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A LETTER FROM YOUR DIRECTOR

Dear Delegates,

*“We, the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, representing the vast majority of humankind, meet in Jakarta, Indonesia, at a momentous juncture in history; a time of profound change and rapid transition, a time of great promise as well as grave challenge, a time of opportunity amidst pervasive uncertainty” – **The Jakarta Message; Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries 6th September 1992***

It is my pleasure to welcome you to UTMUN 2019 and the 10th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement Committee!

My name is David Allens, and I am doing a double major in Political Science, and Criminology and Socio-Legal Studies; with a minor in Caribbean Studies. As director for this committee, I am excited to see the solutions that delegates will come up with and how it will affect not only the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the countries in it, but the world. I've been working with our Vice-Directors Shamshir Malik and Vilde Bentzen; and Moderator Nabil Fancy to ensure that all of you have an exciting weekend of debate. We hope that you will find the discussions both enriching and inspiring.

When the East-West conflict dominated the global landscape, the Non-Aligned Movement was formed with the aim of representing the interests of third world countries that individually might not be heard but collectively represented the majority of the world's population. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was designed to provide its member countries with a collective voice in international relations. This group of member-states included Communist states, liberal democracies, and conservative monarchies - connected by their colonial past and otherwise small presence on the world stage.

While the immediate threat of the Cold War has ended, with the new millennium a few years away and the issues of neo-colonialism, increased economic cooperation, and disarmament of nuclear weapons being of paramount importance, the Global South has the opportunity to continue their renewed efforts for solidarity and development through the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

This background guide is meant to provide background knowledge that is pertinent to debate topics however, committee debates are not limited by what is in this document. We encourage you to do more in-depth research and to get creative! I wish you the best of luck in your preparations and look forward to meeting all of you in February!

David Allens,

Director, 10th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries

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TOPIC A: DETERMINING THE ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN A POST-COLD WAR WORLD

*“As we chart our course for this decade and beyond, the Movement is committed to the shaping of a new international order, free from war, poverty, intolerance and injustice, a world based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and genuine interdependence, a world which takes into account the diversity of social systems and cultures. It should reflect global, not separate, interests.” – **The Jakarta Message; Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries 6th September 1992**¹*

With the end of the Cold War, dissolution of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact, and the creation of the European Union, the global scenario by 1991 left the United States as the world’s sole remaining superpower. Many argued that this turn of events now meant that the Non-Aligned Movement, an artifact borne of Cold War tensions, had lost its relevance². Despite these arguments, the Non-Aligned Movement remains the most prominent international forum of countries within the Global South.³ With the drastic number of changes to the global environment, it has been argued that the Non-Aligned Movement should change with the world to better reflect the new and ongoing challenges facing the Global South.

ORIGINS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

In 1955, leaders at the Asian-African Conference (Bandung Conference) argued that due to the context of the Cold War, countries in the developing world should “[abstain] from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers”⁴. Instead, countries in the Global South should cooperate in achieving the goal of self-determination against colonialism and imperialism.⁵ The primary focus of the Bandung Conference was not non-alignment. The principles released at the end of the conference focused on objectives such as human rights, sovereignty of Asian and African states, independence, non-interference in internal affairs from foreign countries, the peaceful resolution of international conflicts and the promotion of mutual cooperation.⁶ One author contends that “the first objective [of the Non-Aligned Movement] was the formation of a buffer of ‘non-aligned’ states in opposition to external pressure to take sides in the Cold War. The second was the creation of international political leverage to hasten the decolonization process which remained.”⁷

¹ Non-Aligned Movement, “Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.”

² Singh, “NAM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD ORDER.”

³ Keethaponcalan, “Reshaping the Non-Aligned Movement.”

⁴ “Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference of Bandung.”

⁵ “Non-Aligned Movement | International Organization.”

⁶ Keethaponcalan, “Reshaping the Non-Aligned Movement.”

⁷ Graham, “THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AFTER THE HAVANA SUMMIT.” p.153

The West was notoriously suspicious of this movement of non-aligned nations, with then American Secretary of State John Foster Dulles denouncing neutralism on 9 June 1956 as the fallacy that “a nation can buy safety for itself by being indifferent to the fate of others.”. He added that, except under very unusual circumstances, “it is an immoral and shortsighted conception”⁸ This perpetuated the idea that third world countries’ neutrality was a neutrality between right and wrong. This also spread to scholarship on the subject with Willetts in one of his criticisms contending that “while I maintain non-alignment was not born until 1961 as a coherent group of ideas propounded by a group of relatively like-minded states, it has also been maintained by other people that non-alignment did not live beyond 1961.”⁹ Another writer contended that the non-aligned nations are and will continue to be mere pawns in the “great power game in which they are ... a kind of bridge between the two competing camps.”¹⁰

President Dwight Eisenhower’s statements to the delegates of 15 new African nations in October 1960 seemed to soften this more hardline approach: “We do not urge—indeed we do not desire—that you should belong to one camp or the other. You cannot afford to waste your money, which is needed to build the hospitals, the schools, the roads that your people need—you cannot afford to put that money into costly armaments.”¹¹

Six years after the Bandung Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was formally founded, the First Summit being held from September 1-6, 1961. The conference was attended by 25 countries.¹²

In the 31 years since the movement was founded, it has grown from 25 member countries to 108 member countries by 1992.¹³

GOVERNANCE AND MEMBERSHIP

To create a coherent transnational organization made up of states with differing (often polarizing) ideologies is incredibly difficult. As a solution, the Non-Aligned Movement never attempted to create a rational administrative structure that all member states would agree to.¹⁴ Instead, the criteria governing membership to the Non-Aligned Movement is not based on national ideology but on activity in the sphere of foreign policy.

The preparatory meeting (held in 1961) of the first summit decided the following criteria for membership of the non-aligned conference:

⁸ “Text of Dulles Speech Explaining U.S. ‘Peace Insurance Policy’; The Cost of Peace.”

⁹ Willetts, Peter, *The Non-Aligned Movement, the Origins of a Third World Alliance*.

¹⁰ Beograd, “Non-Alignment in the World Today.”

¹¹ *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1960-61*.

¹² Non-Aligned Movement, “1st Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement.”

¹³ Non-Aligned Movement, “Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.”

¹⁴ Government of Zaire, “NAM Background Information.”

