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NON-ALIGNED AGAINST WHAT?

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FUTURE
OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

by

Antoinette Handley

S A I I A



THE SOUTH AFRICAN
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Introduction

South Africa will be hosting the 12th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit in Durban from 29 August-3 September 1998, when it will assume the chair of the organisation. Estimates for staging this event range from R25-50 million. Given both this cost and South Africa's role, on the cusp of the new millennium, critical questions must be asked about the viability of what is widely seen as a Cold War child.

Dr Greg Mills, National Director of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), argued at the opening of the conference entitled *Non-Aligned Against What? South Africa and The Future of the Non-Aligned Movement*, that South Africa's responsibility during its chairmanship will inevitably include providing coherence and focus to an organisation which is seen (particularly in the West) to be anachronistic, irrelevant, emasculated by the end of the Cold War and, in the words of one diplomat, 'substantially redundant'.

The NAM was formally launched at a summit attended by 25 newly independent countries in Belgrade in 1961, with 10 summits since. Although it was designed to resist super-power advances to incorporate developing countries into alliances — out of fear that this would compromise their independence from colonialism — Dr Mills suggested that during the height of the Cold War the NAM was seen as anti-American, as it was pro-Soviet. It has also, in the eyes of some, been characterised by a failure to achieve consensus on issues of substance, often resorting to polemical rhetoric on economic neo-colonialism and anti-imperialism.

Following the demise of the communist bloc, the 113-nation strong NAM's *leitmotif* has been to function as a United Nations (UN) lobby (especially on the issue of UN reform) and powerful voting bloc. Yet, there is a widening gulf between the more and the less successful states within the movement. This highlights the role of those states which have adapted more successfully to today's global economy. The NAM has, Dr Mills argued, constantly run the risk of being hijacked by issues which concern only one small *clique*.

The next century looks set to continue the transition from the industrial to the information age. In a world that is 'wired, networked and global', the free flow of ideas, information, service and goods will be unstoppable. While environmental pressures, along with tribal differences and fundamentalist tendencies, may threaten the emergence of global culture, countries will increasingly stand judged by international best practice rather than national, regional or developing country standards.

Global poverty remains the critical challenge and has been at the forefront of the NAM's agenda since the 1992 summit. Today 800 million people in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa do not have sufficient or regular supplies of food. A 1997 study showed that the ratio of income per head between the seven richest and the seven poorest countries world-wide had nearly doubled between 1965 and 1995.

Given these realities, Dr Mills suggested the need for the NAM to confront the following fundamental questions:

- First, what has the NAM achieved thus far, and what is it likely to achieve in the future?
- Second, after the end of the Cold War and in a rapidly globalising world, should the NAM be revitalised and, if so, around what common themes — and how?
- Third, can a grouping of diverse states, such as the members of NAM, take forward a common agenda? And what is this common agenda?
- Fourth, what distinguishes this Movement from other developing countries' fora, such as the G-77 or UNCTAD, and how might the relationship between these groupings best be managed?
- Fifth, what can the NAM achieve that today's regional groupings cannot?
- Sixth, if the NAM is to function effectively in the future, there is a need for a more effective implementation and co-ordination mechanism, perhaps in the form of a full-time secretariat.

The conference was designed to probe precisely these six questions.

A Review of NAM: Its Historical Origins and Its Contemporary Relevance

HE Mr Nana Sutresna, Ambassador-at-large on behalf of the Republic of Indonesia, pointed out to the conference delegates that while the NAM was formally established at Belgrade in 1961, prior to that there had been a number of landmark events that had made it possible, the most notable of which was the Asia-Africa Conference of Bandung in 1955.

Bandung brought together statesmen and leaders of 29 Asian and African countries who met, identified and addressed what they saw as the problems besetting the world at the time. Sutresna argued that '[f]rom Bandung rose an inexorable tide of sentiment that would eventually sweep away the colonial past as nationals in various parts of the world ... were inspired to break their shackles and claim their rightful place within the community of nations'. This first generation of leaders also found it appropriate to enunciate a new ethos that would govern the relationship between states, known as the *Dasa Sila* of Bandung, or the 10 principles of international relations (see pp.6-7).

These principles were formulated to apply for all time and to all nations, and laid the basis for the formal organisation of a Movement, as occurred six years later with the establishment of the NAM at Belgrade. From an original complement of 26 nations, the movement has grown to incorporate 113 members, 12 observers and 27 guest countries, with six observers from international organisations and 18 guest international organisations.

Throughout the Cold War, Sutresna argued, NAM provided an alternative vision to the bloc politics of the time, and was instrumental during that period and subsequently in the advancement of a good number of worthy causes, chiefly in the impetus that it provided to the world-wide de-colonisation process, and to the drive against institutionalised racism as exemplified by *apartheid*. The Movement's advocacy of disarmament is still an ongoing struggle.

Although the NAM is essentially a political movement, such concerns cannot be divorced from the economic. Since the 1973 Algeria Summit, the Movement has assigned economic co-operation a high priority. After NAM developed broad policies for a North-South dialogue, the G77 has continued to attempt to conduct global negotiations. Ten years of intensive efforts followed, as Ambassador Sutresna put it, 'with very little to show'. Apart from the establishment of a Common Fund for Commodities, 'nothing

of significance was accomplished', and disagreements between NAM and the developed world, and within the NAM itself, deepened. Both developed and developing countries should share the blame for this failure.

