

Nonaligned Reaffirm Colombo Accords At Belgrade

New World Order, technology transfer and nuclear power are still its goals

The 85 non-aligned nations convened their Foreign Ministers summit in Belgrade, Yugoslavia on July 25 with one task at hand: to determine how far their August 1976 demand for a New World Economic Order had been successfully implemented. After one week of meetings, interspersed with heated debates on what the appropriate strategy to proceed should be, the 1976 Non-Aligned Colombo Accords were reiterated and a call was made to "exhaust" the avenues available for negotiating a new North-South entente.

Many Western newspapers seized upon the public denunciations carried out by a handful of Chinese-sponsored states — Somalia and Cambodia to name two — to state unequivocally that the issue that dominated the meeting was Cuba's "legitimacy" as a member of the movement and to have its soldiers in Africa. This was, however, far from the case. Each and every speaker emphasized that without economic independence, political independence is immaterial and vulnerable. An Indian newspaper, *The Patriot*, went so far as to report on July 26 that among the delegations it was felt that "the Cuba issue is diversionary to prevent the discussion on economic and political goals of the movement. It is aimed at eventual disintegration of the movement and making it an instrument of the Cold War."

The Global Shift

Since the 1976 Non-Aligned Movement call for a debt moratorium, a new monetary system and a growth-oriented perspective for global development, political realities have drastically changed. Henry Kissinger, the architect of the delaying "case-by-case" wrecking operations against the North-South talks is no longer U.S. Secretary of State. At the European Economic Community's Bremen Summit last month and later at the Bonn industrialized nations summit, the kernel of a new monetary reorganization came into being in the form of the European Monetary System. Unequivocally, West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, Japan's Takeo Fukuda, and France's Valéry Giscard d'Estaing have come out locating the necessity for a nuclear power-oriented development perspective for the Third World as the basis for western economic recovery.

The Bonn Summit's call for massive development of nuclear energy found its parallel in the Non-Aligned Summit's own assertion that it will create a commission to operate at the United Nations to involve western nations and the socialist sector in a grand scale technology transfer to the developing sector.

It is this new political geometry that characterizes the sense of crisis in the Non-Aligned group rather than the erroneous press reports that the Non-Aligned is somehow desperately fighting the "red threat" posed by Cuba, Vietnam, or Angola. At Colombo, in 1976, the group was led by a core of strong progrowth leaders such as Indira Gandhi of India, Hoari Boumedienne of Algeria, and courageous Foreign Ministers such as Frederick Wills of Guyana and De La Flor of Peru. At the United Nations forum, Pakistan's Zulfikar Ali Bhutto played a major role.

With the exception of Boumedienne, each one of these core leaders, the authors of the demands for a new monetary system and technology transfer, has fallen from power as part of political and economic destabilizations centered in the zero-growth International Monetary Fund-World Bank supranational operations.

With the shift in western policies, the Non-Aligned found itself at Belgrade without the resolute leaders to respond to the potential from the Bonn Summit. Within its own communiqué, it paralleled the Bonn nuclear energy development call but failed to capitalize on the clearly established existence now among the ranks of the developed nations of progrowth governments ready to put into operation alternatives to the International Monetary Fund.

Belgrade: From 1961 to 1978

Decades of Non-Aligned history are associated with the city of Belgrade. It was here in 1961, following informal existence since 1954, that the nation-builders of the developing sector — Josef Tito of Yugoslavia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, and President Sukarno of Indonesia — institutionalized the movement. Since then the heads of states have met every three years to deliberate the

Frederick Wills at the United Nations

Two weeks after the 1976 Colombo Non-Aligned Summit Summit, Guyana's then-Foreign Minister Frederick Wills stood before the UN General Assembly to call for the implementation of the New World Economic Order and denounce "the arsenal of destabilizing techniques" being used to prevent it. The following are excerpts.

The techniques used are equally clear and unmistakable: The promotion of internal unrest with a view to the breakdown of law and order; the fomenting of intra-regional conflicts through client states; the financing and organization of hostile propaganda campaigns; the attacking of embassies and consulates; the manipulation of international markets; the restriction on export capabilities; the frustration of bilateral and multinational aid; the subversion of economic objectives by the machinations of trans-national corporations—this arsenal of destabilizing techniques is aimed in the first instance at ensuring the continuation of a relationship of dependency between developed and

developing countries, and in the second instance at yoking their legitimate aspirations to the strategic conceptions of larger nations.

Mr. President, most of the countries in the developing world were former colonies of Western Europe and the radicalization of their liberation struggle has therefore been in anti-West terms. This does not necessarily mean that those terms are pro-East. Similarly, Mr. President, most of these countries have adopted socialism as an internal strategy of development. This likewise does not indicate that they are anti-West or pro-East. At Colombo the golden thread running through all the resolutions and discussions was the determination of 85 countries not to sacrifice their sovereignty and independence on the altar of ideological nicety....

But, Mr. President, the security of developing states is inextricably linked with their economic survival and their economic advance. My delegation feels that there can be no meaningful economic advance without the implementation of the New International Economic Order.

priority tasks of the movement and to admit new members.

Since its inception, despite being the target of much red-baiting by Cold Warriors, the Non-Aligned Movement's aims and goals were very well defined. Their membership criterion was that no nation seeking admittance could be a member of any military alliance, be this the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), or the Warsaw Pact. The economic goals were those of nations which had just won their independence from, largely, the British Empire: the demand for technology and industrialization that would make them viable nation states.

