

NON-ALIGNMENT IN AFRICA

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NON-ALIGNMENT IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

Non-Alignment has been described as ^{the?} (a) dominant diplomatic ¹⁹⁶² philosophy of the Afro-Asian world.¹ This is essentially a true interpretation of the international situation. For the overwhelming majority of the members of the non-alignment movement today are to be found in the continents of Africa and Asia. Indeed, most of the nations of Africa and Asia profess this policy. Thus, in theory at least, all the 42 independent African States belong to the group of Non-Aligned Countries. The Charter of the Organization of African Unity in its Article III(7) declares its "affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regards to all blocs".²

Though the pioneers of non-alignment have been mostly non-African,³ the African States today play an important if not dominant role in the Councils of the Movement. The pre-eminence of Africa in the growth and development of the Non-Aligned Movement is demonstrated by the fact that three out of the four Summit Conferences of the Non-Aligned States have been held in the African Continent. These were in Cairo (1964), Lusaka (1970) and Algiers (1973).

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- 1962 ?-
1. Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., The Elephants and the Grass, p. ix
 2. Charter of the Organization of African Unity, Articles III Principle No. 7.
 3. It is generally accepted that the stalwarts of non-alignment have been Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia, Soekarno of Indonesia and Nasser of Egypt. Later, Mkrumah came to be increasingly identified with this group. Subsequent to his overthrow from power, however, the late Ghanaian leader became a severe critic of non-alignment calling it an "anachronism" and characterizing the thinking of the leaders who espouse it as "a form of political escapism - a reluctance to face the stark realities of the present situation". See Kwame Nkrumah, "The Myth of the 'Third World'" in The Struggle Continues, PANAF Books Ltd., London, 1973, p. 76.

The present study will discuss the role of Africa in the Non-Aligned Movement. It will also examine the behavioural patterns of African States as non-aligned States. In this respect, some examples will be given to demonstrate one of the most recurring trends among the adherents of non-alignment namely the discrepancy between theory and practise, rhetoric and performance.

In evaluating the role of Africa within the movement, an examination will be made as to how the policy of non-alignment conforms or corresponds with Africa's Pan-African objectives and how both the concept of non-alignment and Pan-Africanism relate to one of the dominant questions of our time. This is the struggle of the countries of the Third World against imperialist control and domination. In this connection the attempt of the non-aligned nations to forge solidarity on economic and developmental issues will be considered.

Any proper evaluation of non-alignment in Africa must include the consideration of the evolution of the concept and policy of non-alignment itself. Thus, a brief historical appraisal would be an appropriate starting point of the study.

II

BACKGROUND TO NON-ALIGNMENT

The preponderance of the Afro-Asian nations in the movement is neither accidental nor coincidental. It stems from concrete historical circumstances which gave birth to the very concept of non-alignment.

One of the basic common characteristics of its members is that they were almost all former colonies. Indeed it is beyond dispute that the tide of liberation brought with it the wind of non-alignment. In Nkrumah's words: "We (the non-aligned nations) came into existence as a protest and a revolt against imperialism and neo-colonialism which are also the basic cause of world tension and insecurity". Thus, non-alignment came into focus following the termination of the Second World War and the emergence of new nations which had broken the chains of colonial bondage.

different
emphasis
their
anti-imperialist

As a
mariner
I will
take you
word the
not a
mixed
metaphor

"The intensive decolonization after the Second World War was not only the background against which the policy of non-alignment evolved, but was in fact the point of departure for the movement", writes Leo Mates.⁵ Hence India which was one of the first countries to emancipate itself from the colonial yoke (in 1947) was also one of the pioneers of non-alignment. Its first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the principal and most articulate architects of the concept and policy of non-alignment. According to Nehru, "Essentially, 'non-alignment' is freedom of action which is part of independence".⁶ Indeed, the need for consolidating and preserving their independence is what motivated the leaders of the newly liberated countries to opt for non-alignment.

This desire for independence is also emphasized by Professor Mazrui in explaining Africa's option for non-alignment. He argues

4. Address by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana at the Second Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned States in Cairo in 1964 quoted in Nkrumah, *op.cit.*, p.75
5. Leo Mates, *Non-Alignment, Theory and Current Policy*, Ocean Publications Inc., Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1972, p.45.
6. Dorothy Norman (Ed.), *Nehru: The First Sixty Years*, Vol.II, William Clowes & Sons Ltd., Beccles, Great Britain, 1965, p.541.

that, "the basic psychological desire behind non-alignment is not a desire to end the cold war but a desire for a sense of independence⁷ in spite of being a small country".

Equally important in the choice for non-alignment has been the desire for the newly emergent nations of Africa and Asia to pursue an independent policy in their international relations which "in the interests of their own survival, they had to try and fashion a new world in which they could develop and overcome their weakness⁸ and poverty". Again, to borrow Mazrui's words: "after all, independence in essence is the attainment of statehood, and the ultimate characteristic of statehood is the right to conduct one's own⁹ foreign relations". Crabb also emphasizes the point of independence in foreign relations when he asserts that implicit in the policy of non-alignment is the freedom of action with respect to the contending¹⁰ ideological and military blocs.

In addition to this categorical assertion of the right of nations to analyse and decide issues on the basis of their merits and[?] independent of the position of one or the other of the cold war bloc contentants, the proponents of non-alignment from Belgrade and indeed even prior to that important conference, had a clear set of positive policies. These included the support for and promotion of the struggle of peoples to self-determination which presupposes the elimination of classical colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the struggle against neo-colonialism, racial equality, safeguarding of national sovereignty,[←] disarmament and international

What does this mean? No ideas states has interest

7. Ali A. Mazrui, TOWARDS A PAX AFRICANA, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967, p.165.
8. Leo Mates, op.cit., p.33
9. Mazrui, op.cit., p.164.
10. Cecil V. Crabb, The Elephants and the Grass, Praeger, New York, 1962, p.11.

cooperation. Here let the Non-Aligned Countries speak for themselves through their Lusaka Declaration of September 1970:

"The policy of non-alignment has emerged from the determination of independent countries to safeguard their national independence and the legitimate rights of their peoples. The growth of non-alignment into a broad international movement cutting across racial, regional and other barriers, is an integral part of significant changes in the structure of the entire international community. It is the result of the world anti-colonial revolution and of the emergence of a large number of newly liberated countries which opting for an independent political orientation and development, have refused to accept the replacement of centuries old forms of subordination by new ones. At the root of these changes lies the ever more clearly expressed aspiration of member-nations for freedom, independence and equality, and their determination to resist all forms of oppression and exploitation".¹¹

III

NON-ALIGNMENT VERSUS NEUTRALITY

Involvement in international affairs became almost like an "obsession" for the newly liberated States. For a nation's conduct of foreign policy is undoubtedly one of the most effective ways of projecting its sovereign image. This yearning for an active involvement in international affairs constitutes one of the basic premises of the non-aligned States. And this is what from the very outset differentiated States like Egypt and Ghana from the traditional neutral States like Switzerland. For while the neutral countries followed the principle of strict impartiality, symbolising attitudes of complete indifference and even lack of concern to issues under consideration,¹² this is not what the newly emerging nations aspired for. The new States embracing the policy of non-alignment did not

11. Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Cooperation and Democratisation of International Relations.

