

# Questioning Non-alignment

By C. R. Gharekhan

*Non-alignment was not, or should not have been, only about making us feel good about ourselves.*

THE QUESTION is not only whether Non-alignment has any relevance or validity for India or for any other country in the post-cold war era of today, which it does not, but also whether the policy served the young nation as well as it was believed it would in defending and promoting the national interest. One of the unfortunate aspects of the foreign policy debate in our country has been that there has been no debate. We always had a consensus on foreign policy and seemed proud of it, but that was not necessarily a healthy thing.

As a newly-independent country, Non-alignment was good for our morale, our ego, our pride. It gave us at least an illusion of following an independent foreign policy. We had towering personalities such as Nehru and Krishna Menon who brought glory to our country on the world stage. Delegates used to flock to the U.N. General Assembly to listen to Menon. People genuinely believed that India was a leader of the third world. Non-alignment was not, or should not have been, only about making us feel good about ourselves. Nor could the illusion, or perhaps even the reality — for the sake of argument — of leadership that it conferred on us have been an adequate justification for it. The hard criterion was the interest of the people of the country.

The circuitous argument was that we needed peace in the world to devote all our energies and resources to development work. In a world divided into two antagonistic blocs, it was India's role and duty to reduce areas of tension, to prevent the entire world from being sucked into the ideological war. The non-aligned community made an important contribution in arresting the deadly rivalry between capitalism and communism and thus saved India, and other non-aligned countries, from becoming pawns in the global game of the super powers.

Did Non-alignment, at any stage during the cold war, enter the calculations of the policy framers in the capitals of the super powers? Did Washington seriously try to woo India into joining the Western bloc? Moscow in any case did not need to, since the posture of the non-aligned on most issues was favourable to it. In fact, the

Non-aligned Movement (NAM) was grateful to the Soviets for their support in their fight against colonialism which, more than disarmament or development, kept up the facade of unity. The non-aligned either did not realise or choose to ignore the reality of Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe. The sad part is that we were not perceived by most in the West, and with justification, as being genuinely non-aligned. Yes, we refused to join a military alliance but other than that, we did not judge issues on merit as Non-alignment was supposed to enable us to do. We were less than unequivocal in condemning the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia or Hungary. In more recent times, our stand on the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, a member-state of the United Nations, did absolutely no credit to our non-aligned credentials. A disingenuous argument would be used to justify such stands, namely that Non-alignment was meant to protect our freedom of decision precisely in such situations on the basis of our national interest; we did not have to follow the line taken by almost every other non-aligned country.

Did the choice of Non-alignment in the external field have to affect the course of the economic policies at home? Not necessarily. As it happened, however, most non-aligned countries opted for a dominant public sector and state control over the markets. In the case of India, we followed a kind of non-alignment in our domestic economic policy also. We had elements of central planning, state distribution system, etc. and we also had a private sector which, on the one hand was protected and on the other was not given a free rein to develop itself. Unlike many other countries, India did not derive any economic benefits from Non-alignment. We did not or could not milk the cold war for all it was worth.

Perhaps it was a coincidence, but the fact is that we embarked purposefully on the road to liberalisation and deregulation only after the cold war ended. These steps

may have been taken even if the cold war had not ended, but it is an inescapable fact that many parts of the so-called non-aligned world moved from suffocating state control to giving more freedom to market forces only after the Berlin Wall crumbled in 1989. Thus, the cold war and the choice of Non-alignment had a direct bearing on the economic policies and performance at home.

This was perhaps unfortunate. We missed decades of opportunity to build a strong economy and, most importantly, to reduce the incidence of poverty. It was said that the state had to step in to develop infrastructure since the private sector was too shy and timid to invest in long-gestation projects. This argument sounds less convincing now than it might have when it was first made. In any case it is precisely in infrastructure that the country is most deficient today. If we had managed to do in the economic field in the 70's and 80's what we eventually did in the 90's, India have been a significant economic power today. No doubt the rich would have become richer but the poor could not have become any poorer than what they are today. It would have even helped us in foreign affairs. A strong economy would have much better supported a strong defence, our neighbours and would have even strengthened our claim for permanent membership of the U.N. Security Council. Could we have done this while remaining wedded to the rhetoric of Non-alignment? A less confrontational, less rhetorical and more balanced and nuanced position in foreign policy would have attracted more foreign investments and technology into the country. We could not be really worried about neo-colonialism.

Interestingly, whatever successes we had in the diplomatic arena — chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Committee after the Korean War, chairmanships of the three Indo-China Supervisory Commissions in 1954 and our efforts on behalf of Egypt in 1956 during

the Suez crisis — came before the NAM was born in 1961.

It can be argued that the problem was not with Non-alignment as such but with turning it into a movement, a group, a bloc. It is not at all certain if Nehru would have welcomed this evolution of the first and only summit of the non-aligned that he attended in Belgrade in 1961. At the same time, the NAM leaves its members free to pursue policies and positions which may be, and often are, at variance with the 'decisions' of the Movement. Non-alignment was an instrument, not an end in itself. India was one of the few countries which was serious about Non-alignment. We were one of the few significant countries which had no agenda of its own to lobby in the NAM. Knowing our weakness for leadership, other developing countries encouraged us to speak up in defence of the interests of the third world and we gladly did so but it did no good either to us or to the third world.

On the whole, NAM did not bring any particular benefit, political or economic, to India. India does not need to belong to an amorphous group or give any label to its foreign policy to achieve its goals. We do not need to hanker after leadership. Leadership has to be recognised by the followers, it cannot be a self-appointed affair. India has to be a strong power, not to bully anyone but merely to defend itself against the hostile forces in the region. An economically strong India, which alone can become militarily strong, will earn respect and leadership. This must be our highest priority. Signing the CTBT — but postponing ratification until a more propitious time — ought to help in pursuing this objective, it certainly will have no negative implications for our security. We must also continue and intensify our campaign for nuclear disarmament. Similarly, we must defend, as indeed we are defending, our interests in the WTO by forming temporary coalitions with other countries with similar interests. Pragmatism, and not profession to some outdated concept, must be the guiding principle of our diplomacy.

(The writer is a former Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations.)

