

because of their inability to meet their debt obligations. This serious problem should be urgently addressed.

Call for conference on development

9. We propose the immediate convening of an international conference on money and finance for development, with universal participation, and a comprehensive restructuring of the international monetary and financial system.

10. We are deeply concerned about the tensions and confrontations between the great powers and their disturbing effects on Non-Aligned countries. We are determined to resist economic and political pressures that might be exerted by any great power against small and vulnerable states.

11. Urgent political issues, such as the pressing need to restore to the brave Palestinian people, who are waging a heroic struggle against Israeli forces, their inalienable right to establish a national sovereign state of their own in accordance with UN resolutions; the withdrawal of Israel from Jerusalem, Occupied Palestine and Arab territories and from Lebanon, the independence of Namibia to be achieved by the speedy implementation of Security Council Resolution 435; the need to achieve peace in Central America through political negotiations between the parties concerned, as well as the problems in Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and other areas in the world, call for a sincere effort on the part of all countries of the world to resolve them in accordance with the principles of peace and justice, independence and equality.

No less urgent is the common responsibility of all of us to ensure that our fellow human beings everywhere live in dignity and honor. Many wrongs have been perpetrated on the continent of Africa and its long-suffering people. The people of South Africa are bravely struggling against the obnoxious and oppressive system of racism and apartheid. We reaffirm our solidarity with the African people and their noble cause. There are some great powers in a position to help achieve this objective faster and, hopefully, with less suffering all around. We earnestly urge them to do so.

12. We, on our part, are committed to pressing these and other critical issues at the 38th session of the United Nations General Assembly. We urge the Heads of State or Governments of all countries of the world to join us there. We stand ready to cooperate with them in finding equitable, fair, speedy, and just solutions to these problems. Our destiny is common.

13. The crisis which confronts our civilization today is unprecedented in history. Great tasks call for wise decisions. We appeal to the great powers to give up mistrust, engage in sincere, forward-looking negotiations in a spirit of shared good faith to reach agreement on various disarmament measures, and to find a way out of the deepening economic crisis which threatens all of us. Unitedly, the members of the Non-Aligned movement are prepared to do everything in their power to assist in this process. The earth belongs to us all—let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man.

The summit defuses political bombshells

by Paul Zykofsky in New Delhi

The prophets of doom, who had predicted that the Non-Aligned movement would split apart at the New Delhi summit conference, have been proven wrong. Mrs. Gandhi pointed a finger at "some people" who "may have wished the movement to quarrel and divide," but told reporters as the conference closed that "we have disappointed them."

The New Delhi summit was faced with a number of very troublesome conflicts involving member states of the movement, such as the Iran-Iraq war, the situation in Southeast Asia, and the Afghanistan issue.

Well aware that these topics could create a destructive rift, the Indian hosts made it clear before the summit that they were eager to focus on "the less divisive" issues—for example, the economic crisis—and avoid troublesome political issues as much as possible. In the end, however, while economics received a great deal of attention, the battle over political questions could not be avoided. It was only deft action by Mrs. Gandhi and the Indian delegation which saw the summit through to a successful conclusion.

The six-day summit-level meetings also provided ample opportunities for informal bilateral summit meetings. Although no precise count is available, the number of parallel meetings held by the more than 70 Heads of State and Government—the largest number ever assembled in one place—was in the hundreds. Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq alone met with over 30 Heads of State and Government. One of the most important of these bilateral meetings was that held between Yasser Arafat and Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, the first since Gemayel took office.

Iran-Iraq war

The outcome of the conference remained in doubt until the very end, as the result of a fierce conflict over the Iran-Iraq war. Originally scheduled to conclude on March 11, the conference had to continue into the early hours of March 12

when Iran refused to accept a compromise formulation regarding its war with Iraq, and the selection of Baghdad as the site for the next summit in 1986. With hundreds of journalists standing by for word of what was happening inside the conference hall, Mrs. Gandhi held two rounds of talks with both the Iranian and Iraqi delegations until 1:15 a.m., when Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati agreed to the compromise formulation. Under this, no direct reference to the conflict was made in final statements, and Mrs. Gandhi, as chairman of the movement, issued an appeal on behalf of it, to "bring an immediate end to the war." On the subject of the venue for the next summit conference, the final declaration noted that the "overwhelming majority of the member countries" favored Iraq as the site of the eighth summit. However, as the circumstances which had caused the shift of venue of the seventh summit from Baghdad to New Delhi remained unchanged, it was agreed that the final decision should be put off until the foreign-ministerial-level meeting to be held in 1985.