12. J. W. Burton, Non-Alignment, (James H. Heineman, Inc., N.Y. 1966) p.22.

believe in a policy of "non-involvement", "non-engagement", "isolationism" or inactivity in the domain of international relations.¹³

Lawrence Martin makes this distinction when after explaining that the neutral country of the past "tried to maintain permanent neutrality - rather than merely minding its own business and remaining aloof from the rough-and-tumble of world affairs". He points out that, "Today's neutralists, meaning non-aligned States¹⁴, are very different. They are far from resigned to their fate". And Nyerere put the matter in more unambiguous terms when he asserted, "For it is not, and never has been a matter of neutrality - of treading a delicate tight-rope between contending forces. Non-alignment is a policy of involvement in world affairs". And he goes on, "Our role [that of the non-aligned countries] arises from the fact that we have very definite international policies of our own, but ones which are separate from, and independent of those of either of the power blocs".¹⁵

does this contradict pg 4. about dividing issues on their merits?

President Soekarno declared at Belgrade in 1961 that non-alignment is not "the sanctimonious attitude of the man who holds himself aloof - 'a plague on both your houses' ... Non-alignment is an active devotion to the lofty cause of independence, abiding peace, social justice and freedom to be free. It is the determination to serve this cause. It runs congruent with the social conscience of man."¹⁶

13. Crabb, *op.cit.*, p.8.

14. Lawrence W. Martin, Neutralism and Non-Alignment, (Praeger, New York 1962) p.XI.

15. Mwalimu Nyerere, Julius K., "Non-Alignment in the 1970's, Dar es Salaam 1970), p.2.

16. Henry M. Christman, (Ed.), Neither East Nor West, The Basic Documents of Non-Alignment; address by President Soekarno of Indonesia p.15.

Summing up the motivations which led newly independent countries to opt for non-alignment, we can clearly highlight the objective of maintaining 'jealously' their hard-^{earned}~~own~~ national independence and as an extension to that, pursuit of a policy of independence in their international relations.

Behind the urge for active involvement in the arena of international affairs lay also the recognition^c of the need for international cooperation. As Nehru put it, "When we talked of independence of India it was not in terms of isolation. We realized, perhaps more than many other countries, that the old concept of national independence was doomed, and there must be a new era of world co-operation".¹⁷ Writing on "Realism and Geopolitics" Nehru made the following observations which can be said to summarize the position of the members of the Non-Aligned community:

"The old divisions and the quest for power politics have little meaning today and do not fit in with our environment, yet they continue. The interests and the activities of States overflow their boundaries and are world-wide. No nation can isolate itself or be indifferent to the political or economic fate of other nations. If there is no cooperation, there is bound to be friction with its inevitable results. Cooperation can only be on the basis of equality and mutual welfare, on a pulling up of backward nations to a common level of well-being and cultural advancement, on an elimination of racialism and domination. No nation, no people are going to tolerate domination and exploitation by another, even though this is given some more pleasant name. Nor will they remain indifferent to their own poverty and misery when other parts of the world are flourishing".¹⁸

Like India, most of the new States which broke the chains of colonial slavery imbibed the precepts of non-alignment. By the time

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17. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, (Asia Publishing House, India, 1964) Chapter 9, "The last phase (3), The Congress develops a Foreign Policy," p.446.
 18. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Ibid*, p.573.
 19. For details of both lists of participants and decisions of the Bandung Conference, see "Final Communique of the Asia-African Conference", held at Bandung from 18 - 24 April, 1955: Leo Mates, *op.cit.*, pp. 371 - 378.

of the Bandung Summit Conference of the Independent Afro-Asian States in 1955, non-alignment had become an established foreign policy of many Asian and African nations. Indeed, many students of, and actors in, international relations consider that the Non-Aligned Movement owes its inspiration to this Conference. This is in spite of the fact that the Conference in Indonesia had such a mixed list of participants ranging from the Peoples Republic of China - to the militarily allied countries like the Phillipines,¹⁹ Iran and Turkey.

IV

PAN AFRICANISM, NON-ALIGNMENT AND IMPERIALISM

Students of the African political scene and more particularly the evolution of the independence struggle there are familiar with the cry of the freedom fighters: "Africa for Africans". With the advent of independence this slogan symbolised the desire for Africa's total liberation and the projection of the African personality. Such a goal was particularly espoused by militant Pan Africanists like Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and Modibo Keita.

Inherent in the concept of Pan Africanism is the rejection of servitude and foreign bondage. According to Colin Legum: "This casting aside by Africans of subservience to foreign masters in all forms, and their confident assertion that African interests are paramount, are expressions - perhaps the fullest expression of Pan

19. For details of both lists of participants and decisions of the Bandung Conference, see "Final Communique of the Asia-African Conference", held at Bandung from 18 - 24 April, 1955: Leo Mates, op.cit., pp.371 - 378.

²⁰
Africanism".

It has already been pointed out that behind the philosophy and policy of non-alignment lay the rejection of alien domination. Thus, the Pan-Africanist's view of Africa's liberation is complemented by the non-aligned concept demanding freedom of all subjugated peoples.