## 'Non-alignment has lost relevance'

NEW DELHI, APRIL 5. The Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. A.J. Panja, has said the principle of non-alignment has "lost its relevance" in the present global scenario. "The age of so-called non-alignment is a misconception now. It is an old theory.... Now it is a question of a multipolar world. India is equally strong," he told Karan Thapar's "Talk Back" programme for Doordarshan to be telecast tomorrow. Referring to the President Mr. K.R. Narayanan's banquet speech in honour of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, and the Prime Minister, A.B. Vajpayee's assertion on India's commitment to non-alignment, he said non-alignment was only a continuing theory.

Asked whether he considered that non-alignment had lost relevance, Mr. Panja answered in the affirmative and said "It is a multipolar world in which India is a strong partner. It is not an equal partnership but a partnership of equals," he said, adding the multipolar world had not yet come and it had to be brought in. —PTI

THE HINDU

6 APR 2000

# Jaswant mission to reassure Nam

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, April 5: Basking in the success of President Bill Clinton's visit which helped turn a "new chapter" in Indo-US relations, New Delhi is now out to convince friends from developing countries that it is not abandoning the Non-Aligned Movement.

The primary task of Jaswant Singh — who will participate in the three-day Nam foreign ministers' meet from April 7 at the Colombian sea-resort Cartagena — will be to reassure his counterparts that India remains committed to highlighting the common concerns of the developing world, both in the political and economic fields.

The Cartagena meet is significant for another reason. This is the first time India and Pakistan

will share the platform after last year's military coup in Islamabad, which brought Pervez Musharraf to power.

Though Delhi has maintained that it will not resume talks until Pakistan stops cross-border terrorism and hostile propaganda against India, "a chance meeting" between Singh and his Pakistani counterpart Abdus Sattar has raised the importance of the summit.

Some sections in the Indian establishment have started questioning Nam's relevance, especially in the post-cold war period where the only superpower is the US.

But this only makes it all the more important for Singh to convince not only his friends from the developing world but also the domestic audience what India intends to do with the forum.

"The philosophy of Nam — implying independence of judgement and autonomy of action — has been and will remain an important plank of India's foreign policy," a senior foreign ministry official said, arguing that Nam's relevance had not diminished.

"Nam was not a by-product of the cold war, nor a response to it. It was a collective and constructive response of colonised people to the centuries-old indignity and dis-empowerment," he said. "Nam stands for global nuclear disarmament and for a more equitable system of international economic relations."

Others in South Block pointed out that the forum's "continued validity and relevance" in the post-cold war era is evident from the number of countries wanting to be associated with

the movement, either as new members or as observers or guests.

Countries like Canada, Germany, Greece, Italy, Holland, Norway and Portugal — which are members of the Western bloc, are withstanding pressure and make most key international players appreciate its security concerns.

The Indian leadership has realised that while it is important to build a close relationship with the US and other global players, it can be in a better bargaining position in negotiations with them if Delhi has the backing of the developing world.

Moreover, with India aspiring to be a member of the Security Council — if and when it is expanded — Delhi also needs the support of the Nam countries which form a major block in the General Assembly.

only because India managed to upset the nuclear and disarmament appeacart carefully put in place by the US-led Western block but also because Delhi was able to withstand pressure and make most key international players appreciate its security concerns.

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# NAM bid to revive spirit of cooperation

By K. V. Krishnaswamy

**CARTAGENA (Colombia), APRIL 8.** A three-day meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement countries began amid mixed signals this morning in this exotic city lashed by the Caribbean sea. Among the more than 50 Foreign Ministers from the 115 member-countries attending the conference are India's Mr. Jaswant Singh and Pakistan's Mr. Abdus Sattar.

No formal meetings between the two Ministers are in prospect. None has been sought by Pakistan, an Indian spokesman said, repeating a stance enunciated in New Delhi earlier in the week. The two travelled in the same plane from Miami, U.S., on their way to this South American country on Friday evening. But, apparently, there was no meeting ground.

The uneasy relationship between the two South Asian neighbours will be one area of interest in the next few days as the NAM launches a major effort to revive the spirit of commonality and cooperation that marked its early decades. As they chart the course of the movement in the coming years, retooling it for the challenges of the unipolar world, the Foreign Ministers face the unenviable task of shaking the NAM out of the moribund state in which it finds itself in the wake of the Cold War's end.

A hint of the enormity of the task was available on Friday as officials met to prepare the draft of the declaration the Foreign Ministers will adopt at the end of their deliberations. The drafting work was affected by the most unusual of problems, a shortage of translators in a country that speaks only Spanish. This was perhaps a reflection of the continuing apathy as the two committees entrusted with the preparation of the key political and economic formulations met, an absence of the pioneering spirit that gave the NAM such a powerful voice in the initial years.

The Foreign Ministers, who began their deliberations this morning, will focus on three areas; the developments around the world after their last meeting, which incidentally was at the same venue after India had exploded the bomb in 1998 and before

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Pakistan followed suit, the regional situation and disarmament. Much has happened after the last meeting when India came under criticism for crossing the nuclear rubicon. The focus, as officials see it, will be on nuclear disarmament and the failure of the 'nuclear five' to honour their pledge to rid the world of these weapons of mass destruction.

According to official sources, India will concentrate on the issues of disarmament and the menace of terrorism.

The next two days will be devoted to intense debating and lobbying as each nation seeks to get its point of view incorporated in the declaration. The bland and please-all declaration that is finally adopted will of course do no justice to the hectic back stage work. All the blood on the floor will be wiped clean. That is non-alignment. Nothing is agreeable unless everyone agrees. This is the motto that has seen the movement through crises earlier and will apparently continue to do in the new millennium when its relevance, if any, has only increased.

## Focus on U.N. millennium summit

PTI, UNI report:

Officials said that during the next two days, the millennium summit of the U.N. in September will in all probability be a focus of attention of most participants, specially in the wake of the just released report of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, who has called for several policy measures to enable the world body to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

New Delhi and several other participants are expected to give their views on how NAM itself and the U.N. could gear themselves to respond to the challenges of peace, disarmament and development.

The NAM meet also assumes significance as it comes on the eve of the first-ever south summit to be held in Cuba later this month.

The doctrine of humanitarian intervention, thrown up for discussion by Mr. Annan at the commencement of the 54th regular session of the U.N. General Assembly in September last, would also be a part of the deliberations.

THE HINDU

9 APR 2000

# Terrorism focus in Nam meet

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

CARTAGENA (Colombia), April 8. - The 13th ministerial meeting of non-aligned nations, that began here today, is expected to focus on cross-border terrorism, global nuclear disarmament, Afghanistan and UN reforms.

