



COLONIALISM

NEO-COLONIALISM

NON - ALIGNMENT

In August a historic conference of Non-Aligned Nations is being held in Colombq. This special issue of the *Economic Review* is devoted to this concept. There have been many excellent articles in the popular press, as well as talks and seminars on the Non-Aligned Movement in the last few weeks. This special issue will not attempt to cover the identical ground taken by these writers and speakers. On the contrary we will attempt not only to look at the issues before the current conference, but the entire historical process leading up to the conference.

The roots of the points being discussed at the conference, as well as major issues that have contributed to the Non-Aligned Movement, have their beginnings a few centuries back. For a proper understanding of the Non-Aligned Movement it is therefore necessary to go back to these roots and see the evolving dynamics of the Movement.

Evolution of a World Economy

During the 15th and 16th centuries important changes occurred within Europe that were to have a crucial impact on the rest of the world. Europe was beginning to break through its static locally based agricultural system of mediaeval feudalism and was entering into a process that was to integrate the world into a global system of capitalism. During, what in European history is called the Age of Renaissance (15th and 16th centuries) a slow process of

change within the economic structures of European societies reached a final stage, breaking with the old and opening a new era. It meant the beginning of a process which later knit the known (and even the unknown) regions of the world into particular framework which has, in a dramatic fashion, led to today's division of the world into developed and under-developed, rich and poor.

During the middle ages, Europe's only commercial links with the outside world, namely Asia, existed via Venice to the Near East. These commercial links provided the aristocratic classes of Europe with a number of luxury goods not available in Europe. With the rise of the Ottoman Empire and the sacking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 these ancient trade routes were finally closed to Europe. It was then that the enterprise of discovering new routes to the East was undertaken in a planned and systematic way. First this process was in the hands of Spain and Portugal and later Netherlands and England, which grew up as new commercial centres.

The 16th century is remarkable for Europe because of the discovery of new sources of riches on a scale not known before. The loot brought home by a few adventurous European conquerors who ventured into Asia and South America overwhelmed the European aristocracy and a systematic plundering of the newly discovered continents of their treasures began in earnest. Often the violence and genocide that followed was also

accompanied by an effort to convert the inhabitants to Catholicism. The impact, on Europe of the colonial plunder was immediate and crucial.

Emergence of Mercantile Capitalism

It meant the rapid growth of wealth within Europe. It produced a new economic system based on commercial business, an international banking system and a monetary system to replace the former local based, limited and essentially static economy. It gave rise also to the birth of a new social class which did not belong to either the aristocracy, craftsmen or the peasantry but had its own independent base of economic sustenance. This class was the rising commercial and financial bourgeoisie. With these rapid changes, came also a sign of a new social morality as a reflection of the underlying socio-economic reality. Replacing the earlier collectivist ethos of man, now arose the individual vision of man, the concept of a world concentrated around individual property and private initiative.

The emergence of this new mercantile capitalism in the European centre meant that the world was now inexorably linked together in terms of unequal exchange. Under this mechanism surplus extracted from the peripheral colonial countries was concentrated in the European and later the American centre.

In its first phase such primitive accumulation in the centre was by primitive extraction in the territories

of Asia and South America. It took place by indiscriminate brutality, by plunder of treasures from temples and courts, by crushing to the ground the highly developed cultures and extinguishing old civilizations by genocide. Sometimes these acts were done under the pretext of the Catholic religion, but in actuality motivation was the naked greed for gold and precious stones in the European courts. During this time the hegemonial powers were Spain and Portugal and it is significant that only two years after the first voyage of Columbus to America in 1492, the Pope established, by the Treaty of Tordesillas, the first division of spheres of European influence in the world. This Treaty set out that Portugal would have the lands to the East of a meridian passing close to the mouth of the Amazon river and Spain the lands to the West of it.

After roughly 50 years the original conquest was more or less complete. The new lands, as well as their treasures and the inhabitants who had survived genocide (the indigenous population of Latin America was reduced to one-twentieth the original number) were now considered private property of European monarchs mainly the Spanish and Portuguese.

After this initial period of primitive extraction more organised patterns emerged. The new lands became colonies and within them well-known specific structures of colonial organisations and societies emerged so that a smoother and more organised system of extraction could emerge. This meant that the colonies had to provide cheap raw material, precious metal and spices to satisfy the needs of the growing economies of Europe and that on the other side, the colonies would have to consume the products sent from the centre. Thus this process generated and transferred considerable economic surplus so that a highly favourable commercial balance emerged in the metropolitan countries.

