

Ministry of Information
State Information Service

Non-Aligned Movement

New Century; Changing Global Conditions



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INTRODUCTION

Under the theme: “International Solidarity for Peace and Development”, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) will hold its 15th Summit in Sharm al-Sheikh, Egypt on July 11 to 16, 2009. 140 states will be participating in the summit, of which 118 are members. Observers and guests will also be attending in addition to 5000 delegates led by 100 head of state and government.

The 15th NAM summit derives its importance not only from the great number of participants and their representation level, the critical conditions facing the world at present, especially the economic crisis, the tensioned political relations and the heated conflicts taking place between a large number of countries in various parts of the world, or the challenges facing NAM, which require a clear vision in dealing with them, but also from the venue as Egypt has played a central role in the progress of the Movement since its establishment 48 years ago. As a founding member, it has helped formulate NAM’s principles in a new century and under changing international conditions.

The Movement was born out of the womb of the post-World War II era, and as a consequence of an ideological conflict between the East and West Camps. During that period, hundreds of millions of people got rid of colonialism. The leaders of newly independent states feared their countries would be the scene of competition between Socialism and Capitalism. Thus, they created a number of ideas with the purpose of steering away from a potential conflict zone. Non-alignment was first conceived in the 1955 Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity in Indonesia. In 1961, the Non-Aligned Movement was established thanks to the efforts of such leaders as Gamal Abdelnasser (Egypt), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia) and Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia).

Since its inception, NAM has sought to be positively and proactively present on the international arena, contributing to decision-making and influencing world policies. To achieve this, Member States have agreed to meet at summit level every three years to discuss international issues and ways of resolving conflicts between them by peaceful means.

Throughout almost half a century, the Movement has dealt with numerous Third World issues listed on the agendas of its 14 summits so far. Recommendations were made and documents drafted. Achievements were secured politically, economically and socially, despite the difficult conditions under which NAM had been operating. The Movement has helped countries of the South endorse to independence and break away from the chains of colonialism. It has prevented small countries from joining military pacts, helped eliminate racist regimes and had a strong influence in formulating world policies in terms of principles and orientations and in terms of changing the international agenda and taking the edge off the ideological conflict associated with the Cold War. The Movement has also stood out as the world's conscience with respect to establishing economic justice and protecting the right of all countries to the benefits of scientific and technological advances. It has further advocated the need for an international information system which restricts the control of the strong and opens up channels of communications between the various peoples and cultures.

NAM is the parent-organization of various groupings of developing nations, which seek to defend their interests in the competition between rich and poor and North and South. For developing countries to cull the fruits of South-South cooperation, it is essential to promote solidarity and coordination between those groupings. Duality and conflict of role and interests should be avoided to prevent a weakened negotiating position facing advanced nations

which hold control of international financial and monetary institutions.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, a great controversy was held both inside and outside the Movement over its present and future role. Two completely different views evolved. The first maintained that NAM was obsolete particularly as its *raison d'être* was actually no more existent. The Cold War had ended and several changes had taken place with regard to some of its founding members. Yugoslavia, for instance, disintegrated into several smaller states. Other countries entered into strategic alliances with the US.

Another view held that the Movement had more justifications to continue than to disappear. NAM had secured many achievements in the past. Numerous challenges arose, which called for revitalizing its role: e.g. the need to defuse tensions and solve international and regional problems which have lasted for a long time. NAM could also help prevent developed countries from hegemonizing over developing, and from interfering in their affairs using such pretexts as the fight against terrorism, humanitarian intervention, and the spread of democracy. The Movement seeks to achieve global economic reform, narrow the widening economic gap between North and South, end poverty and hunger and promote dialogue and coexistence between peoples and cultures.

NAM countries believe that the movement's existence has been validated by recent international changes. The end of the Cold War and the bi polar system, that NAM has promoted international cooperation to end fear and intolerance. It is time the Movement self-develops in order to deal effectively with the new challenges facing it. It is time it boosts its capabilities to handle both internal and external conflicts.

As future Chair of NAM, Egypt has a strategic view of the Movement's role on the international arena; a view which

incorporates several ideas and proposals in the fields of disarmament, arms control, the international economic crisis, human rights, humanitarian assistance and the dialogue of civilizations among others. Egypt sees NAM as the largest and most important forum capable of coordinating the stances of developing nations on the political, economic and social issues listed on the United Nations agenda. The Movement also includes the most appropriate tool for promoting collective multilateral action against unilateral policies, which stand a major challenge facing Third World countries at present.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

THE ORIGINS

With a membership of two thirds of the world's nations, NAM is the second largest international grouping after the United Nations. The Movement was founded in September 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia by a number of leaders of newly independent Third World states at the lead of whom stood Gamal Abdelnasser (Egypt), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia) and Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia).

NAM was born out of the womb of the post-World War II era, and as a consequence of an ideological conflict between the East Camp and the West Camp. By the time the war had ended, radical changes were taking place. The Soviet Union had been the world's only Marxist country in the period between World Wars I and II. By 1945, the reach of Communism widened to include countries of Eastern Europe. China joined later in 1949, bringing the population of the East Camp to almost 1 billion.

The United States, on the other side, having abandoned its isolationist policies was seeking to protect Capitalism through economic projects (the Marshall project of 1947) and military pacts (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO – 1949). The Soviet Union responded by similar economic and military projects (COMECON in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact in 1955).

Meanwhile, during that period, hundreds of millions of people got rid of colonialism. Newly independent states were established, the majority of which strove to break away from either Camp particularly with the Cold War being at its peak. However, they

found themselves facing numerous challenges; e.g. the building of the nation-state, and protecting their independence.

The leaders of those states feared their countries would be the scene of a battle between Socialism and Capitalism. Thus, they floated a number of ideas with the purpose of steering away from a potential conflict zone. Non-alignment was first conceived in the 1955 Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity, which later embraced Latin America as well.

In fact, developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America share an almost identical history of foreign military occupation and colonial rule. They had suffered long from backwardness and exploitation and were united by the desire to get rid of colonialism. They sought to guard their newly-gained independence, achieve prosperity and welfare and protect international peace.

The beginnings of Afro-Asian solidarity could be traced to the late 1940s when Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru hosted a conference in New Delhi, which was attended by representatives of 19 countries and which highlighted the need to coordinate efforts in order to end colonialism. Meanwhile, a standing liaison committee was established.

Afro-Asian countries became actors on the international scene after the outbreak of the Korean War. They met at the United Nations and urged the two warring parties to abide by latitude 38 which separated the northern from the southern part of Korea. Later, Egypt and India mediated to solve the problem.

When it was first created, the Afro-Asian Group included: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, The Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Turkey.

THE 1955 BANDUNG CONFERENCE

The Bandung Conference was a landmark event for the development of non-alignment. It was then that it evolution into an entity which would affect the course of history in later years. In April 1955, representatives from twenty-nine governments of Asian and African nations gathered in Bandung, Indonesia to discuss peace and the role of the Third World in the Cold War, economic development, and decolonization.

The countries represented were: Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, The Philippines, Saudi Arabia, South Vietnam, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam Democratic Republic, and Yemen.

The conference derived its importance from being the place where the Non-Aligned Movement was first conceived; the concept of an organization with a political and economic edge. Recommendations were made to promote international peace, liberation movements, peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation between nations, whatever their political regimes or ideologies. The Bandung spirit dominated which advocated decolonization and equality among nations, big or small. Resolutions were also adopted which, to Non-Aligned countries, represented a guideline in international relations. Political literature of the time mentioned frequently the term “the Bandung Charter” in conjunction with the United Nations Charter.

The core issues discussed were decolonization, non-alignment and Asian-African solidarity, which gained strength with China participation. Although representatives were dissimilar in language, orientation and political associations, the conference helped dissolve differences. They emerged united in their desire to be liberated.

The Ten Bandung Principles

١. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
٢. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
٣. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.

4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers, and abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligation.

In addition to those principles, to achieve the following targets:

- To end colonialism.
- To assist in disarming and in the peaceful use of atomic energy.
- To represent Asian and African countries in the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the principle of fair geographic distribution.
- To promote economic development based on mutual interests and the respect of national sovereignty.

The most important lesson drawn from the convening of the Bandung conference is that it proved that countries of different political and social build-up could sit together at the same negotiating table and reach agreements on issues of mutual concern.

The conference was the first successful step taken by Asian and African nations towards the establishment of international organizations representing Third World countries such as the Non-

Aligned Movement and the Group of 77. It was also a successful attempt solve their problems away from the influence of the big powers.

The institutional conference of the Non-Aligned Movement was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia on September 1, 1961. Attending were the 25 founding members together with Bolivia, Brazil and Ecuador sitting in as observers.

In conclusion, it would be important to note that the motives behind the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement were:

***Politically:* Decolonization and the protection of political independence.**

***Ideologically:* The rejection of the East and West camps.**

***Culturally:* Self-assertion of the local and regional cultures.**

***Economically:* The rejection of economic subordination to colonialist nations and the establishment of an economic order that would allow the achievement of economic development.**

The goals And Principles

- a. To promote and reinforce multilateralism and, in this regard, strengthen the central role that the United Nations must play.**
- b. To serve as a forum of political coordination of the developing countries to promote and defend their common interests in the system of international relations.**
- c. To promote unity, solidarity and cooperation between developing countries based on shared values and priorities agreed upon by consensus.**
- d. To defend international peace and security and settle all international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles and the purposes of the UN Charter and International Law.**
- e. To encourage relations of friendship and cooperation between all nations based on the principles of International Law, particularly those enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.**
- f. To promote and encourage sustainable development through international cooperation and, to that end, jointly coordinate the implementation of political strategies which strengthen and ensure the full participation of all countries, rich and poor, in the international economic relations, under equal conditions and opportunities but with differentiated responsibilities.**
- g. To encourage the respect, enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, on the basis of the principles of universality, objectivity, impartiality and non-selectivity, avoiding politicization of human rights issues, thus ensuring that all human rights of individuals and peoples, including the right to development, are promoted and protected in a balanced manner.**

- h. To promote peaceful coexistence between nations, regardless of their political, social or economic systems.**
- i. To condemn all manifestations of unilateralism and attempts to exercise hegemonic domination in international relations.**
- j. To coordinate actions and strategies in order to confront jointly the threats to international peace and security, including the threats of use of force and the acts of aggression, colonialism and foreign occupation, and other breaches of peace caused by any country or group of countries.**
- k. To promote the strengthening and democratisation of the UN, giving the General Assembly the role granted to it in accordance with the functions and powers outlined in the Charter and to promote the comprehensive reform of the United Nations Security Council so that it may fulfil the role granted to it by the Charter, in a transparent and equitable manner, as the body primarily responsible for maintaining international peace and security.**
- l. To continue pursuing universal and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament, as well as a general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control and in this context, to work towards the objective of arriving at an agreement on a phased program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified framework of time to eliminate nuclear weapons, to prohibit their development, production, acquisition, testing, stockpiling, transfer, use or threat of use and to provide for their destruction.**
- m. To oppose and condemn the categorisation of countries as good or evil based on unilateral and unjustified criteria, and the adoption of a doctrine of pre-emptive attack, including attack by nuclear weapons, which is inconsistent with international law, in particular, the international legally-binding instruments concerning nuclear disarmament and to further condemn and oppose unilateral military actions, or use of force or threat of use of force against the**

sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Non-Aligned countries.

n. To encourage States to conclude agreements freely arrived at, among the States of the regions concerned, to establish new Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in regions where these do not exist, in accordance with the provisions of the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (SSOD.1) and the principles adopted by the 1999 UN Disarmament Commission, including the establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East. The establishment of Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones is a positive step and important measure towards strengthening global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

o. To promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to facilitate access to nuclear technology, equipment and material for peaceful purposes required by developing countries.

p. To promote concrete initiatives of South-South cooperation and strengthen the role of NAM, in coordination with G.77, in the re-launching of North-South cooperation, ensuring the fulfilment of the right to development of our peoples, through the enhancement of international solidarity.

q. To respond to the challenges and to take advantage of the opportunities arising from globalization and interdependence with creativity and a sense of identity in order to ensure its benefits to all countries, particularly those most affected by underdevelopment and poverty, with a view to gradually reducing the profound gap between the developed and developing countries.

r. To enhance the role that civil society, including NGO's, can play at the regional and international levels in order to promote the purposes, principles and objectives of the Movement.

STRUCTURE & ORGANIZATION

NAM's administrative style is uniquely flexible given the circumstances under which it was established, and also its founders' vision of the role it would be entrusted to play in a world of polarization and ideological conflict. No charter was therefore drafted to codify the particulars of the Movement's structure or membership.

NAM's pioneer leaders presumed that the differences of ideologies and interests of Member States would preclude the evolution of an agreed structure. Moreover, they believed that, once put into place, a structure might exclude other countries from becoming members in future. Their focus was accordingly on goals and principles rather than on structure and procedure.

As a movement of non-aligned nations and as a political forum of countries of the South, NAM's structure is non-hierarchical but is rotational and inclusive. Meanwhile, the statements, the reports and the other documents issued by summits and ministerial meetings incorporate a number of principles and concepts, as well as several programs and agreements which serve as guidelines for the Movement in fulfilling its mission.

NAM's presidency is rotational. A host country will be Chair until the following summit is convened. The Chair will assume the responsibility of administration and will consequently create a division within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deal with the Movement's issues. As representatives of Non-Aligned countries hold meetings at the United Nations, the Chair's UN representative will be ambassador of NAM's affairs. The Movement had been operating without a Secretariat since its inception in 1961. In 1973, however, the Coordinating Bureau was established, which includes representatives of all Member States.

Analysts believe that NAM differs from other international and regional organizations as follows:

- **These organizations have established a structure, conditions for accepting, suspending and terminating membership, and procedural rules for voting, decision-making and conducting business.**
- **Although they have all embraced equality as a rule, these organizations are, in fact, dominated by the stronger countries. NAM rejects such domination and deems it a manifestation not only of polarization but also of regional and international hegemony.**
- **The main goal of these organizations is to provide military protection to its members against their adversaries under the conditions of polarization and Cold War.**

Conference of Heads of State and Government

The Conference of Heads of State or Government is the highest decision-making authority of the Movement. The existing practice is to hold the Summit Conference every three years. The Summit should be held at least one month before the regular Session of the UN General Assembly. The programme of the Summit includes a formal ceremony for the handing over of the Chair.

The summit elects members of the Coordinating Bureau and discusses matters of concern to Member States. The participants will also ratify final documents.

Meanwhile, at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of NAM, representing past, present and future Chairs, in New Delhi on 6 April 1997, the concept of a Troika (of the past, present and future Chairs) emerged. The Troika met officially for the first time during the 52nd Session of the United General Assembly in September 1997.

