every year and its foreign ministers meet every second year. It is an established decision of the movement to hold heads-of-state summits every three years. Cuba will be the host and organizer of the movement's activities for the next three years, including convening of emergency meetings when deemed necessary.

## The Nonaligned and the

Since the Algiers summit in 1973 the issues of the New World Economic Order (NWEO) and the task of economic development of the Third World developing nations has been the most prominent issue for the movement. In the period in between the Algiers summit and the following Colombo heads-of-state summit in 1976, the NWEO became the greatest global issue—known commonly as the "North-South problem." The history of this period provides the insight needed to understand the tasks before the Havana summit.

### From Algiers to Colombo

When the Algiers summit took place in 1973, the Nonaligned nations faced an increasingly dangerous international situation, dangerous to hopes for economic progress and for peace. In August 1971, the Bretton Woods system of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and its sister World Bank had dramatically collapsed. Massive international monetary instability, global inflation, a collapse of world trade and an overall depressed world economy put the developing sector under great pressures. Tensions in the Middle East brought war shortly after the summit.

All of this brought forward the call for a New World Economic Order, one which would end the dominance of the IMF system in preventing industrialization and technological development. Out of Algiers the direct result was the convening of two successive "Special Sessions of the United Nations on Development" in 1974 and 1975, which formalized the call for a new order in U.N. declarations on economic rights and development goals. The emergence of OPEC, which begins before Algiers, but flexes its muscles in the 1973-74 period, was depicted as the signal of new militance among developing nations in pursuit of their aim to increase the flow of technology, and reverse the unequal terms of trade and credit which had persisted from the colonial period.

The vital issue at the core of this battle was the fate of the IMF itself and the necessity to bury this institution in favor of creation of a new international monetary system whose premise would be the availability of cheap credit for financing of real, productive development projects in the Third World. This issue however has been subjected to numerous efforts at obfuscation and resistance from those financial centers—of London, New York and their allies—whose global power fundamentally rests on the maintenance of the IMF and the enormous pyramid of nonproductive debt upon which it rests.

The Oil Crisis of 1973-74 brought this issue to the