The three-day conference is being attended by 50 foreign ministers, including the Indian external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh.

The Colombian President, Mr Andres Pastrana Arango, inaugurated the meet. The committee on political issues was chaired by South Af-

rica while the committee on economic affairs, including social issues, was chaired by Iran. Finalisation of the main document - to be adopted at the conference by tomorrow evening - was delayed because of translation problems, diplomats said. Efforts are on to adopt a millennium declaration and a declaration on Africa.

The final document, prepared by senior officials of the politi-

cal and economic committees, will be submitted to the ministers for their consideration and approval on 9 April.

The UN millennium summit will be the focus of attention of most participants, specially in the wake of Mr Kofi Annan's call for adopting certain policies that will help the world body meet the challenges of the 21st century.

India and other participants are expected to give suggestions on how the Nam and the UN can gear up to meet the challenges of peace, disarmament and development.

The conference assumes significance as it comes on the eve of the first-ever south summit to be held in Cuba later this month. Some of the topics to be

discussed at the meet are: the work of a preparatory committee that will start operating in New York, an international conference on the resources required by developing nations and re-designing the international financial architecture.

The doctrine of humanitarian intervention, discussed at the General Assembly's regular session last September, will also be a part of the deliberations.

## MUM'S THE WORD

CARTAGENA, April 8. - The deep freeze in Indo-Pak ties was evident today when Mr Jaswant Singh ignored the presence of his Pakistani counterpart, Mr Abdul Sattar, as they took the same flight here to attend the Nam meet.

When Mr Singh boarded the aircraft at usual transit point of Miami, Mr Sattar was already seated in the plane. The two did not exchange a word during the flight. - PTI

THE STATESMAN

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CALL FOR GLOBAL ACTION AGAINST TERRORISM

# Expel military regimes, India tells NAM

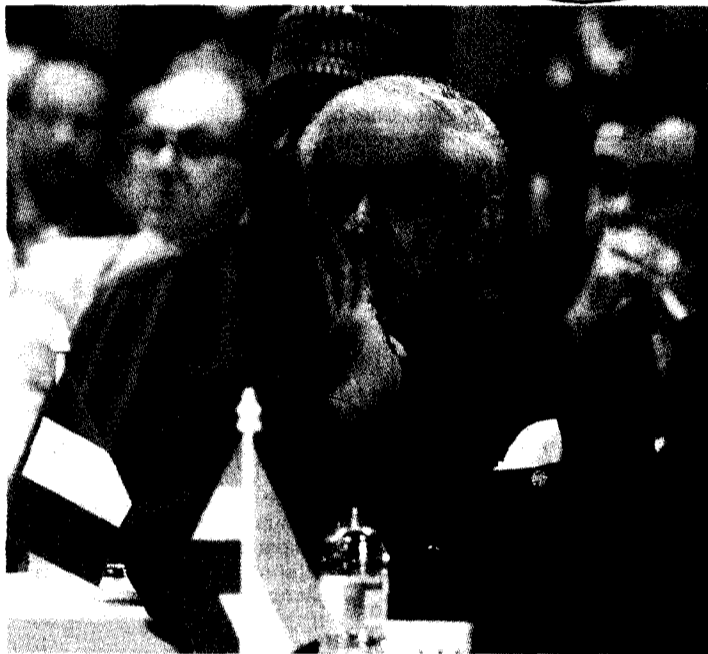
By K. V. Krishnaswamy

CARTAGENA (Colombia), APRIL 9. India today proposed two benchmarks for the Non-Aligned Movement, taking its democracy theme and campaign against the scourge of terrorism a step further at the NAM Foreign Ministers' meeting and indirectly stepping up pressure on the military regime of General Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan on both counts.

In perhaps the most forceful advocacy of global action against terrorism, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, told a ministerial meeting of the movement that terrorism was "the very antithesis" of what the NAM represented and stood for. It is a "global menace", a violation of the basic precepts of democracy, "a crime against humanity" and "the most flagrant violation of basic human rights," he said in a speech marked for its stridency.

Mr. Singh was equally forthright in his comments on the need for the NAM to commit itself "uncompromisingly to the rules of democracy, the rule of law and the preservation of fundamental rights and liberties." In other words, the NAM like the Commonwealth must expel member-nations where democratic governments have been overthrown.

Official spokesmen insisted that these formulations were not targeted at Pakistan. They recalled the initiative India had taken last year at the United Nations for a global convention against the menace. And, citing and commending the action of the Organisation of African Unity which, much like the Commonwealth, has decreed that no ruler who had usurped power would be allowed to attend its summits, Mr. Singh said the NAM too should set simi-



The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, at the inaugural session of the 13th Summit of Foreign Ministers of NAM countries at Cartagena, Colombia on Saturday.— AP

lar democracy benchmarks for its members.

"In our own interests, we need to agree on some common values," he told the on-going two-day meeting during the plenary session. "All of us are tarred with the same brush when, because of isolated lapses, developing countries are seen as states where governance is weak, abusive or corruption-ridden." It was time the movement committed itself to the rules of democracy just as the OAU had done.

The suggestion was clear that countries where democracy was derailed would face automatic expulsion. Under the present membership, three countries would incur disqualification under this

count: Ivory Coast, Myanmar and Pakistan — all of which have seen their governments overthrown by the military. The spokesmen defended the reference to the OAU and suggested that the NAM, a much larger group, should reflect the evolving democracy-oriented political culture in the post-Cold War world. Asked about possible support among the disparate NAM grouping for such a progressive initiative, they said, "we are hopeful that support will be greater than opposition."

Mr. Singh's prescription for rebuilding the unity and solidarity of NAM had three inputs. The third was the democracy pledge. His first recommendation was that the developing nations

should ensure their independence of action. "We need to set the agenda for ourselves and the UN, not let others set it for us...not let fears or pressures divide us."

Strongly urging collective action to safeguard the interests of developing nations, he said, "we need to ensure that decisions affecting us are taken with our active and effective participation." A final recommendation was to focus on the issues that united the NAM rather than let the divisive ones distract attention.

Mr. Singh's speech, which must have been eagerly awaited by the NAM member-countries, came during the afternoon session on the inaugural day. Tomorrow, in the forenoon of the concluding day, his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Abdus Sattar, will address the plenary and obviously answer some of the issues he has raised.