Fourteen summits have convened so far:

- 1st Summit: September 1-6, 1961, Belgrade, Yugoslavia**
2nd Summit: October 5-10, 1964, Cairo, Egypt
3rd Summit: September 8-10, 1970, Lusaka, Zambia
4th Summit: September 5-9, 1973, Algiers, Algeria
5th Summit: August 16-19, 1976, Colombo, Sri Lanka
6th Summit: September 3-9, 1979, Havana, Cuba
7th Summit: March 7-11, 1983, New Delhi, India
8th Summit: September 1-6, 1986, Harare, Zimbabwe
9th Summit: September 4-7, 1989, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
10th Summit: September 1-6, 1992, Jakarta, Indonesia
11th Summit: October 14-20, 1995, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia
12th Summit: August 29-September 3, 1998, Durban, South Africa
13th Summit: February 20-25, 2003, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
14th Summit: September 11-16, 2006, Havana, Cuba

Ministerial Conferences

The Movement's Foreign Ministers act as Secretaries-General; their Ministries as Secretariats. Ministerial conferences have been many and varied:

- **Conferences in-between summits held in accordance with the principle of rotation.**
- **Meetings of the Coordinating Bureau held a few months before summits in the host country.**
- **Ministerial meetings in New York during sessions of the United Nations General Assembly**
- **Extraordinary meetings, meetings of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology, meetings of the Standing Ministerial Committee on Economic Cooperation, Ministerial Meetings in various fields of International Cooperation.**

The Coordinating Bureau

Since its inception in 1961, the Movement had been operating without a Secretariat. In 1973, however, the Coordinating Bureau

was established, which includes representatives of all Member States.

The Bureau reviews and facilitates the harmonization of the work of the NAM Working Groups, Contact Groups, Task Forces and Committees.

The Heads of State or Government have entrusted the Coordinating Bureau the role of intensifying its actions to further strengthen coordination and mutual cooperation among Non-Aligned countries, including unified action in the United Nations and other international forums on issues of common concern.

The Bureau meets regularly in New York at UN permanent representative level. It may hold other extraordinary meetings in NAM countries.

Members of the Bureau are elected during summit meetings, with the Chair's representative acting as president.

The Bureau's scope of action has broadened to include all tasks required to facilitate the Movement's operation. Experts have been delegated to draft summit and other documents. Panels have been formed to follow up issues of concern including human rights, Security Council reforms, peace-building, disarmament, and ways of boosting the UN General Assembly.

Council of Information cooperation

Established following the 1976 Colombo Summit, it is a forum of cooperation in the media field. It seeks:

- To strengthen cooperation between NAM members in the area of radio and television, film-making and publications,
- To promote contacts between the Movement's educational institutions.
- To strengthen cultural ties.

Working groups

They were first introduced in the 1973 Algiers Summit. Operating within the framework of the United Nations, they address such issues as: disarmament, international peace, Palestine and the Middle East, racial discrimination, human rights, Security Council reforms, southern Africa, Cyprus and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs.

Several working groups have been formed at the level of Heads of State or Government to deal with issues such as the Middle East question and negotiating with the G-8.

NAM Caucus in Security Council

It is necessary that NAM countries elected to the Security Council, and who form the NAM Caucus in the Security Council, constantly strive to adopt unified positions, and that the decisions and the positions of NAM as adopted at its Summits and Ministerial Conferences and by the Coordinating Bureau be properly reflected by them in the Security Council, without prejudice to their sovereign rights. At the Cartagena Summit the Heads of State or Government called for the need to continue to enhance this coordination, including the possibility of holding consultations on a regular basis, between members of the NAM Caucus and other members of the Coordinating Bureau.

Joint Coordinating Committee

In order to promote coordination and cooperation between the NAM and the Group of 77 in promoting the interests of developing countries in international forums, a Joint Coordinating Committee of the two groups was established in 1994, which meets regularly in New York.

MEMBERSHIP

Given the absence of a Charter and the non-existence of formal procedures, membership in NAM is subject to flexible interpretations. There are, however, five criteria for accepting members, which were adopted by the Cairo Conference of June 1961, held in preparation of the Summit of Heads of State or Government in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in September 1961:

- ١. A Non-Aligned country shall adopt an independent policy based on coexistence with other countries of different political and social systems, and/or shall declare its desire to adopt such a policy.**
- ٢. A Non-Aligned country shall protect movements of national independence.**
- ٣. A Non-Aligned country shall NOT be member of (a) multilateral military pact(s) to which big countries are party.**
- ٤. In the case that a Non-Aligned country is party to a military pact with one of the big countries, or to a regional defense alliance, the provisions of the pact/alliance should NOT protect the interests of the big power.**
- ٥. In the case that a Non-Aligned country provides a military base to a foreign power, it should not serve the interests of that power or participate in its disputes.**

These five criteria together with the absence of definitive membership conditions have provided commentators and analysts with enough fuel to criticize the Movement. Some believe that the majority of members should be suspended given that they are closely associated with military pacts to which big countries are party. Others contend that the absence of definitive membership conditions has led to a state of factionalism, with every faction having a different perception of Non-Alignment.

Meanwhile, the Movement recognizes three types of participation: that of a full member, observer, and guest. NAM member states are 118: 53 African countries, 38 Asian countries, 26 Latin American and Caribbean countries and 1 European country (Belarus). There are also 26 observers including 17 countries and 9 international organizations.

Guests are invited by the host country and are preapproved by the Coordination Bureau. They may also, subject to the Bureau's consent, be allowed to attend high level meetings.

DECISION-MAKING

The practice of the Movement is to make all decisions by consensus. Consensus has enhanced the solidarity and unity of the Movement. This concept presupposes understanding of and respect for different points of view, including disagreement and implies mutual accommodation on the basis of which agreement can emerge by a sincere process of adjustment among member nations in the true spirit of Non-Alignment. The Cartagena Document on Methodology states that consensus, while signifying substantial agreement, does not require implying unanimity.

CONCEPTS

NAM was established as a Third Way between the East and West Camps. While not aligning with either power, members of the movement have striven to protect their sovereignty and independence and to achieve development and progress.

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was the first to introduce the concept of non-alignment in 1954. A number of south-east and south-west Asian countries had acceded to defense treaties and military pacts in the early 1950s. Leaders of newly independent states in Asia and Africa had proclaimed a policy of positive neutrality, a policy which carried within its folds a deep resentment of war, of imperialism and of colonialism.

Non-alignment is different from such concepts as passive neutrality: A political policy or advocacy of nonalignment or noninvolvement in conflicting alliances and of attempting to mediate or conciliate in conflicts between states.

Analyzing the political discourse of NAM's pioneer leaders, the following can be deduced:

- NAM countries maintain independent views regarding international problems, provided that these views serve to achieve peace as inspired by the United Nations Charter in both text and spirit.
- They do NOT side with any of the world's camps and should exert their utmost to avoid falling under foreign control by striving to protect and preserve their national sovereignty.
- The foreign policy of Non-Aligned countries is based on freedom and neutrality and on an unyielding quest to achieve international peace based on the Charters of the United Nations and of the Bandung Conference.

- **NAM countries abide by and strive to implement the provisions of the United Nations Charter in the best interests of all states.**
- **Finding a common ground on which both East and West could meet is essential, particularly since the division of the world has only led to greater, more complex problems.**
- **NAM countries contribute to reducing world tension and to promoting international peace.**
- **NAM countries embrace freedom and independence and adopt such ideologies as are inspired by their intellectual heritage, their history, their faith and their cultural characteristics.**

CHAPTER TWO

PROGRESS & DEVELOPMENT

Since its inception, NAM has sought to be positively and proactively present on the international arena, contributing to decision-making and influencing world policies. To achieve this, Member States have agreed to meet at summit level every three years to discuss international issues and ways of resolving conflicts between them by peaceful means.

Following is a review of NAM summits beginning with the 1961 Belgrade Summit held in former Yugoslavia to the 2006 Havana Summit held in Cuba:

THE BELGRADE SUMMIT – 1961

It is NAM's institutional conference, where the concept of Non-alignment initially became reality. Held in Belgrade, capital of former Yugoslavia in the period from September 1 to 6, 1961, it was attended by the 25 founding Member States.

The summit was preceded by a preparatory meeting in Cairo in June 1961. The participants rejected the term "neutral" to identify their Movement even if prefixed by "positive". They also agreed that their countries would not serve as buffer zones between East and West.

According to political literature, the Belgrade Summit uncovered two very important facts:

- ١. A group of disharmonized countries belonging to different continents and cultures, with a different heritage, and with a shared history of colonialism, have found common grounds in protecting their independence and developing a new world order.**
- ٢. Those countries have created a forum, where they could express their demands and fulfill their ambitions.**

NAM's structure and organization first developed in Belgrade. Resolutions were moreover adopted regarding issues that are still on the Movement's summit agendas to date. The most prominent are:

- ١. The need to promote comprehensive disarmament.**
- ٢. The right of all peoples to the unrestricted use of their national wealth and resources without prejudice to the mutual benefits of the obligations of international economic cooperation.**
- ٣. The right of all peoples to self-determination.**
- ٤. The need to establish a United Nations fund for development.**

- . **The right of newly independent states to fair representation and of China to membership at the UN.**
- ∩. **The need to condemn racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations.**

Second Summit, Cairo 1964:

This Summit, the first in Africa, was held in Cairo in October 5-10, 1964, with 47 countries participating. It discussed the issues then of concern to the third world, which were predominantly political such as the liquidation of colonialism, racial discrimination, the right to self-determination, disarmament, military alliances and economic development.

It is thought that the Second Cairo Summit of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) contributed to the evolution of the Movement through two salient developments:

- ١. It took the Movement from the general framework, as was the case in the Belgrade Summit, to minute details and the in-depth handling of issues; and**
- ٢. It prioritized the issues on the agenda according to their respective quality, in what came to be a traditional practice or fixed items in the subsequent communiqués of the Movement.**

The communiqué of the Summit entitled: "Peace and International Cooperation Programme" contained emphasis by the Movement Member-States on a number of rights and denunciation of certain phenomena. The participating Member-States agreed inter alia on the following:

- ١. Denounce all colonialist and expansionist policies and neo-colonialist practices applied in different parts of the world and stress the right of newly independent States to defend themselves against such practices.**
- ٢. Stress the right of newly independent States to exercise sovereignty over their own natural resources and to use such resources in the interest of their peoples, without any external pressure or intervention.**
- ٣. Stress the full and legitimate right of peoples to use force to attain self-determination and independence.**
- ٤. Condemn the racial discrimination policy practiced by the ruling minority in Southern Rhodesia and the apartheid regime in South Africa and the constant refusal by both regimes to cooperate with the United Nations in implementing the relevant General Assembly resolutions.**

٥. Stress the restoration of the full rights of the Palestinian people, particularly the right to their land and self-determination and condemn the continuing expansionist policies in the Middle East.
٦. Fully support the Palestinian people in their struggle for freedom from colonialist and racist domination.
٧. Condemn the use of force and all forms of foreign intervention and hegemony that impede peoples' right to self-determination.
٨. Provide all kinds of necessary political, physical and moral support to national liberation Movements in all occupied territories in the world.
٩. Stress the right of religious and ethnic minorities to acquire appropriate protection against genocide crimes or any other violations of basic human rights.
١٠. Stress respect for human rights, basic freedoms and equality between all States and races
١١. Stress the peaceful resolution of international disputes and the need for all States to honour their obligations according the United Nations principle and purposes.
١٢. Stress the need for international cooperation to achieve economic development in the world, particularly in the developing countries

Third Summit, Lusaka, 1970:

This Summit was held in Lusaka, Zambia in the period from 8-10 September, 1970, with 54 States participating, following six years of disruption due to the June 1967 war. That was the second summit in a row to be held in Africa following the 1964 Cairo Summit, with 54 States participating. The Summit reflected early signs of the Movement's interest in economic issues, albeit not yet on the same level shown in the following 1973 Algiers Summit. According to some analysts, the Lusaka Summit showed two distinct aspects:

- A. The Summit heading: " A Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development , Cooperation and the status quo of the non-democratic international relations. The summit called for democratizing international relations and for linking this process with independence, development and cooperation as an inevitable necessity.**
- B. A special declaration on NAM and economic progress was issued, stressing the importance of self-reliance on the Movement Member-States, the need to upgrade agriculture and industry in developing countries; to create mechanisms for facilitating exchanges of information related to economic development; and to urge the United Nations to play an effective role in this respect.**

The participating Member-States agreed on the following:

- ١. The right of all peoples to benefit from the fruits of economic development and scientific and technological revolution.**
- ٢. The right of States to engage, on equal basis, in international relations, with this right to be given priority, with the objective of democratizing international relations.**
- ٣. Enhance and unite efforts amongst developing countries on the one hand and between them the developed countries on the other, with a view to bringing about urgent structural changes in global economy, economic cooperation and bridging the gap between developing and developed countries.**
- ٤. Pursue efforts towards strengthening and universalizing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. Accord the people of the Republic of**

China their appropriate status in the international organization along with the recognition by other States of their right in this respect.

- . Enhance joint efforts to liquidate colonialism, eradicate racial discrimination. To this end, physical, political, and moral support must be provided for national liberation Movements and implementation of international resolutions, including Security Council measures, must be ensured in accordance with the United Nations Charter.
- ∩. Enhance and expand mutual cooperation on sub-regional and bilateral frameworks as Cooperation among developing countries is a requirement for them to reinforce their constant pursuit to reinforce their independence.
- ∪. Support and expand trade exchange between developing countries and encourage travel and tourism among them and facilitate Movement across international border.
- ∧. Re-affirm the right of States subject to occupation and foreign domination to freedom, independence, self-determination and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States.
- ∩. Stress sustainability of the goals adopt by the Movement Member – States and declaration by Member-States of full allegiance to such goals in their relations with other States.
- ∩∩. Sustain efforts to liquidate military alliances set up by superpowers, in the interest of encouraging peaceful co-existence and relieving international tensions, thus ensuring security for all States and peoples and helping achieve political economic and social development.
- ∩∩. Support the working of international structures concerned with disarmament, particularly the preparations for implementing the "Disarmament Pact" programme as a complementary part of overall and comprehensive disarmament on the international level.

Fourth Summit, Algiers, 1973:

This Summit was held in Algiers, Algeria in the period from 8-10 September, 1973, with 74 States, 24 liberation movements and three European States participating.

This Summit was really a major turning-point for NAM by moving to clear focus on economic issues. This was translated into the issuance of two separate declarations. The first was political, addressing the normal issues, normally discussed by prior Summits. The second was economic, addressing the economic situation in the developing countries, assessment of the international development strategy, trade and monetary problems, the situation of the land-locked least developed countries, food problem, sovereignty of Member-States over their natural resources, multinational corporations, transfer of technology and cooperation between developing and developed countries and other economic issues related to the concerns and interests of NAM

A number of observers maintain that the transition of NAM focus on economic issues started to take a new line at the Algiers Summit. Later, a call was aired for creating a new economic world order and a resolution was issued in this respect in 1974 by the United Nations General Assembly, a number of international organizations and structures that undertook the defense of the interests poor developing countries in the face of the policies and covetous schemes of rich developed countries .