From the very beginning colonial economies were limited in the possibilities of their growth and development by specific commercial, financial and physical necessities of the metropolis to which the peripheral economies had to respond. Develop-

ment could occur only in the export sector based as it were on products that were of interest to the countries in the centre and also in allied sectors like transport and services. Thus, this meant a distorted internal development in the peripheral countries resulting in inequality of development between regions and sectors. It also meant at the same time that there were external limits set for this economic expansion by the hold of the metropolitan countries. It meant therefore, that the development in the metropolitan countries were inexorably tied to the structures of underdevelopment in the peripheral regions as parts of one and the same process. It was in their interest to keep the peripheral countries under-developed.

Integration into this process was by several ways of direct and indirect domination and direction coming from the metropolis. It had multiple effects on the specific social, political and cultural structures within the colonies, but the effect of this linking to the metropolitan centre was always subject to changes in the centre itself. Therefore when the centre was weakened or strengthened or changed in nature it had its repercussions on the countries in the colonial peripheries.

A Qualitative Change Occurs in the 17th century

In the 17th century such a qualitative change occurred in Europe and the process of capitalistic integration came to its first stage of stagnation. It was due to depression and crises in metropolitan Europe itself. The development within the framework of the mercantile system came to a temporary halt. Europe now entered a stage where it had to adjust its political system to the new socio-economic situation. Therefore a process of gradual power concentration emerged in the European countries based on a new concept of nationhood based on the formula nation-state-monarch.

Europe was divided into different nation states and power centres and a struggle for hegemony in Europe began. These struggles led to social, political and cultural restructuring of the whole of Europe and it prepared the scene for a new economic change

which would reflect deeply on the other regions of the world.

The new era broke through with the American and French Revolutions at the end of the 18th century which meant the beginning of the consolidation of the new bourgeoisie who had emerged with the appearance of mercantile capitalism centuries earlier. Having developed themselves, at the expense largely of the conquered peoples in their continents, they now took the form of a specific class and were installing themselves in power as moulders of the economy, society and culture. They brought with them the basic political ideology of liberal democracy, the social ethic of individualism and the economic theory of free enterprise already defined under the general approach of freedom and liberty for man, as such, but in practice meaning essential freedom for the individual entrepreneurs and the leading class.

Under the impact of the private initiative released under these conditions, capitalism changed qualitatively from the early mercantile-financial state to industrial capitalism, bringing with it the industrial revolution. This meant the change in the European centre itself under the mechanism of industrialisation. It meant also for the world at large, outside the centre, a second wave of European expansion and the integration of the world into one economy stronger and deeper than that which the former colonisation produced.

The 19th century therefore became an era of imperialism through which the world was once again completely carved out between the big power centres in Europe, in a planned and systematic way, to feed the needs of Europe's growing and expanding industries. It was carried out unscrupulously by several means—naked force, diplomacy, direct or indirect economic pressure and infiltration. The individual power centres in Europe required as much integration of the world as possible into their own empires, and once such integration was complete, an international division of labour under a scheme of industrialisation. This meant in practice that the regions in the periphery functioned exclusively as producers of

raw materials for the centre and consumers of manufactured goods from the centre. This encounter also introduced capitalist structures in the periphery. However, they were not independent structures like those of Europe, but dependent on links to the centre. Thus in the periphery, dependent capitalism emerged as equivalent to the centre's industrial capitalism and new structures were built on the foundation and outlines of colonial structures. This consolidated and deepened the structures of dependency and economic strangulation inherited from the past. During the period of industrialisation, England replaced Spain and Portugal as powers in the centre.

Neo-Imperialism and Neo-Dependence

At the beginning of the 20th century the carving up of the world for the purpose of empire building was more or less completed. What followed now was a new temporary crisis within the countries in the centre themselves, very similar to that of the 17th century. Further growth of industrialisation on the basis of quantitative integration of the peripheral economies had reached a limit. The industrialised countries now entered the war (World War I) whose aim was basically the division of the already carved out parts of the world among the hegemonial powers themselves. It meant once again a struggle for hegemony in the centre itself because of the impossibility for further economic expansion within the existing structures of the general system. It was this, which was the inner reason, that gave rise to World War I by which those nations who had entered too late for the imperial rush for colonies sought to obtain their part of the colonies. As a result of this power struggle in the centre, and as a result of the limits to further economic expansion within the existing structures, the economic system itself entered a deep depression and crisis in the 1930's leading finally to World War II.