1. The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of states with different political and social systems and on non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favor of such a policy.
2. The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence from colonial rule.
3. The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance, concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
4. If a country has [a] bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defense pact, the agreement of pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
5. If it has conceded military bases to a Foreign Power, the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.¹⁵

The movement has neither a constitution nor traditional administration. The NAM administration is “non-hierarchical, rotational and inclusive, providing all member states regardless of size and importance, with an opportunity to participate in global decision-making and world politics.”¹⁶ Decisions are made at the Conference of Heads of States or Government which normally convenes every three years.¹⁷ Because there is no administration, every three years at the conference of heads of state the chairmanship of the movement is passed to the host of the summit who is responsible for the organization's coordinating bureau which primarily operates out of the United Nations.¹⁸

This structure of governance is not always conducive to a swift or effective decision making process. Convinced that the only way to move forward was through unity and consensus, the NAM was formed with a “consensual, non-voting style of decision-making within the movement.”¹⁹ One key example is the lack of consensus on issues regarding India and Pakistan.²⁰

At the same time, the structure of the Non-Aligned Movement has been the source of its success with one writer contending that “above all, neutralism or non-alignment implies diplomatic freedom of action and choice with respect to Cold War contestants.”²¹; with another scholar stating that “non-alignment is simply the determination of countries that are independent and what is more, feel themselves to be independent to follow an independent line in their foreign policy, deciding each foreign policy issue on its own merit.”²² Essentially it is a policy of deciding each issue on its own merit, without external pressure and domination. If

¹⁵ Alexeyev and Étinger, *NAM, History and Reality*.

¹⁶ Government of Zaire, “NAM Background Information.”

¹⁷ “Non-Aligned Movement | International Organization.”

¹⁸ BBC, “Profile.”

¹⁹ Graham, “THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AFTER THE HAVANA SUMMIT.”

²⁰ BBC, “Profile.”

²¹ Crabb, *The Elephants and the Grass*.

²² Jansen, *Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment*.

one were to extend the freedoms guaranteed for individuals in liberal democracies (the freedom of thought, speech, and action) to nations and states, it would fulfill the basic tenets of thought promoted by the NAM.²³ This wider definition of non-alignment and international relations, devoid of the Cold War context, might prove a possible template for the future course of the movement.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND THE COLD WAR

The creation of the Non-Aligned Movement was one of the many by-products of the Cold War. The divisions across Europe, East Asia (and to an extent Africa) between the American and Soviet superpowers and their smaller allies brought the NAM to greater prominence in international relations.²⁴

By the time of the 1992 Summit of the NAM, satellite states within the USSR had either seceded or denounced the treaty that created the union, effectively ending the Soviet state and the bipolar world system. It is in this context that the summit convenes and its members must chart a course for the movement going forward into the new millenium.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN A NEW WORLD ORDER

In the aftermath of the the Gulf War, United States President George Bush (Sr.), in his 1992 State of the Union address, called for an American-led “new world order” that the countries of the world would follow. In the view of President Bush, the United States (at times through the United Nations) should lead the charge in creating a new world order that promoted justice, and the maintenance of peace through collective security.²⁵ This view is indicative of the fact that with the fall of the Soviet Union, the world entered a unipolar moment defined by American leadership, domination, and desire to dictate global policy.

Because of this, American policy-makers can also employ military power to further national interests and over-all world objectives. Bush believed strongly that the "New World Order" would be “dominated by the United States with a ‘subservient’ UN and ‘supportive’ rich and industrialized countries of the West.”²⁶ At the same time, this new world order led to the signing of the Camp David Accord in February 1991,²⁷ Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) at Moscow in July 1991,²⁸ and the 1991 West Asia Peace Conference.

Despite these feats of diplomacy, some argue that the US in the early 1990s is at a weak point, and that the rhetoric claiming the necessity of global American leadership is meant to

²³ Singh, “NAM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD ORDER.”

²⁴ Lüthi, “The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War, 1961–1973.”

²⁵ Bush, “STATE OF THE UNION; Transcript of President Bush’s Address on the State of the Union.”

²⁶ Kabi, “NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER.”

²⁷ Kabi.

²⁸ “Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Strategic Offensive Reductions (START I) | Treaties & Regimes | NTI.”

compensate for that weakness. The US seems to have no clear understanding of what the undertaking of consolidating unipolar hegemony actually means. “In the view of Bush[Sr.] and Scowcroft [Former United States National Security Advisor], the media misunderstood and distorted their vision of a new world order to be more expansive and idealistic than intended.”²⁹ Based on these characterizations, it might lead developing nations to conclude that Bush’s new world order might not be that reliable, and that stronger alliances should be made elsewhere.

‘NON-ALIGNED AGAINST WHAT?’

Many have argued that in a contemporary context, the Non-Aligned Movement is a relic of the past with some describing it as “anachronistic,” “irrelevant,” “emasculated,” and “substantially redundant”³¹. These facts were not unknown to the Non-Aligned Movement, as the movement was moving its proverbial “goalposts” with every major meeting. Proponents of dissolving the NAM, not without reason, give more relevance to the title, rather than the spirit of the organization. “Unlike many of the Western commentators and political leaders, the Third World leaders do not believe in disbanding the organization just because its original goals have become irrelevant. This is one reason why the NAM summits and ministerial meetings continue unhindered even after the Cold War.”³² As delegates, you will continue this debate, determining the necessity of the movement, its goals, its ideals, and its role heading into the 21st century and beyond.

The criticism of ‘Non-Aligned Against What’ and those like it are emblematic of a real problem. Many have looked at the Movement over the years and felt that it could do more to improve the lives of those who reside within its numerous member-states. What will the role of the Non-Aligned Movement be in the future to adapt to a changing, shifting global paradigm?

²⁹ Miller and Yetiv, “The New World Order in Theory and Practice.”

³⁰ Handley, “NON-ALIGNED AGAINST WHAT?: South Africa and the Future of the Non-Aligned Movement.”

³¹ Handley.

³² Keethaponcalan, “Reshaping the Non-Aligned Movement.”

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Moving forward, some scholars have suggested that the Non-Aligned Movement should undergo structural changes.³³ Referring to some of the NAM's struggles to reach consensus on some issues and the seeming lack of direction, it is argued that the movement would be more effective with a permanent secretariat instead of its current rotating structure. Still, the founders of the movement have a strong basis in their fears that a permanent location would not only be costly but may allow certain countries to hijack the movement or expose 'internal differences and conflicts'. Moving forward, how does your country feel that the NAM should direct its internal policy?
2. In the past the Non-Aligned Movement has paid close attention to the liberation and inclusion of countries within the Global South. The Movement's member states have been developing over these years and still have a lot more opportunity for growth. It can be argued that to achieve this, a greater emphasis needs to be placed on 'constructive engagement,' especially between NAM countries.³⁴ In many areas within the global south, resources require large investments before outside cooperation or constructive engagement can begin. How does the Non-Aligned Movement and the Global South progress to joint goals while facing domestic institutional and bureaucratic challenges?
3. The Non-Aligned Movement's ability to craft ambitious policy documents and declarations is arguably its strongest skill. How does the Non-Aligned Movement successfully translate these bold agendas and ideals into concrete action?
4. Should the Non-Aligned Movement consider broadening its role to encompass more 'UN-like' tasks like dispute resolutions between its member states? How would that affect the sovereignty of your country, or will it even be affected?
5. It can be argued that the Non-Aligned Movement possessed greater leverage during the Cold War as the superpowers battled for their favour, allowing developing countries to play them off against each other for funding and aid in exchange for influence.³⁵ How does the NAM regain the leverage that it had during the Cold War (and gain more)? Keep in mind that the NAM member states hold about two-thirds of the seats in the UN but represent less than 10% of global economic output (1992).³⁶

³³ Keethaponcalan.