After his non-meeting with Mr. Sattar on the plane on Thursday on their way to the NAM ministerial meeting, Mr. Singh today had a series of bilateral meetings with leaders of other delegations.

## Dhaka-Agartala bus link

PTI reports:

India and Bangladesh have agreed to start a new bus link between Agartala and Dhaka.

A decision to this effect was taken during a bilateral meeting between Mr. Singh and his Bangladesh counterpart, Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, on the sidelines of the NAM ministerial conference here.

Mr. Singh, also agreed with Mr. Azad, that the Petrapole-Benapole rail service between the two countries also needed to be expedited, an Indian official said.

Sattar rakes up Kashmir: Page 13

THE HINDU

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## Against tradition, Sattar raises Kashmir issue

By K. V. Krishnaswamy

CARTAGENA, APRIL 3. With predictable certainty, the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdus Sattar, ignored the non-aligned convention of keeping out bilateral issues from the meetings of the NAM and spoke of the need for settling the Kashmir question "in conformity with the wishes of the people of Kashmir".

At the plenary of the Foreign Ministers' conference here this morning, Mr. Sattar said settlement of the Kashmir question "will remove the root cause of tension and usher in durable peace and cooperation in South Asia."

India's External Affairs, Mr Jaswant Singh, had addressed the plenary on Saturday.

The reference to Kashmir in Mr. Sattar's speech came in the context of his hailing the NAM's support for "the struggle of peoples for freedom" in general. He went on to speak of the "spectacular successes achieved over the decades against colonialism" and added the rider, "yet, vestiges of alien domination remain." The platform had been created for the reference to Kashmir.

He also reiterated the known Pakistani stand on the expansion and democratisation of the U.N. Security Council. The Council needed to be expanded but "islands of privilege should not be enlarged". He added, "consistent with its principles, our movement should call for expansion in non-permanent seats which are subject to period elections. Such expansion can ensure that the Security Council will remain responsive to the will of the majority."

The two-day ministerial meeting is concluding this evening with the adoption of a declaration.

THE HINDU

1. APR 1960

# Globalisation, a challenge

By K.V. Krishnaswamy

**CARTAGENA, APRIL 9.** The Colombian President, Mr. Andres Pastrana, during the ministerial meeting of the NAM on Saturday, highlighted the two main challenges facing the movement. In his inaugural address, he appeared to acknowledge the existentialist problems facing the NAM in the post-Cold War era.

Like the Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, the Colombian President listed globalisation and humanitarian intervention as the two most important challenges facing the Movement.

"One of the central questions which lacks a complete answer from the movement is how to face the challenges of globalisation. This vacuum is more notorious if we consider the risks of marginalisation already faced by the developing countries," he said. It was important in this context to examine the impact of globalisation on the fabric of society.

He sought people-centred development models and the encouragement of long-term development strategies in which all countries would have an open and free opportunity to "become meaningful members of the new economic order."

Expressing serious concern over the implications of the other challenge, Mr. Pastrana said the NAM should give priority attention to examining the question of reconciling "the defence of democracy and human rights, new needs for peace and international security, liberalisation of trade and investment, ... with the principles of non-intervention, sovereignty of states and other values of international law."

Reminding the NAM of the "unprecedented challenges in the humanitarian field" being faced in recent years, the Colombian President said any new orientation to offer of help to face natural disasters should be based on "unconditional respect for the U.N. Charter and international law." Such interventions must "also be inspired by the basic criteria of neutrality and impartiality."

Mr. Pastrana himself has been tackling the

explosive social situation in Colombia through imaginative and bold initiatives. Leftist guerillas have long been resorting to violence to highlight the plight of the rural poor and the Government has been responding with brutal measures. Mr. Pastrana has attempted to break the vicious circle by offering to talk to the guerilla leaders, acknowledging that these groups have genuine grievances and are not importing violence for its sake.

He reported progress in the negotiations in one and a half years that was long unthinkable. "We have started a process of negotiation with the FARC, the oldest and largest of the insurgent groups. We have agreed on an agenda. The negotiators have started an analysis of economic and social issues." An agenda committee has been formed to which ordinary people could bring their concerns and problems. A remarkably bold initiative for solving acute socio-political problems through dialogue, or what he called the Diplomacy for Peace.

"Our nation must always follow the path of respect for institutions and that is what Colombia, deeply attached to its traditions of law and democracy, is now doing," the President said — sentiments that must bring cheer to people in distant continents like Asia where Colombia and the Latin continent are still a baffling mystery.

Another nation to highlight the potential negative impact of globalisation was Sri Lanka. "Globalisation and liberalisation have widened the gulf between rich and poor countries," said Sri Lanka's acting Foreign Minister, Mr. Lakshman Kiriella. "It is increasingly evident that the benefits of globalisation have eluded much of the developing world despite adherence to the structural adjustment policies of the Bretton Woods institutions."

Coming from a country facing one of the gravest challenges to its social fabric from terrorist violence, Mr. Kiriella hoped practical measures of cooperation would emerge from the United Nations ad hoc committee on elimination of terrorism which he heads.

He also urged that the NAM formulate a common position at the coming review conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty and remarked rather significantly that "we (the international community) have failed to fully and satisfactorily address the issue of (nuclear) proliferation."

PTI reports:

Mr. Singh, who called on Mr. Pastrana during the day, later held bilateral meetings with Foreign Ministers and heads of delegations from 15 countries including Morocco, Thailand, Norway, Algeria, Guatemala, Namibia, Iraq, South Africa, the Dominican Republic and Qatar.

The meetings mainly focussed on the NAM member-states' desire to cooperate with India in information technology and enhancement of economic ties.

Most of these countries also sought a briefing on the recent visit of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to India while sharing New Delhi's concern over cross-border terrorism, officials said.

Mr. Singh and his Thai counterpart, Mr. Surin Pitsuwan, discussed India's greater involvement in human resource development and knowledge-based areas in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

During the bilateral meetings, Norway, a guest at the NAM, supported New Delhi's demand for expansion of the U.N. Security Council while the Algerian Foreign Minister, Mr. Youcef Yousfi, sought Indian investment in his country in the fertilizer sector.

The Guatemalan Foreign Minister, Mr. Gabriel Orellana Rojas' request that his country open a diplomatic mission in New Delhi was welcomed by Mr. Singh.