But Pan-Africanism is linked to non-alignment not only because of the common characteristic of rejection of servitude. For the Africans, non-alignment is not only the symbol of independence and freedom. It also involves Africa's participation in international relations with an independent voice. Furthermore, the 'radical' pan-Africanists' concept of such involvement is perceived in positive and dynamic terms and taking the Continent's interests as supreme. Addressing the First Conference of Non-Aligned States, Dr. Nkrumah stated that, Ghana stood for "positive neutralism and non-alignment, against what I might describe as negative neutralism"²¹. Projecting the staunch independence image of a Pan-Africanist, Nkrumah was to declare later on: "As we would not have British masters, so we would not have Russian masters"²². And Nyerere stated, "the people who anxiously watch to see whether we will become "communists" or "Western democrats" will both be disconcerted. We have the lessons of the East and the West before us, and we have our traditions to contribute to mankind's pool of knowledge."²³

20. Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, Pall Mall Press, London, 1962, p.14.

21. Nkrumah followed up this theme in his Book, *Africa must Unite*, where he asserted: "I do not believe it is possible for a state, in the world today to secure its safety by withdrawing from international affairs and refusing to take a stand on issues which affect peace and war. It (negative neutralism) is completely impotent and even dangerous". Kwame Nkrumah, *AFRICA MUST UNITE* Heineman, London, 1963, p.200.

22. Colin Legum, *op.cit.*, p.114.

23. *Ibid.*

To Modibo Keita of Mali, non-alignment meant an examination of "international problems in the light of our national interests and the interests of Africa, and at the same time in the light of our desire for peace and for peaceful co-existence of all countries, and we decide our policy in the light of these principles alone".²⁴

Keita and Nkrumah and Nyerere have been classified as 'militants' in the African political spectrum. Their conception of non-alignment has been more militant and active. Yet it is significant to take note of the fact that on the issue of Africa's independent voice, there was no real difference (at least in theoretical approaches) between the so called militants (radicals) and moderates (conservatives). One of the most celebrated African moderate leader, the late, Tom Mboya of Kenya had this to say in Cairo:

"We find that both westerners and Russians look at the Africans through the same pair of glasses; the one lens is marked pro-West; the other pro-communist. It is not surprising that, looking at Africans in this way, most foreigners fail to understand the one great reality about our continent, that Africans are neither pro-west nor pro-Russians; they are pro-Africans".²⁵

From the above quotations of various African leaders, one trend is clearly discernible. This is that to the Africans, non-alignment essentially implies the preservation of sovereignty and national independence.^{legal terms with no political substance} And this objective is certainly an essential component of Pan-Africanism.

As both Non-Alignment and Pan Africanism reject foreign domination, it follows, at least in theory, that by pursuing non-alignment, the African and the other third world nations are in fact fighting against imperialism. According to Mazrui: "To the extent that non-

24. Modibo Keita's address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, June 7, 1961, Quoted by Legum, Ibid, p.113.

25. Legum, Ibid, p.13.

alignment is an attempt to avert external manipulation by the bigger powers, it is an attempt to avert neo-colonialism".²⁶

The protagonists of non-alignment would find little to disagree with Mazrui's assertion. For they see in non-alignment not only the policy of rejecting servitude but also possibilities of independent development. Clearly, however, some of the contemporary Marxist writers on the question of imperialism would not be impressed by such argumentation.²⁷ To elucidate this point, let us refer to the issue of the social and economic systems pursued by the adherents of non-alignment. Delivering an opening address of the Foreign Ministers Conference preparing for the Third Summit meeting of the Non-Aligned States on April 13, 1970, the President of Tanzania inter alia rightly stated: "Non-alignment says nothing about socialism or capitalism or communism, or any other economic and social philosophy".²⁸ Thus, since non-alignment says nothing about the elimination of the capitalist system, presumably Magdoff and those of his school of thought would dismiss that policy as a viable opposition to imperialism. For according to Magdoff, "... the primary task of the peoples of the third world, as they struggle to throw off the shackles of imperialism and to achieve a humanitarian economic development is the abolition of the capitalist system itself, with all that it implies with respect to price and wage relationships. This is an absolutely necessary condition though in itself no guarantee of ultimate success - for entrance to independence and development".

26. Mazrui, *op.cit.*, p.166.

27. Mwalimu Nyerere, *Non-Alignment in 1970's*, Printed by PRINTPARK, Tanzania Ltd., Dar es Salaam, 1970.

28. Harry Magdoff's "Foreword" in Jalee's *Imperialism in the Seventies* p.xxi. (Emphasis added).

This position would, however, seem to ignore one fundamental point. And that is by pursuing a genuinely non-aligned policy, the countries of the Third World are in actuality attempting, and in some cases with success, to reduce if not totally eliminate, the imperialist relations of dependency.

As colonies, these countries were part of the metropolises. They had no contact with the Communist bloc and for that matter little contacts with any other groups. Exercising the option to make independent policies whether in the domain of politics, trade or economic cooperation, the new nations were in fact breaking from their former alignment with their erstwhile masters. Certainly, this "audacity" to get out from the ^{not economic?} western orbit, is what dictated the western world's hostile reaction to non-alignment.

dated 1950s
The western view of non-alignment has "been compounded chiefly of irritation and pique, mystification and bewilderment, suspicion and mistrust", writes Crabb.²⁹ Former US Secretary, John Foster Dulles described non-alignment as "an immoral and short-sighted conception", while the leader of the American Labour Movement, George Meany, castigated both Nehru and Tito as "aides and allies of Communism".³⁰

This misunderstanding, misconception and irritation on the part of the western countries, which was certainly not confined to the United States, needs to be understood in their historical circumstances. For it would be naive to interpret them as merely constituting a lack of comprehension on the part of the formulators

29. Crabb, *op.cit.*, p.X

30. Patwant Singh, *India and the Future of Asia*, (Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1966) p.109.

of policies in the various western capitals, of what non-alignment was all about. The problem was deeper than that. And from their point of view, this "irritation" and indeed anger, seemed justified. For, by asserting their right to be non-aligned, leaders like Nehru, Nasser, Nkrumah and Sekou Toure were in fact telling the west that their countries could no longer be considered as automatic extensions of the sphere of influence of the western world.

Viewed from this background the more favourable attitude of ² ~~this~~ socialist countries to non-alignment can be understood. It must however, be pointed out that the initial reaction of the communist powers to the concept of non-alignment was quite hostile.