With the Second World War, the entire globe found itself moulded once again into a new world economic order including this time not only oceans and continents of the whole earth, but even space. In a gradual process England and Europe

as a whole—had been successfully replaced by the United States of America which took on this new role of a self-imposed policeman for freedom (more correctly understood as freedom for property).

The peripheral countries were still tied to the countries in the centre although the centre now shifted to the United States.

The New Structural Distortion

The new post World War II situation also saw the transformation of economies based on industrial capitalism to a transnational mono capitalism, a historical process which has only begun and which has not come to its climax. This has meant a structural change of the productive system, technology and market system. It has meant further integration of countries in the periphery into the dominant world system under new terms of domination and dependency.

The integration of the world market economy in terms of unequal exchange and dependency has meant, during the colonial period of mercantile capitalism, primitive extraction and transfer of surplus through simple means of export and import commerce. During the period of industrial capitalism and imperialism it had been achieved through the organisation of a specific international division of labour transforming the colonial economies into mono product export economies oriented towards the centre. Under the new transnational monopoly system, new forms of ties to the centre have been developed, although in the post World War period former colonies had reached a stage of formal independence.

This new system is today penetrating many sectors of national economies and means in practice the new and crucial structural distortion in the process of industrial development in the developing countries. Consequently national economies are becoming more vulnerable to foreign interference although they are nominally independent.

The determination of a majority of the developed countries to perpetuate the existing economic order for their sole benefit without regard for the wishes of the developing countries, has virtually thwarted all attempts at progress for the developed world.

The Struggles:

Freedom, Equality, Justice

The above thumbnail analysis of the nature of domination of the Third World countries during the last five centuries, does not chronicle the other aspect which always went with this domination, namely resistance. There has been opposition and uprisings against the process of worldwide domination described earlier from its very beginning of subjugation of the many through the few. It has already been mentioned that the colonial system could only be erected through the violent crushing of the indigenous resistance movement and a heavy slaughter of the indigenous population. But in spite of the constant sceptre of brutality and bloody reprisal, insurrections rose in all the continents from time to time. But against the superior forces of colonial powers and their allies within the conquered nations themselves and also the fact that the colonial powers were operating from a global perspective all such struggles initially ended in disaster.

Leaders of such insurrections were made to suffer fates like that of Tupac Amaru, the last American Indian hero of the 18th century who tried to shake off foreign subjugation by leading his people in an insurrection against the Spanish. He was defeated, his living body was torn into pieces by four horses, his dead body was cut up and the pieces sent to different Indian villages as an eternal warning and threat.

In the case of Africa, the spirit is best exemplified in the fight of Shaka the Zulu, who in the 19th century fought against the British and African domination. In the case of Asia, we in Sri Lanka are more familiar with figures varying from our Rajasinghe to the indomitable Vietnamese and Ho Chi Minh in recent years. Many other examples of this kind from all continents could be itemised showing the resistance of suppressed peoples everywhere.

The first major break of the impasse of the Third World liberation movements occurred at the very moment when the centre itself entered into a

crisis around the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. During this time mercantile capitalism had reached (for inner structural reasons), limits to its growth. During this time, the peoples of Europe had been bled to death by the wars of unscrupulous exploitation and innumerable wars of European aristocratic absolutism and meanwhile the new class of bourgeoisie capitalist had gathered enough strength to overthrow the exhausted old system. Thus out of different routes and directions a broad emancipation movement arose behind the claims of "liberty, equality, fraternity" and gathered momentum in the North American and French Revolutions at the end of the 18th century. This movement had been nourished from political and social discontent arising from the new bourgeoisie, as well as from the deprived lower classes.

New Concepts of Liberation

Within this practical and philosophical framework the new concepts of man's liberation had their impact on the liberation movements in the rest of the world, giving rise to the independence struggle in Latin America. The Latin American process of political independence which was obtained 1½ centuries ago is instructive in that it gives in broad outline the fate which Asia and Africa in turn were to undergo.