The Iraqi Foreign Minister, Mr. Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf, who had supported India's position on maintenance of a credible nuclear deterrent after the 1998 nuclear tests, sought active visits of high level officials between New Delhi and Baghdad.

THE HINDU

16 APR 2000



# Keep junta states out of NAM: India

Udayan Nambodiri  
Cartagena (Colombia), April 9

THE NON-Aligned Movement (NAM) was today asked by India to keep out countries with undemocratic governments and those that sponsor terrorism. Both are characteristics well known to be inextricably linked with Pakistan, a country that India's Minister for External Affairs, Mr Jaswant Singh, sought to isolate at the 12th conference of NAM foreign ministers here today through barely concealed references.

In his statement, Mr Singh reminded delegates that the Commonwealth and Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had already decided that "no ruler who has usurped power will be allowed into its summits." Since this conference's importance in preparing the agenda for next year's NAM summit in Dhaka cannot be overstated,

Mr. 107  
it was obvious from the tenor of his speech that the interregnum would see India argue forcibly for NAM to keep out Pakistan's military chief executive General Parvez Musharraf and implicitly force some more humiliation on Islamabad.

The next summit would be held with Bangladesh in the chair. It is a country trying hard to resurrect democratic rule and institutions based on law. India's rapport with the Sheikh Hasina government is well known, what with the latter dispensation simultaneously nurturing deeply entrenched anti-Pakistani sentiments on the

domestic front. The job of preparing the draft summit statement would naturally go to the country hosting the event and it is believed that the next few months would see

India work hard to reduce the existing space between the two. The present space is because of delay in implementing commitments on dismantling tariff structures allowing for greater market access for Bangladesh trade in India.

India is aware that unlike the Commonwealth, NAM does not have anything in its constitution against undemocratic governments attending its various forums. However, it is eager to

keep up the success it achieved in Durban last year when the new aggrandiser in Islamabad was shown the door. The OAU, which makes up the single largest block in NAM, had also crystallised its position against governments that forcibly assume power.

The NAM, which is the biggest grouping within the United Nations, should according to India, keep in mind the evolving geopolitik where undemocratically administered nations are accorded pariah status. "Therefore, we are hopeful that the support for this cause within NAM will be greater than the opposition".

Along with Pakistan, two other NAM members, Burma and Ivory Coast, have military rule. To avoid tainting individuals, Mr Singh refrained from naming countries individually, but few observers here could miss his alluding to Pakistan

## Pakistan harps on Kashmir

PAKISTAN ON Sunday raised the Kashmir issue here at the meeting of foreign ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Its Foreign Minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, called for the settlement of the Kashmir question "in conformity with the wishes of the people of Kashmir".

HTC, Cartagena

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 APR 2000

# India savours Nam blow to neighbour

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

Cartagena, April 10: India notched up a perfect score at the Non-Aligned Movement (Nam) foreign ministers' meet today when it successfully managed to execute its two-pronged strategy of marginalising Pakistan further and regaining the mantle to lead the developing world.

The major embarrassment for Pakistan came with the Nam foreign ministers agreeing to include in its final document the example of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which does not allow countries with military dictators to be part of the organisation. This suggestion, made by foreign minister Jaswant Singh in his speech yesterday, will be discussed by the heads of government at the next Nam summit scheduled for later this year in Dhaka.

Apart from Pakistan, Myanmar and Ivory Coast are the two other members which have military dictators. Though the document technically does not disqualify these countries from Nam, it keeps all such regimes on tenterhooks till it is finally discussed in the Nam summit.

In an unusual gesture, the Nam foreign ministers also came out strongly against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. This move is significant since Nam has rarely condemned particular regimes by name. It is important not only because of the growing recognition that a regime that exports religious fundamentalism and terrorism is not acceptable, but also because it tightens the screw on Islamabad, a known ally of the military regime in Kabul.

Singh expressed happiness and made it clear that India has "every reason to be entirely satisfied" with the Nam foreign ministers' meet. He pointed out that there have been areas of significant gain for Delhi. He claimed that one of the achievements for India has been its ability to steer the meet away from the South

Asia rut. "The international community is now tired of Pakistan's attempt to seek an identity out of its constant opposition and hostility to India," he said.

He added: "The initiatives taken by India, particularly those on making restoration of democracy an important principle of Nam, should not be seen in the bilateral context. Rather, it should be seen in the direction in which the world is moving." But his remarks notwithstanding, the major gains for India came from isolating Pakistan.

In another Indian coup of sorts, the Nam foreign ministers, while welcoming the forthcoming Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) meet in Qatar in July, signalled that the OIC should refrain from taking decisions which may hurt the sentiments of Nam members.

Pakistan, which considers the OIC its pocket borough, has been systematically passing anti-Indian resolutions on Kashmir. Today's development may make the OIC more sensitive to India's sentiments. Or at least, it will give countries in the OIC an alibi to temper the resolutions so that they do not irk Delhi.

Realising it was being cornered, Pakistan tried to get back at India by raising the "flash point" theory, which argues that outside intervention is necessary to make the nuclear twins return to the negotiating table to bring down the temperature in the volatile region. But India, stressing the need for urgent steps towards global disarmament, managed to rope in other countries to force Pakistan to withdraw the three amendments it had proposed in this crucial area.

Coupled with this was the Nam foreign ministers' recognition of the need to fight the scourge of terrorism and support the Indian draft on a comprehensive convention on terrorism at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly in September this year.

THE TELEGRAPH

1 APR 2000

## 'Keep army-ruled nations out of NAM'

The Times of India News Service

CARTAGENA: India on Saturday asked the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to take a principled stand on value-based politics and set-up benchmarks for membership. It also kept up the twin refrain of democracy and terrorism, both inextricably linked to Pakistan.

"It is time that the movement also committed itself as uncompromisingly to rules of democracy, the rule of law and the preservation of fundamental rights and liberties," external affairs minister Jaswant Singh told representatives of the 115 countries assembled in the Colombian sea side resort.

He said developing countries got a bad name because of "isolated lapses" by some countries. Without mentioning Pakistan, Myanmar or the Ivory Coast, the three military ruled member states of NAM, Mr Singh took the opportunity offered by African countries to hammer home his point.

The 50-member Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had, in a statement in Algiers, said that no ruler who had usurped power should be allowed into its summits. The Commonwealth, Mr Singh recounted, had a similar charter. "It's time that NAM did the same. NAM, which represents two-thirds

of the membership of the United Nations, needed to take a stand on values," he added.

