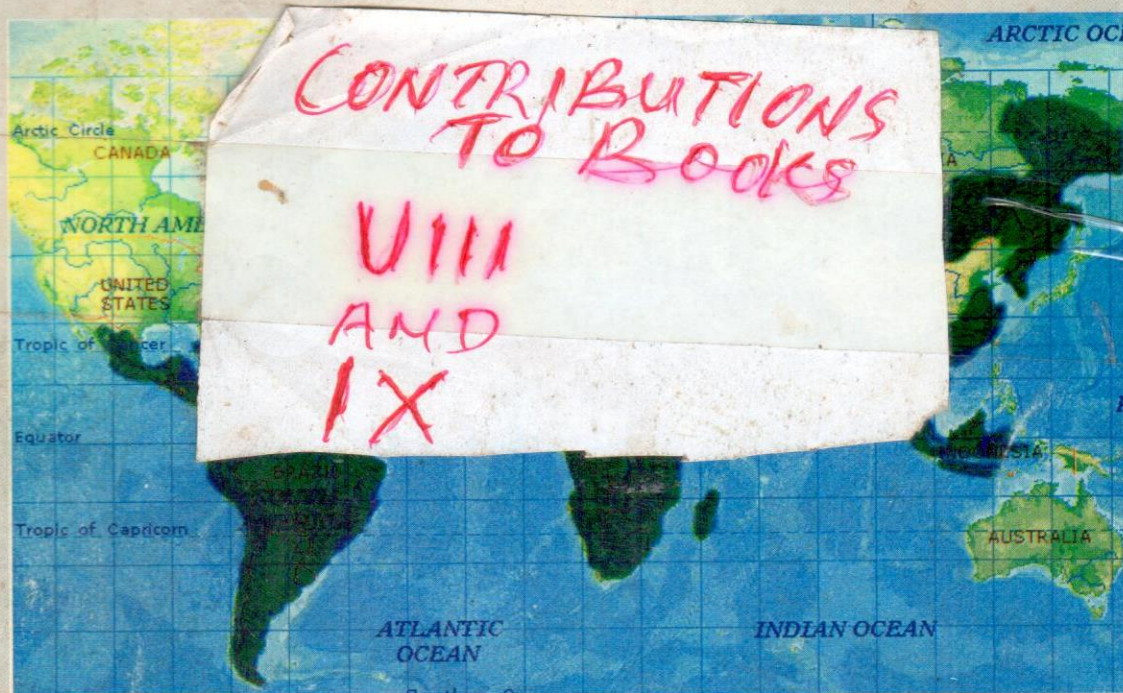


THE THIRD WORLD

in
SOCIAL SCIENCE
PERSPECTIVE



J O Onwuka
(Editor)

FERP - FASMEN

CHAPTER FIVE

THIRD WORLD NATIONS AND NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Alexander Aniche

Introduction

Various scholars have aired their views on the meaning of Third World Nations and Non-Aligned Movement. According to Bairoch (2007), the Third world concept is a movement by Third World nations aimed at political and economic emancipation. Third World nations are mostly located in the developing parts of the World, such as Africa, Latin America, and Asia with the exception of Japan. Third World usually refers to the poorer countries of the world. Also nonaligned is the state of being unaligned in the international power struggle between the superpowers (the Western democracies) and the Communist bloc nations.

According to Sakaba (2006), Non-aligned movement was occasioned by the rising aggressive tendencies of the United States of America (U.S.A.) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R). Non-aligned movement was a defence mechanism by mostly Third World nations as a way of safeguarding their newly acquired independence from their colonizers who were using the division of the world into two powerful blocs as a means of assisting and frustrating respective developing countries who refused to take sides in the world's political blocs. The primary concern of the Third World nations is the pursuit of their own development and national interests. The Third World nations came to regard alignment with a major power as jeopardizing their independence and thus the need for Non-aligned movement.

Asobie (1986:142) espouses the views of the various scholars on Nonalignment. He asserts that the term, Non alignment, is used in several senses but these may be grouped under two headings, namely, the *Orthodox conception* and the *Radical conception*. He explains that Orthodox scholars see it as either a principle or strategy of foreign policy. Viewed in this sense, it is often erroneously equated with neutrality in the face of military confrontation between great powers in the post Second World War period known as Cold War. Thus Ohlson (2005) sees Non-aligned movement as an international organization of states considering themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. According to Rengger (2006), Non-aligned movement should be seen as movement by the independent countries to protect and maximize their independence and avoid domination by the superpowers.

