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REVITALIZATION AND ACTUALIZATION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL DYNAMICS

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ABSTRACT:

The relevance of the spirit and values regarding peace, sovereignty and solidarity for development that can be implemented concretely through concrete steps will further strengthen the existence of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) organization. The role of NAM in facing the current unipolar international political situation is increasingly needed amidst the increasingly intensive meaning and revitalization of global partnerships between developed and developing countries to strengthen the spirit of multilateralism. Multilateralism must remain the foundation of international cooperation, in the midst of various global challenges such as the economic crisis, the growing number of refugees, the threat of terrorism and radicalism, as well as conflicts between countries, including among NAM members, will continue to overshadow the international realm with an increasingly crucial and complex form. That is why, the NAM countries must continue to strengthen political solidarity between members through tighter and more solid cooperation in order to further strengthen global partnerships for developing countries.

INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the Soviet Union (US) in 1991 marked the end of the Cold War era as well as the United States (US) as the victor. During the Cold War period (1947-1991) the world political order was bipolar, where there were two poles of superpowers competing in order to seize world political supremacy. During that period there was also a reaction against the bipolarity order, starting with the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia, then continuing with the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961 in Beograd, Yugoslavia.

Rejection arose from former colony countries who were worried about the impact of the competition between the two superpowers, given that some of the Asian-African conditions had just gained independence and some were still confined by colonialism. The first NAM Summit was attended by 25 countries, namely Afghanistan, Algeria, Yemen, Myanmar, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.

The NAM is determined to establish a movement, not an organization, to avoid the bureaucratic implications of building cooperation efforts between them. Inspired by the 1955 KAA meeting in Bandung which resulted in the Bandung Dasasila Charter, the main objective of the 1961 NAM was to guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, Zionism, racism and all forms of military aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony and against all forms of political bloc. Key figures from the start were Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghana President Kwame Nkrumah, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Indonesian President Soekarno, and Yugoslavian President Josip Broz Tito. These world leaders became known as the founders of the NAM.

The NAM occupies a special position in Indonesia's foreign policy, because from the beginning Indonesia had a central role in the establishment of the NAM. The 1955 KAA is evidence of Indonesia's important role and contribution in initiating the establishment of the NAM. Indonesia views that the NAM is important not only from the role that has been contributed so far, but also considering the principles and objectives of the NAM are a reflection of the struggle and goals of the Indonesian nation as stated in the 1945 Constitution.

There are three major issues at present that are a factor in the influence of the international political situation, including affecting the situation in NAM countries: First is economic globalization and market failures that have caused economic crises. Second is the issue of religious fundamentalism, terrorism and the Arab Spring. Third is the emergence of China as a strong country in the economic sector and expanding its capital into Asia and Africa.

This third factor is a problem for the US which is a global hegemon, Mersheimer (2004) in his article entitled "Why China's Rise Will Not be Peaceful" stated that China's growth will not take place peacefully, because the US will immediately respond to China by making good containment efforts. economic and military in order to limit China to become a regional or even global hegemon. The consequences of this US-China rivalry have an impact on increasing military power, especially in the Asia Pacific region

Relevance of Resolutions in the NAM Summit in Contemporary International Politics

After World War II, the US and USSR entered the Cold War. The political tension that occurred between the West (United States and NATO allies) and the Soviet Union and its satellite countries could not be avoided. Both are fighting over ideology. The US with its democracy against the Soviet Union and its communism. Of course it has a negative impact on newly independent developing countries, such as Indonesia and India, as targets to fight for influence.

Efforts to build a bipolar world political order by two poles of superpowers competing in order to win the world's political supremacy, led to a reaction against the bipolarity order, starting with the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia, then continued with the establishment The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961 in Beogard, Yugoslavia.

Indonesia can be said to have a very important role in the process of the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) organization. The birth of the Non-Aligned Movement organization was motivated by the concern of the leaders of third world countries, especially from Asia and Africa, about the emergence of world tensions at that time due to competition between the Western and Eastern Blocs.

The NAM does not make a state passive in international politics, but rather to formulate its own position independently that reflects the interests of its member countries. The main goal of the NAM was originally to seek the right to self-determination, national independence, sovereignty and national integrity of member countries. Another important goal was resistance to apartheid; and not taking sides with multilateral military pacts, including opposing all forms and manifestations of imperialism.

NAM rejects the use or threat of force in international relations. NAM is also committed to socio-economic development and restructuring of the international economic system; as well as international cooperation based on equal rights. After the 1970s, after the Cold War ended, until now, NAM has focused more on world economic problems. The NAM conference is held every three years. Now there are 120 members, 17 observer countries, and 10 international organizations that are members of the NAM. NAM is the largest grouping of countries after the United Nations (UN).

There are at least two periods of NAM travel time, namely: (1) the period during the Cold War; and (2) the post-Cold War period. During the Cold War, the NAM had held nine meetings starting from the NAM Summit in Beogard, Yugoslavia (1961) until the Summit was held again in Belgrade, Yugoslavia (1989).

The resolutions achieved during that period are as follows; The 1961 NAM Summit in Belgrade, discussed efforts to stop the practice of Imperialism and

Colonialism, prevent nuclear weapons testing, and reconcile the Western and Eastern blocs. The Second NAM Summit in 1964 in Cairo, discussed world peace efforts and economic cooperation. The Third NAM Summit in 1970 in Lusaka, discussed world peace efforts, increasing welfare and prosperity for developing countries.