Major conclusions reached by the Summit and expressed in the political and economic declarations were as follows:

- ١. Call for instant and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories and undertake to assist Egypt, Syria and Jordan in liberating their occupied territories by all political means.**
- ٢. Call upon all States, particularly the United States to discontinue providing Israel with weapons or any financial, economic or political**

support that may assist it in pursuing its aggression and expansionist policies.

٣. Solidarity by NAM Member-States with the Palestinian people in their painful dilemma and their great sacrifices for restoring their integrity and land.
٤. Set up in various parts of the world peace and cooperation zones based on the principles of the United Nations Charter so as to reduce tension, remove foreign military presence and encourage peaceful cooperation between States participating in such zones.
٥. Cooperation between developing countries and anti-colonialist forces in providing effective material support for African liberation movement in their armed struggle.
٦. Support by NAM States for full and comprehensive disarmament efforts, particularly for preventing use of atomic weapons, warheads and fully existing missiles alongside with prohibiting nuclear tests in all world areas and settings.
٧. The need to universalize the membership of the United Nations, being a main component of its effectiveness.
٨. Underline the right of every States to adopt the economic and social system it deems appropriate for its evolution and affirm the inalienable right of States to exercise sovereignty over their own natural resources and all their respective domestic economic activities.
٩. The need to create synergetic international structures to defend the interest of the raw-material-producing developing countries in line with OPEC.
١٠. Denounce all unacceptable practices of multinational corporations that infringe on the sovereignty of States and that violate the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs and peoples' right to self-determination, which are indispensable self-evident rights for the political, economic and social development of peoples.
١١. The need to bridge the existing gap in the field of technology between the industrialized developed countries and the developing countries.
١٢. The need for the NAM States to act more decisively on their reconciliatory policy on international issues.
١٣. Work for enhancing the principle of economic security in international relations.

Fifth Summit, Colombo, 1976:

This Summit was held in Colombo, Sri-Lanka in August 16-19, 1976, with 87 Member-States participating. The first Summit to be held in the Asian Continent came at a time when the international situation remarkably witnessed intensified struggle by world peoples for political and economic independence, for the realization peace and progress, and for an international political and economic order featuring principles of justice, equity, peaceful co-existence and right to self-determination for all peoples of the world.

The Summit final communiqué covered the following points:

- ١. Express satisfaction at the increasing international recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. Call upon all States to extend full backing and material, military and moral support to Arab States and the Palestinian people led by the Palestine Liberation Organization in their struggle for putting an end to Israeli aggression. Immediately discontinue any such act that may provide Israel with any material, military, human or moral support. Abstaining from recognizing any changes made by the occupation authorities to conditions in the occupied territories. Call for imposing penal sanctions against Israel in case of failure to abide by the United Nations.**
- ٢. Welcome the ongoing victories of the NAM Movement in all parts of the world that much contributed to relieving world tensions, find solutions of international problems by peaceful means, prevent the division of the world into hostile blocs and influence zones. Affirm that the growing role and importance of the Movement require Member-States to exert serious effort to safeguard the essence of non-alignment.**
- ٣. Consider the accession by the entire African Continent as a highly significant and important development in the history of the Movement. Africa has given the Movement such a numerical power that made it an influential power in United Nations as well as a solid anti- colonialist and anti-racist content.**

٤. Support the United Nations General Assembly Resolution (30-Developing countries) 3379 that recognized Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination.
٥. Express concern over the situation created by colonialism in Korea that may lead to the eruption of war at any time. Call upon colonialist powers to instantly refrain from maneuvering to spark off war, to eliminate their nuclear weapons, military installations and all other means of war from the region.
٦. Condemn the embargo imposed by the United States of America on Cuba and call for the immediate and unconditional lifting of the embargo.
٧. Call for an overall alleviation of international tensions and participation, on equal footing, by all States in resolving international problems.
٨. For the NAM States, the creation of a new international media and communication system is as important as the creation of a new international economic system.
٩. Establish a bank for developing countries and affirm the importance of intensifying economic cooperation among these countries.
١٠. Reach a just and appropriate solutions for the problem of indebtedness.
١١. Denounce all unacceptable policies and practices of transnational corporations that infringe on the sovereignty of developing countries that violate the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs and peoples' right to self-determination, and drain down their resource with the purpose of gaining profit.
١٢. Full development of developing countries requires maximum possible participation by woman side by side man in all fields of activity
١٣. Create a research and media organ, according to the Coordination Bureau's recommendations. , including those on its activity, funding and membership

Sixth Summit, Havana, 1979:

This Summit was held in Havana, Cuba in September 3-9, 1979, with 100 States participating. The first to be in Latin America, this Summit marked the beginning of addressing the problems of that area. It also coincided with the rise of a number of conflicts on the global arena. The Summit issued an ad hoc declaration on human and peoples' rights to self-determination and independence. During the meeting it was agreed to increase the number of members of the Coordination Bureau to 26. The Summit final communiqué contained several resolutions, chief of which the most important were the following:

- ١. Reiterate the Movement's absolute support for the struggle by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to attain full independence and to fully liquidate racism and apartheid. It condemned the lifting of economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council against the racist and illegitimate Rhodesian regime as collusion with that regime. The Summit expressed its extreme concern over the ongoing cooperation by United States, Britain, France, Federal Germany and Israel with the racist South African regime in economic, military and nuclear fields.**
- ٢. Affirmation by the Movement States on all principles and resolutions earlier adopted thereby on the Palestinian cause, stressing that all measures, construction, amendments or changes in political, cultural, religious conditions made by Israel in the Arab and Palestinian since their occupation are deemed to be nil, void and illegitimate. The conferees reiterated their recognition of the Palestinian cause and the Arab territories occupied since 1967 as a cause for all NAM States.**
- ٣. Denounce continued invasion and aggression against Lebanon, underline Lebanese territorial integrity and sovereignty, call upon all Member-States of the Movement to request the Security Council to take penal measures against Israel in accordance with the United Nations Charter and to implement relevant resolutions, particularly resolutions 425, 426 and 450, in order to preserve international peace and security and to put an end to such Israeli aggressions.**

4. Express deep concern over increasing tension and conflict in Southeast Asia, jeopardizing stability and peace in the region as well as hope for the States of the region to continue their consultations to establish a peace, freedom and non-alignment zone.
5. Welcome the participation of Iran in NAM, extend greetings to the historic victory scored by the Iranian people in their revolution, following long years of struggle against one of the most unjust and persecuting regimes ever known to humanity. Positively view the discontinuation of Iran oil supplies to the severing of all relations with both regimes of Israel and South Africa. Express satisfaction at the withdrawal by both Pakistan and Iran from the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).
6. Reiterate determination by NAM Member-States to sustain their efforts to achieve the goal of the declaration of the Indian Ocean a peace zone.
7. Call upon all States to respect the right of the Korean people to unify their land by peaceful means, express hope for attaining this goal , through the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, dissolution of United Nations command, liquidation of all military bases and other foreign installation and replacement of the truce agreements for permanent peace agreement, taking into consideration the interest and will of the Korean people, expressed with all freedom.
8. Affirm the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.
9. Absolutely support the right of Latin American States to effect structural, political and social changes in their own countries and to restore and freely invest their own natural resources. The Summit denounced the presence of foreign military bases in certain countries of the region and called upon the United States and colonialist powers to return to these States those parts of their territories and to liquidate those bases.
10. Offer full support and solidarity to the cause of the people and government of Cyprus and call for implementing relevant United Nations resolutions.
11. Affirm that it is impossible to establish peace and security as long as the arms race between States, particularly in nuclear armament and welcome the signing by both the United States and the USSR of the Strategic Nuclear Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT), although the Summit

believes that that treaty was not up to the expectation of the international community.

- ١٢. Affirm the importance of creating national and international conditions towards the enhancement and protection of human rights for individuals and peoples.**
- ١٣. Fully recognize that the international economic order is steering against the basic interests of the developing countries. This is a totally unjust order that does not cope with the evolution of such States. Re-affirm that economic cooperation for development between NAM and other developing countries is now a necessity for them.**
- ١٤. Reiterate concern over the huge increase in accumulated foreign indebtedness by developing countries, estimate at about \$ 3,000 billion at the end of 1973.**

Seventh, New Delhi, 1983:

This Summit was held in New Delhi , India in the period of 7-12 March, 1983, with 101 Member-States, more than 70 kings, heads of States and government participating. The Summit convened under extremely complicated and critical international conditions and circumstances, exacerbated by a number of crises on the international arena and the Middle East. These included tense US-Soviet relations; Iraqi-Iranian war; Israeli invasion of Lebanon; consequences of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, tensions in the Indian Ocean region, the Horn of Africa and Central and Latin America. During that Summit, to increase the number of members of the Coordination Bureau to 74, geographically distributed over NAM States as follows: 36 for African, 23 for Asian, 12 for Latin American and 3 for European States. The New Delhi Summit final communiqué expressed NAM Member-States vision and standpoint on the issues and files discussed, mainly the following:

- ١. Recognize the fact that peace and prosperity for all peoples of the world can only be ensured through the overall restructuring of the world order and that international relations has stepped into a stage, where the decision-making process on critical issues of all the peoples of the world are no longer a prerogative for a small group of States no matter how powerful they are.**
- ٢. Renewed escalation of nuclear arms race has compounded the risk of a nuclear war and led to much insecurity and instability in international relations.**
- ٣. Nam Member-States renews its promise to support the Palestinian people in liberating their homeland and restoring their rights. Reiterate that just and durable peace in the Middle East cannot be reached without total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab occupied territories. The Summit also denounced the Israeli repressive practices against the Palestinian people and called on the international community to set up a war crime tribunal to try Israel under international**

law for the war crimes it has committed thereby in the territories occupied thereby since its inception in 1948.

4. Declaration by the NAM Member-States of their solidarity with the Lebanese people and government and their support for Lebanon's security, territorial integrity, independence and right to exercise sovereignty over all their internationally recognized territories. The Summit urged all States to support Lebanon in implementing United Nations Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509 of 1982, in order to ensure withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Lebanese territories and to secure withdrawal of all non-Lebanese troops, the presence of which is not endorsed by the legitimate Lebanese authority.
5. Categorically denounce the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations dedicated to peaceful purposes, being an act of States terrorism, The Summit called on the Security Council and concerned international organizations to take necessary effective measures to deter Israel from such acts that jeopardize international peace and security
6. Exert every possible effort to contribute to implementing NAM principles on the Iranian-Iraqi conflict.
7. Re-affirm support for the Organization of African Unity (OAU) efforts aimed to resolve the West Sahara problem, call upon all parties to the conflict to initiate direct negotiations under the aegis of the organization in order to reach a fair and durable solution to the conflict in accordance with the United Nations Charter and resolutions and NAM and OAU principles.
8. Denounce all systematic and brutal, suppressive, repressive and discriminatory acts perpetrated by the racist Pretoria regime against the majority of population in South Africa.
9. Affirm the right of the Namibian people to independence and self-determination and express concern over continued illegitimate occupation by the racist Pretoria regime of Namibia.
10. Express deep concern over continued escalation of military presence superpowers of the Indian Ocean and call for making this region a peace zone.
11. Establishing a fair and comprehensive framework for rescheduling developing countries' debt burden.

٢. Stress the need to reform the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and propose the creation of institutions to work for supporting economic cooperation between developing countries.
٣. Demand rich countries to eliminate trade restrictions imposed by them on developing countries exports and grant preferential treatment to such exports.

Eighth Summit, Harare, 1986:

This Summit was held Harare, Zimbabwe in the period from 1-6 September, 1986. During the Summit, the 25th anniversary of NAM was celebrated and its role assessed. The final documents issued by the Harare Summit included two declarations; one political and the other economic.

The political declaration contained the following:

- ١. Exerting utmost effort to enhance NAM ability to act, to develop tangible measures to augment the influence and effect of its resolutions on international affairs.**
- ٢. Urging both US and USSR to take into consideration, in their disarmament talks, the vital interests of the peoples of the world not only their own national interests. Underline the fact that the limitation and reduction of military activities and race between superpowers and international blocs beyond their own borders can enhance the security of NAM and other developing countries in this field.**
- ٣. Affirm the intrinsic right of all States to apply and develop their own programmes of peaceful uses of nuclear energy for socio-economic development purposes, in accordance with their own interests, priorities and needs, stress the importance of cooperation between NAM and other developing countries in this field.**
- ٤. Condemn the apartheid regime in South Africa, considering it as the root cause for ongoing conflict in that region and denounce US policy based on providing assistance to that racist regime.**
- ٥. Express deep concern over the eruption and perpetuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq that are two of the prominent members of NAM, once again call upon both States to immediately halt their military hostilities and undertake to exert maximum effort to put a quick end to this deplorable conflict**
- ٦. Express effective solidarity by NAM with the Arab countries victimized by Israeli aggression as well as with the just struggle of the Palestinian people led by their sole and legitimate representative Palestine Liberation Organization until they have restored their usurped rights territories.**

٧. **Condemn the armed Israeli aggression against Iraqi nuclear installations that are subject to IAEA.**
٨. **Express deep concern over the repeated US aggressions and provocations against Libya, considering it as a serious threat to peace and security in the region and the whole world.**
٩. **Urge States to intensify their material, moral, political and diplomatic support for national liberation movements that are struggling for independence and self-determination.**
١٠. **Express deep concern over the escalation of terrorist acts on the international level, while affirming that in no way terrorism can be equated with the legitimate struggle staged by peoples subjected to colonialist or racist regimes and all forms of foreign occupation and domination.**
The economic declaration contained inter alia the following:
 ١. **Express deep concern over the aggravating crisis of the international economic order, involving imbalances and distortions, all affecting the interests of developing countries.**
 ٢. **Stress the importance of making basic structural changes in international economic relations towards creating a fair and just international economic order that can help achieve global economic growth and rapid systematic development.**
 ٣. **Stress the importance of initiating a serious dialogue between developing countries and developed countries with the object of reaching appropriate solutions to problems faced by global economy**
 ٤. **Affirm that neo-colonialism, racism, intervention in the internal affairs of States, foreign aggression, domination, hegemony, expansionist tendencies, exploitation and destabilization are all main impediments to economic liberation of developing countries.**
 ٥. **Admit that the problem of foreign indebtedness in developing countries is a sign of mismanagement of the international economic order.**

Ninth Summit, Belgrade, 1989:

This Summit was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in the period from 4 – 7 September, 1989, the second to be hosted by Yugoslavia after the constituent summit in 1961 and the last for NAM during the Cold War era.