³⁴ Handley, "NON-ALIGNED AGAINST WHAT?: South Africa and the Future of the Non-Aligned Movement."

³⁵ Shenon, "Non-Aligned Movement Decides It Is Still Relevant."

³⁶ Shenon.

TOPIC B: DEVELOPING GREATER ECONOMIC COOPERATION

With a view to establishing conditions for real development, the Conference reaffirms the need to put an end to all forms of foreign domination and exploitation. It proclaims the right of states to recover their natural resources and develop them for the benefit of their peoples, within the framework of a freely chosen development programme. – Political Declaration; Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries 9th September 1973

Economic cooperation is essential for durable, global economic growth³⁷. Countries in the developing world have been marked by sluggish economic growth, many of whom are saddled with debilitating levels of debt and lack the resources for improvement. Many of these countries are member states of the Non-Aligned Movement whose goals include liberation (both political and economic) and the continual progression of economic development and growth within the Global South. This includes issues like debt reduction, colonial independence, and the assuagement of poverty.

In many instances, it can be argued that economic cooperation has been used as a “simile for entrepreneurial, industrial, financial or productive cooperation” with countries applying different meanings to the concept.³⁸ Historically, the idea of economic cooperation primarily encompassed aid from developed countries to the Global South. This has changed, but not to the extent necessary. It can be said that economic cooperation is action taken (on the global or regional level) to coordinate policy decisions and to ultimately enhance self-reliance for the countries that participate. Because of this, increased economic cooperation is a key ideal of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

The NAM has its origins in the Bandung Conference of April 1955 in Indonesia. This movement was created on the understanding of developing connections between third world nations, guided by the principles of non-alignment amongst the hegemons.

Since then, it has become increasingly observed that there is a strong need for economic policy to further increase and enhance South-South Cooperation - economic assistance and trade between developing countries to mutually bolster their growing economies. The most common problems of the South are overpopulation, foreign debt, and poverty.³⁹ Through a conscientious effort of the Movement's member states, the NAM can form effective solutions

³⁷ Horst Köhler, “Strengthening Growth Through Regional and Global Economic Cooperation.”

³⁸ Enrique O’Farrill et al., “Economic Cooperation.”

³⁹ Singh, Surander. “NAM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD ORDER : An Analysis.” *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 70, no. 4 (2009): 1213-226.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/42744031>.

to these economic issues whilst retaining sovereignty and remaining an independent political force.⁴⁰

Less economically developed nations are greatly hindered when it comes to improving living conditions and pursuing overarching national development goals due to structural and systemic problems.⁴¹ It is argued that when coupled with financial assistance from the first world nations, increased inflow of capital can help NAM countries achieve better economic stability. In this way, political alliances with the Global North could be one way to foster economic initiatives. While this is a compelling argument, it can also be argued that over reliance (both coercive in the form of colonialism and voluntarily in the form of loans) has been the primary cause of the movement's economic conundrums. Members of the Non-Aligned Movement must be careful to avoid falling into debt and economic dependence as many of them have before.

CURRENT ECONOMIC STANDING

Countries within the third world have (more often than not) found themselves at an automatic disadvantage due to historical exploitation and internal conflicts. While these member countries are now nominally independent and able to guide their own policy, due to their underdevelopment in comparison to the Global North, large amounts of capital needs to be spent to have a chance to compete in a global market. To compound this, a number of member states have also been plagued with corruption - often delaying any chances of progress.

In 1991, the countries within the Third World experienced sluggish overall economic growth averaging about 3.4% (see table to right).⁴² Industrial countries, with only one-fifth of the global population, account for four-fifths of world output, more than four-fifths of world trade, and almost all exports of capital and technology⁴³.

	1981-1987	1988	1989	1990	1991 ^b
<i>Developing countries^a</i>	2.9	4.4	3.3	3.2	3.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	1.5	0.7	1.1	-0.1	2.6
Energy exporters	1.3	3.1	0.7	4.2	4.4
Energy importers	1.7	-0.5	1.4	-2.4	1.6
Africa	1.8	2.3	2.7	3.1	3.1
Energy exporters	1.9	1.1	2.8	3.8	3.5
Energy importers	1.8	4.6	2.7	1.9	1.7
West Asia	-2.0	-0.5	2.3	1.6	—
South and East Asia	5.5	8.5	6.1	6.3	5.4
China	9.7	10.9	3.6	5.2	7.0
Mediterranean	3.0	1.3	1.0	1.1	-7.0
<i>Memo items:</i>					
15 heavily indebted countries ^d	1.3	1.2	1.3	-0.3	1.3
Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding Nigeria)	1.8	2.9	2.1	1.3	0.7
Major developing economies					
Brazil	2.3	0.1	3.2	-3.8	1.0
India	4.7	9.6	5.2	5.0	2.5
Korea, Republic of	8.3	11.5	6.1	9.0	8.6
Mexico	1.1	1.4	3.1	3.9	3.6
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	2.3	-2.0	1.0	10.0	5.5
Taiwan Province of China	8.2	7.3	7.6	5.0	7.2
Indonesia	3.9	6.5	7.4	7.4	5.8
Saudi Arabia	-3.9	6.4	1.2	9.0	11.6
Argentina	-0.7	-2.8	-4.6	-0.2	4.5
Turkey	5.4	3.4	1.1	9.2	2.0
Thailand	5.3	13.2	12.2	10.0	8.0

Source: UN/DESD

- a Covers 92 countries that account for 98 per cent of the population of all developing countries
b Preliminary estimate.
c Forecast.
d Countries in this group are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

To spur this economic growth it can be argued that forms of foreign-direct investment and international lenders like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank should be

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ [The Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries]. "The Non-Aligned Summit on Population and Development." *Population and Development Review* 18, no. 4 (1992): 779-80. doi:10.2307/1973775.

⁴² "World Economic and Social Survey 1992: Current Trends and Policies in the World Economy."