From the end of the 1980s until the end of the Cold War, the major industrialised countries adopted a unilateral or selective bilateral approach in their relationship with developing countries, choosing which countries they would co-operate with and which they would ignore. This exacerbated the marginalisation of the poorest of developing countries and, according to Sutresna, 'there was nothing much that we in the NAM could do about it because ... the developing countries as a group were at our weakest: the debt burden had begun to weigh heavily upon us and we were not united'.

This context changed with the end of the Cold War, bringing the collapse of Marxism and new challenges for democracy. Crucially, Sutresna argued, there was no shift in the lines of tension from East-West to North-South, for the following reasons:

- the developed world recognised that poverty in the developing world would inevitably impact on it too;
- the developed countries realised the need to cultivate vast new markets;
- the developing countries resolved to resume dialogue with the North on the basis of a partnership of equals rather than *via* confrontational language; and
- developing countries realised the dangers of their lack of unity.

At the 10th NAM Summit in Jakarta in 1992, the Movement launched a new series of initiatives. Key among these was the 'Invitation to Dialogue' extended to the leaders of the then G7. The positive response to this invitation led to a 'virtual resumption' of the North-South dialogue. Subsequently, NAM's recommendations in this regard were incorporated into the UN Secretary-General's *Agenda for Development*. The NAM's participation in this process has been characterised by flexibility and pragmatism.

These qualities have also been evident in the relations between member countries and the international financial institutions (IFIs). This has been conducive to the effort to resolve the external debt crisis, and the NAM decided to formulate policy guidelines in this regard, in addition to convening three meetings of experts on the subject. The World Bank has

subsequently worked out a joint proposal with the IMF about how to reduce the debt burdens of highly indebted poor countries (HIPC's). Importantly, it has now become 'a practice' for the chair of the G7/8 to consult the NAM on the debt relief question. These developments should henceforth be buttressed with active participation in the forthcoming review of the Bretton Woods institutions. There is an ongoing need for the NAM to struggle for the liberalisation of international trade, in opposition to the 'new protectionism'.

South-South co-operation has also been an important emphasis of the NAM. The NAM, working with the G77, brought the Joint Co-ordinating Committee (JCC) into operation in mid-1994.

The Movement has, alongside these activities, continued to concern itself with political issues. For example, NAM established a Task Force on Somalia and despatched Special Envoys to the country. The Movement also offered to facilitate a peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The NAM has consistently sought a balanced approach to disarmament, arguing that security should be sought through total nuclear disarmament, the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and the progressive reduction of conventional armaments. The blasts in Asia were a setback to this process.

The Movement has long held that the UN is central to the transformation of the international order. The current structure of the Security Council (SC), however, excludes the majority and should be expanded. The Council should also not be allowed to encroach on the jurisdiction of the General Assembly (GA).

According to Sutresna, the contemporary relevance of the NAM lies in its role as a catalyst for constructive change. He argued that one should not allow 'non-alignment' to be confined to the prison of its literal meaning. Ultimately, the Movement stands for the independence of its agenda.

Pinpointing Successes and Failures: The NAM in the 1990s

Dr Jairo Montoya Pedroza, the Colombian Director-General for Multilateral Organisations, opened his remarks by reminding the audience that the establishment of a peaceful and equitable international order had been one of the original aims of the NAM. The current state of the globe continues to affirm the importance of the Movement's agenda. Today, the Movement operates in an international environment in which new tensions have appeared. There have been setbacks to non-proliferation. Economic and social disparities continue to widen. It seems clear then, that the struggle to establish an equitable order remains as valid as ever.

EMERGING AND ENDING CONFLICTS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE DECADE

Perhaps one of the most poignant of these conflicts for the NAM was the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, while that country was occupying the chair of the Movement. This term could not be completed and Yugoslavia's membership was suspended. NAM accepted an offer from Indonesia to host the Tenth Summit.

World conflict continued, however, with the outbreak of war in the Gulf and a deterioration of the situation in Somalia. Yet there were also more encouraging developments which the NAM supported, such as the Paris Accord signed by previously warring factions in Kampuchea, the unification of Yemen, Namibia's attainment of independence and the consolidation of peace in Central America.

RENEWED VALIDITY OF THE MOVEMENT

Like others, Montoya argued that the principles and objectives of NAM, as outlined below, remain as valid as ever:

1. respect for fundamental human rights and the purposes of the Charter of the UN;
2. respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
3. recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations;

4. abstention from interference in the internal affairs of another country;
5. respect for the right of each nation to defend itself in conformity with the Charter of the UN;
- 6a. abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the interest of any big power; and
- 6b. abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries;
7. refraining from threats or acts of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;
8. settlement of all international disputes through peaceful means;
9. promotion of mutual interest and co-operation; and
10. respect for justice and international obligations.