The Summit reviewed substantial volume of files, crises and political conflict worldwide, foremost of which were the Palestinian cause; the situation in Lebanon and Afghanistan; developments of the Iranian-Iraqi file, Weston Sahara, Cyprus and Korea; apartheid policy; the situation in the southern Africa, international security and disarmament; international terrorism and liquidation of colonialism. The sessions discussed some economic subjects related to global economy; international economic relations such as the problem of indebtedness, development financing, international trade, food and agriculture, economic cooperation between developing countries, in addition to a number of other issues such as environmental, the role of woman in development, promotion of childhood, etc. ,

At the close of its deliberations, the Summit issued a package of political, economic and documents related to the above-mentioned issue, in addition to the final communiqué that included, inter alia the following:

- ١. Demand withdrawal by Israel from all Palestinian territories including the city of al-Quds, denounce Israeli practices in these territories, considering that the Palestinian cause is the core and crux of Arab-Israeli conflict and laud the intifadha and steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the face of Israeli occupation.**
- ٢. Express full solidarity with the people of Lebanon and strong support for realizing, through dialogue and without foreign pressure or intervention, Lebanese unity and sovereignty, affirm the importance of reaching an immediate and durable ceasefire on the Lebanese territory and implementing the Security Council Resolution calling for withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.**

۳. Express satisfaction at the decision by both Iran and Iraq to abide in August 1988 by the ceasefire and to engage in direct talks under the aegis of United Nations, in order to reach a comprehensive and just settlement of the crisis between both States.
۴. Express hope that mutual reconciliation between North and South Korea and withdrawal of all foreign troops from the region can lead to the re-unification of both Koreas.
۵. Stress the importance of completing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghani territories and intensification of efforts by parties involved in the crisis to reach a fair settlement based on the Geneva Conventions.
۶. Condemn all terrorist acts , whether by individuals, States or groups of States, declare determination to stand off to them by all possible legitimate national and international means, urge all States to respect their covenants and obligations under international law to refrain from organizing, scheming, supporting or participation in terrorist acts inside other countries and to abstain from allowing such activities within their territories that encourage the perpetration of such acts.
۷. Condemn the apartheid regime and its practices in South Africa,
۸. Express determination to enhance cooperation between NAM and all developing countries based on the Action Programme on Economic Cooperation between NAM States Countries and the Caracas Group 77 Action Programme.
۹. The need for NAM States and all developing countries to give priority in their respective development plans to increasing food production, and reaching highest possible rates of food self-sufficiency.
۱۰. A durable solution of the problem of indebtedness basically depend on creating necessary conditions to ensure acceleration of the process of development in developing countries on the basis of joint responsibility and through cooperation between all parties concerned.
۱۱. Stress the importance of participation of woman in development.

Tenth Summit, Jakarta, 1992:

This Summit was held in Jakarta, Indonesia in the period from 1 -6 September, 1992, under the slogan: "A Call for Collective Action and Democratizing International Relations". Its main theme was to develop an orientation for NAM under the new global setting.

The importance of that Summit lies in being the first of its kind following the end of the Cold War era, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the initial formation of a new world order based on the hegemony of a single pole over the world.

The Summit discussed a number of issues and subjects salient of which were the search for a new role for NAM in post-Cold War era ; the creation of a new world order based on equality, justice and democracy; the problem of indebtedness; international economic cooperation, disarmament; human rights; the Palestinian cause and the Somali crisis.

The final document issued by the Summit under the heading of " Jakarta Document" contained, inter alia the following:

- ١. Affirmation by NAM Heads of State and Leaders the deep international changes that have taken place, the regression of the East-West conflict and the related phenomena such as ideological race, military bloc and confrontation policy, vying for spheres of influence will have positive as well as negative impact on international relations . For NAM to cope up with such deep changes, to restore its effectiveness and reaffirm its vital role in establishing a new and balanced world order in light of the new issues and challenges facing the post-Cold War world, it must seek strongly to look for a new approach compatible with NAM principles.**
- ٢. Affirm commitment to peaceful resolution of conflicts in all parts of the world, through constant dialogue and negotiation and encouraging the creation of regional mechanisms to this end.**
- ٣. Support the legitimate struggle by the Palestinian people in order to regain their right to self-determination and independence and reiterate**

demand for Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, including al-Quds.

٤. The main challenge facing the international community is to eliminate the stark contradiction between affluence in the North and poverty in the South. It imperative to restructure prevailing international economic relations through effective participation and equilateral cooperation to revive growth in developing countries.
٥. The need to intensify cooperation between NAM and other developing countries to realize collective self-reliance and to enhance international economic cooperation for development.
٦. The continued validity and raison d'etre of NAM have been endorsed by the recent changes in the world; the end of the Cold War and the international polarization phenomenon. Therefore, the movement must undertake a positive and effective role in establishing pillars of the new world order and structuring it on bases of justice, equality and democratization of international relations.
٧. Express recognition that the United Nations represents the most appropriate forum for keeping international peace and security, settling conflicts and crises by peaceful means and enhancing international relations and peaceful co-existence.
٨. Express hope that formation of a new world order can lead to relinquishment of weapons of mass destruction, thus enhancing world security.
٩. Re-affirm respect by NAM Member- States of economic, social and political human rights and welcome the developments taking place in the world towards enhancing these rights.
١٠. Admit that the excessive level of international indebtedness by developing countries poses a main impediment to realizing development and the need to develop a tripartite approach involving the debtor developed countries, the indebted developing countries and international financial institutions, with the objective of relieving the burden of such debts.
١١. Encourage and assist Somalia to return to constitutional rule and support OAU efforts and NAM Member-States to bring various Somali factions together to the negotiation table.

Eleventh Summit, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, 1995:

This Summit was held in Cartagena de Indias, the second largest city in Colombia in the period from 18-20 October, 1995, with 133 Member-States, participating.

The Summit discussed a package of political, economic and social issues of concern to NAM Member-States, including international economic cooperation ; South-North cooperation ; NAM role; United Nations reform and restructuring; right to self-determination, liquidation of colonialism ; international security and disarmament; terrorism; the Palestinian cause and the peace process; the situation in Lebanon, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Sierra Leon, Liberia, Angola, Haiti and Cuba and the Iraq-Kuwaiti case. Following are the main points contained in the Summit communiqué:

- ١. Call for enhancing close cooperation with developed countries, regional and sub regional groupings with a view to introducing a coordination and integration approach to international economic relations based on justice, equity and mutual interests and benefits.**
- ٢. Reiterate that the South-South cooperation is a basic mechanism for boosting economic growth and development and enhance the restructuring of international economic relations. Underline the importance of coordination and cooperation between NAM and G 77 in defending the interests of developing countries at international fora.**
- ٣. Express satisfaction at the ongoing trend, since the Jakarta Summit in 1992, to renew NAM and stress that this trend must be sustained in order to enhance the Movement's role in accordance with international changes and to be able to effectively and promptly respond to current challenges, given that it expresses the interests of all developing countries.**
- ٤. Stress the importance of reforming and restructuring United Nations, being the most appropriate forum for keeping international peace and security and bringing about socio-economic development worldwide.**
- ٥. Support the creation of a weapon-of-mass-destruction- free zone in the Middle East, welcomed the call of President Mubarak in this respect and call Israel to relinquish its possession of nuclear weapons and to accede without delay to the Non-proliferation Treaty.**
- ٦. Urge all States and governments of the world to contribute to promoting international cooperation for combating terrorism.**
- ٧. The need to expand arrangements related to Palestinian self-rule so as to allow the Declaration of Principles signed in Washington on September 13, 1993 to be applied to all occupied territories, with a view to entrenching the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and establishing their**

independent state. Support the peace process initiated at the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991 with a view to reaching a durable, just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East region on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242, 338 and 425 and the land-for-peace principle.

- 8. Condemn acts of aggression, genocide and ethnic cleansing against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its population.**
- 9. Welcome the accession by the State of South Africa to NAM, and give tribute to the basic role played by the Movement in eliminating the apartheid regime there. Extend special greeting to both President Mandela and the people of South Africa in this respect.**

Twelfth Summit, Durban, South Africa, September 2-3, 1998

This Summit was held in Durban, South Africa, in the period from 2-3 September, 1998, with 133 Member-States, apart from a number of international and regional organizations participating in addition to a large number of non-member states in observer or guest capacity, including, for the first time, United States of America.

This Summit derives its importance from its timing and the magnitude of resolutions issued. It convened at a time when the features of the post-Cold-War era began to materialize on all spheres. Therefore, NAM Member-States seized that opportunity to elaborate the Movement's approach, identity, role and policy in the new millennium. This was reflected in the Summit final document that contained 415 paragraphs, reflecting the NAM perception of the surrounding milieu with its new changes. The Summit also issued the Durban Millennium Declaration.

The final communiqué contained, inter alia agreement by participating Heads of State and Government to:

- ١. Affirm solidarity with the Palestinian people and call NAM Heads of State to implement all United Nations resolutions related to the Palestinian cause and to support the intrinsic rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland and to establish their independent state, with Al Quds as its capital. Demand Israel to withdraw from all Palestinian and other Arab territories, occupied since 1967.**
- ٢. Demand NAM Member-States to apply more pressure and to use all available means on both regional and international levels to ensure compliance by Israel with the Madrid referential authority, respect for the land-for-peace principle and full implementation of agreements, obligations and undertakings reached by concerned parties on all tracks during the peace talks.**
- ٣. Welcome the decisions by both the British and US governments to accept solutions proposed by the Libyan government and supported by NAM, OAU, the League of Arab States (LAS) the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and other regional and international organizations, to try both suspects in the Lockerbie accident in a neutral state. Underline support by NAM Member-States for Libya's stance, ensuring a fair trial for both suspects.**
- ٤. Deplore the imposition of no-fly zones over Iraq, in what was described as a decision by individual States without mandate by the United Nations Security Council or General Assembly. Demanding that Iraq be assisted through UNESCO or other international organizations concerned, with a view to restoring all works of art, acquisition and antiquities stolen or smuggled out from Iraq over the past years.**

٥. **Underline respect by NAM Member-States for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of both Iraq and Kuwait. Affirm that full implementation of all the United Nations Security Council resolutions on the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict serves as the basis for bringing about peace, security and stability in the region.**
٦. **Welcome the Cairo Agreement between Somali factions in December 1997, and declare full support for efforts by OAU, UN and LAS to find a solution to the crisis in Somalia.**
٧. **Support by NAM for the United Nations effort to organize a free and fair referendum in the West Sahara, accordant to the Settlement Plan, Houston Agreement and relevant Security Council or other United Nations resolutions.**
٨. **Reiterate full support for President Mubarak's proposal to create a weapon-of-mass-destruction- free zone in the Middle East and the need to put this proposal into effect. Demand immediate implementation of both Security Council Resolutions Nos. 487 of 1981 and 687 of 1991 and other General Assembly Resolutions related to the creation of a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free zone in the Middle East and condemn continuing development by Israel of its nuclear capabilities.**
٩. **Reiterate the fact that the gap between developing and developed countries is still widening and that the problems resulting from poverty are so far unsolved.**
١٠. **Express determination to exert every possible effort to enhance the ability of NAM Member-States to act in order to develop tangible measures to augment their influence and effect on international affairs.**
١١. **Increase cooperation to enhance NAM role within the United Nations, to strengthen its unity and cohesion and to coordinate its stances on international issues.**
١٢. **Express determination to pave the road to and encourage an in-depth inter-culture and inter-civilization dialogue.**
١٣. **Stresses the importance of dialogue and participation between the North and South States in mobilizing physical and human resources in order to eliminate disparity between States.**
١٤. **Enhance the United Nations role to address the challenges of the new millennium, confirming that any additional efforts geared to reform the United Nations must focus on its role in promoting development.**
١٥. **Any reform or enlargement of the membership of the Security Council must be an integral part of an integrated project that is sensitive to the principles of equal sovereignty for all States and fair geographical distribution. It must also enhance its credibility and reflect the global character of this international organization.**

١٦. **Underscore the right of States and peoples that were subjected to colonialism to obtain fair material reparation in return for the material and human losses incurred thereby as a result of colonialism.**
١٧. **Express concern over failure by nuclear-weapons- possessing States to demonstrate real commitment with regard to full nuclear disarmament and to provide comprehensive, unconditional and legal binding guarantees to non-nuclear-weapons- possessing States . Urge nuclear-weapons- possessing States to immediately initiate and complete negotiation on such guarantees.**
١٨. **Call for elaborating a definition of terrorism that differentiates it from the legitimate struggle for the right to self-determination and national liberation by peoples subject to colonialism, foreign domination or occupation. Call for convening an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations on the phenomenon of terrorism.**

The 13th summit, Kuala Lumpur, 2003

The 13th NAM Summit was held in Kuala Lumpur in the period from 24-25 February, 2003 in participation of 116 countries and attendance of 63 heads of state and government. The summit however, witnessed differences between member states on a number of issues raised on the agenda, on top of which were issues of Iraq, South Korea and what so-called terrorism.

The summit, in fact, tackled international developments at political, economic and social levels, where US threats to launch war against Iraq came at the very forefront. In its final document which included 170 paragraphs, the summit adopted a number of resolutions of which are the following ones:

- 1- Rejecting unilateral policies that lead to violating international law, using and threatening of use of force, exercising pressures and adopting compulsory measures by some countries to achieve their policies.

- 2- Adhering to the NAM principles and the UN charter to safeguard and strengthen global peace via dialogue

and diplomacy between countries and to avoid using force in solving conflicts.

3- Cementing multi-lateral approach as a key mechanism to protect interests of the member states of both the NAM and the UN, and promoting democracy in the international administration systems with a view to keeping the NAM non-isolated from the international forefront.

4- Deepen north south cooperation in all fields, particularly in political, economic, social, scientific, and cultural fields, and boosting relations and cooperation with developed countries on the bases of wide-scope participation and common gains to render member states economies much more prosperous.

5- Affirming the rejection of launching war against Iraq, calling for the continuation of the peaceful efforts to maintain regional security, and calling on Iraq to fully cooperate with UN weapons inspectors.

6- Condemning intentional killing of the Palestinian people, excessive use of Israeli force, destroying Palestinian homes and farms and the detention of

thousands of Palestinians, a matter that led to the eruption of a massive humanitarian crisis.

7- Underscoring the necessity of the retreat of South Korea from its decision to withdraw from the NPT.

8- Calling for the follow up of the resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly, and other international dialogues such as the international commercial dialogue in Doha and the international summit for development Johannesburg to make use of such gatherings in solving issues of poverty, debt burden and development.

9- Underlining the importance of reviving international cooperation in the fields of development, multi-lateral negotiations either on relations between the North and the South or on the development.

10- Rejecting what so-called "the right to interfere for humanitarian purposes", as it has no foundation neither at the UN charter nor at the international law.

11- Underscoring the necessity of pursuing inter-civilization dialogue and reaffirming NAM support to promote such dialogue, giving it institutional support at both regional and international levels, considering it a must not an option.

12- Channeling all efforts pertaining to UN reform towards strengthening the organization's role in boosting international cooperation, and in implementing development goals through enhanced mechanisms, proper resources, and in keeping international peace and security.