Peking's suspicion and denunciation of "neutralism" (non-alignment) was reflected in Mao Tse-tung's assertion that neutrality is a camouflage for membership of the imperialist camp and a third road does not exist. ³¹ And in 1948, Liu Shao-chi put the question in

31. Writing on "New Democracy", Mao Tse-tung stated:

"In the international situation of today the 'heroes' in the colonies and semi-colonies must either stand on the side of the imperialist front and become part of the force of world counter-revolution or stand on the side of the anti-imperialist front and become part of the force of world revolution. They must stand either on this die or on the other, there is no third choice"

Mao Tse-tung, "On New Democracy" (January 1940), Selected Works, Vol. III, p.125.

One of the paradoxes of the reaction to the policy of non-alignment is that at a time when both Peking and Moscow came to accept and at times even hail non-alignment; at least one of the pioneering figures of non-alignment began to denounce it using the old arguments of the Chinese. In his "Myth of the 'Third World'", Kwame Nkrumah wrote, "...In the present world situation with the armed phase of the revolutionary struggle well-launched in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and in the USA by the Black Power Movement, it is no longer possible to adopt a third position outside the main conflict. There are thus two worlds only, the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary world - the socialist world trending towards communism and the capitalist world with its extension of imperialism, colonialism and new-colonialism". Kwame Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path, Panaf Books Ltd., London, 1973 pp.437 - 438.

equally blunt terms: "So-called neutralism is nothing but deception,
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international or otherwise".

Explaining Moscow's reaction, Martin maintains that:

"The new nations have also presented the Soviet Union with difficult problems of adjustment. The Stalinist regime welcomed anti-colonialism as an attack on the rear of the capitalist enemy and an opportunity for communists to infiltrate the colonial areas. But it conceived no special role for the coming national regimes. The rapid rise of independent governments in former colonies, their active concern with Korea, and subsequent moves towards cooperation compelled communists to review their approach to the new nations. There was an increasingly obvious danger that the banner of anti-imperialism might be taken over by a force independent of communism and that the revolution^{ary} enthusiasm of under-developed countries would be articulated around a purely nationalist movement".³³

Notwithstanding their initial reaction, the socialist States - USSR and China included - began warming up to non-alignment. Perhaps one explanation for this trend could be that reported to have been given by the former First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Krushchev, when he told the Twentieth Party Congress that, "The Socialist nations and the neutralist (meaning the non-aligned) nations could constitute a 'zone of peace' to destroy the capitalist system. Because their political interests were opposed to the west, nationalist movements could advance the cause of socialist revolution".³⁴

While one can certainly contest Krushchev's assessment concerning the alliance for the "destruction" of the capitalist system, it would be difficult to contradict Jalee in his assertion relative to the various anti-imperialist measures taken by third world nations

32. As quoted in Allen S. Whitting, *China Crosses the Yalu*, Stanford University Press, California, 1968, p.7.

33. Martin, *op.cit.*

34. *Ibid*, p.xix.

(the overwhelming majority of whom are non-aligned) to the effect that: "...We are entering an era of general opposition to the imperialist control of the sources of raw materials in the countries which imperialism dominates and exploits".³⁵

down + hold together

V

AFRICAN NON-ALIGNMENT IN ACTION

Today, almost all African independent States profess to be non-aligned. But acceptance ^{of} Africa as a whole of non-alignment came in 1963 with the formation of the Organization of African Unity.³⁶ In a way this official adherence by independent Africa to non-alignment is a victory for those ardent Pan-Africanists who have consistently advocated non-alignment. The major role played by the African States at the Cairo Conference (1964) was a reflection of the change that had taken place within the movement in the three years since Belgrade. For while the Belgrade Conference was predominantly Asian, the Cairo session had the Africans as the single largest group of participants.

The emergence of African States en bloc as members of the non-aligned movement had its advantages as well as shortcomings. To the extent that it symbolized Africa's commitment to non-alignment and in consequence promoted the quantitative (if not qualitative) growth of the movement, it was a plus factor. On the other hand

35. Pierre Jalee, Imperialism in the Seventies, The Third Press, New York, 1973, p.47.

36. As stated earlier on by virtue of their membership in the Organization of African Unity, African States have accepted non-alignment as their official foreign policy.

although the OAU was committed to non-alignment, to the extent³⁷ that some of its members did not strictly meet the criteria for membership, meant that the principles of the movement were compromised to accommodate those African States that did not strictly qualify. *why*

The Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations in his paper presented to St. John's University argues:

"Many African countries had, and still have, solid relations with one or more of the western powers. In fact, many of the French speaking countries, had, and still have, defence agreements with Paris. Some had French garrisons in their land for defensive and internal protection. None of the Monrovia Group had given the policy of non-alignment even the flimsy chance to influence its foreign policy. It was the non-aligned movement that was diluted to accommodate them. It is not the African States that subordinated their policy to non-alignment. It is the non-aligned movement that subordinated itself to the political expediency of African States".³⁸

This statement contains valid observations but is also based on some false premises. *you don't go on to spell these out.*

37. The Five Criteria as laid down by the Preparatory Committee Meeting in Cairo in June 1961, are:

- (i) a country should pursue an independent foreign policy on the basis of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment;
- (ii) It should support the national independence movement (Liberation Movements) of still dependent peoples;
- (iii) It should not be a member of multi-lateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power rivalry;
- (iv) It should ideally not provide foreign military bases but if it had conceded such bases then they should not be in the context of Great Power rivalry and
- (v) if a country is a member of a bilateral or regional defence arrangement, this should not be in the context of Great Power rivalry

For further information on Criteria, See Crabb, *op.cit.*, p.24
38. Unpublished paper on "Non-Alignment" presented by Abdalla Bishara, Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations at St. John's University, New York, 1973, p.18.

Non-alignment as envisioned by its pioneers and elaborated in the Cairo criteria presupposed opposition to military pacts in the context of great power rivalry; elimination of foreign military bases and opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestation.³⁹ But a survey of the situation in a number of African States would clearly show that one or the other of these principles are not adhered to. A few examples would easily corroborate this assertion.

Despite opposition to military bases, a number of African States have either foreign military bases or depend on foreign powers for their internal security. The presence of United States military installations in Asmara, Ethiopia has often been referred to. The French military intervention in Gabon and Chad are also a case in point.⁴⁰

The general behaviour of some of the former colonies of France do indeed tend to give some credibility to the arguments of those like Bishara who question the non-alignment of some African States. In this connection, the observations made by Rita Cruise O'Brien in her book, White Society in Black Africa concerning some ex-French colonies in West Africa, would appear to be relevant: "...Political independence of these countries was only formal. Senegal has fewer Frenchmen now than at independence, (Ivory Coast has about 10 times more), but the number of technical assistants has remained fairly steady in the past few years. French companies predominate, but

39. See for example 'Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries' issued by the Belgrade Conference, 1961 in Henry M. Cristman, ed., Neither East Nor West, the Basic Documents of Non-Alignment, New York, 1973, pp. 53 - 65.