Mr Singh's appeal was appreciated by a majority of members, though it is still uncertain if this issue will find a place in the final document at the end of the meet on Sunday. However, a beginning has been made and it may take time but is likely to be adopted at a future date. Meanwhile, the meeting has served India's purpose of holding up a mirror to General Musharraf's regime in Pakistan.

Mr Singh spoke at length about terrorism and began the spade-work for getting a majority of UN members on India's side.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

11 APR 2000

# NAME calling 9h 8

It is bad policy to make Pakistan a pariah state

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**A**T Cartagena, External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh sounded like the latest champion of an ethical foreign policy, picking up from where a chastened Robin Cook of Britain's New Labour party left off some time ago. Singh demanded that NAM act to uphold democracy, the rule of law and the preservation of fundamental rights and liberties. In principle this is right. It is time NAM looked inwards and tried to reform itself. But as an approach to dealing with India's Pakistan problem which, patently, is the basic purpose of Singh's initiative, it is wrong. First, there is NAM itself. There are many departures in practice from the norms of good government among NAM's 115 members. They may be prepared to endorse Singh's ideals in principle but will surely balk at taking specific steps against one of their number. Singh's call for action creates two kinds of problems. One is the precedent it sets. NAM should commit itself to a set of common values, India's foreign minister insisted. This is tantamount to laying down new rules of membership. The Organisation of African Unity would like to exclude usurpers of power from membership of that body. So Singh would like to exclude non-democrats from NAM.

After Pakistan, the obvious question is, who's next in line for a bit of punishment? NAM is still lacking in a clear focus and identity ten years after the cold war ended and therefore attempts to differentiate between members on the basis of their democratic credentials are liable to fracture the association. The second problem lies in the hypocrisy

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of expressing noble sentiments in order to achieve a particular regional goal, in this case, the isolation of Pakistan. It is unclear whether Singh's aim is the suspension of Pakistan from membership of NAM, following the example of the Commonwealth which has done so, or whether strong condemnation of the military regime will be enough. But clearly India hopes one way or another to send a message to the Musharraf regime.

The whole enterprise is vitiated because it is Pakistan-centric. Of course, India can argue that enlightened self-interest is the driving force and the adoption of democratic norms will do all NAM nations good in the course of time. But not many are likely to be impressed with such sophistry. From India's perspective, the tactics at NAM are short-sighted so much so that the government should hope that they will not succeed. Declaring Pakistan a pariah will effectively slam the door on India-Pakistan talks. The Vajpayee government's current posture of refusing to engage Islamabad at any level as long as Musharraf is in charge will not be viable for very long. Sooner rather than later it will become necessary to return to the table. When that time comes what will be important is what commitments the regime in Islamabad is prepared to make towards curtailing cross-border terrorism, and also whether the regime has the domestic clout to carry out its commitments. At a pragmatic level that is all that matters. Whether there is a military or civilian government is not of the essence here.

INDIAN EXPRESS

11 APR 2001

# NAM agrees to debar Pak from membership

By Seema Guha & Agencies

CARTAGENA: In a major diplomatic triumph for India, the thirteenth foreign ministers' conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) on Monday agreed that Pakistan and other military-ruled states should be debarred from its membership. However, a final decision on the issue will be taken at the NAM summit scheduled to be held in Dhaka next year.



Jaswant Singh

India thus notched up a couple of significant points at the end of the meeting, succeeding in its efforts to isolate and embarrass Pakistan. A large majority of the 115 member states agreed to the suggestion of external affairs minister Jaswant Singh that it was time that NAM took a principled stand against countries which subverted democratic principles.

Taking a cue from the Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity groupings, Mr Singh forced home the point that NAM must also ensure that dictators and military rulers are banished from its membership. The final declaration from Cartagena will call for the adoption of this clause during the next summit meeting in Dhaka.

In yet another significant move that could prevent the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) from passing Pakistan-sponsored anti-India resolutions in future, the ministers asked the OIC to follow the principles of NAM and desist from attacking member states. Many OIC countries are also members of NAM.

A relaxed Mr Singh told reporters, "We have every reason to be entirely satisfied with the proceedings. There have been areas of significant gains for India."

A combination of tough back-room lobbying and shrewd manoeuvring of the opportunities which came up during the two-day meeting helped further India's diplomatic cause. Mr Singh had made the point that NAM must take note of the changing political culture of the times and take a stand on democracy. So far, democracy has never been a benchmark for NAM membership. It has never taken a stand against dictatorship

and military regimes because many of its leading lights in the past did not have democratic credentials. This was also overlooked because of the problems confronting countries which had overthrown colonial rule and were facing many challenges, often resulting in their seeking the army's backing.

The purpose of the entire exercise was not so much respect for democracy as to nail Pakistan's military ruler General Pervez Musharraf. If democracy was the hallmark, India could have been just as cool towards its eastern neighbour, Myanmar. Yet, New Delhi, in its eagerness to woo the military junta in Myanmar, has steadily ignored the cause of the democratic movement in that country.

Mr Singh expressed confidence that despite India's stand against military rulers in Cartagena, the country would remain friends with the current rulers in Myanmar.

However, Pakistan is a different case altogether as Gen Musharraf is regarded by the Vajpayee government as the man responsible for the Kargil battle. Besides, ever since the military coup in that country, India has missed no opportunity to corner Pakistan at international meets. The fact that many African and Latin American members are passionate about their antipathy to military regimes has only helped smoothen New Delhi's path.

Another opportunity came India's way here when Qatar, the host of the next OIC meet, asked NAM to welcome the OIC summit to be held later this year. New Delhi, long used to being harangued by Pakistan at the OIC, seized the chance to strike a bargain. NAM agreed to welcome the summit as long as the OIC stuck to the principles adopted by NAM.

Also, for the first time in a NAM document, the Taliban regime in Afghanistan was condemned. Earlier, Pakistan had worked together with Iran to stop any condemnation of the Islamic regime in Afghanistan. However, on Monday, Iran and India got together to hammer out a critical assessment of the Taliban and Pakistan was kept out of the deliberations. For New Delhi, hitting out at the Taliban was just an extension of its fight against terrorism, the added bonus being the closeness of the Pakistan military to a faction of the Taliban.