13- Stressing the importance of disarmament conference, considering it the only multi-lateral body entrusted with disarming, voicing resentment for the continuation of the hard-line stances of some nuclear countries towards preventing the conferences from establishing nuclear ad-hoc committee, and underscoring the necessity of launching negotiations on phased programme to put an end to nuclear weapons within a determined timetable that includes NPT.

The 14th summit, Havana, 2006

This summit was held in Havana in the period from 15-16 September, 2006, in participation of leaders and representatives of the 118-member-state of NAM and the attendance of the delegations of 15 countries in their capacity as observers. Attending the summit were also a number of regional and international organizations. The summit however, was held amidst several international changes and developments that imposed the necessity of crystallizing practical vision towards all political, economic and social issues.

The summit adopted a final communiqué and a number of documents on cooperation and coordination together with mechanisms of action between the NAM member states on one hand and Iran and Palestine on the other. The outcome of the summit could be summed as follows:

1- Rejecting unilateralism and domination trends pursued by the United States and its allies in dealing with the global system and Endeavour against foreign interference in countries internal affairs and the attempts to change regimes by force.

2- Condemning the logic of classifying world countries into two pivots according to unilateral criteria, and rejecting the principle of preemptive war and the US blockade imposed against Cuba, and affirming full support to the legitimate governments of both Venezuela and Bolivia.

3- Condemning the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and Gaza strip, voicing solidarity with the Lebanese people and lauding the Lebanese heroic resistance, and calling for investigating crimes of war and massacres perpetrated by Israel.

4- Announcing solidarity with the Palestinian people, supporting their legitimate right to national independence, condemning the kidnap and arrest of the ministers of the Palestinian elected government, the members of the Palestinian legislative council, and governmental employees, calling for setting them free unconditionally and immediately, and lifting economic blockade imposed on the occupied territories.

5- Underscoring the necessity of solving the Arab-Israeli conflict according to the relevant UN resolutions, announcing the support of the NAM member states to take an extraordinary initiative leading to the establishment of just and comprehensive

peace in the Middle East in conformity with the content of the Arab peace initiative, and calling on the international community and the Quartet to exert all possible efforts to resume peace process.

6- Refraining from adopting or implementing unilateral measures or laws including economic sanctions or any other sanctions aiming to put pressures on NAM member states, voicing deep concern towards imposing unilateral US sanctions against Syria, considering what so-called Syria accountability act violating international law and UN charter purposes, calling on US administration to declare such act null and void and to establish dialogue with Syria according to mutual respect and common interests.

7- Affirming determination to develop the NAM goals, principles and mechanisms to cope with new changes at the international level, implementing main principles of the movement such as sovereignty, equity, non-interference in countries internal affairs, right to resisting occupation, and rejecting all forms of discrimination, considering that current form of globalization has realized unequal outcome between countries.

8- Confirming Iran's right to possess nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and the developing countries' right to conduct researches, produce and use nuclear technology in peaceful purposes without discrimination and according to principles of the NPT.

9- Stressing the importance of pursuing efforts to achieve an all-out disarmament of nuclear weapons, establish nuclear-weapons free zones, voicing deep concern towards Israeli nuclear arsenal, and renewing the call for rendering the Middle East nuclear-weapons free zone.

10- Denouncing all forms of terrorism, and stressing that the struggle of peoples under foreign occupation to realize their right to self-determination is not by all means equivalent to terrorism.

NAM Accomplishments

Ever since its establishment in 1961 and over a long period of action, the NAM has staunchly faced developing countries' issues and problems, adopting and endorsing many positions and documents and realizing several accomplishments in political, economic and social fields. Such accomplishments, as a matter of fact, have been achieved despite unapt climate and hard conditions either at the international system echelon or at the internal affairs of the newly-gained independence countries.

Hereinafter are the most significant challenges and difficulties that hindered the NAM march and clearly affected its projected role:

1- The five criteria put by NAM for membership; namely approaching independent policy, non-alignment to any conflicting international blocs, backing up national liberation movements, disconnecting to any military alliance, rejecting the establishment of foreign military bases, did not exist on the ground. There were countries inside the movement

having close contacts with US or the former Soviet Union. Some of the movement's countries, also, allowed other countries to establish foreign military bases on their territories, a matter that encourage some analysts to call for the dismembering of member countries from the movement in conformity with the aforementioned five criteria.

2- The great number of countries under the movement's umbrella, actually, had led to clear contradictions derived not only from the economic or social nature of each country, but also to ideological and political diversity. No wonder, as the movement comprised peoples of various and different civilizations, a matter that caused some kind of remarkable contradictions in the NAM stances from time to time.

3- The regional conflicts and struggles that erupted between several countries in the movement such as Indian-Pakistani differences, Iranian-Iraqi war, Somali-Ethiopian war, weakened the movement which used to adopt balanced and non-aligned approach between different parties just to maintain its unity.

4- Some of the movement's members prioritized their national interests at the expense of developing and supporting the movement during the successive challenges it faced. For instance, the Palestinian issue was the main concern of the Arab countries, while the issue of poverty was given great attention by African countries, and the issue of nuclear disarmament was the source of account to the movement's Asian countries.

5- The NAM falls within the model of international organizations that do not have the power to adopt "binding" resolutions, rather it only makes recommendations, leaving its member states free to abide by such recommendations according to each country's national interests.

6- The movement, particularly during its first phase, had focused on political issues at the expense of economic ones, a matter that contributed much to deepening the economic and technological gap between its member states and the developed countries.

7- The appearance of new challenges and problems for countries that obtained independence led to the limitation of the movement's ability to make use of its members' potentials.

8- The struggle between US, and the former Soviet Union during the cold war period to gain influence within the developing countries framework had fomented conflicts between such countries inside the movement.

Despite unapt climate and hard conditions it faced ever since its establishment, the movement has undoubtedly played a key role in helping many counties of the south in realizing independence, eliminating racist systems, influencing formation of world policy in terms of principles and orientations. The movement, further, alleviated the acuteness of ideological conflict related to the cold war between US and the former Soviet Union. It also was the world's conscience regarding the necessity of striking international economic balance, especially in issues of debts, raw materials prices and commercial exchange. It, also, underscored the imperatively of establishing a new international media system that limits the domination of the super powers,

opens channels of dialogue, and understanding between peoples and civilizations, and safeguards cultures and entities.

Taking about accomplishments the movement has achieved along its history, one could draw line between two different phases. The first phase, as of the movement's establishment in 1961 till the fourth summit in Algeria in 1973, focused on political issues such as supporting national movements in seeking liberation together with the struggle for peace and security system to prevail the world. The second phase, starting from Algerian summit till now, has focused on economic issues, seeking to establish a new world economic system that takes into account interests of all countries with no exception.

1- NAM, the right to self-determination, liquidation of colonialism

The issue of supporting the right to self-determination gained the major concern of the NAM even before its establishment. It is not exaggerating, thus, to say that the main success of the movement was in this domain, particularly as the movement countries played great role in the adoption of the UN General Assembly declaration on the liquidation of colonialism on December, 14, 1960, the declaration that formed the foundation of the project upon which the international community efforts exerted to put an end to the colonialism phenomenon. The NAM efforts in backing up the liberation movements started to be effective the efforts started to be effective with the emergence of the Afro-Asian countries as an effective international party, especially since Bandong conference in 1955.

The year 1960, which was called the Africa Year, in fact constituted a significant turning point in the movement's efforts in fighting colonialism. In this year, 25 African countries, and 22 Asian ones were accepted

as UN member states, thus the newly-independent countries become, for the first time, the majority in the UN, as the African countries had 25% of the votes.

With the increase of the number of the NAM countries in the UN, and with the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the declaration on granting independence for peoples under colonialism in December 1960, the legitimacy of the national struggle for liberation was achieved. This, however, was crystallized in extending invitations to the representatives of the national movements to take part in the discussions of the UN bodies related to non independent regions and countries. Thanks to the NAM efforts inside the UN, the General Assembly managed to adopt a resolution in 1974 which permitted the invitation of the national liberation organizations and movements to attend UN sessions in their capacity as permanent observers.

The NAM stance on the question of the right to self-determination and colonialism liquidation had some other dimensions crystallized in the following points:

1- Supporting the activities of the UN committee on liquidation of colonialism.

2- Calling on colonial countries to fully compensate countries that were or remained under occupation.

3- Condemning atrocious suppression for the legitimate right of peoples under occupation to self-determination.

4- Granting memberships to several national organizations and movements, and supporting them morally and logistically.

5- Confirming the legitimate right of peoples to armed struggle for national liberation and independence.

6- Urging UN member states to fully implement the UNESCO resolutions pertaining to retrieving cultural heritage stolen from peoples under occupation, calling on the UNESCO to define such stolen cultural possessions according to relevant agreements.

7- Calling UN member states to accelerate liquidation of colonialism towards full elimination of colonialism

via full support to implement and apply the plan of action related to the colonialism eradication decade from 2001-2010.

8- Working towards full implementation of self-determination principle regarding areas falling within the scope of the liquidation of colonialism committee working programme and in conformity with relevant UN charter and resolutions.

The Palestinian issue, obviously, strikes an outstanding example for the NAM role in fighting colonialism and supporting peoples' legitimate rights in resisting and getting rid of such colonialism. Since Belgrade conference in 1961, the movement supported the Palestinian national liberation movement in face of Israeli occupation. The NAM also backed up the Palestinian people in their endeavor to establish an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital, and deemed the Palestinian cause as the issue of all countries of the movement, supporting such issue in and out the UN. Several countries of the movement ruptured relations with Israel following 1973 October war.

The Palestinian cause, along its history, has ever come at the very forefront of the NAM summits and ministerial conferences. Thus came the resolutions adopted by such conferences to call for the Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 including Jerusalem, to give all forms of support to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in its struggle against the Israeli occupation, and to consider null and void all measures taken by Israel to change the political, demographic, cultural, and religious features of the occupied territories.

The NAM summits and conferences, further, underscored the importance of implementing UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions relevant to the Palestinian issue, stressing that just and permanent peace could not be realized in the Middle East in absence of Israeli unconditional and full withdrawal from the occupied territories. The movement also supported the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, calling on the international community to adopt punitive measures against Israel and to establish a court for crimes of war to subject Israelis to the international law for the crimes Israelis perpetrated in territories occupied since its establishment in 1948.

2- NAM, eliminating racial discrimination

Combating racial discrimination together with eliminating all forms of inequity came at the very forefront of the NAM agendas, which paid great attention to issues related to apartheid and all forms of extremism. The NAM called for taking all legislative, administrative and educational measures necessary for combating new forms of racial discrimination, and condemned targeting the public opinion through spreading extremist ideologies by political parties and organizations.

The NAM stance on apartheid since Belgrade conference had crystallized in the following elements:

1- Condemning racial exercises applied by minorities in South Africa, Israeli occupation in occupied Palestinian territories, criticizing big countries which supported such racist regimes, and welcoming UN General Assembly resolution which deemed Zionism as form of racism and discrimination.

2- Calling on world countries to offer all forms of moral and material support for peoples under the rule of

racist regimes to gain their freedom and inalienable rights to self-determination.

3- Participating in all international meetings and forums dedicated to discuss means of putting an end to phenomena of racial discrimination.

4- Combating all forms of discrimination, intolerance and extremism, voicing concern over the emergence of modern forms of racism in all parts of the world, considering it a flagrant violation of human rights that should be faced through all political and legal means.

5- Expressing conviction that political programmes and activities based on theories of discrimination and national ideologies, and affirming insistence on standing against such political activities that would limit enjoying human rights and equal opportunities.

6- Calling for laying down integrated international foundations and completing texts of international charters aiming to combating racial discrimination.

3- NAM, entrenching peaceful coexistence principle

The NAM has played a pioneering role in deepening the principle of peaceful coexistence, which is deemed to be the mainstay upon which the international relations should be based. Thus, the movement, since its first conference in Belgrade, has supported such principles with a view to bringing about international peace and security and alleviating acuteness of world conflicts and tensions.

According to NAM, the essence of the peaceful coexistence is based on the ground that all world countries live together in peace and cooperation, so all countries should deal with each other on an equal footing.

To implement the principle of peaceful coexistence on the ground, the movement's countries sought to strengthen the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, non-resorting to or threatening with the use of force in relations through the following points:

1- Appealing to international community to renew its commitment to principles enshrined in UN charter and rules of international law regarding peaceful settlement

of conflicts and non-resorting to or threatening with the use of force in relations.

2- Promoting inter-civilization dialogue, inter-religion dialogue, and spreading culture of peace to contribute to bringing about world peace and security.

3- Maintaining a considerable level of consultation inside the UN regarding the protection of people from mass extermination, crimes of war, cleansing war and ethnic crimes against mankind. This comes within the framework of implementing principles of UN charter, international law, including the respect of countries' sovereignty and regional integrity, non-interference in countries' internal affairs and respecting human rights.

4- Cementing the movement's role in the peaceful settlement of disputes, confidence -building measures and pro-conflict peace-building.

5- Rejecting and condemning classification of countries into pivots according to unilateral and unjustified criteria, turning down the adoption of the principle of launching preemptive strike, including attacks with nuclear weapons on the part of certain countries.

The efforts exerted by the NAM to deepen the principle of peaceful coexistence, as a matter of fact, have undoubtedly contributed much to changing some fundamental concepts governing the international system such as concepts of zones of influence, balance of power, and settlement of disputes.

4- NAM, disarmament

The issues of disarmament at the international level constitute central issues to NAM according to its orientations that contributed to raising such issues globally. The movement exerted relentless efforts to deepen the awareness of containing and circumscribing hazards of arming race and the proliferation of all forms of weapons of mass destruction.

The questions related to disarmament, however, have gained a new dimension due to the end of confrontation between the East and the West, as there were no justifications to keep nuclear arsenal. Rather, it has become urgent to activate nuclear non-proliferation system through crystallizing a clear-cut vision on nuclear disarmament within a broader indiscriminatory, comprehensive and balanced vision towards international security.

The efforts exerted by the movement whether within its own context or within the UN framework, has greatly contributed to drafting several resolutions and international agreements on disarmament. The NAM diplomacy, which adopted the mechanism of establishing nuclear-weapons free zones, played a great role in establishing such zones such as in Africa in

1964, in Latin America in 1967. In 1974, the movement raised the idea of declaring the Middle East as nuclear-weapons free zone, as the proposal comprised three parts:

1- Refraining of Middle East countries from producing unclear weapons.

2- Refraining of nuclear states from disseminating or sending nuclear weapons into the region.

3- Offering international guarantees on the part of an effective international system, and supervising the implementation of such an agreement.

All Middle East countries, in fact, backed up the proposal except for Israel. The proposal was further supported almost by all nuclear states. The movement has strongly supported President Hosni Mubarak proposal to render the Middle East zone free of all weapons of mass destruction, calling for the necessity of working on putting such proposal into effect.