The independence movement arose in Latin America because of substantial changes in the inner socio-economic structures of the colonies where under the protection of the Spanish Crown a national elite consisting of *creole* had risen having its economic base in the export sector and the foreign oriented colonial economy. Spain's rigid and obsolete system of monopoly trade was a barrier to this elite's further economic expansion. Therefore at the moment of the internal decline of Spain and Portugal and during the inner European hegemonial struggle of the Napoleonic wars (1799 to 1814) a power vacuum was created in the colonies and this elite then struck out to gain political power in their countries. Their attempt to shake off the yoke of colonial foreign rule and independence lasted only 10 years (1810 to 1820).

Originally this movement meant a real mass movement for restructuring both external and internal structures of domination in the continent. Within this movement was the uprising of the indio and mestizo (the indigenous persons and those of mixed races) against centuries old suppression under a new revolutionary vision of a free, united and just America. This vision was pronounced by Bolivar (Venezuela) Artigas (Argentine) and Hidalgo (Mexico). But with the massive help of Great Britain and U.S.A. this struggle ended with an imposition of the urban creole elite, and its military and clerical supporters as the rulers, all three elements for different reasons were strongly interested in avoiding a general popular revolution. The independence struggle in Latin America thus was reduced to a political and not an integral social revolution, changing some of the external relations but not the inner structure of Latin American societies.

With the final battle of Ayacucho (1824) Latin America had won formal independence. But however the coming period of civil wars buried Bolivar's dream of a free and united America and the new doctrine of free trade preached by England turned Latin America into a new and even stronger form of dependency than existed earlier. Formal independence was at hand, but dependence now deepened in other fields.

A Successful Breakthrough

For the countries of the other continents and for Europe itself, an international event of importance was the successful Russian Revolution. It was the first example of a country successfully breaking through hegemonial control in some of the most important spheres.

Influenced and inspired by these and other events, liberation movements arose in all continents from the beginning of the present century. At times these movements would reach only coherence and strength to utilise different crises and depressions in the centre and break with political foreign rule and achieve a formal break with the imperialist system.

The formation of independent states in the Middle East were the first steps towards decolonisation in this cen-

tury. The struggle in this region began during World War I when the Arabs rebelled in 1916. The Entente promised liberation from the Ottoman Empire and independence after the war was over, but instead the winning European powers carved up the Ottoman Empire amongst themselves. However, between the years of the Second World War the Arab states gained independence one after the other and in the post World War II period the Arab world saw a series of radical revolutions beginning with Egypt in 1952, then with Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Yemen and Libya following in that order.

The building of Non-Alignment in these countries was strongly influenced by the Palestine problem and the creation of the Zionist state of Israel. The official support of the US to mass immigration by Jews to Palestine was the first shock to the Arabs who had been counting on American support against the imperial British and French positions. The next was when all the great powers endorsed the creation of the state of Israel. In the wars which followed all the major Western powers helped Israel at one time or another. Arab protest against the Jews, which remains their central problem, has however won the unanimous support of the Non-Aligned group.

In South East Asia, the process of decolonisation that began after World War II was greatly helped by the Japanese occupation of these territories. Re-establishment of the colonial authority after the war was attempted by the former colonial powers but was resoundingly pushed out by series of wars of liberation and independence movements.

Big Power Manoeuvres

The UN Charter did not see the colonial question as a question of granting independence. Chap. XI, the 'Declaration Regarding Non Self-Governing Territories' merely advised "conscientious administration of the colonies". In fact, efforts were redoubled to consolidate positions in the colonies—Britain in India, France in Indo China, the Dutch in Indonesia. The big powers also manoeuvred to broaden their existing areas of influence by using the prerogative of

trusteeship. Both the US and USSR made demands of trusteeship over the colonies of defeated Germany.

This is the background to the disgust, fear and determination that led all the newly independent countries to generally follow, (although some more, and some less) a policy of non-alignment.

Early Beginnings

The colonies of Spain and Portugal in Latin America gained their independence in the 1820's. The first pan-American Conference was convened at Panama by Simon Bolivar in 1826. (The US set the scene for its future relations with Latin America by refusing to accept the invitation to the Conference).

The first pan-African congress was organised in London in 1900. It was dominated by 2 men—William du Bois, an American Black, and Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican. There were delegates from America, Africa and India. This congress was especially important—it was an imaginative move by individuals with no other authority other than idealism behind them. Their countries lay in colonial subjugation, and in the cases of some of them, they were not even demarcated into the nation states we know of today. The other significant aspect was the brief but profound analysis of du Bois that, ".....the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line".