► See Edit: General Quarantine, Page 12

A TRIUMPH OF SORTS FOR INDIAN DIPLOMACY

# NAM endorses democracy norm

By K. V. Krishnaswamy

**CARTAGENA (Colombia), APRIL 10.** The non-aligned movement late on Sunday night took an apparent leap forward in its evolution, breaking away from the beaten path and proclaiming a new political culture that seeks to give the principles of democracy the primacy of place among its large membership.

The declaration incorporating the democracy norm was approved by the 13th ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement's Foreign Ministers at the conclusion of two days of deliberations, which stretched late into the night. It must be approved by the summit of the organisation, scheduled to convene in Dhaka, in the summer of next year, to become ready for implementation. There is no guarantee it will or can be given the organisation's disparate membership.

If the democracy norm is accepted, there will be three ready candidates who will face expulsion. Two of them are in India's neighbourhood: Pakistan and Myanmar, former Burma. The third is Ivory Coast. All three have until next year to comply.

The democracy promise was inserted through a deft manoeuvre that served to minimise opposition and ensured greater support.

The incorporation of the norm, the first such in the 40-year-old organisation's chequered history, must be deemed a triumph of sorts for Indian diplomacy. Officials stressed that their target was not Pakistan and that they drew inspiration from the action of the Organisation of African Unity which, at its summit in Algiers, adopted the path-breaking principle. They saw every justification for extending to the non-aligned

movement a yardstick for membership that has been found to be good enough for the OAU, which groups African nations. Besides, many of the OAU members are also concurrently in the NAM.

A key member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference, which is to host a summit shortly, agreed to support the NAM's new principle.

Indian diplomacy scored another triumph when the meeting adopted a strongly worded condemnation of the Taliban and its activities in Afghanistan. The fundamentalist regime, recognised by just three sectarian friendly neighbours, came in for sharp rebuke for continuing to seek a military solution to the crisis in the mountain country.

The Taliban was also criticised for its sponsorship of terrorism. The declaration said, "we strongly condemn the continuing use of

Afghan territory, especially areas controlled by the Taliban, for the sheltering and training of terrorists and planning of terrorist acts."

The NAM's strong formulation was distinctly aided by the converging interests of India and Iran, both neighbours of Afghanistan. The two Foreign Ministers had an hour-long interaction during the day on the sidelines of the plenary session. Pakistan, a key provider and supporter of the Taliban, obviously found itself sidelined and apparently must have lodged its reservations over the language.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, had used strong words against the Taliban when he made his presentation before the plenary on Saturday. The language was perhaps the strongest used by India against the fundamentalist grouping.

## 'Pak. offer a PR exercise'

By K. V. Krishnaswamy

**CARTAGENA, APRIL 10.** The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, made an intriguing comment this evening while discussing relations with Pakistan at a press conference he addressed towards the conclusion of the ministerial meeting here.

While showing no inclination to lower the hardline rhetoric against Pakistan that he has been displaying in the last few weeks, the Minister said in reply to persistent questions on the possibility and desirability of resuming discussions: "Don't be impatient."

The comment was accompanied by the suggestion that there was no occasion to jump to any conclusions, either. Positive or

negative? He smiled away the question on the implication of his remark. Mr. Singh dismissed the Pakistani Chief Executive, General Pervez Musharraf's offer to talk "anywhere and at any place" as a pointless public relations exercise. "The issue is not public relations. It is an issue of substance, of bilateral relations, of commitment."

He said he did not want to get into a Lahore process after the series of events which followed the historic bus diplomacy of the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee. He felt that the international community now wearied of futile exercises (by Pakistan) and the current session of the ministerial meetings demonstrated this tellingly.

THE HINDU

11 APR 2001

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12, 2000

## MAKING NAM RELEVANT

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) have lost a valuable opportunity in Cartagena to find a new direction and relevance for the 40-year-old organisation. Meeting at a time when the need for NAM was itself being questioned, and preparing for the first summit of the millennium next year, the Foreign Ministers should have focussed more on providing a political and economic orientation to the movement as developing countries face new challenges in a unipolar world. Instead of looking for that new direction this session, NAM was bogged down by partisan considerations. The NAM now wants to champion the cause of democracy, threatening to expel member-states where military regimes have overthrown democratically-elected Governments. It was certainly correct to warn the military junta not to rule without a mandate and to restore democracy as quickly as possible. But to take that further, and in effect take a leaf out of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)'s book or that of the Commonwealth to make democracy itself a norm for membership is not really relevant in the NAM context. Even if Indian diplomacy may be celebrating its success in getting NAM to endorse democracy as part of its new political culture, it will surely sour the atmosphere even more within South Asia. Pakistan, Myanmar and Ivory Coast are three NAM members under military rule, who have time till next year to comply with the new requirement to retain their membership.

The Colombian President, Mr. Andres Pastrana, set the right tone for the 13th NAM Ministerial Meeting by identifying globalisation and humanitarian intervention by the U.N. as two of the most important challenges facing the developing countries. Under the WTO regime and the process of globalisation, many developing economies and Least Developed Countries (LDCs) run the risk of being totally marginalised. In the

unipolar world, with virtually little challenge to the dominance of the U.S., it was incumbent on the part of a premier grouping like NAM to emerge as a rallying point and help shape a multipolar world. Unless the common interests of the developing countries are protected and the sovereignty of their decision-making process in foreign policy is guaranteed, the threat of being engulfed by the dictates of the global powers looms large. The NAM provided a readymade shelter for a collective leadership and an anchor for the economies in transition.

Dealing with burning issues such as global terrorism and nuclear disarmament or evolving a consensus on a common approach to the coming millennium summit of the U.N. was certainly more meaningful. But given the increasing presence of the Western powers as observers in a NAM conference, it appears that their agenda of "spreading democracy" has been deftly smuggled into this forum. The strident criticism of the Taliban, though warranted, also bears Washington's stamp. The plight of the Afghan people demands international attention and the Taliban's brand of terrorism needs to be condemned, but it is the Osama bin Laden factor that has influenced special attention in Cartagena. Indian diplomats and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, may be smiling over their diplomatic triumph in teaching Pakistan another lesson. But in truth, they are only taking the bilateral relationship to a point of no return. After a brief interlude when Indian foreign policy really acquired a new dynamism and global focus, it has unfortunately returned to the Pakistan-centric mode in recent months. It is time for India to get on with its own agenda and realise its economic potential, instead of diluting its energies on isolating Pakistan. An unstable Pakistan with a shattered economy can be a greater threat to India.