The NAM has its fundamental stances that constitute its unshakable orientation on issues of disarmament at the international level, significant of which are:

1- Underscoring the importance of the disarmament conference, considering it the only multi-lateral body concerned with disarmament.

2- Believing in the fact that the ongoing development of new nuclear weapons does not go in line with guarantees provided by nuclear states while concluding the comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty which stipulates non-development of the existing nuclear weapons or developing new kinds of such weapons.

3- Considering that the allowing of use or threatening to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear country constitutes a flagrant violation to the security safeguards provided by nuclear countries.

4- Stressing the importance of holding an international conference as soon as possible with a view to reaching

an agreement on a phased programme to entirely eliminate nuclear weapons within a specific time-table, banning the development, producing, possessing, testing, moving, using, or threatening to use such nuclear weapons.

5- Confirming that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons is the only guarantee against the use or threatening to use nuclear weapons.

6- Pursuing the NAM efforts aiming to conclude a binding and unconditional international act on the security safeguards for non-nuclear countries, considering such question of high priority towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

7- Underscoring the importance of joining the comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty at the international level, including all nuclear countries that should contribute to the nuclear disarming operations.

8- Establishing nuclear free zones, considering this as a positive step on the way of realizing goals of nuclear disarmament, and stressing the necessity of cooperation

and consultation with a view to reaching agreements between countries concerned.

9- Rejecting any attempts of any member state to use the technical cooperation programme of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to maintain political goals that contradict with the agency's statute.

10- Underlining that the measures of non-proliferation monitoring should be transparent and guarantee that no restrictions shall be imposed on gaining materials, equipment or technology necessary for peaceful ends by the developing countries for their development.

11- Confirming that the agreement on developing and producing biological weapons is a mainstay to preserve peace and security at both regional and international levels.

12- Threatening to attack peaceful nuclear facilities constitute a great danger on environment and the mankind, and represents a flagrant violation to the international law and the principles and goals of the

UN charter together with the organizational rules of the IAEA.

13- Stressing the importance of shrinking military expenditure according to the principle of the intact security with minimum weapons, channeling such resources to economic and social development, particularly fighting poverty.

14- Underlining that the IAEA should undertake its major activities in implementing safeguards and maintaining technical cooperation at the same level of importance.

According to the NAM, however, the NPT signed in 1968 is a discriminatory treaty because it classifies countries into two categories, and gives privileges to nuclear countries in face of non-nuclear countries. In order to render NPT global treaty and to address its shortcomings, the NAM, thus, called on all parties in the treaty, particularly the nuclear ones to take the following actions:

- 1- Concluding binding agreements to protect non-nuclear countries from other countries threats to use nuclear weapons.**

- 2- Eliminating nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction.**

- 3- Establishing nuclear weapons free zones.**

- 4- Transferring nuclear technology for peaceful purposes for all NPT parties without discrimination.**

- 5- Refraining from producing nuclear explosives used in military purposes.**

5- NAM, UN

There is no doubt that one of the most important roles played by the NAM member states is the role played by the movement inside the UN. The movement has successfully managed to change the nature of the UN to be a real international for all countries. Since 1973 Algeria conference, the NAM had great influence on the UN, hence it became a big voting bloc inside the international organization. From the very beginning the NAM member states sought to enhance the UN role at the international level through imposing commitment towards respecting the UN charter and spreading awareness of the importance of realizing UN goals and principles, considering this as the most proper international framework that would promote international peace and security.

The NAM, further, called for reforming the UN, particularly the Security Council, through expanding the circle of its permanent member states to give the NAM countries and the developing ones the chance to take decisions in international affairs, and changing the power monopoly in the Security Council on the part of the big countries into new system that contributes to

establishing the democratic nature of the international relations.

The elements of the NAM vision towards the UN come as follows:

1- The UN constitutes the most powerful gathering to maintain peace and security, settle conflicts peacefully, preserving freedoms, and rights of peoples under foreign occupation, and cement cordial relations and peaceful coexistence among peoples.

2- The UN is the most important channel available before the NAM to contribute to forming a new world order based on justice and other non-aligned principles.

3- UN should adopt more reforms to be much more effective in following up goals and principles enshrined in the charter, particularly promoting economic development, maintaining international peace and security and refraining from the use of force in international affairs.

4- UNSC reform, including the expansion of its membership, should be a part and parcel of an integrated project that takes into account the principles of equity, just geographic representation.

5- The trend of some countries to exercise influence on the Security Council in addition to the dominating role of the permanent member states having the right to veto, contradict with the goal of establishing democracy in the UN. So, the movement's member states should seek to eliminate such role.

6- Additional efforts to reform the UN should focus on promoting the organization's role in boosting international cooperation, implementing development goals through proper mechanisms and effective follow-up operations, and maintaining international peace and security.

7- The UN reform should be judged according to the measure of improvement towards the achievements of goals and aspirations of the developing countries.

8- The role of the UN General Assembly should be enhanced, considering such body as the most significant organ concerned with conducting negotiations, adopting resolution, establishing democracy and transparency inside the Security Council, and striking balance in occupations among UN major organs.

9- Sanctions systems should be clearly identified to be imposed for limited period of time and should be based on legitimate and legal foundations. Such sanctions should be lifted once the aspired-for ends of imposing them are realized. In addition, conditions required from the party under such sanctions should be also clearly determined, and periodically reviewed. All attempts to impose or prolong sanctions to maintain political goals should be completely rejected.

10- The non-governmental organization contribution to the UN action should be enhanced through consultative arrangements adopted by the ECOSOC. The contribution of the private sector and non-governmental organization to the implementation of the UN programmes is a must.

11- The various mechanisms necessary for implementing the aspired-for reform should be discussed, including the possibility of the holding a conference to reconsider UN charter according to article No. 109 in proper time.

12- The principle of the 'ability to pay' should be prioritized in dividing UN expenditure, taking into consideration the circumstances of the developing countries that limit their abilities to pay decided subscriptions.

13- The expenditure of the peace-keeping operations is the expenditure of the UN, thus member states should afford it according to the relevant provisions of the UN charter, and in view of the evaluation level adopted by the UN General Assembly.

14- The task of maintaining international peace and security is mainly the UN responsibility, and the regional arrangements role in this field should go in line with the 8TH chapter of the UN charter. Such arrangements, however, should not replace the UN role,

and should not impede full respect of the guidelines of UN peace-keeping operations.

15- Peace-keeping operations should not be resorted to as an alternative to the treatment of radical reasons behind conflicts, which should be handled through coordinated, well-planned and comprehensive manner, in addition to political, social and developmental issues.

6- NAM, economic issues

The NAM started to give great priority to economic issues since the fourth summit held in Algeria in 1973, as the movement member states came to a conviction that their political independence will not be completely realized under economic dependence on developed countries adopting capitalization. Thus, the movement focused its struggle on economic issues. Upon directives from the NAM, Algeria called to hold a UN extraordinary session in 1974, as the idea of establishing a new international economic system was raised. This idea was then called the dialogue between the South and the North, its main goals were preserving the rights of the developing countries in nationalizing their natural resources, reaching new just mechanisms in exchange between industrialized countries and developing ones, and discussing the dilemma of debts that burdened countries of the South and undermined any initiative for development.

During its aforementioned extraordinary session held at the request of Algeria in 1974, the UN General Assembly adopted two historic resolutions; the first was a declaration on the establishment of a new global economic system, and the second was related to the

plan of action to establish such new global economic system.

The 10 points raised in this plan of action could be summarized as follows:

1- Problems of raw materials and their impact on trade and development.

2- International monetary system and its connection to financing development in developing countries.

3- Manufacturing and means of boosting it in developing countries.

4- Transfer of technology.

5- Measures of monitoring and controlling multinational companies.

6- The Charter of countries' economic rights and duties.

7- Developing cooperation between developing countries.

8- Assisting countries in exercising full sovereignty over their natural resources.

9- Cementing the role of UN organizations working in the field of international economic cooperation.

10- Special programme for emergency aids for countries affected more than others by economic crises, including less-growing and doubly-locked countries.

Since this time, the idea of establishing a new international economic system has become an urgent need of the NAM, which remained in an on-going struggle with the industrialized countries to realize this end. The relations of the international economic system and its mechanisms remained almost unchanged since 1950 despite holding many international conferences to discuss means and mechanisms of economic cooperation and dialogue between the North and the South. Despite the fact that such conference reached solutions satisfactory to developing countries, yet the insistence of the developed countries not to concede

privileges inherited since the colonization times had hindered the implementation of such solution. Thus the ideas related to south-south cooperation emerged and gained momentum, thanks to the NAM consecutive summits.

UNCTAD

The relentless efforts exerted by the NAM encouraged the international community to found a number of important bodies in the UN system, of which came the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which was established in 1964 as a permanent international governmental body affiliated to the UNGA in the field of trade and development. The UNCTAD goals, in fact, are to maintain maximum opportunities of trade and development in developing countries, to help such countries in facing globalization challenges, and to integrate them in global economy. To realize these ends, the 188-member state UNCTAD conducts researches and political analysis, organized international governmental deliberations and technical cooperation activities. Both governmental and non-governmental organizations in addition to the representatives of the civil society take part in the UNCTAD action in its capacities as observers.

The NAM struggle has continued at all levels and within the framework of the international organizations and forums with a view to achieving its

goal, which is establishing a new world economic system.

The document and resolutions of the NAM conferences at both summits and ministerial levels included its vision in this respect. Such vision included the following elements:

1- Affirming the NAM initial stance that is represented in the fact that economic growth, uprooting poverty and the right to development all constitute priority and essential right to all countries.

2- Conducting reforms to guarantee democracy, transparency in decision-making process inside institutions, and establishing a stable global monetary system that helps developing economies to effectively deal with development challenges.

3- Confirming the pivotal role that could be played by UNCTAD in helping developing countries to integrate in global economy, and in important sectors such as investments, institutional development, technology, and services and commodities trade.

4- Considering right to food as one of the essential human rights, and that promoting such right constitutes moral duty on the international community.

5- Boosting the participation of the developing countries in decision-making process at the world level, especially within the framework of the international monetary and financial frameworks.

6- Enhancing international cooperation with a view to realizing development that aims to promote dialogue, leading to the enhancement of cooperation and partnership.

7- Confirming all countries rights to freely select their political, economic, social systems, and condemning the continuation of some countries in implementing measures and legislations related to foreign immunities or adopting compulsory and unilateral economic measures against developing countries.

8- Expressing concern over non-implementation of resolutions of UN organizations summits and conferences.

9- Cementing developing countries infrastructure in such a manner that boost economic growth, and developing new multi-lateral economic mechanisms to dedicate international finance operations to developing infrastructure of such countries.

10- Removing means of inequity from the World Trade Organization related to agriculture including developmental framework prepared by developing countries, and guaranteeing the maintenance of trade measures in conformity with the multi-lateral commercial system and the interests of the developing countries.

11- Underscoring the necessity of accelerating the joining of developing and less-developed countries to the World Trade Organization.

12- Underlining the importance of establishing systems for monitoring and early warning to protect developing countries from repeated financial and economic crises.

13- Enhancing economic, trade and financial cooperation between developing countries to promote their self-efficiency.

14- Voicing mounting concern over the exacerbation of foreign debt problem, and its devastating consequences on the developing countries economies, stressing the necessity of finding solution to such problems that based on the following proposals:

1- Gathering all debt and credit parties in relevant international meetings to reconstruct debts.

2- Freezing resettling of due debts operation on the low-income countries facing financial and economic difficulties to alleviate burdens of such economies.

3- Refinancing the existing debts with easy terms, using new financial resources through monetary assistance and new loans with easy conditions and terms to help low and medium income developing countries to fulfill their commitments and obligations in the field of debt service.

4- Implementing the initiative of the poor countries burdened with loans, through full financing such loans from additional resources, and taking measures to face essential changes that would affect the economic conditions of such developing countries, taking into consideration the initiative taken to reduce due debts.

5- Reducing intolerable debts service due on developing countries through alleviating and writing off such debts.

6-Exploring innovative mechanisms to stand against problems of developing countries due debts, including low-income countries, taking into account that such mechanisms include measures to replace debts with sustainable development programmes.

7- Helping developing countries in establishing mechanisms to identify debt channels, enhancing technical assistance to manage foreign debts.

8- Guaranteeing that available resources to alleviate debts burdens do not limit official developmental resources proposed to be given to developing countries, and that the measures of alleviating debts burdens

should avoid imposing any unjust burden on such countries.

7- The Non-Aligned Movement and the media.

In their efforts to build a new world order in the Cold War era, the NAM countries realised that the dominance of Western media and international news agencies lead to the distortion the image of the developing countries, and provides biased coverage against their causes. They also realized that media cooperation among the countries of the South will contribute to the process of media liberalization that will be an asset for political and economic liberation. So the movement began to be interested in media cooperation that emerged clearly for the first time in the final communiqué of the summit in Colombo in 1976, but this cooperation has focused on issues related to decolonization, and the creation of a new world economic order.

Before holding the summit in Havana in 1979, the NAM member-states have had three specific media cooperation agencies, namely:

- 1 - The council for cooperation among NAM member-states.
- 2 - The committee for coordination among the news agencies Pool of NAM countries.
- 3 - The committee for cooperation among radios of the NAM.

These media cooperation and development efforts among the NAM countries were maintained later under a slogan calling for the establishment of a new information and telecommunication world order during conferences and summits of the movement, both at the presidential and ministerial levels. These efforts included the establishment of a news network for the NAM, in Kuala Lumpur in 2003.

At the Seventh Conference of the NAM information ministers, held in Venezuela on 2-4 July, 2008, the movement called for an action in accordance with specific strategies to enhance cooperation among its member-states and other developing countries regarding information and telecommunication. The broad outline of this strategy could be read clearly in the conference's final communique, the most important of which are:

1 - The urgency of ending imbalances arising from the continued dissemination of discriminatory and distorted information of events taking place in the developing countries.

2 - The need to use active media organs, information technology and communications systems to promote the development goals of the new millennium to contribute to eradicating poverty, hunger, and the promotion of gender equality, combating AIDS, and increasing the status of women.

3 - Working for taking appropriate measures to narrow the growing digital gap between developed and developing countries.

4 - Rejecting and condemning imposing unilateral coercive measures in violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, as these measures prevent social and economic development of the population of developing countries, and restrict their participation in the market of information, technology services and communications, and also deny them access to programs, devices, and computer networks, including the Internet services.

5 - Supporting the great efforts by some member states, and other developing countries to develop their networks of information and communications as a way to promote a unified

voice of the countries of the South.

6 - Pumping more investment in information technology and communications, especially in the field of human resources and to take effective action to put an end to the emigration of professionals, and the brain drain by industrialized powers.

7- The need to encourage professionals from the private sector in the media and communication to supplement efforts of governments in the field of information and communication within the framework of social responsibility.