⁴³ The World Bank, "World Development Report 1991: The Challenge of Development."

used. This is similar to arguments made in the 1970s, when “many developing countries borrowed to increase consumption, invest in doubtful projects, and finance imported oil.” During that time the rate of international bank lending increased by nearly 800 percent to about \$800 Billion. To make matters worse, relying on sovereign guarantee (i.e. promises from governments to pay off loans in case a third party defaults on their payments) meant many commercial lenders did very little to inspect the viability of these loans.⁴⁴ This meant that many loans were often granted without proper research or a thorough understanding of if they really could have been paid back, proving problematic for the borrowing nations as well as the credit lenders.

BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS

At an international conference held in July 1944 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, United States created both the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). While both institutions were borne of the goal of establishing a framework for economic cooperation and development, their work is always evolving in response to new economic developments and challenges.⁴⁵

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an organization of 189 countries, working to generate global monetary cooperation, establishing financial stability, initiate international trade between many countries, aiding in global employment situations, and aiding in the continuous fight against poverty by means of improving economic growth within involved countries. The IMF provides short to medium term loans that are funded by contributions of member countries. These loans are signed with certain conditions. IMF designs policy programs for borrowers in an effort to solve balance of payments problems.⁴⁶ This policy advice (often requirements) and capacity development support is provided to countries in need of economic support - who often are a part of the Global South, and therefore overlap with the NAM's membership.

The World Bank, on the other hand, provides technical and financial support to reform specific projects and sectors within countries (i.e. hospitals, schools, providing clean water, etc). While the World Bank is also funded through member contributions, it promotes long term economic development by providing long term assistance.⁴⁷ The World Bank is an international organization that looks to financially aid countries by means of providing loans to states, primarily those who offer enticing capital opportunities.

Injections of capital are needed in many third world nations to alleviate the effects of their national financial crises. This often comes in the form of financial resources given to many third world nations from international financial institutions (IFI).

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ CHOPRA, SURENDRA. "THE EMERGING TRENDS IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 2 (1986): 161-77. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41855843>.

⁴⁶ International Monetary Fund, "The IMF and the World Bank."

⁴⁷ International Monetary Fund.

WASHINGTON CONSENSUS

During the 1980s, some of these international financial institutions (IFI) collectively pushed certain economic policy recommendations for developing countries. Codified in John Williamson's Washington Consensus, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and U.S. Department of the Treasury agreed on these policy recommendations,⁴⁸ inspiring reforms in the Global South that transformed the policy landscape therein.⁴⁹

The Washington Consensus is both widely blamed and widely commended for its role in the market revolution that is sweeping across the developing world.⁵⁰ The policies described in the Washington Consensus are inherently neo-liberal in nature and argue for the reduction of state involvement and operation of the free market being integral to furthering third world development. Some contend that the implementation of these policies are economically, socially, and politically unsustainable for countries in the NAM,⁵¹ and that these policies are detrimental for solving systemic issues such as poverty.⁵² The approaches used by these organizations (eg. the World Bank) look to be aiding large corporations and foreign companies rather than trying to benefit the people of developing nations. Concerns regarding the neocolonial nature of these financial developments are further explored in the next Topic. While these policies free up more capital to be invested in developing countries, being beholden to western economic institutions means certain constraints and a reduction of sovereignty as private actors hold a greater say over the resources of third world countries.

THE DEBT TRAP

These are some of the conditions that have led to what is referred to as the debt trap. Countries within the Global South - desperate to introduce initiatives to improve the standard of living of their citizens and improve industries - allow western economic institutions to dictate their policy decisions in return for capital projects. Governments face an increasing risk of entering a crisis when they remain under an IMF or World Bank arrangement once the economy's performance improves.⁵³ Despite this, international financial institutions encourage governments to remain under their policy recommendations.

There are increasing dangers that are appearing from the overall buildup of the external debt that NAM nations have generated. . With high debt to GDP ratios, comes economic issues (like poverty, unemployment and stagnation)⁵⁴ that have to be dealt with before structural changes can be made. Many countries within the Non-Aligned Movement are looking to extend their

⁴⁸ "Washington Consensus | Economics."

⁴⁹ Dani Rodrik, "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform."

⁵⁰ Babb, "The Washington Consensus as Transnational Policy Paradigm."

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Dreher and Gassebner, "Do IMF and World Bank Programs Induce Government Crises?"

⁵⁴ Ibid.

country's power at the global stage but this progress and expansion of influence and relations are constantly hindered by the external debt (and related issues) that these countries grapple with.

As a result, there is a lack of strong trading relations as many of these third world nations are far behind first world when it came to modern technology, capital sums, or the potential for economic growth.

SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

Trade is crucial in the spread of technology. "Countries have usually developed more quickly as part of the world economy than in isolation, although protection has stimulated growth in some instances. Historically, trade wars have [delayed] global development."⁵⁵

The Non-Aligned Movement has proven to be a forum through which many initiatives for South-South economic cooperation have been able to occur. There was the Arab League which tied in over 22 states in the Middle East and North Africa region, encouraging inter-state cooperate and trade at greater thresholds. The Asian-African conference was a great turning point in determining and securing Asian and African states together to not only improve relations, but propel economic and social cooperation. This was a very special agreement because it represented over half the world's population, hence it was a monumental occasion for third world nations. There was the Latin American Free Trade Area, which was an initiative that looked to alleviate barriers in Latin American lands to make trade easier for the nations residing therein. There was the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which fostered greater economic participation between these nations in the area, especially because relations at the time were often tense at points. Some other major multinational agreements were the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), or the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

There are numerous factors of economic cooperation that will have effects on the rate of development around the world. Issues like the growth of world trade, capital flows to developing countries, external debt and policies of industrialized countries will all help to determine how countries within the Global South will improve. Without strong solutions to these problems, the issues of poverty, overpopulation and infrastructure can not be addressed. Solutions ranging from reducing reliance on international banking institutions to increasing trade and training opportunities between NAM member-states can bring about lasting improvements to welfare of the movement heading into the 21st Century.