The second interpretation of the nonalignment movement is the radical conception. To these scholars, the core meaning of non-alignment is the ability and freedom to take action on international political, economic and social issues on the

basis of justice. A non-aligned policy has at its core the principles of equality and justice towards and among both individuals and states, that is, the pursuit of justice both at home and abroad. A non-aligned country must have as its cardinal objective resistance to oppression, exploitation, and domination at home and abroad. The holders of this view insist that in defining non-alignment, emphasis should be placed, not on the maximization of national independence, but on adherence to justice. One way of testing a nation's commitment to justice in world affairs is to examine its diplomatic actions in relation to its national ethics especially its support for human dignity, and opposition to colonialism and other forms of oppression. Thus, the Radical perspective, according to Spanier (2002) is not a movement for not being involved in the cold war but in the promotion of world peace and cooperation. It is a movement to provide mutual benefits to all peoples on the basis of justice.

Ayah (1998: 17), in his view of non-alignment, asserts that non-alignment is a current vocabulary in international politics, commonly associated with Third World countries because of their policy to stay away from the Cold War between the super powers. He is of the view that it should not be mistaken for isolationism or neutralism which was a common feature of policies of states before the Second World War. Thus, nonalignment has the characteristics of uniting all the Third World countries which profess independence from super powers and were not involved in the cold war, for the common purpose of defending their sovereignty.

Asobie (1986) has defined non-alignment reflecting the views of the two schools of thought, the *orthodox* and the *radical* schools. He defines it as a new approach to the conduct of international relations which rejects force, balance of power, and spheres of influence as the bases of international order and seeks to institute negotiation, cooperation and peaceful co-existence as a dominant mode of interstate interaction.

A. The Emergence of Non -Aligned Movement

According to Busia (2007), the term "Non-Alignment" itself was coined by former Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, during his speech in 1954 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In this speech, Jawaharlal Nehru described the five pillars to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations, which were first put forth by the contemporaneous Chinese Premier, Zhou Enlai Called Pasnchsheel (five restraints). These principles were later to serve as the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The five principles were:

- 1 Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- 2 Mutual non-aggression
- 3 Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs.
- 4 Equality and mutual benefit.
- 5 Peaceful co-existence.

According to Grant (2007), a significant milestone in the development of the Non-aligned movement was the 1955 Bandung Conference, a conference of Asian and African states hosted by Indonesian president, Sukarno. The attending Third World nations declared their desire not to become involved in the East West ideological confrontation of the Cold War. Bandung marked a significant milestone for the development Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) as a political movement. The founding fathers of the NAM were five prominent world leaders: Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Sukarno of Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Kwame Nkruma of Ghana. Their actions were known as *The Initiative of five*.

However, according to Onyishi (1998), it was six years later in September of 1961, through the initiative of Josip Broz Tito, the then president of Yugoslavia, that the first official Non-Aligned Movement summit was held.

The non Aligned Movement, NAM, is an international organization of 118 states which consider themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. The purpose of the organization as stated in the Havana Declaration of 1979 is to ensure the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of nonaligned countries "in their" straddle against imperialism, colonialism, neo colonialism, racism (including Zionism) and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics. They represent nearly two-thirds of the United Nations members and comprise 55% of the world population. Important members include Yugoslavia, India, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, South Africa, Iran, Malaysia, and, for a time, the People's Republic of China. Brazil has never been a formal member of the movement, but the country shares many of the aims of NAM and frequently sends observers to NAM summits.

While the organization was intended to be in alliance with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), it has little cohesion and many of its members were actually quite closely aligned with one or another of the great powers. For example, Cuba was closely aligned with the former Soviet Union during the Cold War era. India was effectively aligned with the Soviet Union against China for many years. Additionally, some members were involved in serious conflict with other members (e.g. India and Pakistan, Iran and Iraq). The movement fractured from its own internal contradictions when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. While the Soviet allies supported the invasion, other members, (particularly the Muslim states of the movement) found it impossible to do so. The Non Aligned Movement has struggled to find relevance since the end of the Cold War. The successor states of Yugoslavia, a founding member, have expressed little interest in the NAM since the country's breakup in 2004. Malta and Cyprus ceased to be members of the NAM when they joined the European Union.