The compromise emerged after a running battle of wits and words throughout the summit. India's initial optimism that some steps could be initiated to resolve the crisis received a slight boost after the speech by Iraqi Vice-President Moheedin Marrouf calling for a cease-fire with no preconditions, the establishment of an arbitration panel by the Non-Aligned, and the stationing of observers from member states to enforce the cease-fire.

However, expectations plummeted on the following day when Iranian Prime Minister Hussein Moussadi rejected the Iraqi proposals out of hand. The battle carried over into the political drafting committee in the final days, with a large number of countries speaking out in favor of the Iraqi claim to hold the 1986 summit, while Iran's major supporters were Syria and Libya. In the last hours of negotiation, PLO chairman Arafat played an important role in trying to work out a compromise.

Mideast and Palestine

Other Middle East issues proved to be far easier to resolve, since from all indications, the PLO and other Arab states were given a free hand in the drafting of the final statement on the Mideast region. Whereas the original draft prepared by India included 14 succinct and moderately worded paragraphs on Palestine, Lebanon, and the overall Middle East situation, the final statement was expanded to 26 lengthy and repetitive paragraphs which sharply condemned the United States by name on several occasions for supporting Israel.

Of more significance than the warmed-over arguments and positions on the Middle East was the initiative taken by Arafat to establish an eight-member committee on Palestine at the heads of state level, chaired by India, which will take over from the seven-member committee set up at the 1982 Fez summit of Arab countries, whose term will expire soon.

The purpose of the committee—which includes India, Bangladesh, Zambia, Senegal, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Algeria, and the PLO—is to achieve a "just, desirable, and comprehensive peace, through which the people of Palestine would be able to regain their free and sovereign rights to their homeland."

In contrast, the section of the final statement on Lebanon was brief and mildly worded, reflecting the Lebanese government's own position. It reaffirmed the U.N. Security Council resolution demanding a withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and called "upon all states to endorse Lebanese efforts to secure the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces present in Lebanon that did not have the support of the Lebanese legal authority."

The Delhi summit also marked the re-entry of Non-Aligned founding state Egypt into a major role in the movement after their isolation following the much-condemned Camp David agreement. Egyptian President Mubarak had a strong presence, along with a huge Egyptian delegation, and had numerous bilateral meetings with other Arab leaders, including Jordan's King Hussein.

Southeast Asia

Aside from the last-minute compromise on the Iran-Iraq war, the most divisive issue in New Delhi was the question of seating of a representative from the Southeast Asian nation of Kampuchea. At the last summit in Havana in 1979, a seat which had been held by the genocidal Pol Pot regime was declared empty, over the protests of the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). On this occasion the ASEAN countries, led by Singapore and Malaysia, came ready for an all-out battle to restore the Kampuchean seat to the Sihanouk-Pol Pot-Son Sann coalition government in exile, a regime which is being backed by Peking.

The Kampuchean seat issue ended up taking up most of the time of the foreign ministerial-level meeting held before the summit on March 3 and 4. With over 50 of the Non-Aligned nations having voted in favor of Pol Pot's seating at the United Nations, the ASEAN nations were confident that they could win sufficient support for the Sihanouk coalition to reverse the decision taken at Havana. As a result of their pressure, and India's desire to dispel any impression that it was trying to impose a solution, a freewheeling debate was held by the foreign ministers for two and a half days, with over 60 countries speaking out on the issue. However, the ASEAN countries were forced to step back from their position when they found out that 31 of the 60 countries who spoke expressed their support for the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh.

In the end, they had to settle for keeping the seat vacant. An ad hoc committee was established to examine the issue further and make recommendations to the foreign ministers' meeting in 1985. Thus the conference avoided a bitter fight at the heads of state meetings on what was widely acknowledged to be the potentially most divisive issue facing the

Non-Aligned movement.