⁵⁵ *World Development Report 1991: The Challenge of Development.*

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What financial policies can be put in place to have an effective impact on NAM countries? Think about the policy decisions that have led to many of the current problems within the Global South. Now, think of policies that aided in the development of the NAM. Hence, look at ways to express peaceful policy, that offers a multilateral agreement between nations in the NAM spirit. Consider geographic or regional relations in doing so.
2. The NAM has continuously pushed for decolonization and the sovereignty of each member state. In many instances development loans and international financial organizations have been accused of encroaching on that sovereignty. Should necessary aid from these organizations be denied in the protection of state sovereignty? Is development (infrastructure and otherwise) without sovereignty really development?
3. How can the Non-Aligned Movement of 1992 continue to build upon these regional economic cooperation forums, and how can it expand cooperation between them? Think about the ways in which nations of the exploited Global South can help one another in the pursuit of greater economic development, and how together they might be able to reduce their dependency on the Global North.
4. Consider the problems facing the nations of the Non-Aligned Movement, such as an overreliance on raw natural resources, and the political volatility that occurs as a result (a phenomena known as the resource curse). How can members of the NAM move away from dependency on resources and raw industries and begin to develop a greater service sector and specialization within their economies?
5. It is argued that the policies of international financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF are not effective. Some are demanding democratization and transparency within these large global bodies.⁵⁶ Would this solve the problems that countries have outlined about these institutions? Or will democratization and transparency hinder the economic policy work of these institutions as their decisions are increasingly politicized?
6. Debt is a major economic burden, and many countries in the NAM wish for it to be written off for a more sustainable financial future.⁵⁷ Are debt write offs the right path to take? Keep in mind that the desperate requirement for financial aid for development and the eradication of poverty are at a critical juncture.
7. It has been argued that the NAM should consider setting up a bank in line with the ideas of the World Bank and other development institutions. Essentially, it is argued that the movement should play the capitalist game instead of call for new international economic orders.⁵⁸ Is development from within more effective than proposing new economic orders? Weigh the differences between long term and short term goals.

⁵⁶GOPAL, B. "RELEVANCE OF NON-ALIGNMENT." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 1 (1991): 54-73. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41855535>.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ South Commission and Nyerere, *The Challenge to the South*.

TOPIC C: RESISTING NEO-COLONIALISM

“Old colonialism with its brutal methods has been replaced by neo-colonialism which is subtle, less conspicuous, but more enterprising, more destructive of our material and spiritual riches, and therefore more dangerous and more difficult to expose, to combat, and to defeat.” Mr. Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; ***Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries 19 August 1976, Colombo***

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world; this was also at the height of the Cold War.⁵⁹ The main goal of the movement was to support the right to self-determination of peoples, national independence and the sovereignty of member States, the independence of non-aligned countries from the influence of great power or bloc influences and rivalries, the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations and the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination.⁶⁰ Therefore, Third World nations united under one umbrella (i.e. the NAM), in order to fight against two external threats to their independence: the undue influence of the two power blocs, as well as attempts from their previous colonizers to maintain control on these territories. Despite the international recognition of the right to State sovereignty, external powers continued to subtly exercise influence over smaller, weaker and newer states for their own strategic gains. Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana and one of the major leaders of the African decolonization movement defined this as ‘neocolonialism’, stating: “the essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.”⁶¹

In order to fulfil their imperial or hegemonic pursuits, developed countries used methods such as proxy wars, or other political and economic mechanisms to interfere with the development of these new states. States succeeded in subtly exercising control over Third World countries by making contributions to the cost of running their state, promoting civil servants into positions that allow them to dictate and wield power, and through monetary control of foreign exchange by the imposition of a banking system that favors the imperial system. The growth of the capitalistic world order perpetuated the impoverishment of ex-colonies, by exploiting their labor and raw material markets for the lowest prices possible. The ideological pressures of globalization, liberalisation and capitalism have promoted the growth of a world trade

⁵⁹ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India “*History and Evolution of the Non-Aligned Movement*” August 22, 2012 (<https://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?20349/History+and+Evolution+of+NonAligned+Movement>)

⁶⁰ *6th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement*, Havana, Cuba 3 – 9 September 1979

⁶¹ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1966, *Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism*. New York: International Publishers

system designed to favour developed nations. Military and financial aid from ex-imperial nations in Africa and other third world nations has made it difficult for their peoples to exercise self determination and autonomy.

Proxy warfare has caused large scale damage to life and property in countries like Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Korea and Cameroon - all for the self-interested gains of the USA and erstwhile USSR. Political and military interference, for instance in Cuba and Pakistan, have led to escalated instability and tension with the governments. The events of the Gulf War were also heavily influenced by neo-colonial actors - attributing a large amount of destruction at the global level to this phenomenon.

Nkrumah accurately makes a link between imperialism and neocolonialism, arguing that *neocolonialism is the worst and most heightened form of imperialism*. “For those who practice it, it ensures power without responsibility and unchecked exploitation for those who suffer it.”⁶²

In order to discuss an effective strategy to flourish without the interference of external powers and resist neo-colonialism, the non-aligned countries should target the following areas:

ECONOMIC NEOCOLONIALISM

The African continent was the most severely affected by economic neocolonialism. European colonizers had instituted a system of economic exploitation in which African raw materials, particularly cash crops and minerals - which were manipulated, expropriated and exported to only benefit the colonizing states and economically drain the colonies. The idea of neocolonialism suggests that when European powers granted political independence to colonies in after World War II, they continued to actively control and influence the economies of the new African countries.⁶³

Economic neocolonialism took several forms, such as: the heavy export of raw materials at reduced prices, foreign aid, and increasing capitalist competition in global trade (which followed after the dissolution of the Soviet Union)⁶⁴

“[T]he result of colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neocolonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world”⁶⁵

⁶² Nkrumah, Kwame. 1966, *Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism*. New York: International Publishers

⁶³ Amin, Samir. *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa*. Translated from the French by Francis McDonagh. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin, 1973.

⁶⁴ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1966, *Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism*. New York: International Publishers

⁶⁵ Nkrumah, Kwame. 1966, *Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism*. New York: International Publishers.

In 1989, the Washington Consensus was introduced, with 10 policy instruments: fiscal discipline, reordering public expenditure priorities, tax reform, liberalizing interest rates, competitive exchange rate, trade liberalization, privatization, deregulation and property rights.⁶⁶ These policies were supposedly framed to encourage growth in the developing world, especially Latin America. It is important to discuss the implications of this broad set of economic principles, as their effects depend on how and when they are implemented. For instance, generally free trade, low tariffs and growing international trade are considered positive. However, they may not take the state-specific diversity of developmental needs into account. Countries with a colonial past have varying economic structures, which these US-based policies do not take into account. The advent of globalization has encouraged the spread of neo-liberal economic policies through liberalization, privatization and globalization using instruments such as multinational corporations and foreign direct investment in countries like India and South Africa. Adding to this, neo-colonial actors have tried to manipulate the international trade of valuable resources such as oil, and given rise to economic tensions in the Middle East.⁶⁷ The international economic climate has become conducive to the growth of developed nations over the interests of the developing world.⁶⁸ All these factors have caused an increase in the economic disparity between the Global North and the Global South exponentially.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

Starting 1960, France launched multiple military operations in its former colonies in Africa. French military interventionism in its former empire appears to be a consistent policy since decolonization, and is coupled with an extensive network of Franco-African defense and military treaties.⁶⁹ One of the major factors in the escalation of the Cameroon crisis was British and French intervention through the United Nations. Both ex-imperial nations and the two Cold War power blocs have made attempts to infiltrate and interfere with non-aligned nations, militarily and politically. The Gulf War of 1990-91 was a product of external interference in political and military matters in Middle Eastern nations. The large volumes of destruction, with the internal and external displacement of peoples caused the creation of a refugee population from Syria and Palestine.