The sixth pan-African Congress, at Manchester in 1945, was attended by many Africans who led their countries to independence some 15 years later. The most important idea to come out of this was the Nkrumah plan for a United States of Africa. Subsequent meetings such as the Conference of Independent African States, (Ghana—1958) continued to echo some of the ideas of Manchester except that of an United African Federation.

It was these influences that came out clearly in the Asian Relations Congress, (Delhi 1947), the Afro-Asian Conference, (Bandung 1955), and the subsequent series of Non-Aligned conferences. But the conditions under which these later conferences were held were different from those that prevailed earlier.

The differences in conditions in the latter phase were the granting of independence, the actual problems and responsibilities of governing nations and the need to take a stand on the entirely new threat—possible world war between the two hostile camps.

The very earliest statements on foreign policy made by India, Burma and Indonesia, towards the end of the independence struggle and even before they were completely free showed that the fundamentals of Non-Alignment were very much the spontaneous, common and unambiguous approach of the colonial states long before it had become a matter of practical necessity and policy. These fundamentals of approach were: neutrality as between the blocs, the establishing of relations with the socialist countries, and the need for greater co-operation between the newly independent states themselves.

When India established relations with the Arab states, it was the first diplomatic contact and co-operation among countries that had recently gained their independence. With the accession to power of Nasser, a much closer relationship between the Middle East and Asia was established, two areas where Non-Alignment as an universal movement of new countries, made its first steps.

"The *raison d'être* of Non-Alignment is the defence of just causes against any and all forms of political hegemony and economic domination. Its aim is above all the emancipation of all peoples in a context of international co-operation based on the equality of states, the respect of sovereignty and the establishment of a just peace throughout the world".

Houari Boumediene

The next stage in the creation of the post war Third World was the emancipation of black Africa. It began with Ghana's independence in 1958 and gathered momentum in the 1960s. The last vestiges of colonialism are being mopped up in the present decade. The final African independence struggle took place at the height of the cold war but the entire continent of black Africa is Non-

Aligned today and this is the official policy of the Organisation of African States.

The stages in the development of a common front of the Non-Aligned are the Asian Relations Conference, (Delhi, 1947), the Afro-Asian Conference (Bandung, 1955) the Brioni Declaration after a meeting between Nehru, Nasser and Tito (1956), all of which led upto Belgrade 1961. But in the 15-year span between the Asian Relations Conference and Belgrade, it is clear that, "the new countries became Non-Aligned first in the consciousness of their statesmen and only afterwards in the practice of their international behaviour".

Non-Alignment Emerges

The term Non-Aligned was first used in official documents to enumerate countries rather than denote their policies. But as time went on, the term appeared more and more frequently to signify the policy of this group of countries. The final stage in the crystallisation of this process was Belgrade, 1961. From then on, it became customary to refer to a policy of Non-Alignment followed by these countries.

However, a definition of Non-Alignment has never been attempted. It has never been encouraged by the countries concerned either. Non-Alignment, in contrast to other ideologies, is essentially a response to concrete problems, and immediate situations. The fact that it has been remarkably successful in consensus and in consistency over the years has naturally sparked off attempts to analyse, define and formalise it into a theory.

But when dealing with so many different countries from different continents, each with their specific domestic problems and varied foreign policies, the finding of common factors in order to give the policy a rational base is hard. Economic underdevelopment is one underlying factor they all have in common, although they are at different stages of underdevelopment. But, as pointed out by Leo Mates, this cannot be the common factor. Weak countries would in fact be far less liable to be so independent in their foreign policies. However, an attempt must be made to decipher their common socio-economic problems.

Non-Alignment Becomes a Rallying Force

It took many more similar conferences and several years before the new term "Non-Alignment" became a rallying force for the newly emergent developing countries. Significantly enough one of the earliest definitive steps in this process was the conference of five Asian Prime Ministers in Colombo in April 1954. Sir John Kotelawala of Sri Lanka, U Nu of Burma, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Mohammad Ali of Pakistan and Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia met in Colombo in the aftermath of the first phase of the Indo-China War (1945-1954) to forward their own countries, proposals to the Geneva Conference which was discussing the ending of the War. The larger issues of colonialism and neo-colonialism, of racism and social justice, of war and peace loomed heavily over the entire world with the Cold War at its peak. The five Prime Ministers decided to meet again at the end of 1954, this time in Indonesia, and here they called for the holding of a Conference the objectives of which were "to promote goodwill and co-operation among nations of Asia and Africa, to consider economic, social and cultural problems and relations, as well as problems of special interest to them, including racism and colonialism, and to consider what contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and understanding". Bandung in Indonesia was chosen as the site for this Conference and in April 1955 the first major representative conference of the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa took place.