An examination of these principles one by one will demonstrate, Montoya argued, that none of them have become anachronistic. There is no reference in any of the principles to ideological prerequisites for the NAM's existence. The visionary character of its fundamnet, namely the fact that the NAM is not linked, in its essence, to ideology, has won the Movement new members despite the end of the Cold War. In the words of Montoya, 'NAM is ... the only grouping of developing countries capable [of articulating] in a comprehensive manner, the different political, economic, social, environmental and cultural dimensions of internal [sic] relations'. No other organisation is in a comparable position.

PROMOTING DIALOGUE AND PARTNERSHIP

The restoration of the dialogue between the NAM and the industrialised nations is regarded by Montoya as one of the Movement's principal achievements in recent years. NAM's emphasis on a shift towards partnership has received positive responses. The dialogue between North and South should be a conversation between equals, 'based on interdependence and mutuality of interests and benefits, and shared responsibilities'. It is not sufficient, however, for the NAM simply to serve as the deliverer of messages from the developing world: 'What really matters is for the international community to undertake actions ... aimed at solving the problems affecting developing countries ... [and] that the developing countries participate effectively in the decision-making process in which the main global policies are adopted'.

FACING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The support of the NAM was an important external factor in ending *apartheid*. However, much remains to be done *vis-à-vis* racial discrimination in the international scene.

THE CULTURAL DIMENSION

The struggle for cultural diversity and tolerance emerged as an important priority for NAM from the First Meeting of the NAM Ministers of Culture in Colombia in August 1997. 'What is needed', Montoya argued, 'is the rediscovery of the collective richness of the cultures that flow off information and communication'. As globalisation can threaten the sense of nations' identities, appreciation of authenticity in the developing countries should be encouraged.

THE NEED FOR A GLOBAL STRATEGY

The NAM should not simply react to initiatives from the developed world. Rather, it should formulate new initiatives in order for developing countries to play their appropriate role in the international community. Such a strategy should, Montoya argued, focus on issues including economic growth, sustainable development, human rights, drug trafficking, and world peace and security. South-South co-operation would be central to many of these. NAM states should try to act pre-emptively to avoid the outbreak of conflict.

NAM'S ECONOMIC AGENDA

The 1990s have seen substantial flows of speculative capital which can undermine the social policies of developing states. There is certainly no substitute for the adoption of sound economic policies domestically, but the NAM needs to develop an updated economic agenda to deal, for example, with the recent financial crisis in Asia, new protectionist tendencies in industrialised countries and the transformation of multilateral economic institutions. Developing countries could strengthen their position with regard to these issues by means of 'increased collectivisation of their available resources'. This task has been ceded to the NAM Panel of Economists, created in 1997.

INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS

In Montoya's view, the 'structure of the international system remains undemocratic and systematically unfair'. The UN organs and bodies too are in need of reform. The Movement has succeeded in raising the interests of developing countries *vis-à-vis* the UNSC, although the agenda for change does not just concern a voting bloc issue, but rather generalised imbalances in decision making. The UNGA should be given a greater role in decision-making. The NAM has not yet fully achieved its aims in this regard. It remains the responsibility of all UN members to restructure and transform the UN.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGES

The NAM has achieved good results in helping people and nations to attain independent and self-determining status, but the aspiration of NAM countries in terms of substantially improved living standards and quality of life has not yet been fulfilled. Economic growth is a pre-condition for this, but the benefits of that growth should also be equitably distributed.

CONTINUED STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

The attainment of democracy in South Africa was an important victory in this regard. However, the struggle of the Palestinian community continues. For Montoya, the continued support of the Movement in encouraging the key actors in the Middle East situation will be one of the organisation's biggest challenges in the next decade.

The risk created by local and regional conflicts persists, and many of the states under threat are NAM members. In this regard there is a need for conflict resolution mechanisms and a recognition that frequently the primary causes of such conflict are underlying social and economic disparities.

DISARMAMENT AND DE-NUCLEARISATION

The dangers of arms proliferation are not simply military in nature. Proliferation can serve as the basis for criminal activities such as drug trafficking. The law enforcement efforts required to combat this drain the resources of the state away from vital social causes.

It remains important for the NAM to insist on disarmament and for a world free of nuclear weapons. Montoya argued that it should continue to do so, despite recent developments in India and Pakistan.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

If they are to be actualised in the international community, all the ideals and principles of the NAM should first be put into practice at the domestic level. The Movement is ultimately no more or less than what its member states make of it. Each member therefore needs to make progress on its own national agenda for social justice and equity.

The International Environment in the 21st Century: What are the Areas of Action for the South?

HE Mohammed Ezz El Dien, the Assistant Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in Egypt, began his presentation by arguing that the critical question to pose was not how to define the areas of action for the South. These were numerous and could be found in many UN documents. Rather, it was important to examine the effectiveness with which action in these areas could be carried out.

El Dien suggested that the end of the Second World War may have been more important in terms of its impact on world affairs than the end of the 20th century will be. One can assume three possible scenarios for the 21st century:

- *First*, a world of perfect globalisation;
- *Second*, a world of fragmentation and disintegration; or
- *Third*, a continuation of the *status quo* and of the confusing contradictory present in which no clear direction for the international system emerges.

With hindsight, it is evident that few people expected either of the two world wars. In a similar way, it is very difficult to predict the future shape of the international system. This makes any discussion of potential areas of action a difficult one.