Afghanistan

Another potentially divisive issue—the situation in Afghanistan—was handled with relatively little difficulty. The most troublesome aspects had already been ironed out at a Non-Aligned foreign ministers' meeting held in New Delhi in February 1981. At that time, Pakistan had played a major role in securing a statement condemning the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, although without citing it by name.

In contrast with the ASEAN group's role in the Kampuchea debate, Pakistan decided to keep a low profile on this occasion. During the summit, a nine-country working group was set up to work out this section of the final statement. It concluded by re-stating the formulation worked out at the 1981 foreign ministers' meeting, which called for a "withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference." This is a reference both to Soviet troop presence and to the interference by U.S.-backed rebels based in Pakistan. Responding to an Afghanistani initiative, the final draft also referenced the "constructive steps" taken by the U.N. secretary-general "in search of a political settlement."

Central America

Increased participation of Ibero-American nations in the Non-Aligned movement was strongly felt at the New Delhi summit. The three-and-a-half years of Cuban chairmanship and the growing tensions in Central America focused new attention on this region. Following the Malvinas conflict, which created a serious split between the United States and its southern neighbors, more and more countries in Ibero-America have taken an interest in Non-Alignment.

Three of the four new members admitted into the Non-Aligned in New Delhi—Colombia, Barbados, and the Bahamas—were from Ibero-America, and, for the first time since Argentina joined the Non-Aligned in the early 1970s, its head of state attended the summit.

The summit's final statement expanded the original 12 paragraphs on the region contained in the Indian draft to 33 paragraphs. The effect of the Malvinas crisis on U.S.-Ibero-American relations has led to a re-thinking of the value of the Organization of American States [OAS], as is clear from the very first paragraph. The statement recalls the "long struggle of the peoples of Latin America for independence and sovereignty" and praises the "efforts of the states of the region to strengthen their unity, solidarity, and cooperation with the processes of regional integration, and supported the aspirations for the creation of a regional organization representative of the interests of all the countries of the region," a clear rejection of the OAS.

The statement specifies that the Central American prob-

lem "could not be attributed or explained by an East-West ideological confrontation." It goes on to denounce the "acts of aggression against Nicaragua" and commends the peace initiative presented by Mexico, France, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama. The declaration also contains a strong denunciation of the Pol Pot-like regime in Guatemala, "which is pursuing a repressive and expansionist policy . . . reinforced by the use of its special military forces."

The section on El Salvador calls for "the immediate unconditional cessation of imperialist intervention" and "urges the United States to adopt a constructive position which would contribute to the peaceful solution of the problem." It also welcomes the peace initiative of Mexico, Venezuela, France, and Panama.

The section on Ibero-America was also the only section to sharply condemn the British. This was done not only in the paragraph on the Malvinas Islands, which reiterates the Non-Aligned's "firm support for Argentina's right to have its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands restituted through negotiations," but also in a final paragraph denouncing the British for their "introduction of nuclear weapons" to the South Atlantic region, in violation of treaties proscribing such weapons in Ibero-America.

The Ibero-American section of the document concludes by welcoming "the historic visit of Pope John Paul II to Central America and the Caribbean, with his message of peace and reconciliation."

Peace and development

The message that peace requires development, contained in Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, was an underlying theme throughout the conference. The summit's political document specifically focuses on the need for ending the threat of war, or, as the conclusion of the statement puts it: "To lift the spectre of a nuclear holocaust, which has hung over humanity far too long. The greatest peril facing mankind today is that of its very survival."

In this context, the Non-Aligned strongly rejected "narrow, outmoded doctrines of deterrence, balance-of-power, and spheres of influence, which give rise to tension and polarization, division, and conflict among nations." Forceful appeals were also made throughout the summit to stop the nuclear arms race.

At the same time, the final declaration includes a strong statement reiterating that "full and unrestricted access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes . . . is an inalienable right of every state." The Non-Aligned countries have thereby drawn a clear distinction between their views on peace and development and those of the "greenies" and the nuclear freeze movement, who are fundamentally against technological progress and economic development. As Prime Minister Gandhi expressed it in her opening speech to the conference: "The Non-Aligned movement is history's biggest peace movement."