THE HINDU

12 APR 2000

# Democracy as bargaining chip

By K. V. Krishnaswamy

HF-12 25/4 NAM  
**T**HE ONE enduring image from the recent ministerial meeting of the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers in Cartagena, Colombia, may necessarily have nothing to do with the NAM or its future. But it did present the real picture as the VIPs from different parts of the world gathered at the Colombian beach resort, hosting a NAM gathering for the third or fourth time. A faraway land in the midst of a major peace initiative to bring its leftist guerillas back to the national mainstream was interested in only one personage: the American Ambassador who had come from the capital, Bogota, leading an observers team. The Ambassador from Washington was literally besieged by Colombian newsmen whenever he could be cornered as they recorded every word he uttered and captured his smiles in all their broadness as he fended off questions.

There was nothing particularly surprising in the American envoy being the centre of attraction in a continent that for all practical purposes is an extended territory of the United States. But for contrast it was quite telling: the Colombian media severely ignored the others, all the Foreign Ministers and their retinue of officials and Ambassadors at the United Nations attending the meeting. As the VIPs flitted in and out of the conference centre, you were free to speak to them if you spoke their language. The Pakistani Foreign Minister, for example. Or the Bangladesh Minister who responded to banter in native Bengali. Any Foreign Minister would have counted himself lucky if he had been spotted and recognised in the melee that was the lobby.

Perhaps Cartagena had got used to the Non-aligned featherweights. To be fair to the Colombian newshounds, perhaps they did not realise the power of the movement that has on its rolls more than 115 nations from all the continents around. They also did not perhaps suspect that the NAM was at the crossroads in this unipolar world and had lost much of its shine after the end of the Cold War which had invested it with some bargaining muscle as between the two blocs. They certainly would not have divined that a majority of the participants were doing their very best to further deva-

lue a movement that has in fact more relevance today than at any time in the past decade and more.

Many of the leaders, including the host country's President, Mr. Andres Pastrana, underlined the NAM's continued relevance in the context of the globalisation rush and the imperative of evolving a joint stand by the developing nations to counter the onslaught of capitalist fundamentalism. Mr. Pastrana set the right tone in his inaugural address: "We (the Non-aligned) have the right and the duty to play an ac-

Western military alliance, had done to one of the founding members of the movement, Yugoslavia. The interventionist policy was crafted to break up the Yugoslav federation. But when NATO planes were dropping tonnes of bombs, no fellow NAM member spoke up. Solidarity had ceased to have meaning in the sterile climate that followed the end of the ideological war in the early Nineties. It had even less meaning now, with the developing world finding the lure of multinational corporations impossible to resist.

sible chop: besides Pakistan they were Myanmar and Ivory Coast. Indian officials took pains to deny that Pakistan was the target. Perhaps more significant than this discovery of the merits of democracy was the astonishing ease with which India succeeded in its single-point agenda. Did India have it easy because none of the other members of the NAM cared much about the goings-on in an organisation fighting to survive in this rapidly evolving global order?

Or, did the participants, representing more than 115 countries, unquestioningly accept the leadership role of a country basking in the afterglow of an extended visit by the American President?

What was New Delhi's agenda if it was not the systematic downgrading of the NAM? For, if democracy had been one of the criteria when the movement was launched, at least two of the three sponsors would have been disqualified. Of India, Egypt and Yugoslavia, only this country had the makings of democracy by the mid-Fifties. Egypt under Gamel Nasser and Yugoslavia under Marshal Tito were military dictatorships without any pretensions to democratic plurality. Indonesia's Sukarno was a benign despot whose first task on coming to power was to incarcerate his political opponents.

Democracy was far from the mind of the leaders who launched the movement. The sleight of hand that produced the democracy wand would undoubtedly have found it difficult to convince the Non-aligned allies of the logic of citing the OAU resolution. The organisation represents nations from a continent where democracy has succeeded in putting down roots only in the extremities of the south and the north, with the middle and the rest mired in the darkness of various shades of dictatorship.

There were broad suggestions that India had brought in the democracy plank as a bargaining point. Maybe it was. Maybe the objective was to pressure the Musharraf regime in Pakistan to put democracy back on the rails earlier than it seems inclined. However laudable, the bitterness such strategies cause will bring no commensurate benefit and will only further vitiate the bilateral atmosphere.

*The bitterness such strategies (as adopted by India vis-a-vis Pakistan at the Cartagena NAM meeting) cause will bring no commensurate benefit and will only further vitiate the bilateral atmosphere.*

tive part, on an equal footing, in the definition of a global order, which includes the aspirations and interest of our developing countries. An order which regulates globalisation will have to take account of the very great challenges faced by mankind: the reduction of abject poverty, the risk to the environment that concern this whole planet, the marginal situation of huge numbers of people around the world, the lethal menace of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, global threats to human health, natural disasters, violations of human rights, fundamental guarantees for the individual and the world problem of drug-trafficking."

An exhaustive agenda dominated by the need to evolve a just economic world order. The economic agenda was as vast as it was in urgent need of being addressed. It was a paradox that most nations stopped with appeals for action. They lacked the political will to push for a joint strategy. The post Cold War ideological vacuum failed to stir them or awaken them to the lurking threat of economic slavery.

Almost all the speakers also referred to the creeping dangers from the now-fashionable Western pursuit of a policy of humanitarian intervention. None of them openly took a stand on what NATO, the

Besides, as at most such gatherings of the NAM, there were also regional scores to settle for some of the participants, though admittedly this time such mutual bilateral bashing had been minimal. One country that did not cover itself in glory in this respect was India. For the Indian delegation, led by the mercurial External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, the presence of representatives of the military regime of Pakistan was too intolerable. Since convention demanded that bilateral disputes be kept off the NAM forum, the issue of the overthrow of the civilian Government in Pakistan was sought to be raised under the broad canvas of democracy and threats to civilian rule from the military. The irrelevance of the democracy theme to the Non-aligned audience was ignored.

India did this remarkably well. It resurrected a resolution passed at a summit of the Organisation of African Unity last summer and manoeuvred to have it cited as a point of reference in the declaration adopted by the ministerial meeting.

The reference, allowed in by the other delegates to please India, must obviously have been strongly resisted by Pakistan, which justifiably felt it was the target. There were three candidates for the pos-

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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