40. According to the Christian Science Monitor of March 22, 1972: "in 1969 one of President De Gaulle's last acts, before holding the referendum in which he was defeated, was to authorize French troops to undertake direct military intervention in Chad".

policy is made in France and Dakar directors have no power over major issues of company policy. All French in Senegal are entirely ridden with a colonial mentality and cannot adapt to the idea that Senegal should become a reality as an independent country".⁴¹

In an editorial comment, The London Times under the heading "France keeps a grip on Africa", makes the following observations on the attitude and policies of the former French territories in contrast with those formerly under British colonial domination:

"With the exception of Guinea, which by design or accident broke away from France, the French speaking countries have remained under French influence to a degree that is unthinkable in most of the African Commonwealth.

"In much of Africa, France retains not only influence but actual control over important areas of government. French troops garrisoned in Africa exert direct or indirect pressure on the internal politics of the host country. Most African countries draw on expatriate technicians, but in the former French colonies, the French advisers are often literally and conspicuously at the president's side on any public occasion.

"The education systems rigidly reproduce the French pattern, with Frenchmen filling not only the important faculty appointments but even many student places in African Universities.

When Britain proposes a new sale of arms to South Africa, the Commonwealth is in uproar (reference for example the confrontation between Prime Minister Heath supported only by Australia and Malawi on one hand and Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere with ex-President Obote supported by the overwhelming majority of the members at the Singapore Conference in 1971); yet France sells arms continually to South Africa and scarcely a whisper is heard from Francophonic".⁽⁴²⁾

*source quote from
The Times*

Some of the points mentioned in the above editorial have been referred to elsewhere by many Africans - statesmen and academicians alike. Thus, in criticizing the French for not showing the sensitivity and consideration which the French African countries showed to

41. Quoted from a review of the book in the London Times of April 4, 1972.

42. Ibid.

*quote from the book or the review
- bad principle to quote from the
review since it may not give,
as in this case, the sentiment
of the author*

What conclusions can one draw about French imperialism from this? Why does France have to keep such a tight grip whereas G.B. apparently doesn't? I would suggest it has to do with the Anglo-Alm ties & relative weakness in the area

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her, President Nyerere told the Silver Jubilee Commemorative Session of the United Nations General Assembly in October, 1970:

"...It is noticeable that to France the obligations of friendship and peace go only one way. For many French-speaking countries in Africa are very sensitive to criticism against France; they value their friendship with that European power and do not like to embarrass that country. But France does not seem to be equally concerned to avoid embarrassment to her African friends, or to consider their attitudes on matters affecting the African freedom and unity which they are publicly committed".⁴³

Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo of Upper Volta in a paper submitted to a Seminar on education jointly organized by the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Dar es Salam and the United Nations, noted with regret that with the exception of Guinea, the accession to independence of Francophone Africa did not constitute a turning point in educational policies. Rather, "assimilation in the French system had increased in the syllabi, examination and certificates".⁴⁴

It is not the francophone countries alone whose policies are at times incompatible with the principles of some African States on the question of African Liberation. Of all the political questions the issue of decolonization (classical form of decolonization) and the fight against racist domination - has constantly been a non-controversial factor among the members of the non-aligned movement as it has indeed certainly been the uniting factor among the OAU member States. Yet there are clear cases of circumvention of this objective among African States in violation of both Pan Africanist

43. Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, A Selection from Waitings and Speeches 1968 - 1973, Oxford University Press, London, 1973, p.210.

44. Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "The Historical evolution of education in French-speaking Africa and the question of development"; Paper presented at the University of Dar es Salaam, June 3, 1974, - as reported in the Daily News, Tanzania, Tuesday, June 4, 1974, p.3.

* non-alignment. Let us for example examine the attitude of.....

and non-alignment principles. Malawi for example, engages in active collaboration with the white minority regimes of Southern Africa and still remains at least theoretically a non-aligned State. Gabon is reportedly undermining Security Council sanctions against the Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia while the Gambia announced in 1971 "that its port and airfields would be opened to South African planes and vessels".⁴⁵ And at a time when most of the African States were clamouring for intensified support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa, the Ivory Coast came out with the proposal of "dialogue" with South Africa.⁴⁶

This then brings us to one observation which can be said to be valid for almost all African States ("radical" and "moderates" alike) as it is equally valid to the overwhelming majority of the non-African adherents of non-alignment. That despite the resentment, hostility and cynicism displayed by the West and notwithstanding the "understanding and at times 'solidarity' exhibited by the socialist world, the non-aligned countries and more particularly the African States remain in fact and in deed more 'identified' with the west than with the east.

Tito held on in the late 1940s because of US aid.

An empirical study of the policies of the non-aligned countries (with the exceptions of Yugoslavia and Cuba) will not fail to demonstrate certain basic facts. These include: by and large these countries through their political institutions have more in common with the west; their economic ties are closer to the west; their

45. "Africa and the Non-Aligned Summit of Lusaka", AFRICAN QUARTERLY Volume X, No.4, January - March, 1971.

46. For an interesting discussion on this subject, see Vashpal Tandon essay: "South Africa and the OAU: The Dialogue on the Dialogue Issue". MAWAZO Volume 3, Number 2, December 1971, Makerere University, Uganda, pp.3 - 16.

volume of trade is larger by far with the capitalist than with the socialist countries - indeed in some cases, if not the majority cases, trade with the eastern countries is very negligible; their cultural (including educational and training) and social ties are linked with the west and in some cases even their 'values' are identified with the western values! And the irony of the situation is that this 'identification' with the west applies even to some of them most radical of the proponents of non-alignment: ⁴⁶

From the above, the following conclusions can be derived ~~at~~:

- (i) If the concept of non-alignment as originally conceived by its founding fathers were applied strictly and the Cairo Criteria vigorously enforced, ~~may~~ of the African States-members of the OAU would not be strictly considered as non-aligned, the formal position of the OAU notwithstanding.
- (ii) *is this policy or inevitability* Even among the radical African States the trend has been that of closer identification with the west than with the communist bloc. Here we are referring to economic, trade and cultural ties as distinct from political solidarity.
- (iii) There has been some accommodation based on the "diluting" of the principles of non-alignment.