Thus with a view to making the world safe for the Third World, the idea to establish a forum that would moderate excesses of the warring blocs was mooted.

Nkruma (1963: 194) in his speech "Africa in World Affairs" stated that it is impossible to separate the affairs of Third World nations from affairs of the world as a whole.

B. Objectives of Non-Alignment

The general objectives of the Non aligned movement have been given by Bojana (1995) as: safeguarding the national independence and the necessity to assure economic development in a peaceful way which has to be accompanied by a modification of the present forms of international relations in the political and economic spheres as well as the creation of a new type of relations in the international community based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and active cooperation.

According to Asobie (1986: 159), the specific objectives of Non-aligned movement are as follows

- 1 Opposition to the division of the world into antagonistic military political alliances and blocs and rejection of such doctrines as spheres of influence and balance of powers.
- 2 The avoidance of the use of threat or force and non recognition of situations brought about by the use of force in settlement of disputes.
- 3 National independence, sovereign equality and the free social development of all countries.
- 4 Independence of non aligned countries from great blocs' rivalries or influences and opposition to participation in military pacts and alliances arising there from;
- 5 The right to self determinism and independence of all peoples under alien domination and constant support to the struggle for national liberation movement.
- 6 The struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and all forms of expansionism.
- 7 Active peaceful co existence among all states.

One could clearly perceive from the above mentioned objectives and principles that the emergence of the concept and orientation of non alignment was a response to situations of exploitation, imperialism and the whirlwind of the ideological Cold War which the Third World nations were faced with.

C. Organizational Structure

According to Echezona (1993), while the NAM is an organization of united countries, much like the United Nations or North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, it is unique relative to these organizations in its organization and structure. First, it considers itself to be non-hierarchical in nature in that there are no countries that have veto power or special privileges in certain areas. The chair is rotated officially at each

summit. The administration of the organization becomes the responsibility of a rotating chair and rotation is consistent and fair. Secondly, the organization does not have any sort of constitution as many similar organizations do. This was done out of the recognition that with so many countries having so many varying viewpoints and priorities, any formal sort of administrative structure would increase division and eventually lead to the collapse of the organization.

Morphet (2004) has observed that membership of the organization has changed from the original requirements as well. As the organization has matured and as international political circumstances have changed, so too have the requirements. There is an obvious attempt to integrate the requirements of the NAM with the key beliefs of the United Nations. The latest requirements are now that the candidate country has displayed practices in accordance with:

- Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations

- Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.

- Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

- Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of United Nations.

- 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, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

- Promotion of mutual interest and co operation.

- Respect for justice and international obligations.

D. Current Activities and Positions of Non-Aligned Movement.

According to Lebow (2007) the current activities and positions of non aligned movement include:

- 1. Anti-American Sentiments:** In recent years the United States (US) has become a target of the organization. The singular superpower, the US invasion of Iraq, its attempts to stifle Iran's and North Korea's nuclear plans, and its other actions have been denounced as human rights violations and attempts to run roughshod over the sovereignty of smaller nations. The movement's leaders have also criticized the US overt control over the United Nations and other international structures, and the war on terrorism. While the organization has rejected terrorism, it condemns the association of terrorism with a particular religion, nationality, or ethnicity, and recognizes the

rights of those struggling against colonialism and foreign occupation.

2. Israel-Palestine: The movement has taken a firm position on the Israel-Palestinian conflict, denouncing Israel's occupation of contested Palestinian territories. It has called upon Israel to halt its settlement activities, open up closed borders and cease the use of force and violence against civilians. The UN has also been asked to pressure Israel and to do more to prevent further human right abuses.

3. Southern Development: The movement is publicly committed to the tenets of sustainable development and the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals, but it believes that the international communities have not created conditions conducive to development and have infringed upon the right to sovereign development by each member state. Issues such as globalization, the debt burden, unfair trade practices, the decline in foreign aid, donor conditionality, and the lack of democracy in international financial decision making are cited as factors inhibiting development.

4. Reforms of the UN: The Non-Aligned Movement has been quite outspoken in its criticism of current UN structures and power dynamics, mostly in how the organization has been utilized by powerful states in ways that violate the movement's principles. It has made a number of recommendations that would strengthen the representation and power of nonaligned states. The proposed reforms are also aimed at improving the transparency and democracy of UN decision-making. The UN Security Council is the element considered the most distorted, undemocratic, and in need of reshaping.