Over the years, the formal military alliance clause lost some meaning (particularly after China chose to acknowledge CENTO for instance as a worthy "defensive" pact against the "social imperialist" Soviet Union) but the economic goals never really changed. The movement traditionally adopted an "anti-West" policy because the genocidal International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were the credit and aid institutions of the Western world and these institutions hardly transferred technology. It is a deep irony of post-World War II history that the Cold Warriors in the United States red-baited Nehru of India when Nehru and Indonesian President Sukarno proclaimed that the United States of America was the model for freedom and growth they wished to follow. Nehru put through the inclusion into the Indian Constitution of sections from the

American Constitution to demonstrate the anti-British unity of views that bound both nations.

The struggle for growth occurred as well at the just-concluded Belgrade Summit. Cuba, Vietnam, and Angola all pressed for the U.S. to contribute its vast wealth to the development of their nations. U.S. National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski spent months in true Cold War organizing: attempting to make Cuba's credentials an issue at the meeting because it was a Soviet "puppet" in Africa!

A very perceptive delegate communicated the core of the issue to a correspondent of the Sri Lanka weekly *Tribune*: "It is easy to say Cuba gets its money from the Russians, but so do we. We get it from all over the world and indeed we have been receiving aid from Europe for nearly three hundred years. It is not who you get money from, but what you do with it, and the Cubans seem to have used this money well in that they have attempted to provide food, clothing and shelter for their people."

The Road to Colombo

The Third World's efforts to break the North-South deadlock were at their high point in August, 1976. At Colombo, the Non-Aligned demanded a New World Economic Order; at the United Nations in 1976 they reiterated this call.

At a press conference at the UN, British Ambassador Ivor Richard charged all this was "Third World intransigence," unabashedly telling the reporters "Just ask me the questions you are going to ask him (the U.S. press spokesman) and I'll give you

all the American answers We hope that sterile ideological debates on economic topics of the type which have occurred at the North-South talks in Paris can be avoided here."

In Paris, meantime, Henry Kissinger had gone full-scale ahead with a case-by-case negotiation of debt and for those who turned this tactic down, straight out destabilization. Kissinger's weapon had been his International Resources Bank proposal — utilizing Third World resources to repay overwhelming debt burdens with no net technology transfer whatsoever.

Colombo in a nutshell had called for: a new monetary system, a deadline for its creation, nuclear technology transfer, debt moratorium and above all a replacement of the IMF. On the political side, Colombo promoted as an absolute necessity an end to the bloodshed in Africa and the establishment of viable national governments.

The Belgrade Summit

At Belgrade last month an assessment of these goals was due. Yugoslavia chaired the economic commission deliberations and India the political deliberations. Brzezinski, like his predecessor Kissinger, sought to mingle the two and at all costs keep from the Third World the full knowledge of the level of the progrowth commitment deliberated at the Bremen and Bonn summits under Schmidt's leadership.

The political commission discussions are testimony to weaknesses in the Third World. China and the U.S. Anglophiles had spent over six months attempting to wreck the Belgrade summit with the Cuba issue. When Tito and Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai visited the U.S., they were approached by Brzezinski, on the coy "genuine non-alignment" line. Castro's charges that the U.S. contacted 15 non-aligned countries to do its dirty work are borne out by other diplomatic sources who say that the official Chinese liaison office in the U.S. actively organized toward this goal in Washington.

In their statements to the summit, both Yugoslavia and India left the door open to ambiguity suggesting that "all foreign troops leave Africa," playing games with the subversion of the Non-Aligned Movement. The more outrageous Chinese-sponsored states such as Somalia and Cambodia went further to ask for the expulsion of Cuba or, as others did, a change of venue for the 1979 summit, scheduled for Havana.

The political sessions ended in stalemate. Cuba actively organized to keep next year's summit in Havana, and won. The ruling that bilateral conflicts such as Vietnam-Cambodia disputes or the African situation would not be discussed prevented the conference from degenerating into a series of bilateral polemics.

One incident demonstrates the tone. During the final hours, Cambodia pushed for the entry of the term "hegemonism" into the final communiqué, expecting

a confrontation with Vietnam. Surprising its peasant neighbors, Vietnam agreed and added the term "expansionism," a common reference to its troubles with China, the main architect at the conference of the splittist tendencies. Over two dozen Chinese "journalists" attended the conference to malign Cuba.

The Economic Battle

The economic deliberations clearly centered on where to take the demand for the replacement of the IMF. On the very first day, Peru, according to wire service reports, began the meeting with a denunciation of the IMF, charging that "international financial organizations are fomenting social disturbances through their loan conditions." "This is a new and more subtle form of violation of human rights of developing nations," charged Peru's Foreign Minister De La Puente. He was rapidly seconded by another IMF victim, Jamaica, and virtually all the states agreed that for their daily needs and reconstruction programs, the IMF remains the major policy problem. The final communiqué from the economic sessions reflects the consensus: "Foreign interference is carried out by means of state power through other national and international political and economic and financial organizations and institutions of an official or private nature, especially the transnational corporations and mass media used on a global scale."

Going further, addressing the current "human rights" orientation of many Western nations, the final communiqué asserted: "Human rights cannot be separated from the national, economic, and social context and in fact are an integral part of the struggle to change and democratize international relations as a whole Therefore human rights should not be used as a political instrument of great powers in the confrontation of social systems or to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states."

— Leela Narayan

Fidel Castro: Nonaligned Does Not Mean Neutral

Cuban President Fidel Castro's July 26 address commemorating the launching of the Cuban Revolution 25 years ago was devoted heavily to the conference. In the address Castro focused heavy criticism against the policies of the International Monetary Fund and China, and efforts by western powers to derail the conference. The following is an unofficial translation of excerpts from the speech.

On IMF: The International Monetary Fund and other credit organizations — traditional instruments of U.S. policy — impose onerous conditions, weaken the popular foundations of governments not to their liking, and undermine their political stability. Such