This last point brings us to another equally important observation. While admittedly non-alignment today had become more elastic

How irked is the West?

46. It would appear that what irks the west is not that the non-aligned countries have identified themselves with the communists or are about to be converted to the philosophy and practices of Marxism-Leninism, rather, it is that degree of independence which is displayed both at the national and international levels resulting at times, or perhaps more often than not, in adopting anti-Western stances. Such manifestations are more particularly relevant in international forums like the United Nations since the west generally adopts positions there, not compatible with the interests of the non-aligned States. This is true of such issues as decolonization and the struggle against racism as well as issues of trade and development.

and accommodating than it was in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, it is incorrect to attribute the responsibility for the de-radicalization of the "rules of the game" entirely to Africa. A few illustrations would be in order.

(i) Less than four months before the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistan War in December 1971, which led to the dis-memberment of Pakistan and the creation of Bangla Desh, India and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship in New Delhi on August 9, 1973.⁴⁷ Similar treaties of peace, friendship and cooperation were signed between on the one hand and the USSR and on the other Egypt, Syria and Iraq.

(ii) Malta's acceptance as full member of the non-aligned movement at the Algiers Conference in September 1973, was in clear violation of the Cairo criteria. The Ango-Matense Military Agreement provides for a British base in the Islands (which base is part of the NATO forces).

(iii) The growing membership of Latin American States in the non-aligned movement (in Algiers alone, Argentina and Peru acquired full membership) in spite of their membership to the OAS with its inter American system, and

(iv) If one can criticize the membership of certain African

47. SOVIET-INDIAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, 1971 "Current History" A World Affairs Monthly, November 1972, (Philadelphia, USA) p.219. Article 9 of this TREATY stipulates: "Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict with the other party. In the event that any of the parties is attacked or threatened with attack, the High Contracting Parties will immediately start mutual consultations with a view to eliminating this threat and taking appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security for their countries". (emphasis added). Some critics of the Indians, particularly the Libyans have argued that these treaties compromise the non-aligned character of their signatories as they contained provisions in implying a sort of military alliance with one of the great power.

States due to military connections with the former colonial powers or with a certain great imperialist power, how does one rationalize the non-alignment of countries like Oman and some of the Persian Gulf States?

VI

NON-ALIGNMENT AFTER LUSAKA: SHIFT TO DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES

The trend which clearly emerged at the Dar es Salaam meeting and was confirmed by the Lusaka and Algerian Summit Conferences, was the emphasis on economic cooperation and self-reliance. Thus, from Dar es Salaam, the movement's priorities seemed to have been fairly balanced between economic and political issues. The African States played a crucial role in this trend.

Hitherto, economic issues had not been given that prominence by the Non-Aligned Movement. This is not to say that individually the non-aligned countries were not giving the economic issues the priority they demanded. Far from that. At the level of the Movement, however, discussions on developmental issues have been at best secondary to political questions and at worst considered very peripheral. The Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned States meeting in Dar es Salaam in April 1970, made the following declaration at the conclusion of that meeting:

"The Participants at the Preparatory Meeting agreed that one of the major threats to their independence stems from the continuance of an outdated and iniquitous pattern of economic relationship with the more economically advanced countries. In this situation, developing countries remain at the mercy of forces often beyond their control. Non-alignment, therefore, should mean the maximum degree of national self-reliance in the process of development leaving each country free to determine its national and international policies; and in this

respect it would be both each country's sovereign right and duty to make the utmost use of its own human and natural resources in the framing of its development policies, to secure for its people in the shortest possible time a minimum standard of living consistent with human dignity".⁴⁸

The Dar es Salaam meeting was held specifically to prepare for the Lusaka Summit. And it was in Dar es Salaam that a new concept or if you like, a new approach was injected with regard to the role of non-alignment in our present day world. This is the question of economic self-reliance and economic cooperation. This tone was set by the President of Tanzania who in his inaugural address powerfully and cogently argued the importance of cooperation among the non-aligned countries not only to secure a better deal with regards to international trade, aid and economic development but above all to devise ways and means of concrete cooperation among themselves and indeed among the developing countries in general. Arguing that it was not sufficient for non-aligned countries to meet and "complain to each other and to the world about international bullying", and contending that "the real and urgent threat to independence of almost all the non-aligned states ... comes not from the military but from the economic power of the big States"; and that "it is poverty which constitutes our greatest danger," the Tanzanian leader argued for concerted action among the non-aligned States in the domain of economic

48. DOCUMENT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION, issued as a special annex to the final communique of the Dar es Salaam Preparatory Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned States.

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relations.

The Meeting at Dar es Salam made some specific recommendations regarding economic self-reliance and economic cooperation. These were later discussed at the Lusaka Summit. The Heads of State or Government meeting in Lusaka while not relegating the political issues, dealt seriously with the question of economic self-reliance and economic cooperation. To this end, they adopted a Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress by which they undertook to cooperate and coordinate their efforts in the field of economic trade, planning, science and technology and related measures.⁵⁰ The Prime Minister of Guyana, Mr. Burnham, whose

49. Julius K. Nyerere, *Non-Alignment in the 1970s*, pp.3, 5 and 7. In a paper submitted to the Lusaka Summit entitled "Cooperation Against Poverty", Tanzania argued:

"The only countries which have a primary commitment to the development in freedom of the non-aligned nations, are the non-aligned nations. The only people to whom poverty is the central issue, are the poor. We have to depend upon ourselves; only on that basis can we obtain the kind of international cooperation which is really of use to us. But we are all involved, and we are stronger the more we act together. Whether we tackle our problems, and begin to fight against our economically subordinate position, depends upon our commitment, and upon our willingness to recognize the implications of our common involvement in the struggle for international economic change".