However, if the world moves increasingly towards the first scenario of perfect globalisation, areas of action for the South would be curtailed and limited to two principal concerns:

- *security concerns*, that is, the survival of the country concerned; and
- *national interest*, that is, the quality of the continued existence of the state.

Disarmament was undertaken as a campaign by the NAM from the 1960s. Happily, the world has thus far been spared nuclear confrontation such as appeared likely during the Cuban missile crisis. How should disarmament efforts continue?

The issue of non-proliferation remains vital: the Non-Proliferation Treaty has shortcomings but constitutes an important start. The NAM should not simply focus on security-related aspects, however, but should also consider, for example, peaceful uses of nuclear energy which could provide a vital source of energy for the South.

El Dien stressed the importance of 'economic nation building', and argued that without this, countries of the South would be unable to impact significantly on the international economic environment. There was a need for Southern states to mobilise their economic infrastructure at a national level.

El Dien argued that there were two key areas for action:

The Reinforcement of the World's Multilateral Diplomatic Apparatus

The practice of multilateral diplomacy needs to be improved. In this regard, countries of the South should not act in isolation from the North. The report from the NAM chair to the G7/8 was important here, but required, in addition, a response from the G7/8 and the development of a common agenda for action.

The Reform of the UN

Historically it has been argued that the best way to shape the new global economy is to reform the UN system. The South should not sit back and wait for this reform to unfold, but should actively influence it in a direction that is compatible with its own interests.

The NAM: An Agenda for Change

From an impulse to an idea, from an idea to a policy and from a policy to a Movement, non-alignment today has become one of the most dominant trends in international relations and politics.

The Late Professor Rasheduddin Khan

At its inception, NAM was a response by the newly liberated peoples of the world to their disenfranchisement during the era of colonialism and Imperialism. This is the view of HE Natajaran Krishnan, former Ambassador and Permanent Indian Representative to the UN. He went on to argue that many of the tenets of NAM have been vindicated by developments in the 1990s. Nonetheless there continue to be questions raised about the ongoing relevance of the Movement, questions that are posed not only in the North, but also by members of the NAM.

Krishnan reminded the conference of the way in which the Movement has 'fired the imagination of our societies by inculcating self-esteem, invoking the principle of sovereign equality of all nations and the quest for a voice in world affairs'. In this sense, it was a positive force which took great pains to set out a new philosophy for, and structure of, international relations.

Krishnan conceded that '[t]here are those who feel that due to lack of great issues that could fire up the imagination of the people like in the past, as well as the absence of charismatic leadership, the Movement is at a loss.' He responded as follows: 'This line of thinking could be countered by pointing out that there is no dearth of vital issues — the question is one of dynamic energising of peoples and governments around them. As for leadership, every generation produces its own leaders suited for the times...'

There is a criticism that the marginalisation of the NAM has been critically apparent with regard to such critical issues as UN reform and nuclear disarmament. South-South solidarity has also been eroded following the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the emergence of regional groups.

Yet this criticism is not reflected in a decline in membership or attendance at NAM gatherings. In fact, the membership of the Movement has grown.

From its earliest days, the NAM has struggled for change in the world order. The UN Charter was hailed as a *magna carta* and the best instrument available to this end. However, developed countries had an interest in maintaining the *status quo* and only allowed changes on terms that would

favour them, Krishnan argued. The differences between those countries opposing change and those proposing it will doubtless continue, and NAM must continue to press its agenda.

In her address to the third NAM Summit in Lusaka, Indira Gandhi spoke of an 'unfinished revolution' or agenda. The NAM is now in its fourth decade and this agenda remains unfinished still today, in Krishnan's view. Peace is still threatened. While democratisation is increasingly taking root within states, this has not been accompanied by a parallel decrease in disparities across the globe. The NAM needs to look to non-traditional security threats and to developing a system which gives representative weight to developing countries in the UN. In this regard, Krishnan referred specifically to strengthening the role of the GA while also enlarging the SC.

There has undoubtedly been change which is evident across the globe. The dynamics of globalisation have created a range of problems for non-aligned countries to tackle. These include:

- the contradictory but simultaneous trends of integration into new economic groupings and the disintegration of many states;
- ethnic conflicts, with the demand for self-determination alongside re-assertion of the integrity of the state;
- new theories of 'limited sovereignty' to justify humanitarian intervention; and
- the isolation of 'rogue' and 'failed' states.

In response, Krishnan argued that the need for the articulation of the 'view point of the disadvantaged' remains as strong as ever — and NAM provides a platform for this. Krishnan suggested the following as priority areas:

- Shorn of Cold war ideologies and baggage, the NAM must engage in a constructive dialogue with the countries of the North.
- The agenda will comprise 'the carry-over from the past, unfinished agenda, but should also pay attention to new manifestations of old problems, and entirely new issues such as the environment'.
- The agenda should demonstrate the requisite level of flexibility, given a rapidly changing world scenario.
- According to Krishnan, '[t]he imperative of economic growth allied to

social development is one of the major concerns of the Movement'. The NAM should therefore ensure the implementation of all commitments, especially those which relate to the transfer of technology and the provision of additional resources to the South.