Apart from the five sponsoring Asian nations, 24 other Governments were represented at the highest level. The spectrum of political systems varied from the far right (Thailand) to the strictly socialist (Vietnam) but what mattered was that it was almost an emotional coming together of 'peoples and cultures' separated from their earlier bonds and interests by 500 years of colonial impositions. Bandung was described as "a symbolic Return to the Homeland of 1.3 billion proud human beings (more than half of the human family) who were about to rediscover their lost history and their mutilated humanity".

THE ROOTS OF NON-ALIGNMENT

The policy of Non-Alignment had its origins in the reaction of certain countries to the Cold War. It was more or less a unifying action or force which took the form of resistance to the division of the world into blocs and bloc alignments; and it is from here that this concept derives its name. But it was not merely a movement which sprung from a reaction to the bloc division of the world and the dominant role of blocs. It is, as we have traced in detail, the reflection of a much longer socio-historical tendency of a contemporary mankind, one that dates to many years before the Second World War.

Non-Alignment also had its beginnings in the widely held aspirations and active struggle of subject peoples to achieve full national liberty and to carve out the right in such liberty to develop socially according to their own rights. They wished to cease being an economic and political appendage of the great world powers; their hope was to protect themselves, in the processes, from external domination and exploitation and to be able to wield an influence, from such positions, on the evolution of international relations.

The Non-Aligned countries have thus succeeded in achieving and maintaining a high degree of unity in the struggle for their common objectives; irrespective of differences in their socio-economic and political systems and regardless of the intensity of their participation in the Movement. In fact the concept "Third World" is often interpreted as a joint name for developing countries and for all the economic and political issues involving the interests of these countries; and the substance of this concept is identified with the concept of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Another root of the origins of the Non-Aligned Movement also lay in the fear of the neutral nations at the time; at the fear of a nuclear war between the great powers that could lay waste the entire earth. The neutralists in the 50s opposed military alliances and insisted on the importance of peaceful co-existence which was to become a key ideal of Non-Alignment. This neutralism was considered "immoral" by one of the leading super powers of the time. A crucial stage in the Movement was the enunciation in April 1954 of Pancha Seela known as the five principles and which was incorporated in the ten principles enunciated as part of the Bandung Declaration of 1955.

These principles remain at the core of the Non-Aligned movement. The more important of these principles were stated thus.

- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
- Recognition of equality of all races and nations, large and small;
- Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries;
- Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers, and abstention by any country from exerting pressure on the other countries;
- Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
- Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means.
- Promotion of mutual interest and co-operation.

In 1961 before the Belgrade Summit Conference five criteria were adopted for judging participation in Non-Aligned Movement. They are as follows:

1. The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of States with different political and social systems and on Non-Alignment or should be following a trend in favour of such a policy.
2. The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence.
3. The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
4. If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defence pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
5. If it has conceded military bases to a foreign power the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.

It is seen from the above criteria that Non-Aligned countries could have several internal social and economic systems. Whether they were socialist or anti-communist, for royalty or republican constitutions does not prevent them from subscribing to these ideals.

An interesting aside to this Conference was the attempt by some nations to equate Western Colonialism with what they called Communist Colonialism. The leading protagonist of this approach was General Carlos Romulo and among whose supporters was Sri Lanka's Kotelawala. But Romulo had to admit that "the

American tendency to brand any nationalist movement whatever in Asia and Africa as communistic rests on another of those assumptions which urgently needed to be examined. There are, unquestionably, nationalist movements in Asia which are Communist-led or which are abetted by the Communists. But this fact

does not necessarily invalidate the intrinsic quality of the genuine nationalist movement in the region", and that "the Americans are so obfuscated by the fear of communism they cannot think straight. Anti-communism in the United States is a new form of national hysteria".