50. Addressing the Non-aligned Conference in Lusaka in 1970, President Kaunda said that "peace can only be secured and maintained successfully if it is based on meaningful and sound economic development and social justice. Time has come for the non-aligned countries to take measures in this direction. Economic issues have a much more significant priority for the leaders of the third world and this, says Jansen in his book "Non-Alignment and the Afro-Asian States", perhaps shows that the "non-aligned have at last awakened to where, in the future, their interests lie. It would not be too daring a prediction that, in the years ahead, the only non-aligned or Afro-Asian Conferences that will have any real value will be those dealing with economic Questions. According to President Mobutu of Zaire, it is not ideology, race or political geography that divide the world but economics "and this is the real essence of the question of relations among the peoples of the world today". Address by President Mobutu at the 28th Regular Session of the UN General Assembly.

own country subsequently played an important role in the reinforcement of the Lusaka Declaration on Economic Cooperation, was to describe the Lusaka Summit as it related to economic issues in the following terms: "To my mind, that Conference in Mulungushi Hall in September 1970 was a water-shed in the Non-Alignment Movement". The Guyanese leader went on to state"

"Our political independence can be empty mockery unless there is concomitant economic independence. The resources are ours, the control of the resources can be ours, the exchange of ideas and technologies can be worked out. It is time that we cease being pawns and some of us falling prey to the blandishments of our enemies masquerading as friends".⁵¹

Reasons for Shift of Emphasis

This shift of emphasis on the part of the non-aligned States need to be viewed in its proper perspective. Besides the reasons given by non-aligned Statesmen as mentioned above on the need for economic cooperation and the establishment of a new economic order, two other factors would seem to be responsible for the 'new approach'.

First, between the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences on the one hand, and the Lusaka Summit on the other hand, a number of events of far reaching consequences for the international situation in particular and non-alignment in general, had taken place.

On the global level, the spirit of dialogue and detente had replaced the era of confrontation between the major powers. This detente while being positive in so far as it relaxed tension and promoted possibilities of real peace, was in some cases viewed with

51. Address by Hon. L. F. S. Burnham, S.C., Prime Minister of Guyana on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the First Meeting of the Preparatory Committee of Non-Aligned Countries on February 17, 1972 in the Parliament Chambers, Public Building, Georgetown, Guyana.

legitimate scepticism when it involved the tendency on the part of the great powers to assume the role of ~~if~~ final arbiters and exclusive monopolists in deciding the destiny of mankind. For as Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany, by no means either a proponent or a late convert to non-alignment, aptly put it: "Those who have power, particularly nuclear power do not on that account have morality on their side, nor wisdom. Big 52 dangers to mankind emanate from the big powers, not from the small".

The Chinese and the Russians, once great "buddies" in the true spirit of international proletarianism, were to put it mildly, no longer on speaking terms. In fact they had fought a bloody "battle" in 1969 over Chen Pao islands. The communist countries had shown that they were not so monolithic. The Western Europeans and more particularly France were showing their own independence vis a vis the United States. And as Tun Razak, the Prime Minister of Malaysia rightly pointed out, the bipolar world had become a multi-polar world thanks to the emergence of ^{?, dubious} new centre of power. 53 Japan had become a force in its own right and no longer a simple satellite of the United States. And though relative to the military and economic power of the two super powers, China was weak, that country had also established itself as a major force to reckon with.

These events by themselves were sufficient for the Non-Aligned countries to reassess their position and role in the light of new circumstances. But there were also significant changes that had

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52. Speech by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany at the UN General Assembly, on September 26, 1973.
53. Opening Address of the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak at the Kuala Lumpur Preparatory Committee Meeting of Non-Aligned States, May 1972.

taken place within the non-aligned movement itself by the time of the Lusaka Conference. As Christman points out in his introduction to the book, Neither East nor West:

"Of the five charismatic leaders who signed 'The Initiative of Five' in 1960, only President Tito of Yugoslavia remained on the international scene⁵⁴. The change in international personalities was paralleled by political changes in the non-aligned movement. Most of the national liberation movement throughout the world had accomplished their initial goal of political independence. These new nations were now grappling with post-independence national problems in the economic and social areas".⁵⁵

Pandit Nehru had died in 1964 with some of his critics and even admirers contending that he had never recovered from the confrontation over the Himalayas. Nehru's successors, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi, successively had to cope with rising domestic problems as well as with conflicts with Pakistan. Twice in 1965 alone, India was at war with Pakistan first over the Rann of Kutch and later in a more bloody fight over the Kashmir question.

In February 1965, the Western trained and oriented group of officers ^{no} led by Colonel Afrifa staged a coup de etat and overthrew President Kwame Nkrumah.⁵⁶ The new military junta then sought to reverse most of Nkrumah's policies including his militant Pan-African policies. At the time of the Lusaka Summit, Nkrumah was living in exile in Conakry. He died in 1972 while under treatment for cancer in Bucharest, Romania.

During the same year the flamboyant President Ahmed Soekarno was deposed after the military had taken over under General Suharto.

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55. Nasser was still alive during the Conference at Lusaka. He did not however, attend the Meeting, thanks to his over-preoccupation with the domestic front. The Egyptian President died on September 28, 1970.
56. Christman, (Ed.), op.cit., p.VIII
57. For an analysis of the first Ghana coup de etat and its implications on Ghana Foreign policy and non-alignment, see Kwame Nkrumah's Dark Days in Ghana.

That coup and its aftermath witnessed a pogrom of communists and leftists in the country. Its immediate effect was to turn Indonesia to the right and dramatically alter the form, content and style of Indonesia's non-alignment.

The Middle East War of June, 1967 resulted in the occupation by Israel of large chunks of Arab lands belonging to the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan - all members of the non-aligned community. The sufferings involved, as well as the humiliation imposed on the Arab States by the Israelis did have a chain of reactions in the Arab world which were subsequently to have considerable effects not only in their own foreign policies but also to some degree to the approach of the non-aligned movement. The intensification of the war in Indo-China and in particular the escalation of American involvement in Vietnam including its most outrageous bombings were issues of great concern to the unaligned nations. So of course, was the United States supported (if not inspired) coup d'etat against Prince Sihanouk in Cambodia in March 1970.

There were other events in this period whose significance should not be under-estimated. American marines landed in Santo Domingo in 1964 while Russian tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia in 1968. Both these events and the type of reaction that they solicited from one or the other of the super power - tended to emphasize the modus operandi of the Great powers with respect to what they considered their sphere of influence. They also demonstrated the vulnerability of the small and medium-size states - unless that is - they strengthened their solidarity and unity of purpose and concerted their action.