In addition, the high growth rates seen in some of the world's emerging markets over recent decades need to be reflected in an increased role for developing countries in international policy formulation and decision-making.

- There should be a greater emphasis on constructive engagement, not only between countries of the North and South, but also within NAM countries themselves. In this regard, Krishnan made particular reference to the spread of democracy throughout the states of the Movement and suggested that 'true meaning can be given to interaction among sections of civil society in NAM countries'.

The 'million dollar question', however, as Krishnan put it, is how one can get South-South action under way in the identified areas, when many of the areas that need attention involve region or country specific difficulties. NAM should approach these issues in a modest and incremental manner, beginning with the exchange of information. This could be followed up with visits and tours, the sharing of expertise, and ultimately, the multilateralisation of programmes.

- Krishnan also suggested that the Movement should consider integrating the work of NGOs from NAM countries. Given the growing size and influence of the NGO community, the Movement should 'use the NGO potential to its advantage in working on problems falling within the ambit of civil society'. Again, this should be approached on a modest level initially.
- 'How to make the Movement more action-oriented or, to put it another way, to translate the agenda into action?' Krishnan argued that no more time should be wasted on a sterile debate about the secretariat. A nucleus has been established with the South Commission in Geneva. It should be possible to use the services of this centre. It might also be wise to develop a modest data centre in New York attached to the Permanent Mission of the Chair of the Coordinating Bureau-country.

South Africa and the NAM: An Agenda for Consideration

Ms. Thuthukile Edy Mazibuko, Acting Deputy Director General of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, presented a paper on behalf of the country's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Aziz Pahad, outlining the relationship between South Africa and the Movement.

Mazibuko prefaced her remarks by pointing out that the South African position on the NAM had not yet been finalised and that a process of consultation had been embarked upon.

The relationship between South Africa and the NAM stretches back to Bandung, where representatives of the liberation movements were present at the founding of the organisation. This led to a long-standing relationship in which solidarity with the anti-*apartheid* movement and the joint struggle to isolate *apartheid* were central. This was made manifest by the Movement's principled support for the Harare Declaration, one of several ways in which NAM assisted South Africa's liberation struggle.

South Africa will assume the chair of the Movement at a critical juncture in its history, and with a much changed international context. There can be little doubt that the world of the post Cold War era is a turbulent one. The membership of the NAM will need to identify key issues that are likely to dominate world politics into the next century. In this, the goals that the organisation elects should be both achievable and sustainable.

Apart from the focus on globalisation, issues that the Movement is likely to focus on in the next three years will include the following:

- **Reform of the UN**

Like other speakers before her, Mazibuko remarked that while there have been *global advances for democracy*, these have not been equally evident in the field of international relations, and developing countries continue to be excluded from much decision-making.

The NAM ought to act to ensure that the UN retains its central role in the conduct of relations between states. There is a need for reform of the body in order to render it an institution which is truly democratic and representative of the community it is intended to serve. In this regard, the

SC should assume the 'universal character envisioned for it', something the Movement has long emphasised. As it stands, the power of the veto possessed by those countries who are permanent members of the SC is anachronistic and lends itself to abuse. The NAM would like to see such use curtailed and, ultimately, eliminated.

- **The International Criminal Court**

The proposed establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) will be taken further at a Diplomatic Conference in Rome in mid 1998. NAM has adopted a declaration aimed at harmonising the Movement's position on this issue. For their part, South Africa and SADC have consistently supported the idea of an impartial, effective international court. Pahad's paper argues that '[j]ustice should be rendered for the sake of the victims [of gross human rights violations] but *action aimed at deterring the possible commission of such crimes by other individuals and groups in the future should [also] be taken*'.

- **Disarmament and International Security**

Mazibuko released at the conference a joint Declaration made by South Africa, Ireland, Sweden, New Zealand, Egypt, Brazil, Mexico and Slovenia entitled 'Towards a Nuclear Weapons Free World — The Need for a New Agenda'. She argued that South Africa's experience with nuclear power is relevant in this regard, as the country had destroyed its own nuclear weapon capacity, believing that disarmament was the best route to advance both the country's and the region's security. It remains important, however, to also pay attention to those weapons whose more common usage wreaks the most damage, especially small arms and light conventional weapons.

- **North-South Dialogue**

A large divide in terms of development and industrialisation continues to yawn between the countries of the North and the South. The challenge is for the parties to conduct a meaningful dialogue despite this. The NAM troika has made important representations to the G7/8 and the European Union. The Movement should concentrate on substantive issues in this dialogue and not neglect its interaction with the Bretton Woods institutions.

- **South-South Dialogue**

Effective co-operation between the countries of the South requires the participation of such players as the central banks and finance ministries of the countries concerned. Capital flows *between* developing countries should be encouraged. This would have knock-on benefits, as indications are that trade typically follows investment.

NAM needs to identify current obstacles to South-South co-operation such as patent law, intellectual property regimes and competition between Southern suppliers.

- **Regional Co-operation**

Regional co-operation is an important instrument, by means of which states could build their involvement in the global economy. Such co-operation could serve as a *building block* for broader South-South co-operation. Accordingly, the NAM should seek to establish a framework for regional co-operation.