5. South-South Cooperation: Lately the Non-Aligned Movement has collaborated with other organizations of the developing world, primarily the Group of 77, forming a number of joint committees and releasing statements and documents representing the shared interests of both groups. This dialogue and cooperation can be taken as an effort to increase global awareness about the organization and bolster its political clout.

6. Cultural Diversity and Human Rights: The movement accepts the universality of human rights and social justice, but fiercely resists cultural homogenization. In line with its views on sovereignty, the organization appeals for the protection of cultural diversity, and the tolerance of religious, socio-cultural, and historical particularities that define human rights in a specific region.

7. Working Groups, Taskforces, and Committees

These include :

High-level Working Group for the Restructuring of the United Nations.

Working Group on Human Rights

Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations

Working Group on Disarmament

Committee on Palestine

Task Force on Somalia
Non-Aligned Security Caucus
Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation
Joint Coordination Committee (chaired by Chairman of G- 77 and Chairman of NAM)

E. Summits of Non- Aligned Movement

According to Grant (2007), the non aligned movement since its inception has organized fourteen conferences as follows

- First Conference Belgrade, September 1 6, 1961
- Second Conference Cairo, October 5 10, 1964
- Third Conference Lusaka, September 8 10 1970
- Fourth Conference Algiers, September 5 9, 1973
- Fifth Conference Colombo, August 16 19, 1976
- Sixth Conference Havana September 3 9, 1979
- Seventh Conference New Delhi, March 7 12 1983
- Eight Conference Harare, September 1 6, 1986
- Ninth Conference - Belgrade, September 4 7, 1989
- Tenth Conference Jakarta, September 1- 7, 1992
- Eleventh Conference Cartagena de Indias, October 18 20, 1995
- Twelfth Conference Durban, September 2 3, 1998
- Thirteenth Conference Kuala Lumpur, February 20 25, 2003
- Fourteenth Conference Havana, September 15 16, 2006

F. Secretaries General of Nonaligned Movement

According to Ruggie (2008), between summits, the Non -Aligned Movement is run by the Secretary General elected at the previous summit meeting. As a considerable part of the movement's work is undertaken at the United Nations in New York, the chair country's ambassador to the UN is expected to devote time and effort to matters concerning the Non Aligned Movement. A co-ordinating Bureau, also based at the UN, is the main instrument for directing the work of the movement's task forces, committees, and working groups. The following have functioned as Secretaries General of NAM at the following designated periods of its history.

| Secretaries-General of the Non-Aligned Movement | | | |
|---|------------------------------|------|------|
| Name | Country | From | To |
| Josip Broz Tito | Yugoslavia | 1961 | 1964 |
| Gamal Abdel Nasser | Egypt (United Arab Republic) | 1964 | 1970 |
| Kenneth Kaunda | Zambia | 1970 | 1973 |
| Houari Boumedienne | Algeria | 1973 | 1976 |
| William Gopallawa | Sri Lanka | 1976 | 1978 |
| Junius Richard Jayawardene | | 1978 | 1979 |
| Fidel Castro | Cuba | 1979 | 1983 |
| N. Sanjiva Reddy | India | 1983 | |
| Zail Singh | | 1983 | 1986 |
| Robert Mugabe | Zimbabwe | 1986 | 1989 |
| Janez Drnovsek | | 1989 | 1990 |
| Stjepan (Stipe) Mesic | | 1991 | |
| Branko Kostic | Yugoslavia | 1991 | 1992 |
| Dobrica Cosic | | 1992 | |
| Suharto | Indonesia | 1992 | 1995 |
| Ernesto Samper Pizano | Colombia | 1995 | 1998 |
| Andres Pastrana Arango | | 1998 | |
| Nelson Mandela | South Africa | 1998 | 1999 |
| Thabo Mbeki bin Mohammad | | | |
| Mahathir bin Mohammad | Malaysia | 2003 | |
| Abdullah Ahmad Badawi | | 2003 | 2006 |
| Fidel Castro | | 2006 | 2008 |
| Raul Castro | Cuba | 2008 | |

G. Achievements of Non-Aligned Movement

According to Weiner (1981: 168), indeed by rejecting the division of the world based on ideological conflict, arm race, military and violent confrontations, Non-Aligned Movement led the way to sanity in global politics and the promotion of international peace as the most valued ideal of international relations.