⁶⁶ John Williamson, "A Short History of the Washington Consensus", Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics Paper commissioned by Fundación CIDOB for a conference "From the Washington Consensus towards a new Global Governance," Barcelona, September 24–25, 2004.

⁶⁷ Toby Craig Jones, "America, Oil, and War in the Middle East" *The Journal of American History* Vol. 99, No. 1, *Oil in American History* (June 2012), pp. 208-218

⁶⁸ David Kotz "Neoliberalism and the US Economic Expansion of the 1990s", Economics Department and Political Economy Research Institute Thompson Hall University of Massachusetts Amherst, MA 01003 U.S.A.

⁶⁹ Griffin, Christopher. "French Military Interventions in Africa: Realism vs. Ideology in French Defense Policy and Grand Strategy" *International Studies Association 48th Annual Convention, Hilton Chicago, CHICAGO, IL, USA*, Feb 28, 2007

Strategic diplomatic moves have helped nations manipulate the laws of countries like Cuba. Be it for the purpose of spreading liberal democratic ideas, or for self-interested gains, the actions of the two power blocs have resulted in political instability through military aggression in these nations. In the case of countries like Pakistan, political instability was furthered by foreign interference in the form of financial and defensive assistance.

PROXY WARS

The United States and Soviet Union have used many new nation states as battlegrounds for proxy wars since the 1950s. In order to avoid a full-scale nuclear war, the tensions between the two alliances was settled through proxy wars. Examples of proxy wars conducted during the cold war are the Vietnam War (1955-75) , Cambodian Civil War (1967-75) Korean War (1950-53), Soviet-Afghanistan War (1979-89), and others.

Proxy wars have aggravated the problem of terrorism due to external funding and military assistance. Proxy wars make active use of cyberspace, in order to produce high-efficiency and low-income cyber attacks, as well as modern ammunition.⁷⁰ These wars are fought by the alliances to further their interests at the cost of the host nations of these wars.

⁷⁰ Salem B. S. Dandan, "On Proxy War" Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What approaches to economic policy will help non-aligned nations use the global capitalist trade system to their advantage, and not their detriment?
2. What aspects of the Washington Consensus help or hurt your country? How can governments of developing states work with international financial institutions and investors to create a fairer system that respects economic rights while preventing the exploitation of people in the Global South?
3. How can nations of the NAM work to decrease military and financial reliance on foreign aid and work towards political stability and self sufficiency?
4. How can nations of the Non-Aligned Movement work to bolster each other's sovereignty? Should it be through regional defence organizations like NATO, or should the NAM seek to create its own type of peacekeeping organization?



TOPIC D: DISARMAMENT AND PEACEFUL NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT

*“The Heads of State or Government reiterated their conviction that international peace and security can only be ensured through general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, under effective international control.” **Political Declaration, Seventh Summit of Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries, 7-9th of March, New Delhi, India, 1983***⁷¹

The Non-Aligned movement was formed, among other reasons, as a formal alliance for states that did not want to align themselves with the two major Cold War powers; the US and the Soviet Union.⁷² During the time of the Cold War, there was extreme international tension and pressure for nations to choose a side. For many states in the global South who became members of NAM, this choice felt more like an ultimatum. The NAM stayed intact throughout the Cold War, and past it, and attempted to protect the interests of its member states while also fostering comprehensive and fair cooperation with the global North. Although the spectre of nuclear war may have faded from the consciousness of many nations once the Cold War came to a close, topics such as disarmament and peaceful nuclear development are still of great importance to the NAM member states. This will be discussed in detail at the 10th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Jakarta in 1992. During the summit, the member states begin their discussion by recognizing that the international system has undergone vast and rapid change; solutions to the pressing issues of nuclear disarmament and peaceful nuclear development must attempt to ensure that a fair outcome is also reached for the Global South. Peace and disarmament have always been two of the primary goals of the NAM.⁷³

WHAT IS SECURITY?

One of the main concerns of the NAM member-states is security in this new international nuclear system, especially those who do not possess nuclear arsenals themselves. One of the guiding principles of the NAM, since its foundation, was that every state has the right to pursue development in hoping to one day establish a world order that is democratic and equitable among nations.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Summary of the 7th Heads of State Summit, New Delhi, India, (1983), http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Summit_Summary/1983_7th_Summit_Summary.pdf, pg. 1.

⁷² “Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)”, Nuclear Threat Initiative, May 31st, 2018. <https://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/non-aligned-movement-nam/>.

⁷³ “Non-Aligned Movement and Disarmament”, International Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, (September, 2017), <http://iins.org/non-aligned-movement-and-disarmament/>.

⁷⁴ 10th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, “The Jakarta Message”, Jakarta, Indonesia, 1 – 6 September 1992, http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/10th_Summit_FD_Jakarta_Declaration_1992_Whole.pdf, article 40, pg. 34.

In order to do this, the discussion of non-interference and non-intervention by other nations - in particular western nations - is important. In an effort to constructively change this pattern, the NAM seeks to build better and stronger relationships with western nations. To do this, there is a need for the mutual recognition of interests.⁷⁵ This recognition encompasses matters of stability, security, and other non-military threats.⁷⁶ Beginning with military threats, the NAM seeks recognition that region specific problems are left to and best handled by that region.⁷⁷ They also want to stabilize imbalances in military capabilities and limit them to the lowest possible levels.⁷⁸ Since the start, NAM has believed that UN peacekeeping forces should be trusted with the maintenance of security and de-escalation of conflict in the international system, and for this reason many NAM states are active participants in UN peacekeeping missions.⁷⁹ This is because the UN peacekeeping forces ideally operates on the principles of the UN charter, and would therefore act in the best interest of the international system, not just a single state.⁸⁰ These principles align with many of core foundational principles of the NAM, including the respect of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, and the peaceful resolution of conflict.⁸¹ Although security is often thought of in a militaristic sense, the NAM recognizes that the minimization of military threat is not enough to guarantee security.⁸² While they recognize that the absence of military threat is an important factor in the addressing of other issues, more is required. The new world order that the NAM seeks to shape and participate in requires interdependence and interrelatedness on issues, including but not limited to underdevelopment, food scarcity, and environmental degradation.⁸³ For the NAM, the issue of security has been about more than arms. Security for the NAM states encompass all aspects of development, meaning in addition to disarmament, security includes food, shelter, economics, and the environment.⁸⁴

The shaping of this new world order needs to rest on the foundation of a holistic view of security, where all states are treated justly and equally. To do this, communication between states needs to be transparent and cooperation oriented, as well as facilitating confidence building measures to further cooperation. Although it is 1992, the NAM believes that the world

⁷⁵ Ibid., article 41, pg. 34.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., article 42, pg. 34-35.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ "NAM calls for a more robust approach to UN Peacekeeping", International Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, (April, 2018), <http://iins.org/nam-calls-for-a-more-robust-approach-to-un-peacekeeping/>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ "UN Charter Principles", United Nations, <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/thematic-areas/international-law-courts-tribunals/un-charter-principles/>.