- **International Economic Co-operation**

There has been evidence of the increased marginalisation of the world's poorest countries. These issues are debated in a number of UN fora in which the Movement is active. NAM's position reflects the perspective that development, peace and stability are unavoidably intertwined. Also important here is the concept of *sustainable* development.

- **Least Developed Countries and the Critical Economic Situation in Africa**

The critical economic situation in Africa in which many Africans experience the neglect of their most basic human needs, and which is exacerbated by the external debt problem, is similar to problems faced by many other less developed countries (LDCs). Pahad's paper argued that '[t]he Movement will continue to express concern at the declining rate of growth of the LDCs, but we should seek to obtain consensual action-oriented solutions for implementation in conjunction with the North'.

- **The International Situation**

A number of perennial issues are likely to continue to require attention from the NAM. According to Pahad, '[t]he Movement has developed an informal protocol of not dealing with contentious issues where no progress can be made'.

Additional areas of international conflict that require the NAM's attention include the situations in Palestine, Cuba and Libya respectively.

CONCLUSION

Pahad's paper concluded with some thoughts on human rights and development, both issues which are dear to South Africa. 'The NAM has traditionally referred to "social development", "food as a basic human right" and "sustained economic growth and development"'. The paper concludes that '[c]learly, we have a great responsibility to re-examine and advance the concept of sustainable development as we approach the next millennium'.

Summary and Conclusions

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was established during the course of an increasingly structured series of non-aligned conferences, the first of which met at Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1961. Its purpose, as declared, was to ensure 'the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries' in their 'struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, racism, including Zionism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics' (*Final Declaration, Havana, 1979*).

Ms. Antoinette Handley, Director of Studies at SALLA, re-read that declaration to the conference, arguing that it is useful to recall the objectives of the NAM, as set out by the Movement itself almost 20 years ago. The language may strike one as a little strange, perhaps a little dated, but the sentiment can be easily recognised. The fact that the statement appears dated, that it is clearly written from within the midst of the Cold War, however, is key to much of the agonising over the present role of the NAM.

It is easy to forget how far the world has come since the Berlin Wall fell and how much perspectives have changed since then. A colleague teaching at a university remarked that the students who are today entering his classroom were born in the 1980s, and that many of them only came of age, politically speaking, after the fall of the Berlin Wall. He explained that it is a real struggle to convey to them the essence of the Cold War — the students battle to understand how polarised the world was during that time. As Ambassador Krishnan pointed out, many of the tenets of the NAM, as they were originally formulated, were vindicated by, amongst other things, the end of the Cold War and the advent of democracy in South Africa. But it may be that it is these very developments that pose the greatest challenge to the Movement.

This brings one to the question that recurs again and again in any discussion of the NAM, the question that Dr. Mills posed at the very beginning of the conference: in essence 'non-aligned against what?' This is the same question that Ambassador Heine, a delegate to the conference, put another way when he asked about the appropriateness of changing the Movement's name to more accurately reflect its concerns in the 1990s. The reason that the name is considered important, and why the Movement continues to be trapped in what Ambassador Sutresna described as 'the prison of the literal meaning of "non-aligned"' is because it goes to the heart of the debate about the

function of the Movement, and its relevance in a post Cold War world. What is it that the NAM does — or should do — as we move towards the next century, and, crucially, how does this differ from what other organisations and fora are able to offer?

Dr. Pedroza provided a comprehensive answer to that question when he replied that no single other organisation was in a position to tackle the comprehensive nature of the developing country-specific agenda of the NAM:

- He argued that the organisation was timeless, and outlined the principles of the NAM and how they remain relevant today.
- He argued that the organisation had a universal reach in that it encompassed developing countries from every region of the globe.
- He presented the holistic nature of the Movement's agenda in that it embraced a range of issues and not simply economic matters.
- And finally he argued for a unique flexibility for the Movement: the NAM is more political in nature than many other developing country fora. Organisationally it differs from such structures as UNCTAD in that it is not an organisation but a movement. It has no secretary-general and no headquarters.

His answer, lucid and comprehensive as it was, raised its own problems however:

- The holistic and universal nature of the movement raises the danger of a highly diffuse, unfocused agenda.
- Its flexible, unstructured nature poses the danger that the Movement may not be able to take a practical Programme of Action forward. As Ambassador El Dien pointed out, for example, there is no institutionalised process for conversing with the G7/8.

This raises for the Movement, and for South Africa in particular, the urgent need to prioritise a set of key issues. How does South Africa, as the host of the forthcoming summit and soon to be member of the *troika*, engage in this exercise?

INTERNATIONAL TRENDS

First, one needs to understand the nature of the world in which the NAM finds itself. Handley suggested that the following characteristics need to be considered:

- (1) The new prominence of emerging markets: unprecedented amounts of capital are now flowing to the developing world. This is not an even process, however: certain countries are receiving the bulk of these flows, while others receive little or nothing. The flows are openly rewarding those countries which are seen to be successfully reforming their economies; this leaves unresolved the problems of those at the bottom of the pile.
- (2) The HIPC initiative, which proposes debt relief for selected states, poses a potential solution. This should, however, be seen against the backdrop of a widening gap, not only between the countries of the North and the South, but also between the countries of the South.