The second factor responsible for the shift of emphasis can perhaps be attributed to the recognition by the members of the Non-Aligned Movement that due to the heterogeneous nature⁵⁸ of the group, it was practically impossible to arrive at serious political agreements among all its adherents. Experience has in fact shown that such agreements, though at times superficially possible, become increasingly difficult in the process of their implementation.

The trend towards non-implementation of agreed political decisions is one of the main weaknesses of the non-aligned movement. This trend is not confined to one continent. But since in this paper we are more interested in the African position on non-alignment, let us examine the behavioral pattern of African States, at least on one crucial issue. Our evaluation is based on the fact that on this issue the African States' concurred with the decision of the non-aligned conferences.

On October 25, 1971, the United Nations General Assembly decided to "restore fully the lawful rights" of the People's Republic of China. Before the adoption of this decision, the Assembly had to vote on the United States sponsored resolution declaring the expulsion of "Nationalist China" (Taiwan) an "important matter" and thus requiring a two-third majority rather than a simple majority vote for passage. The adoption of the American resolution would in

58. President Kaunda summed up this problem succinctly in his opening address to the Third Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States in Lusaka, September 1970, when he declared:

"One of the most important characteristics of non-alignment is unity in diversity.... It is not a national type of unity which we expect to achieve. Geography, History, economic and political factors make this a mere catch-penny dream. What we want and what we shall strive to achieve is a common front to create an atmosphere of independent behaviour in international affairs as well as real freedom in our respective countries without outside interference". Christman, op.cip., pp. 149 - 150.

fact have made it impossible in that year for the Peoples Republic of China to be admitted to the United Nations.

Both at the Lusaka Summit Conference in 1970 and the Consultative Ministerial Meeting of Foreign Ministers in New York in September 1971, the Non-Aligned States took the decision to support the admission of China and thus oppose the United States inspired and directed "obstructionist tactics". Yet, when the Assembly voted on the American resolution, out of 41 African States, ⁵⁹ nineteen opposed the vote, and five abstained.

The following African countries were in favour of the
US sponsored resolution

Central African Republic
Chad
Congo (Zaire)
Dahomey
Gabon
Gambia
Mauritius
Rwanda
Upper Volta

Ghana
Ivory Coast
Lesotho
Liberia
Madagascar
Malawi
Niger
Swaziland

Against

Algeria
Burundi
Cameroun
Congo (Brazzaville)
Egypt
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Guinea
Kenya
Zambia

Libya
Mali
Mauritania
Nigeria
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sudan
Tanzania
Uganda

Abstained

Botswana
Morocco
Senegal

Togo
Tunisia

59. *Provisional Verbatim Record of the Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-Sixth Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, Document A/PV.1976 of 25 October, 1971, p.181.*

This voting clearly exposed the discrepancy between words and actions. Furthermore, as we have pointed out, this is just one of the examples. It is not an exception. And the reasons for such discrepancies are not hard to find. Nyerere's inaugural statement at the Dar es Salaam Meeting is in this respect very relevant:

"The member countries (pursuing non-aligned policy) have adopted different internal policies. We even differ in our foreign policy - and sometimes quarrel among ourselves... non-alignment... is a statement by a particular country that it will determine its policies for itself according to its own judgement about its needs and the merits of the case"⁶⁰

But while solidarity and cohesion on political issues (particularly those controversial ones) is difficult to realize, some meaningful coordination and unity is possible in the field of economic and development issues. Here the Non-Aligned States can draw inspiration to the generally united front of the Group of 77.

VII

CONCLUSION

Obviously, that strong anti-imperialism stance which was the hallmark of the African pioneer leaders of non-alignment - Nkrumah, Nasser, Sekou Toure, and Modibo Keita - is not of today's non-alignment per se. Yet as we have seen this trend is not confined to the African continent. The fall of Soekarno, the death of Nehru and the overthrow of many progressive African leaders such as Nkrumah, Keita have not been without negative impact on the concept and policy of non-alignment.

60. Nyerere, Non-Alignment in the 1970s

Recognition of the lack of homogeneity has led the non-aligned countries to conclude that in a purely political domain - taking into account the different international policies of the protagonists of non-alignment (including and perhaps even more so the African States - they can not make a decisive impact on or influence world affairs.

Yet, on economic and developmental issues, the Non-Aligned States can have an impact. In her address, during the inaugural session of the Fourth Summit, Mrs. Indira Gandhi spoke of the need for economic liberation in order to give "our people a place in the sun". She asserted that though each of the non-aligned countries had problems at home, together they constitute a force that cannot be ignored and to this end she expressed her hope that the Algiers Conference "can make a difference for the future".⁶¹ The President of the Popular Democratic Republic of Algiers spoke in similar vein when she categorically declared at the conclusion of the Algiers Summit that the voice of the unaligned nations can no longer be ignored.⁶²

It is obvious that no one who understands the potential power "of more than half of the member states of the international community representing the majority of the world's population".⁶³

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61. Address by India's Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, while replying on behalf of Asia, to President Boumediene's speech, Algiers, September 5, 1973.
62. Closing address of President Houari Boumediene of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Chairman of the Fourth Summit and new Coordinator of the Movement, Club de Pines, Algeria, September 9, 1973.
63. POLITICAL DECLARATION OF THE FOURTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, ALGIERS, 5 - 9 September, 1973.

will find any quarrel with the assertions made both by Mrs. Gandhi and President Boumediene. The question is not whether the countries assembled at Algiers had the potential power (the power shown by the oil producing nations is still a living example as to what can be achieved given the solidarity of the developing countries and their coordination of action), the question really is to what extent the decisions of Algiers will be taken seriously by its participants and be implemented. Henry Ginger in his dispatch to the New York Times rightly observed "the Documents (referring the Algiers Decisions) proclaim intentions and outline what the members countries ought to do and much of the effect of this Conference will depend how vigorously and will what degree of coordination the goals are pursued".⁶⁴

is the an effect or a change - what are the results

The efforts in the process of transition to modernisation in Africa make it amply clear that it is difficult to predict developments in the continent. The African continent has experienced in the last decade, a series of coups and counter coups, but in spite of all that, non-alignment has continued to be the official policy of the African States. It stands to reason that, quantitatively, if not qualitatively, (and at times both quantitatively and qualitatively), Africa will continue to play an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement.

64. Giner, Henry, "Non-aligned Map Economic Battle", The New York Times, September 11, 1973.

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