8 - Reducing the reliance of NAM members on industrialized countries in the field of information and starting cooperation for boosting the new system of media cooperation among the NAM members and other developing countries.

9 - Supporting efforts of the Alliance of Civilizations aimed at meeting challenges ensuing from efforts to improve understanding among cultures and religions, rejecting the policy of fabricating and distorting campaigns of which the developing countries were victims because of distorting press features by Western media and campaigns aimed at the defamation of religions.

10 - Reaching an agreement that the NAM news network, retains its current structure and base in Kuala Lumpur, and adopting regional representation within the editorial board of the network in Venezuela in its capacity as the chairman of the NAM information ministers Conference in the three years from 2008 until 2011, provided that the regional representation in the Editorial Board be based on the principle of rotation, while keeping Malaysia holding the chairmanship of the board.

11 - Condemnation of all acts of terrorism in all forms and shapes, and the emphasis on the important role of the media in supporting international efforts to combat terrorism.

12 - Activating the work of the radio broadcasting of the NAM,

including its expansion, and increasing its functions.

13 - Working intensively with the international community in order to raise the level of technology transfer, including information technology and communication, and adopting policies and programs that allow developing countries to promote technology in the service of the development process through technical cooperation and the provision of scientific and technical capacities to fill in the digital gap.

8- NAM and Women:

Within the framework of its efforts to reset its priorities in search of a new role in the twenty-first century, the NAM started paying special attention to the issues of women. It held two ministerial meetings over the past five years, the first of which was held in Malaysia, and the other in Guatemala.

The first NAM ministerial conference was held in Putrajaya, Malaysia from 9-11 May , 2005 under the theme "The empowerment of women to meet the challenges of globalization".

It was the first real effort to address the status of women, and overcome the challenges hampering the activation of women's role in the movement countries in the domains of poverty, economic development, and decision-making process along with education, information technology, health, armed conflicts, and violence against women.

The conference has recommended the necessity of adopting several measures to overcome the problems facing women in each of these areas. It also recommended the following:

1- Comprehensive and speedy application of the Treaty, on "the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women" by all Treaty member states.

2 - Emphasizing that the Beijing statement, and the program of action emanating from the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, which carried the theme "Women 2000, gender equality, development and peace in the 21 century," are important contributions towards the promotion of the status of women around the world to achieve equality between the two sexes.

3 - Recognizing that cooperation and partnership in the context of the relative advantages of the movement on the basis of the principle of common values in diversity, are the most two effective ways to work towards the strengthening of women, equality and justice among the two sexes.

4 - The importance of expanding the scope of the NAM efforts, and expediting pushing up the process of building the capacities of women along with the need for exerting efforts while adhering to the commitments undertaken by the United Nations conferences and summits, as well as the internationally agreed upon development goals, including those embodied in the Declaration of the new millennium.

5 - Admitting the continued problems and challenges facing women and girls, and pledging to work for the promotion and capacity-building of women through the process of taking steps to solve those problems.

The second conference was held in Guatemala City, capital of Guatemala from 21-24 January, 2009 under the theme "Women and the new Millennium Development Goals". The conference was aimed at:

- 1 - Reaching a plan of action for achieving the Millennium Development Goals in a way ensuring the development of the status of women in the NAM countries.
- 2 - Asserting the commitment by the NAM members of the advancement of women's status, and assessing their contribution to the development process and participation in all walks of life, and the recognition of this role, and working to its strengthen.
- 3 - Taking an action to achieve the Millennium Development Goals in full with regard to gender equality and the empowerment of women and working to address the challenges impeding the achievement of these goals..
- 4 - Following up recommendations of the first ministerial meeting on the advancement of women in the NAM countries that was held in Malaysia in 2005, which related to women's issues, poverty, economic development and women in decision-making posts.

Chapter IV

The Non-Aligned Movement and statutory frameworks for the countries of the South

The NAM is an umbrella movement of many institutions and bodies that represent developing countries and defend their interests in the light of tension in relations between rich countries on one hand and poor countries on the other, or between the developed North and the developing South.

In order that the developing countries would benefit from available statutory frameworks, and reap the fruits of South-South cooperation, they should boost solidarity and coordination among these frameworks and bodies to become a tool for international cooperation in favor of development of these countries, and to prevent duplication and inconsistencies of their roles at the international level, and in a way that would not sap the developing countries negotiating position in the face of the developed countries, that are dominating international financial and monetary institutions.

Out of awareness of these facts, the NAM countries have enhanced their relations, and increased the level of coordination with other groups in the South, especially with the Group of 77 through the Joint Coordinating Committee (JCC) between the two groups, which is based in New York. The committee has proved effective in helping define the agenda of the United Nations, and defending the stances of developing countries in

many areas, notably the United Nations reform, some situation that prompted many observers to demand the expansion of the Committee's powers and that its presence should not only be restricted to New York, but to be expanded to the headquarters of other international multilateral bodies to help shore up the unity of the developing countries, and their ability to action.

The most important frameworks of the South countries, which the NAM is required to coordinate with is the Group of 77 and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Group of 15, the Group of Eight developing countries, the Group of 24.

Group of 77

The progressive ideas that were put forward by third world countries after the Second World War with regard to the establishment of a world economic order which is characterized by justice and equality have an immense effect in pushing up those states' efforts for creating blocs to attain that goal, especially after they have felt that the major countries ignore their fair requests and legitimate rights to economic development. Therefore international and South economic entities started to emerge to defend the interests of the developing countries and advocate their causes in the face of advanced industrialized countries.

The Group of 77 was established within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development "UNCTAD" on June 15, 1964 by 77 developing countries that are signatories to the Joint Statement of G-77 Charter that was issued at the end of the first session of the UNCTAD meeting in Geneva. The first major meeting of the group was held in Algeria in 1967 which adopted the Algiers Declaration and the Group's organizational structure was formed.

And the 77 is the number of countries representing the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America at the conference, although the group's membership increased to 133 countries after China became a full member in 1999, it was called the Group of 77 because of the historical significance of this name.

The group is the largest alliance of Third World countries in the United Nations and it is aimed at assisting developing countries to promote their economic interests, and improve joint negotiating capacity on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system, develop economic cooperation, and technical framework in developing countries.

The group enjoys representation within many United Nations bodies such as the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Environment Program, and the IMF and World Bank. It is also represented in some regional bodies in Africa, and Latin America, and the States of the Alliance of Small Island States, and often the G-77 proposes unified opinion with respect to major economic issues.

All members of the Group of 77 enjoy equal benefits of membership, decision-making, and a board supervises the work of the group in each of its branches whose chairmanship is being held rotationally.

The ministerial meeting represents the supreme body for taking decisions of the Group. The meetings are held annually at the beginning of regular sessions of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, and periodically, in order to prepare for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development "UNCTAD", the General Conferences of the sub-group in Vienna and Paris, and the group has the right to call for emergency ministerial meetings when necessary. The Group met for the first time at the level of Heads of State and Government, raising the level of decision-making within the group to the highest political

level. The presidency of the Governing Council is the highest political body in the organizational structure of the Group.

The Committee on the follow-up and coordination has an absolute mandate for coordination and follow-up among the member states in the field of economic cooperation among the developing countries. The Committee is composed of senior officials of member states and meets once every two years to review the mechanisms for the implementation of the Caracas Program of Action adopted by the Group in 1981.

OPEC

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries "OPEC" is one of the most important frameworks of the South states, that the NAM could coordinate with, especially as it plays a major role in the growth of the global economy, and is deemed as the most important economic organization set up by the developing countries to take care of their interests, and unifying their efforts in the face of big oil companies and its member states are possessing between two-thirds and three-quarters of the global oil reserves, and contribute about 40% of the total production. OPEC was established on September 14, 1960 according to an initiative by the five oil producing countries at the time: Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela, during a meeting in the Iraqi capital Baghdad. It now includes seven countries in addition to the five founding ones. The new members include: the United Arab Emirates, Libya, Qatar, Algeria, Indonesia, Nigeria and Angola and it is based in the Austrian capital, "Vienna".

OPEC aims to coordinate and unify oil policies of its member states, and outlining the best ways to protect their interests individually and collectively, and to ensure effective, economical and regular supply of oil to consumer nations, as well as ensuring remunerative revenues to sectors investing in the oil industry.

OPEC is composed of the following organs:

1 – The ministerial council or conference, which is the highest authority in the organization. It is composed of ministers of oil in the member states. The council holds two ordinary meetings each year and would hold an extraordinary session at the request of any member state through the Secretary-General and in consultation with the chairman of the conference.

2 - Board of Governors: It is consisting of governors named by the member states, who are approved by the ministerial council or conference.

3 - The general secretariat, which is composed of the secretary-general, the deputy secretary-general, and the required staff. The secretariat includes five main sections, and undertakes its activities in the framework of articles mentioned in the statute of the Organization and in accordance with instructions of the Board of Governors.

4 - OPEC Fund for International Development: It has been established after a meeting of the OPEC finance ministers in Paris in 1976. The Fund has provided assistance to more than one hundred countries since that date.

The Group of 15

The G-15 was established in September 1989 during the Ninth Summit of Heads of State of the NAM that was held in Belgrade. The idea of its establishment has been based on a proposal that was put forth by Peru for forming a smaller group of developing countries to be a nucleus for collaboration and consultation among the countries of the South , and a forum for ongoing consultations among its members of developing countries with

emerging economies to coordinate their policies. The Group includes in its membership the most senior members of the NAM. Despite the increase in the number of members to 18 its name remained unchanged.

Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Islamic republic of Iran, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Bolivarian republic Venezuela, Zimbabwe

The Group of 15 has a number of objectives concerning the interests of developing countries, which are:

- 1 - Increasing economic cooperation among the countries of the South in the fields of trade, joint ventures, and supporting the competitiveness of third world countries in the global market.
- 2 - Coordinating stances among these countries on international economic issues, and considering means of standing up to challenges and global economic developments.
- 3 - Supporting the North-South dialogue in order to reach a balance between justice and the demands and interests of both sides, and shoring up partnership to provide the most appropriate solutions to economic and international problems within the framework of policies of globalization that is dominating the world order.

Despite the absence of a permanent secretariat of the Group of 15, it held annual meetings at the summit level to be preceded by meetings of foreign ministers, and ministers of trade, as well as meetings at the level of personal representatives of the heads of state and government. The Group has been able during the eighth summit held in Cairo in 1998 to establish an important mechanism, which is the formation of the Federation of

Chambers of Commerce and Industry which is based in Cairo. The mechanism has its contribution in outlining databases and information of member states and in promoting trade exchange, attracting investments, as well as to standardizing and developing the ideology to cope up with globalization.

Some believe that the future of the Group of 15 under the current international changes depends on several factors, most notably are the following:

- 1 - The group's member states' establishing institutions and mechanisms for continuous dialogue and consultation with the developed nations of the North, in the context of relations with the countries of the industrialized G-8 members, or in the framework of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).
- 2 - The group's member states adoption of national policies for advanced technology transfer within the framework of South-South cooperation along with increasing their economic growth rates and boosting human resources together with fighting poverty and minimizing unemployment and doing without international assistance.
- 3 - Outlining mechanisms by international institutions, particularly the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organization for mitigating the impact of globalization on the developing countries, and sparing them crises especially that the current world order with its economic and financial institutions is coming under severe criticism by the countries of the South.

The Group of Eight Developing countries

It is one of the most important frameworks of the countries of the South, also known as the Group of Islamic Eight. It is a system of

cooperation in development among its member states, including Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh, and Nigeria. Its establishment has been announced in Turkey after Istanbul Declaration, that was issued on June 15, 1997.

The group aims to achieve cooperation in the development sector among its members in particular and with other developing countries in general, through the following:

- 1 - Improving conditions of the developing countries in the world economy.
- 2 - Creating new opportunities in international trade relations.
- 3 – Boosting participation of the developing countries in the decision-making process at the international level.
- 4 - Achieving better standards of living.

The capabilities of the Group for attaining these goals could be enhanced through coordination of stances and policies of the Group's countries and the NAM at international forums, especially as it is not a regional organization but a global one including countries from Asia, Africa, Europe. Also its membership is open to other developing countries that seek to attain the same goals and principles and have common ties. And as it is a forum for a number of countries it does not have any negative impact on its members' commitments at the bilateral and international levels.

The Group of 24

The Group of 24 has been created within the framework of the Group of 77 in 1971 in order to coordinate stances among the developing countries on global financial issues, and issues of financing international development, and to ensure adequate representation of its member states interests at negotiations on international monetary issues. Its member states are those members of the Group of 77.

Chapter V

Non-Aligned Movement

Between current challenges requirements for development

The emergence of the NAM at the beginning of the sixties of the last century was one of the results of the Cold War and ideological conflict that prevailed relations between the East and West camps.

The emergence of the movement was considered as a reaction by the newly-independent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America against the policy of alliances and military blocs to which the U.S. and the former Soviet Union resorted to protect their interests, and be able to stand competition in areas of hegemony in the world. The leaders of those countries wanted to adopt a new approach in foreign policy based on independence, and allowing them to support the national liberation movements and end colonization.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War in the early nineties a wide debate was raised inside and outside the movement on its role and future in the current and future phases. Two stances were adopted the first was that the NAM has practically come to an end because the justifications for its existence disappeared, as it was created within the context of Cold War, which no longer exists now. Also there are many changes that have taken place in the major founding countries. Yougoslavia for example, no longer exists. Also some NAM member-states changed hearts and entered into strategic relations

with the United States , which represents now the sole super power in the international arena.

The second point of view argued that the movement should continue, because justifications for its continuation are much more than those for its disappearance. The movement in the past has attained several achievements that can not be ignored, and many of the challenges for which the movement has been established are still in place. More, several other challenges emerged, a situation that requires activating the movement, and revitalize its role so that it can contribute to alleviate the serious congestion in the world, help seek solutions to regional and international problems that constitute sources of tension to the entire world in general and the developing countries in particular. It could also help prevent big powers to impose their hegemony on other countries and interfere in their internal affairs under several pretexts including combating terrorism, humanitarian intervention and spreading democracy. The movement could also work for reforming the world economic order, narrowing the economic gap between countries of the South and the North, and addressing issues of poverty and hunger along with supporting coexistence and dialogue among cultures and civilizations.

Before talking about the current challenges facing the NAM, which require from its member states to introduce reform and development, there are certain facts that should be highlighted:

1 - The NAM was not created solely to deal with international developments during the Cold War, but as an expression for intellectual and philosophical values advocating freedom,

independence, development, and progress in the third world. Consequently, the end of the climate of ideological polarization and the Cold War, under which the movement was created must be an incentive for searching for new mechanisms and approaches for the implementation of the major values of the Movement provided that these mechanisms should take into account the present developments in the new world order.

2 - The NAM has - and still is having - a political, economic and strategic influence at the global level. Nobody could deny the great moral values that guided the movement's member states. They also gained support of the NAM partners at all international forums.