In her comments, Mazibuko referred to the dilemmas of the poorest countries and suggested that we should seek solutions to these problems together with the North.

- (3) We live today in a unipolar world, in two senses: not only have we witnessed the victory of the US and its NATO allies in the Cold War, following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, but more controversially, some would argue that we have also seen the triumph of the so-called 'Washington consensus'. There are very few alternatives to the neo-liberal economic prescriptions which are widely regarded as viable or sustainable.

(Incidentally, it was pointed out by one of the delegates to the conference that while the Cold War has ended, bloc formation in the world has not, and that the globe is still very much dominated by that single bloc. What then does this mean for non-alignment? Does this mean that the movement is set *against* that broad American coalition of liberal ideas? And what does this then mean for those members of the NAM who associate closely with those liberal ideas?)

- (4) There has been in the 1990s, the emergence of new focus on *partnership* in areas ranging from donor-recipient relations to broader North-South relations. The stress on *partnership* goes hand in hand with the new, non-confrontational approach of the NAM; much talk was heard at the conference of a dialogue between the North and the

South, and of the new pragmatism of the NAM. One needs to ask, however, whether it is possible for two groupings to have a genuine partnership when there is a vast disparity in power and influence between them. The structures of power, as the Marxists would have put it, have remained essentially unchanged.

- (5) These realities have led to demands for the restructuring of global decision making, symbolised by debates about the restructuring of the UN. Many states are not happy to have a self-appointed policeman exercise a dominant say over which global issues are dealt with and how. This is a particularly big problem when it comes to the old problem of the governance of the global economy and the South's own agenda of trade liberalisation.

CHALLENGES

This changed global context leads to a number of challenges for the NAM:

- (1) The challenge of bilateralism: As Ambassador Sutresna pointed out, this raises the need for a common approach on the part of NAM states, for them to develop strategic alliances on key questions, such as debt, around which it is possible to agree. Developing countries should respond by working to build multipolarism, and by forming partnerships with other states who have an interest in the same aim.

On the subject of building alliances, Ambassador Krishnan made the interesting suggestion that the NAM needs to explore further its relations with NGOs and civil society. This will not be unproblematic, however, as this will inevitably come into conflict with states' own stress on their sovereignty.

- (2) The economic policy issue: Handley argued that the struggle for a New International Economic Order, was singularly unsuccessful in transforming the economic structure of the globe in the 1960s and 1970s. What reason does one have to believe that the more conciliatory approach of the 1990s will have greater success? Surely, this depends (as has been seen with the Asian tigers) on the adoption of appropriate policy at the domestic level.
- (3) Relations with the North and with international financial institutions: As is evident in the aftermath of the Asian crisis in the relationship between, for example, the Indonesians and the IMF, these relations continue to be ambiguous, ambivalent at best. There is undoubtedly

a need for what Dr. Pedroza described as 'an updated economic agenda' for both parties. There is a need to see, on the one hand, less arrogance from the IFIs and more of a genuine partnership; and, on the other, more policy compliance from the developing countries, more of them putting their own houses in order.

Ambassador El Dien touched on this when he referred to the need for developing countries to build their economic infrastructure in order to improve the international economic environment.

One theme that recurred throughout the conference was the need for the countries of the South/NAM to engage with the developed world/North — and to find mechanisms or forums with which to do this. Professor John Stremlau, as chair of the afternoon session, reminded delegates that North-South interaction does not have to be a 'zero-sum' game. It is potentially a positive-sum exercise which South Africa will, by the very nature of its new role as chair of the NAM, have to play a pivotal role in facilitating.

- (4) Arms control and disarmament: In these areas, Handley posed a single question: in the light of recent events on the East Asian continent, will it be possible for the NAM to take a meaningful stance on this issue?

Finally, a stress that was evident throughout the day's deliberations was that it is no longer considered sufficient for the NAM simply to deliver messages to the North: the Movement needs to grapple with the problem of how to take action to impact substantially on the position of the developing world.

In his address, Ambassador Krishnan reminded the delegates that, in the past the NAM was not just a negative force, opposed to all sorts of things. The Movement's leadership needs to recapture that sense of a positive agenda, and to develop a new vision for developing countries in the new century. It is apparent that the Summitteers in Durban in August and September face a challenging task.

About the Participants

Ambassador Mohamed Ezz El Dien is the Egyptian Deputy Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Non-Aligned Movement and Islamic Conference in Egypt.

Antoinette Handley is Director of Studies at the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Thuthukile Edy Mazibuko is Deputy Director-General of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, responsible for Asia and the Middle East.

Dr. Greg Mills is the National Director of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Abdul Samad Minty is the Deputy Director-General, Multilateral Affairs in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs

Ambassador Natarajan Krishnan was Ambassador and Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, New York. He was Head of Division in the Ministry of External Affairs dealing with NAM for several years.

Dr. Jairo Montoya is the Director General for Multilateral Organisations of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Colombia.