⁸² 10th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, "The Jakarta Message", Jakarta, Indonesia, 1 – 6 September 1992, http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/10th_Summit_FD_Jakarta_Declaration_1992_Whole.pdf, article 41, pg. 34.

⁸³ Ibid., article 41, pg. 34

⁸⁴ "At Time of Complex Challenges to Development, Security, World Must Look to Non-Aligned Movement's Founding Principles, Says Secretary-General", United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases, (July 2009), <https://www.un.org/press/en/2009/sgsm12366.doc.htm>.

still lacks appropriate measures that assure all non-nuclear states against the threat of nuclear conflict.⁸⁵ It is the hope of this committee to address this issue, ensuring the safety of all within this committee.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

By the time of this 1992 summit, the idea and effort towards nuclear disarmament has been acknowledged. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has been active since 1970, although at this 1992 conference, disarmament is still a concern to many.⁸⁶ The member states of the NAM seek the broadening and deepening of current disarmament agreements.⁸⁷ This includes the call for the increased and more comprehensively planned destruction of current arsenals as well as more clearly defined limits on future production.⁸⁸

Although many of the member states do not possess nuclear arsenals themselves, they wish to be more involved in the Conference on Disarmament, as issues of disarmament affect all nations. During this 10th summit, delegates are urged to consider prioritizing the various objectives of the Conference of Disarmament.⁸⁹ The Conference on Disarmament is considered to be the primary forum for multilateral discussion on disarmament.⁹⁰ Its primary objectives include putting an end to nuclear arms races, transparency regarding all types of arms, and assuring all non-nuclear states against the threat of violence or coercion from nuclear weaponry.⁹¹

The NAM generally wishes to emphasize the importance of the establishment of a comprehensive approach to the issue of disarmament, and having it be non-discriminatory and unbiased.⁹² During this summit, some might believe that a “one size fits all” approach is an inadequate solution. Instead, they might offer solutions that consider the individual region in

⁸⁵ 10th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, “The Jakarta Massage”, Jakarta, Indonesia, 1 – 6 September 1992, http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/10th_Summit_FD_Jakarta_Declaration_1992_Whole.pdf, article 45, pg. 35.

⁸⁶ “Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)”, United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/>.

⁸⁷ 10th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, “The Jakarta Massage”, Jakarta, Indonesia, 1 – 6 September 1992, http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/10th_Summit_FD_Jakarta_Declaration_1992_Whole.pdf, article 44, pg. 35.

⁸⁸ Ibid., article 43, pg. 35.

⁸⁹ Ibid., article 47, pg. 36.

⁹⁰ “An Introduction to the Conference”, United Nations Office at Geneva, <https://www.unog.ch/80256EE600585943/%28httpPages%29/BF18ABFEFE5D344DC1256F3100311CE9?OpenDocument>.

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² 10th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, “The Jakarta Massage”, Jakarta, Indonesia, 1 – 6 September 1992, http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/10th_Summit_FD_Jakarta_Declaration_1992_Whole.pdf, article 50, pg. 37.

which they occur, and the agency of those regions must be respected in the terms of these solutions.⁹³

Since the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there have been numerous attempts by the international community to pass effective resolutions on the nuclear disarmament issue. Infact, between the dropping of the bombs and 1978, over 200 resolutions were passed towards this goal, yet few have achieved great success.⁹⁴ One of the reasons for this is that many agreements contain components that the great powers (those who actually possess the nuclear weapons) are unwilling to comply to.⁹⁵ These such agreements are debated to be intentionally structured like this because states, particularly the great nuclear powers, do not trust one another enough to follow through with disarmament.⁹⁶

The NAM was founded originally to protect non-aligned states, and to do this, one of the its long-term goals has been disarmament.⁹⁷ The NAM firmly believes that arms races, particularly by western nations, are largely to blame for global conflict.⁹⁸ As evidenced by the Cold War, the great powers are able to hold the rest of the world hostage in any squabbles between them. The fallout of nuclear warfare will never be limited to just the great powers, but to all nations on earth (if there still one). Delegates must ask themselves: it fair that Delhi, Nairobi, or Brasilia could be destroyed at a moment's notice due to a conflict between Washington and Moscow on the other side of the world? As part of its focus on disarmament, the NAM seeks for avenues of resolution for tensions between major powers.⁹⁹ These proposed confidence building measures will hopefully make the goal of disarmament possible.

PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT

While nuclear weapons are a serious concern to international security and to the NAM, there are benefits to the technology behind them. This being said, the dangers must still be considered and the peaceful development of nuclear technologies must be discussed and agreed on to avoid issues of misconstrued intent.

Many of the discussed solutions for security and disarmament can be applied to peaceful development. Concepts such as transparency, cooperation, and respect, are all prerequisites for the ability to constructively discuss peaceful development.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ M. A. Husain, "Third World and Disarmament: Shadow and Substance", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan., 1980), Taylor and Francis, Ltd, pp. 76-99, <https://www-jstor-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/pdf/3990754.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A985cf2524592ab8250455b6abb55cf80>, pg. 76.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pg. 77.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ "Non-Aligned Movement and Disarmament", International Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, (September, 2017), <http://iins.org/non-aligned-movement-and-disarmament/>.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

A particular concern of the member states of the NAM is the growing restraint placed on them and other developing nations when it comes to their access to and development of technology, done under the pretext of non-proliferation.¹⁰⁰ This is a serious concern to many member states as it significantly impedes on their social and economic development.¹⁰¹ Both of these factors are incredibly important to eventually attain equal footing in the international community and gain a fair and equitable position in the discussion of international affairs. For this reason, agreements should be called upon to be discussed and agreed on multilaterally. One of the primary concerns of this summit is therefore the creation or participation in a multilaterally agreed solution to the tracking of proliferation, as well as the determining of rules and regulations of development that are again, unbiased and equal.¹⁰² All states should have the right to peacefully develop, research and use nuclear technology.¹⁰³

Historically, the relationship of many member states to western states has not been a fair one. Through various alliances among themselves, the west has managed to influence, shape, and control the affairs of other nations in their favour.¹⁰⁴ The peaceful development of nuclear energy technology could greatly benefit many member states of the NAM, and it is therefore of great importance that the NAM are included in discussions of these regulations even if member states do not currently possess nuclear technology.