One of the major objectives of the non aligned movement was to reject the polarization of the world on ideological basis. To this extent, its greatest achievement has been to maintain its consensus decision not to support any of the ideological moguls or super powers. Thus, according to Babangida (1991) "Non-Aligned Movement led the way to sanity in global politics" and also the preference and promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes. The countries that subscribe to nonalignment are invariably poor countries constantly in need of aid from the rich

West. Non-Aligned Movement made it possible for these recipient countries to turn elsewhere for aid if one donor country attached strings to her aid. Thus, for example, when America refused to assist in building the Aswan Dam in Egypt presumably because she had accepted communist military equipment, Egypt turned to the Soviets for aid and the dam was built. Another example was when in 1981 Americans congressmen expressed reluctance to aid a proposed public sector steel plant in India. The concept of Non-alignment made it possible for India to turn the Soviet Union for assistance.

Non-alignment has also served to enhance the role played by weak military powers in disputes among world super powers. In both Korea and Congo, the non-aligned movement has exercised influence to a very great extent.

Another veritable achievement of the non-aligned movement was that it provided platforms and basis for subscribing countries to pursue development programmes "without a heavy commitment of funds on arms."

The concept of non-alignment and the platform of the non-aligned movement has facilitated closer ties among Afro Asia states. It has strengthened respect for and attachment to the African culture. This is a step in the right direction in the struggle for equality of all races and justice in the international arena.

According to Onyishi (1998), non-alignment has also provided the forum for giving vent to anti-colonial, anti-Western sentiments without denying oneself the benefits to continued Western assistance.

Also, the group of 77 of non aligned countries initiated the call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in 1964. Side by side with these developments, the first conference of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development provided the forum for the group of 77 to initiate concerted effort for the restructuring of the World Economic System.

H. The Dwindling Influence of Non- Aligned Movement

According to Weisis (1975), as more and more nations declare themselves non-aligned, as each country in practice formulates policies that are based upon national interests, domestic needs, psychological sentiments, regional relations, and personal ambition of its political leaders ...and as relations between the USA and USSR became less threatening, it appeared possible that in time the term, non-alignment, might disappear from popular usage.

The exigencies of contingency in issues in the world have been the major issue in the dwindling influence of the non-aligned movement in international politics. This contingency is the dependent nature of the nations that subscribed to non-alignment. The demise of the Cold War seemingly is trying to force the non-aligned movement to outlive its usefulness. One will understand this stance better when one looks closely at the circumstances that surrounded the emergence of non-aligned movement and its

movement. The effectiveness of the non-aligned movement has been dynamic in terms of what the prevailing international situation is at that point in time. After the cold war, membership of the non-aligned movement grew from 25 states in 1961 to 113 members and 17 observer states in 2000. The movement's members are drawn from Asia, Africa, South America, Central America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Yugoslavia (until 1992) and Malta are the only European members of the non-aligned movement. Conferences are now held every three years. The movement has no permanent secretariat.

With the Cold War, the chief issues promoted by the movement have been international action against poverty, environmental destruction, nuclear testing, and drug-trafficking. The eleventh conference, held in October 1995 at Cartagena, Columbia, was attended by delegates and heads of states from 113 developing countries, including the then South African President, Nelson Mandela, the Cuban president, Fidel Castro, and the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasser Arafat. Also the fourteenth conference was at Havana, Cuba on September 2006 and the member states have grown.

J. Contemporary Relevance of Non-Aligned Movement

According to Daria (2007) since the end of the Cold War and formal end of colonialism, the Non-aligned movement has been forced to redefine itself and reinvent its purpose in the current world system. A major question has been whether many of its foundational ideologies, principally national independence, territorial integrity, and the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, can be applied to contemporary issues. The movement has emphasized its principles of multilateralism, equality, and mutual non-aggression in attempting to become a stronger voice for the global South, and an instrument that can be utilized to promote the needs of member nations at the international level and strengthen their political leverage when negotiating with developed nations. In its efforts to advance Southern interests, the movement has stressed the importance of cooperation and unity amongst member states, but as in the past, cohesion remains a problem since the size of the organization and the divergence of agenda and allegiances present the on-going potentials for fragmentation. While agreement on basic principles has been smooth, taking definitive action vis-à-vis particular international issues has been rare, with the movement preferring to assert its criticism or support rather than pass hard-line resolutions. The movement opposes foreign occupation, interference in internal affairs, and aggressive unilateral measures, but it has also shifted to focus on the socio-economic challenges facing member states, especially the inequalities manifested by globalization and the implications of neo-liberal policies. The non-aligned movement has identified economic underdevelopment, poverty, and social injustices as growing threat to peace and security.