Professor John Stremlau is Jan Smuts Professor of International Relations and Acting Head of Department at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Conference Programme

Non-Aligned Against What? South Africa and the Future of the Non-Aligned Movement

Wednesday 10 June 1998, Jan Smuts House
East Campus, University of the Witwatersrand

08h30: Registration

SESSION ONE

Dr Greg Mills, *The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)*

- 09h00: *Opening Remarks*
Dr Greg Mills, SAIIA National Director
- 09h10: *A Review of the NAM: Its Historical Origins and Contemporary Relevance*
Ambassador Nana S Sutresna, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia
- 09h40: *Pinpointing Successes and Failures: The NAM in the 1990's*
Dr Jairo Montoya Pedroza, Director-General for Multilateral Organisations, Colombia
- 10h10: *Questions and Discussion*
- 11h00: Tea and Coffee
- 11h15: *The International Environment in the 21st Century: What are the Areas of Action for the South?*
HE Ambassador Mohamed Ezz El Dien, Assistant Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt
- 11h45: *Questions and Discussion*
- 12h30: Lunch

SESSION TWO

Chair: Professor John Stremlau, International Relations Dept., Wits University

- 13h15: *The NAM: An Agenda for Change*
Natarajan Krishnan, former Permanent Representative to the UN, India
- 13h45: *South Africa and the NAM: An Agenda for Consideration*
Thuthukile Edy Mazibuko, Acting Director General of Foreign Affairs, South Africa
- 14h15: *Questions and Discussion*
- 15h00: *Summary and Conclusions*
Antoinette Handley, SAIIA Director of Studies
- 15h30: Tea/Coffee

CLOSE

About the SAIIA

The origins of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) date back to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. In this fragile post-war atmosphere, many delegates expressed a strongly-felt need for the establishment of independent, non-governmental institutions to address relations between states on an ongoing basis.

Founded in Cape Town in 1934, in 1960 the Institute's National Office was established at Jan Smuts House on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand. SAIIA's six branches countrywide are run by locally-elected committees. The current National Chairman is Dr. Conrad Strauss and the National Director is Dr. Greg Mills. The SAIIA produces a wide range of publications including *The South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, *The South African Journal of International Affairs*, *International Policy Update*, the *Occasional Paper* and *Bibliographical* series, as well as a number of specialised book projects.

The Institute has established a proud record of independence, which has enabled it to forge important links with leaders of all shades of opinion, both within South Africa and outside. It is widely respected for its integrity. The information, analysis and opinions emanating from its programmes often exercise an important influence on strategic decision-making in the corporate and political spheres.

SAIIA's independence is enshrined in its constitution, which does not permit the Institute itself to take a public position on any issue within its field of work. However, it actively encourages the expression of a diversity of views at its conferences, meetings and in its publications. Its independence is also assured by the fact that it is privately sponsored by its members — corporate and individual.

Recent SAIIA Publications

Books:

- Mills G (ed.), *From Pariah to Participant* (1994)
- Mills G et al (eds.), *South Africa in the Global Economy* (1995)
- Mills G, *Maritime Policy for Developing Nations* (1995)
- Mills G & J Cilliers (eds.), *Peacekeeping in Africa* (1995)
- SAIIA and the Foundation for Global Dialogue, *South Africa and the Two Chinas Dilemma* (1995)
- Venancio M & S Chan, *Portuguese Diplomacy in Southern Africa* (1996)
- Mills G (ed.), *SAIIA Yearbook, 1998/99*
- Handley A & G Mills (eds), *From Isolation to Integration?* (1996)
- Handley A & G Mills (eds.), *South Africa & Southern Africa: Regional Integration and Emerging Markets* (1998)
- SAIIA, *The Illegal Drug Trade in Southern Africa* (1998)
- Mills G, *South Africa and Security Building in the Indian Ocean Rim* (1998)
- Heine J & G Mills et al (eds.), *Looking Sideways: The Specifics of South-South Co-operation* (1998)
- Edmonds M & G Mills, *Beyond the Horizon* (1998)
- Mills G (ed.), *South Africa into the New Millennium* (forthcoming)

Reports

- Mills G, *India and South Africa: The Search for Partnership*, 1, 1997.
- Mills G et al, *US-South Africa Relations and the 'Pariah' States*, 2, 1997.
- Oosthuysen G, *The Illegal Drug Trade in Southern Africa*, 3, 1997.
- Mutschler C, *South & Southern Africa: Lessons from Emerging Markets*, 4, 1997.
- Bertelsmann T & C Mutschler, *Revisiting South-South Co-operation: An Agenda for the 1990s*, 5, 1997.
- Bertelsmann T, *The EU and South Africa*, 6, 1998
- Mutschler C, *Regional Integration: Latin American Experiences*, 7, 1998
- Broderick J, *The United States and South Africa in the 1990s*, 8, 1998
- Boulden L, *Towards Cost-effective De-mining*, 9, 1998.

About the Author

Antoinette Handley was appointed the Latin American Research Fellow at SAIIA in 1995. She currently serves as the Director of Studies. Her research interests include South African foreign policy, democracy and economic reform in developing countries, and South Africa's relationship with Africa.

Prior to her stay at SAIIA, she attended Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar where she obtained her M.Phil in International Relations. Handley has been awarded a Fulbright Scholarship in order to pursue her doctoral studies in the United States, starting at the end of 1998.



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