The response of the Western Press was negative and one of apprehension as typified in these two comments. *Newsweek* commented on January 1, 1955: "Everybody knows what must come to pass between Asia and the West, the yellow and the white. It is imbecile folly to close our eyes to the inevitable..... All the world understands that the gravest crisis in the destiny of the earth's population is at hand....." The London *Economist* of January 1955 wrote: "The Conference.....promises to prove historic in concept, doubtful in execution and unsatisfactory to almost all parties in effect..... Obviously a Conference so lacking in common positive purpose is all too likely to fall back on the negative—to descend to its lowest common denominator and stick there. And when Asians are gathered together, the natural lowest denominator is anti-Westernism....."

The Bandung Conference spelt out ten principles which stand at the core of the Non-Aligned Movement. In essence they were an explicit reaffirmation of fundamental human rights, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, equality of all races and nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, independence and peaceful co-existence. (See Box on page 8.)

The principles enunciated at Bandung together with its spirit of solidarity, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, anti-imperialism and steering clear of big power alignments continued to grow and crystallise in the years that followed. They were constantly reiterated and redefined in many more conferences throughout the 1950's and 1960's with the concept of Non-Alignment becoming the rallying cry of a great majority of these countries now grouped as a "Third World."

Other important events contributing to the Non-Aligned Movement in this period were the Tripartite meeting of Presidents Tito and Nasser and Premier Nehru in July 1956 at Brioni where the first pro-

grammes of action of the Non-Aligned countries were formulated; and the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly in October 1960 at which 17 new nations from Africa and the Mediterranean were also admitted to membership and at which a large number of prominent statesmen of the Non-Aligned countries of Asia and Africa actively took part. The beginnings of abandoning individual actions by the Non-Aligned countries in the world organization and refusals to be drawn into the Cold War were evident here. They even attempted the mediator role in disputes between the great powers when they called upon the USSR and the USA to renew contacts in the midst of conflicting situations in inter-bloc relations. The initiative did not produce immediate results, yet significant was the fact that the Non-Aligned countries were now asserting their presence and the tendency towards bi-polarism on the pattern of the United Nations was halted.

Belgrade 1961

The next important stage was the "First Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries" convened in Belgrade from September 1st to 6th, 1961, attended by 25 member countries. This was a period of heightened tensions between the 'Big Powers' USA and USSR, which was to reach its most dangerous moments in the Cuban Missile crisis of October 1962. The immediate objective of the Conference was to find ways and means of decreasing the tension on the international scene. The Conference took decisive stands on colonialism, apartheid and the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. A visible result of the recognition of the Non-Aligned Movement was the emergence of U Thant of Burma as the first non-white Secretary General of the U.N.

The first formal international gathering of Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade formulated a programme which constituted at that time the broadest opening of the Non-Aligned countries towards the world. The Declaration of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries made at this conference was thus in a sense a manifesto of Non-Alignment, formulated in an international document for the first time. The

extension of the Non-Aligned world was regarded as the only possible alternative to the policy of total division of the world into blocs, and the principles of peaceful co-existence were seen as the only possible form of relations among States which could ensure peace on a permanent basis.

Cairo 1964

In contrast to the Belgrade Conference of 1961, which laid down the basic principles of Non-Alignment, the "Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries" held in Cairo from October 5th to 10th 1964, accepting these principles in toto went on to draft a concrete and comprehensive programme of action for the Non-Aligned countries.

From 25 member countries in Belgrade the number attending at Cairo had gone up to 42. The increased membership came mainly from Africa. The international political climate now seemed somewhat improved but the economic situation, especially for the Third World countries, had worsened. The Conference thus devoted a greater part of its attention to economic issues and its final document 'The Programme for Peace and International Co-operation' was an action programme for peace and improvement in the position of the Third World countries both on the political and economic planes. It pressed for a programme of economic co-operation between developed and developing nations for which UNCTAD was to provide a framework.

The economic programme of Non-Alignment was quietly formulated in July 1962 in Cairo at a special Economic Conference of the Developing Countries. It marked the beginning of organised action by the developing countries to resolve the problems of the undeveloped part of the world.

Lusaka 1970

After a lapse of six years the "Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries" was held in Lusaka, Zambia, from September 8th to 10th 1970. As many as 53 members and 12 observers participated. At Lusaka the Non-Aligned nations were made immediately aware of the magnitude and urgency of the problems of alien domination and racism being ruthlessly perpetuated in territories bordering

on Zambia. The size of this conference had also proved that half the world had come to understand and value Non-Alignment as a positive force in international politics.