3 - The NAM conferences and summits constitute a forum through which the movement members present their causes and issues of interest and address the world public opinion in a bid to give the world countries an insight into the difficulties the NAM members are faced with.

4 - The NAM is a legal framework that comprises countries, that are sharing common characteristics, so that they could be a viable entity capable to contribute in shaping the new world order, and outline its agenda. This is clear in the voting power of the movement members inside the United Nations.

5 - The major countries could not ignore the effective power of the NAM countries, both within the framework of inter-NAM dialogue, or when examining issues and problems associated with the relationship between the North and South.

The success of the NAM to survive, in spite of difficulties and challenges during the Cold War, and its ability to overcome many of them, and the achievements it has realized along with the experience it has gained over nearly half a century make it more

able to deal effectively with current challenges. These challenges require the development of the movement and activating its role in the new century, and a changing global climate. Most important among these challenges are:

1 - Continued widening gap between developed and developing countries and exacerbating problems caused by poverty, and forms of social inequality in a way that forms a source of growing frustration, and a cause of new conflicts.

2 - The high social cost of structural readjustment policies, and political conditionality, and economic openness in the movement, and the alarming concentration of wealth in the hands of a minority of the population, some state of affairs that threatens social stability of these countries.

3 - The marginalization of the vast majority of Third World countries by economic globalization and the hegemony of the rich on the international political and economic decision-making process.

4 - Increase of internal and regional conflicts intensity in most of the NAM countries, especially in light of problems, civil wars, and challenges of democratization and human rights.

5 - Economic and social development issues are not enjoying enough international attention that commensurate with the urgency and importance of these issues for developing countries.

6 - Increasing international interference by big powers in the internal affairs of many Third World countries to achieve their own interests under the pretext of the so-called humanitarian intervention, and the spread of democracy in a way that constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of those countries, and a serious threat to international peace and security.

7 - The emergence of strong trends inside the developed countries

to ignore their previous commitments, and to deliberately marginalize development issues at ongoing international negotiations, and imposing new conditions, something that severely harms interests of the NAM and other developing countries.

8 - The economic and social infrastructure in developing countries are still backward to a large extent, impeding development efforts, and minimizing the prospects of growth.

9 - Major imbalances between developed and developing countries in the field of information and telecommunication, the enormous digital gap in the field of digital technology, and attempts by some developed countries to sabotage the concept of a new world information and communication order that is based on justice and equality.

The NAM countries hold that maintaining the movement in action has been confirmed by recent international developments. As the end of the Cold War and the polarization between the East and the West has promoted the movement's call for international cooperation for establishing a world free from fear and intolerance and that the time has come for the development of the movement to cope up with new opportunities and challenges, and increasing its efficiency for external action, and improving its efficiency for internal action.

In this context, the movement underlines the following:

1 - Positive contribution by movement in establishing a just world order, at all political, economic, and media levels will depend largely on the strength and extent of internal unity and cohesion, which in turn depends on:

A - Resolving differences and disputes between members of the movement through peaceful means.

B - Establishing a mechanism for settling such disputes by peaceful means.

2 - A positive contribution by the movement in establishing this new world order would require crystalizing a common and dynamic stance that is based on a clear vision on the issues of international peace and security, disarmament, human rights, environment, sustainable development and other problems facing the movement, and the whole world.

3 - Maintaining the principles and objectives of the movement including protecting its members' independence, sovereignty and

territorial integrity, and the exercise of the right to self-determination, and disarmament of all weapons of mass destruction, and an end to colonialism and all forms of foreign domination and the eradication of racism and racial discrimination, and peaceful coexistence among the member states and the settlement of regional disputes through peaceful means, and protection of human rights.

4-The Non-Aligned Movement remains a political framework appropriate for its members to express their aspirations.

5 - Re-aligning of priorities in a realistic manner in order to achieve the objectives of the movement within the context of the international scene that is radically changing, so that the priorities are as follows:

A - To achieve international peace as long as the world still suffers from instability and insecurity and settle conflicts, ease tensions in different regions, notably the Arab-Israeli conflict.

B - Attaining economic and social development and standing up to the seven dangers namely; poverty, unemployment, low living standards, environmental degradation, illiteracy, terrorism and drugs.

C - Drafting a new concept of the NAM would enable the movement to move from a position of contradiction and confrontation with the international conditions that were prevailing in the past to a different position based on adaptation with the current international situation and affecting it in a positive way.

D - Starting meaningful dialogue with all international parties to provide the needs of Movement members and boosting political and economic relations with other South countries.

E - Improving the situation of developing countries within the framework of international trade movement, and supporting their position at economic negotiating with the North countries in an effort to launch a new and fair economic world order, taking into account the problems of development plaguing the developing countries, particularly the issue of debts, and reforming the work of trade organizations so as to not adversely affect the developing countries due to measures imposed by those organizations.

F- Urging the developed countries to fulfill their commitments on comprehensive development assistance to the developing countries and to refrain from the use of such assistance to achieve hidden agendas that contradict with the interests of developing countries and expose their stability to danger.

G - Seeking to achieve a global consensus to attain the goal of eliminating weapons of mass destruction particularly nuclear weapons.

H - Reforming United Nations institutions, bodies and mechanisms of action. The first requirement of this reform is to amend the work of the Security Council so as not to allow a few countries to wield the right to veto at the expense of the overwhelming majority represented by the General Assembly.

Observers and analysts propose several policies and measures to achieve the universality of the Non-Aligned Movement, and to boost its role in the next phase. These proposals include:

- 1 - The possibility of expanding the membership of the group to include Russia, China, and any other Western or Eastern country that rejects the logic of unilateral domination on the world and calls for further cooperation and global solidarity for development and human rights and to stand up to human and natural disasters.
- 2 - The rich countries of the Movement, especially the producers of the vital raw materials such as oil and gas would assist other countries affected by severe economic crises through selling of these raw materials at preferential prices, and outlining programs to promote the economic and political capacity of these countries.
- 3 - Setting up a presidential council to consider ways of boosting the movement and prepare for a summit to win over new members, with the development of a mechanism for interaction with emergency events at the global level.
- 4 - Considering any resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly binding to the movement.
- 5 - Establishing public funds to support the economic, cultural, and relief activities of the movement member states.
- 6 - Choosing three standing headquarters of the movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America to activate the movement's development programs.
- 7 - Developing electronic communication, information, and space networks among the movement member states.
- 8 - Enhancing links between NGOs in the movement countries.
- 9 - Holding conferences depending on the existence of specialized

centers in the institutions of the movement members. There is no doubt that under the current world order there are strong justifications, stronger than those called for its establishment in the past as an important factor of balance to the international politics movement, for sticking to maintaining the Non-Aligned Movement. As the world has never seen tensions in several regions as is the case now due to reasons of instability included in the unilateral world order. Several hotbeds emerged that are imposing more of a threat not only to the peace and security of the Third World countries but also to the whole world at large.

Chapter VI

Egypt and the Non-Aligned Movement

Egypt is one of the most important founding countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, and has a key role in establishing the movement and realizing its development along with supporting its survival and continuation given Egypt's regional and international status. Around two-thirds of the United Nations countries are members of the NAM which represents the most important forum for coordinating stances of the developing countries regarding the various political, economic, and social issues on the agenda of the world order.

Egypt had its own contribution in transforming the ideas associated with the NAM to a tangible reality when the movement was first established. Egypt also hosted the second NAM summit in 1964. And once again Egypt is back to host the events of the 15th summit of the Nam leaders in Sharm el-Sheikh during the period from 11-16 July. It is expected that the summit will be a quantum leap in the march of the Non-Aligned Movement in the 21st century as was the case at Cairo Summit in 1964.

First: Egyptian vision on the Non-Aligned Movement

Egypt believes that the Non-Aligned Movement represents the most important and broader framework for coordinating stances of the developing countries regarding the various political, economic, and social issues on the agenda of the United Nations along with supporting collective action in the face of unilateral

policies, which constitute a challenge facing the third world countries, the majority of them are members of the movement.

Egypt is very much interested in the movement and the need to preserve it for its regional and international influence

One of the pillars on which the Egyptian stance on the NAM is based is that the movement had emerged under a bi-polar world order. The difference in these circumstances requires developing mechanisms in a way that enable the NAM to contribute - through constructive and realistic stands that are approved by all its members - to international developments.

Egypt has played a key role not only in founding the NAM at the first summit in the Yugoslav capital Belgrade in 1961, but its role started even before the birth of the movement, when Egypt played a leading role in developing the idea of its establishment, and then converted this idea into a significant entity on the ground since the very beginning at the 1955 Bandung Conference.

Egypt believes that the international arena today is witnessing the collapse of the principles on which the Non-Aligned Movement was established. This is an alarming situation, particularly with respect to non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect of their sovereignty, stability and independence of their decision, and the inadequacy of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity to prevent interference in the internal affairs of States. More and above internal affairs became a pretext for imposing hegemony on others. All these are massive

challenges that require maintaining the movement with rebuilding and promoting its capabilities.

NAM documents and its evolution assert the role of Egypt in promoting the movement. This leading Egyptian role in establishing and building the Non-Aligned Movement, in addition to its cultural and political weight, constitutes the basis on which Egypt depends for supporting the movement in the future, through intensifying joint efforts with many countries seeking to support the movement for the development of objectives and mechanisms, and to make them more efficient in dealing with major political, economic and cultural changes in the global arena, especially after the movement shifted from a 25-nation at the first constituent summit to a large entity currently comprising 118 members from Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

Egypt demonstrates through its active participation of the NAM summits - since founding the movement – its continued interaction and leading role, not only at the regional level, but also at the global one to promote issues of the developing countries to get their fair share at the political and development level in the international arena. Egypt is acting out of its belief in the importance of the collective action through the support of the United Nations, and its organizations and organs, especially the General Assembly and the rehabilitation and restructuring of the UN Security Council in order to make its resolutions binding to the member states

Egypt hosted the second NAM summit in 1964 amid a flurry of moves of national independence at the global level, that summit was a quantum leap in the history of the Non-Aligned Movement since its emergence as it moved the movement from the general

political framework to the level of fine details and handling issues in depth.

Egypt will host during the period from July 11 to 16 the 15th Summit of Heads of State of the Movement to be held in Sharm el-Sheikh with the participation of delegations of more than 140 countries, including 118 members of the movement, which would double Egyptian efforts exerted to support the presence of the movement in the international arena, particularly that Egypt is holding one of the three seats for the leadership of the movement since the Havana Summit in 2006. By virtue of its membership in the movement's troika Egypt will remain the movement chairman until 2012.. Egypt also undertakes the role of coordinator in two of the six working groups of the movement, namely: the working group on reform of the UN Security Council, and the working group on legal affairs.

Choosing Egypt to lead the NAM reflects the Movement's confidence in the Egyptian diplomacy and respect enjoyed by Egypt at the international level.

Egypt, in its capacity as the chairman of the movement in the coming period, has its own strategic vision on the future of the Movement, and its role on the international arena including more ideas about the movement's action regarding several political and security issues including disarmament, arms control, along with economic issues such as the global financial crisis, and its repercussions on developing countries, and the social, cultural, and legal files, including the issues of human rights and humanitarian assistance, and the dialogue of

civilizations. The most important elements of this vision include the following:

1 - Developing and improving the working methods of the movement through a comprehensive review of its role and structure of work so that they would conform with the requirements of our time and even the future in a bid to defend its interests and assume a leading role in the United Nations and world order.

2 - Giving high priority to cooperation in the areas which would raise the rates of development in the movement countries and strengthen cooperation among the developing countries and seek to narrow the gap of their stances and achieve their common interests.

3 - Consolidating positions of developing countries in general and the movement in particular, and to strengthen cohesion and solidarity, and to seek once again to negotiate as a one bloc.

4 – Undertaking a collective effort by the NAM members at the United Nations with a view to adopting a resolution by the General Assembly banning the use of veto in cases of genocide, crimes against humanity , with empowering the General Assembly – in case of the failure of the UNSC in carrying out its responsibilities – to undertake the responsibility the Council had been entrusted to undertake and intervene to maintain international peace and security according to the article 24 of the Charter of the Organization.

5 - Maintaining coordination among the Non-Aligned Movement and bodies defending the interests of the South, and speaking on behalf of South countries at all international forums, in order to avoid duplication of work.

6 - Drafting an international media message that is aimed at

identifying the role of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the needs of its members and promoting dialogue and understanding among different civilizations and cultures.

7 – Boosting media integration among the members of the Movement, and narrowing the qualitative gap between the North and South, and to support the developing countries through the transfer of technology and knowledge to reach a new international information order based on respect of the freedom of expression, freedom of information, the right of the media men to undertake their job throughout respecting the specific values of each society.

Second: The Sharm el-Sheikh summit, the 15th meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement

Sharm el-Sheikh will host on July 11-16 the 15th summit of the leaders of the NAM which is chaired by Egyptian President, Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak. The summit will be held under the rubric "international solidarity for peace and development" with the participation of more than 140 countries, including the 118 member states of the movement, and about 100 heads of state along with observers and more than 5,000 people representing the various delegations participating in the summit.

The summit is invested with great importance given both the timing and venue of its convocation. It is held under very exceptional international circumstances by all standards given current developments in the world, primarily the global financial crisis, which has imposed new balances regarding the world order. The summit is held at a very complicated time with the international arena witnessing tense political relations, crises and conflicts in various parts of the world. The summit derives a great part of its importance from the venue where it will be held as Egypt is playing a key role in the NAM march since its inception 48 years ago in order to enhance its performance and consolidate its presence in the international arena.

The summit's agenda includes many hot issues and topics facing the movement through two committees one dealing with the political files with the focus on the Palestine cause and spots of tension in many movement members, such as Afghanistan, Somalia and Sudan, disarmament, Iran's nuclear issue, the blockade on Cuba, unilateral actions and sanctions and their adverse impact on the economies of countries and peoples.

The second committee deals with human rights, economic and development issues, notably the global financial crisis and ways to develop cooperation and relations between the countries of the South and to find new formulas for this cooperation.

Given the great importance of the Palestinian cause a " declaration on Palestine" will be issued by the Summit in light of the serious challenges besetting the Palestinian issue under the extremist right-wing Israeli government and the settlement plans along with the ongoing plots for Judaizing the City of al-Quds , in addition to the suffering of the Palestinian people as a result of the inhumane policies of siege and starvation, the recent Israeli war against the Gaza Strip, coupled with the massacres and atrocities against the Palestinian civilians on a large scale. The summit is scheduled to issue a final document along with declarations which will be adopted by the Summit on various issues. The document will include the movement's stance on all issues of interest to developing countries in general, and the Member States of the movement in particular. It is expected that a parallel summit of first ladies will be held on the sidelines of the summit under the theme "women's role in crises management" under the auspices of Mrs. Suzanne Mubarak first lady of Egypt. Egypt will put forth its vision on the central role played by women in this area.

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