Conclusion

Non-Aligned Movement is very essential to Third World nations and it is important for their survival even in the new world order. The Non-aligned Movement still has important roles to play in international affairs. It is not only an alternative to political ideologies but also to economic inequalities between the Third World nations and the advanced countries and can be a veritable tool to the continued freedom of belief and association which the world has long desired. The Third World nations are the major force for changing the present world order.

Since the thrust of the Western move to dominate the Third World nations is in the area of economy and use of economic/information technology instrument, it is then necessary that the non-aligned movement changes its directional focus accordingly. Economic independence should form the driving force behind the non aligned movement's policies. The viability of the policy of Non-Alignment is threatened if it does not as a matter of urgency, metamorphose into a hindrance against economic domination of its member nations.

REFERENCES

- Asobie, H. A (1986) "Nigeria and the Non-Aligned Movement" in G. O. Olusanya and R.AAkindele (ed), *Nigeria External Relations, the First Five years*. London: Univ. press Ltd.
- Ayah S.O. (1998). *Nigeria Foreign Policy*. Enugu: Jamoe publishers.
- Babangida, I. (1991). "For their Tomorrow, we gave our today". *Selected speeches of IBB in Tunji*, O and Oyoubaire, S. Ibadan: Safar Book (Export) Ltd.
- Bairoch, P. (2007) *The Economic Development of The Third World Since 1990*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Bojana, T. (1995) *Non-Alignment Role in Today's World*. Bonn: Germany comments.
- Busia, K.A (2007). *Africa in search of Democracy*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Daria, A. (2007) "Non-Aligned Nations Slam U.S." *CBC News*, September 16
- Echezona, N. (1993) *Contemporary Issues in World Order*. Awka: Metshink Publishers.
- Grant, C. (2007) "Equity in Third World Relations: A Third World Perspective" *International Affairs*. Vol. 71, No. 3, pg 567587.
- Lebow, R. (2007) "International Security, Realism and The End of the cold war". *International Security Journal*. Vol 20, No.2
- Morphet, S. (2004) "Multilateralism and The Non-Aligned Movement: What is the Global South Doing and Where is it Going?" *Global Governance*, vol. 10, 517 537
- Nkrumah K (1963). *Africa Must Unite*. London: Heinemann Educational Book Ltd.
- Nnoli, O. (1978). *Self Reliance And Foreign Policy in Tanzania*. London: New York publishers international Ltd.
- Offong, D. (1980). *Imperialism and Dependency*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Ogene, F. (1981). "The Role of Non-Aligned Movement in World Affairs". *Nigerian Institute of International Affair Journal*, vol.7, Nos. I and 2, Jan.
- Ohison, T. S. (2006). *Arms Transfer Limitations and Third World Security*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Olu, C. (1978). *Third World*, Owerri: Opinion Research and Communications Ltd.
- Onyishi, A. (1998). "Third World and Dependency." *A Mimeograph*, ESUT: Department of Political Science
- Rengger, N. (2006). *Treaties and Alliances of the World*, 5th Edition, London: Longman Group Ltd.
- Ruggie, J. (2008). *Territoriality And Beyond: Problematising Modernity in*

International Relations. UNO publications.

Sakaba, A. (2006). "The Cold War And Its Implications For Africa" *The Nigerian institute of international affairs journal*, vol. 11, No. 1.

Spanier, A. (2002). *Games Nations Play*. 7th edition, London: Longman Group Ltd.

Suved, S. (1996). *Land and Maritime Zones of Peace in International Law*. London: Oxford University.

Weiner, M. (1981). "Neutrality and Non-Alignment" in David, L. Still (ed) *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. Vol. 7 New York: Macmillan co.

Weiss, M. (1975). *The State of Peace and Justice Towards a Framework of Global Discussion*. New York: Praeger Publishers.



Designed & Printed by
Fasmen Communications
79/94 Owerri Rd., Okigwe
Imo State – Nigeria.