The firm opposition to any pressures, political, economic or military was reaffirmed by the Non-Aligned nations at Lusaka in a "Declaration of Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization in International Relations". They resolved to be vigilant to safeguard the unity of independent countries dedicated to the common aims of Non-Alignment.

The presence of the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG), Madame Nguyen Thi Binh at the Lusaka Conference was a matter of significance. That the Non-Aligned Nations were very positively committed to opposing imperialism and neo-colonialism was made clear with the participation of the PRG's representative.

As a follow-up of the Lusaka Conference, a Ministerial Conference (foreign Ministers) of Non-Aligned countries was held in Georgetown (Guyana) from 8 to 11 August 1972. That was the first time that such an important meeting was held in the Western Hemisphere. At the meeting, the PRG became a full member.

Algiers 1973

The "Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries" was convened in Algiers from September 5 to 9 1973. It brought together 75 countries and 27 delegations of observers and was the biggest such gathering of the member-states of the world community. It has been the most significant upto date so far in terms of numbers of participants (75 member countries, 27 delegations of observers representing countries or organizations and 3 guests) and in the importance of the issues it dealt with.

By the time this Conference was being held there had been important changes in the international scene. A policy of "detente" had emerged between the USA and the USSR and also between the USA and the People's Republic of China. China had also occupied her rightful place in the United Nations.

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The Conference noted that spectacular recent meetings had taken place among the great powers, announcing profound changes in international relations. The positive aspects of these initiatives were assessed at their true worth by the Non-Aligned Countries. To the Non-Aligned Countries it was very clear that these initiatives corresponded essentially to the aims of the developed countries anxious to find a common ground for the settlement of the serious disagreements that divided them hitherto and to create a context of co-operation for reconciling their respective interests. It was noted that this gradual shift out of the cold war context was not being accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the conditions of the countries of the Third World. On the contrary, tension and war had been transferred to Asia, Africa and Latin America, which had become the zones where all the contradictions of the contemporary world were concentrated and exacerbated. It was in the context of this situation that the Conference stressed the urgent need for promoting the establishment of zones of peace and co-operation in the regions of the Third World into which great power rivalries were being increasingly threatened. Sri Lanka's proposal for a nuclear free zone to cover the whole of the Indian Ocean (See Box on pages 10 and 11) was now particularly relevant.

The Conference passed many resolutions supporting liberation movements from South Africa to the struggle for self-determination in Puerto Rico. The Conference noted that "in the international area, the affirmation of the legitimacy of the armed struggle waged by people striving for national liberation, and the growing recognition of the liberation movements as the sole legitimate representatives of their peoples constitute a significant achievement".

This position as well as that of the other political ones were in keeping with similar pronouncements in earlier conferences. What made the Algiers conference unique was its emphasis on economic problems. It spelled out the disparities between the developed and developing countries and placed the disparities as due basically to the existing international relations in the economic sphere. It called for the dismantling of the existing economic relations and the

establishment of a new one. It recommended that the developing countries "rely first and foremost on their own resources, individually and collectively, to take over the defence of their fundamental interest and to organize their development by themselves". It also took the position that developing countries "exercise their national sovereignty over their natural resources and all domestic activities".

In the case of transnational (multi-national) corporations the Conference came out strongly denouncing "before world public opinion the unacceptable practices of transnational companies which infringe the sovereignty of developing countries and violate the principles of non-interference and the right of peoples to self determination which are basic pre-requisites for their political, economic and social progress". It also recommended "that arrangements be made for joint action by the Non-Aligned countries in regard to transnational companies, within the framework of a global strategy designed to transform qualitatively and quantitatively the systems of economic and financial relations which subordinates the developing countries to the industrialized countries".

Other significant stands at the Conference were those against cultural imperialism, the process by which the culture and consciousness of the Third World was being conditioned to fit moulds set in the rich and powerful countries. This process of brain washing occurs also in the case of mass media and the Conference recommended actions to eliminate the existing relations of dependence in the field. In another sphere of culture, namely science and technology, the Conference recommended the establishment of institutions for active co-operation in the field.

From Belgrade to Algiers it is clear that the issues have crystallised. *Multinationals, Racialism, Science and Technology, Mass Media and the New Economic Order* are very vital issues among the countries that constitute the Non-Aligned world today. In the pages that follow we focus on the background to these issues, before considering the future potential of a Movement that has continued to surge forward and gain in dynamism with each successive Conference.