The upholding of agreements such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is important to the goal of peaceful development. Due to power imbalances in the international system, the states of the NAM are particularly supportive of the safeguard system that the NPT outlines. The NPT gives the responsibility of this safeguard system to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), their job being to impartially assess and verify compliance with the terms of the NPT.¹⁰⁵ At the core of this system is the idea of international cooperation and confidence building, so that the peaceful development of nuclear technology can be shared to the benefit of all countries, and that all are assured against the threat of nuclear weapons.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰10th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement, “The Jakarta Message”, Jakarta, Indonesia, 1 – 6 September 1992, http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/10th_Summit_FD_Jakarta_Declaration_1992_Whole.pdf, article 51, pg. 38.

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Statement by H.E. Dr. R. M. Marty M. Natalegawa on behalf of the NAM States Party to the Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons Treaty (NPT), United Nations, May 3rd, 2010, http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2010/statements/pdf/nam_en.pdf.

¹⁰⁴ Archie Singham and Shirley Hune, “The Non-Aligned Movement and World Hegemony”, *The Black Scholar*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Eighth Non-Aligned Summit Harare-1986 (March/April 1987), pp. 48-57, <https://www-jstor-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/pdf/41067360.pdf?refreqid=search%3A1a6957ea7c1d50f589fa370fea55cde6>, pg. 49.

¹⁰⁵ Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/>.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. How can security be assured through non-military agreements? What about collective security?
2. The Non-Aligned Movement is a strong supporter of equal sovereignty. There are numerous countries in the Global North with access to peaceful nuclear development. These states have tried to prevent countries in the Global South from pursuing the same technology. Some see this relationship to be reflective of the history of colonialism and the reality of neocolonialism. Why should or should not all states have the right to peaceful nuclear development? Should certain requirements be placed on countries based on the stability of their government or other factors?
3. Keep in mind that the Non-Aligned Movement currently has no power to enforce treaties outside of a general willingness to uphold international legal agreements. What can the member-states of the NAM do to further encourage adherence to existing disarmament treaties?
4. How can unfair restraints placed on developing nations in terms of nuclear technology be reconciled with the fears of nuclear weapons proliferation, especially to “irresponsible” or “roguish” states?

ADVICE FOR RESEARCH AND PREPARATION

When writing your background guide for the 10th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement and preparing for committee sessions, here are a few key points you should consider.

Research. When writing your background guide think of it as an academic paper. Wherever possible, your writing should be supported by primary or secondary sources that show where your information is coming from. Make sure you provide a bibliography at the bottom or back of your position paper.

Historical Context. Keep in mind that this committee is set in 1992. Therefore, your country's position should be based on the political climate at that time. Think about if your country was colonized and if so, how much influence does the colonial power have on them now? Who are the other political actors in the region at the time? Who would your country traditionally align with and why? Research your country's position within the NAM and the Cold War, and see how it feels about the issues we will be discussing in this committee.

Your Country's Position. With the Non-Aligned Movement being made up solely of third world countries, many smaller developing countries may not have much information available on their foreign policy. Think about what your country's natural resources are and how that effects debate. Keep in mind what you have to offer to other delegates and how you can use that in the best interest of your country. Here are a few resources that can help you when researching your country's position:

- 1) CIA World Factbook:
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>
- 2) Your country's ministry of foreign affairs
- 3) Speeches made at multinational organizations (eg. the UN):
<http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/unms/andorra.shtml>
- 4) Your country's UN permanent mission:
<http://www.un.org/en/member-states/>; <https://www.un.int/>
- 5) BBC country profile and timeline (with particular focus on the time period around the NAM summit year): http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/country_profiles/default.stm
- 6) IMUNA Country Profiles:
<http://www.imuna.org/resources/country-profiles>

In instances where your country's position has not been clearly defined, there are a some key things you can do:

- 1) Look at your country's voting record on UN resolutions relating to key committee issues:

First look at <https://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/45> (45th Session 1990-91 for example) which breaks down UN resolution voting by year, subject and body.

You can then go to <http://www.un.org/en/ga/documents/voting.asp> which breaks down resolution voting by country.

- 2) Look for any other multinational organizations that your country is a part of and decisions the organization has made that your country has signed on to or ratified.
- 3) Look for any other multilateral agreements (eg. trade) that your country has taken part in. Some of the language or central tenets of the agreement can give you information on general policy. <https://treaties.un.org/>

Think about what is important to your country and how international action on each topic affects your interests, both as a sovereign state and as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Please consult the key resources below as a starting point for your research on each topic.

TOPIC A KEY RESOURCES

"Non-Aligned Movement | International Organization." Encyclopedia Britannica. Accessed November 6, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Non-Aligned-Movement>.

Encyclopedia Britannica entry on the Non-Aligned Movement. Good summary and starting point.

TOPIC B KEY RESOURCES

"Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) | What Is The Non Aligned Movement | NTI". 2018. *Nti.Org*. <https://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/non-aligned-movement-nam/>.

An overarching and detailed explanation of NAM. With many helpful sources included in the site.

SINGHAM, A. W. "The Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement." *The Black Scholar* 8, no. 3 (1976): 2-9. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41066077>.

An overarching economic explanation with background.

CHOPRA, SURENDRA. "THE EMERGING TRENDS IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 2 (1986): 161-77.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41855843>.

Economic trends, developments, & cooperation at the national and international level, between first world and third worlds nations.

TOPIC C KEY RESOURCES

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1966, *Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism*. New York: International Publishers

<https://politicalanthro.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/nkrumah.pdf>

John Williamson, "A Short History of the Washington Consensus", Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics Paper commissioned by Fundación CIDOB for a conference "From the

Washington Consensus towards a new Global Governance,” Barcelona, September 24–25, 2004.

<https://piie.com/commentary/speeches-papers/short-history-washington-consensus>

Griffin, Christopher. "French Military Interventions in Africa: Realism vs. Ideology in French Defense Policy and Grand Strategy" *International Studies Association 48th Annual Convention, Hilton Chicago, CHICAGO*, Feb 28, 2007.

http://research.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/7/8/6/2/p178629_index.html

Salem B. S. Dandan, “On Proxy War” Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen

<http://dpsa.dk/papers/On%20Proxy%20War.pdf>

TOPIC D KEY RESOURCES

“Non-Aligned Movement and Disarmament”. International Institute for Non-Aligned Studies. September, 2017. <http://iins.org/non-aligned-movement-and-disarmament/>.

Offers a good starting point for where the Non-Aligned movement stands on the topic of disarmament

“Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)”. United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs. <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/npt/>.

One of the most important treaties to date on non-proliferation, and regarded with great importance by the NAM

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