The IVth NAM Summit in 1973 in Algiers, discussed efforts to increase cooperation and mutual understanding between developing countries, demands for an end to US military aggression against Cambodia, easing tensions in the Middle East, upheaval in Rhodesia, and racial discrimination in South Africa. The 1976 5th NAM Summit in Colombo, discussed efforts to avoid nuclear war and strengthen the unity and integrity of developing countries.

The VI 1979 NAM Summit in Havana produced the Havana Declaration, as conveyed by Fidel Castro as chairman of the NAM at the 1979 UN General Assembly, the points contained in the Havana Declaration included guarantees of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the non-aligned states in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism and all forms of military aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony and against all forms of political bloc.

The VIIth NAM Summit in 1983 in New Delhi, produced The New Delhi Message containing support for the struggles of the Palestinian and Namibian people, as well as efforts to solve the world economic crisis by forming a New World Economic Order. The 1986 8th NAM Summit in Harare, discussed efforts to end the conflict between Iraq and Iran. The IXth NAM Summit 1989 in Belgrade, discussed efforts to fight for cooperation and dialogue between Southern countries.

In that period, it appears that the issues that dominate the NAM event always revolve around anticipating threats from the competition of two power blocks driven by two superpowers, namely the United States (US) and the Soviet Union (US). The competition is in the form of infiltration and even invasion of other countries for geopolitical reasons, nuclear weapons testing, military bases, to "Star Wars", namely the struggle for supremacy in the field of space technology. The frame used in the Cold War is the difference in ideology between Liberal-Capitalist versus Socialist-Communist.

Even though the Cold War has ended and the world's political order is no longer bipolar, the existence of NAM has persisted, even though its membership has now increased to 120 countries and 17 observer countries. This phenomenon attracts attention. Why does NAM view the bipolarity that occurred during the Cold War as a threat to world security? Why on the way are there NAM member countries that sometimes defected by becoming part of the power of the United States or the Soviet Union? So, does NAM view the same thing that unipolarity is also a threat so that NAM must be maintained?

Neorealism views the bipolar system that occurred in the Cold War era as the most stable system (Waltz, 1964). This stability, according to Waltz, is based on four factors, namely: First, the existence of only two major powers at that time (the US and the USSR) resulted in the absence of the periphery group. Every incident will always involve these two great powers, and the strength that is balanced between the two causes each of them not to act rashly and to maintain the stability of the existing system (for fear of being attacked by the other party).

Second, the increasing number of factors that influence the contestation between superpower countries will lead to the irrelevance of changes at the national and systemic levels, as both countries focus on their competing countries. On the other hand, the increasing intensity of the conflict between the US and the Soviets also gave rise to a continuing crisis. However, as a third factor, Waltz argued that the ongoing crisis caused each country to remain vigilant and in fact contributed positively to the stability of the system. These three aspects, starting from the absence of a periphery state, the increasing intensity of conflicts and related factors, as well as the frequent pressures and crises occurring, can be combined with the fourth factor, namely the high dominance of the two major powers, causing a balance that is predicted to last long until the end of the 20th century (Waltz, 1964).

This is of course contrary to the reality faced by some of the NAM countries, the Cold War era was not a period of peace, contestation and conflict between the two superpower blocks seeped into the dynamics of domestic and regional politics, starting from Latin America such as Cuba, Chile, Bolivia, Nicaragua, etc. Meanwhile in Africa such as Ghana, Congo, Mozambique, etc. In the Middle East such as in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, etc. In the East Asia region of Vietnam, Laos, Korea, including Indonesia during the political crisis in 1965, this issue is still a domestic political commodity.

The spirit of The Jakarta Message

The Xth NAM Summit in Jakarta in 1992, produced The Jakarta Message which contained discussions of population problems, solving foreign debt, forming joint food reserves, increasing cooperation between North and South countries, and between South countries. The XI NAM Summit in Cartagena in 1995 discussed restructuring efforts and democracy at the UN forum.

The XII NAM Summit in Durban in 1998 discussed democratization efforts in relations between countries around the world. The XIII NAM Summit in Kuala Lumpur in 2003 discussed the revitalization of the NAM and efforts to ease the Gulf War III. The XIV NAM Summit in Havana in 2006 produced a declaration condemning Israel's attack on Lebanon, supporting Iran's nuclear program, criticizing the policy of the United States, and call on the UN to be more pro-small and developing countries.

The XV NAM Summit in 2009 at Sharm El-Sheikh 2009 has produced the Sharm El-Sheikh Final Document which contains the NAM's attitudes and views regarding issues of the global economic and monetary crisis, the need for the international community to return to its commitment to the principles of the UN Charter and international law.

Furthermore, the XVI NAM Summit in Tehran in 2012 produced the Tehran Final Document, the Declaration of Palestine Solidarity, good governance in the international order (global governance), the need for reform of the international financial and trade regime and the United Nations organization. The XVII NAM Summit at Margarita in 2016 discussed global scenarios related to peace and security, global financial and economic crises, human rights, demands to uphold the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, concern over unilateral violence under the pretext of democratization and anti -terrorism.

After the end of the Cold War, there was a debate stating that with the end of the bipolar system in the world political constellation, the existence of NAM became meaningless. However, most countries proposed that the NAM should channel its energies to face new world challenges, where North-South tensions re-surfaced and the gap between developed and developing countries became a crisis in international relations. NAM's attention to issues related to economic development in developing countries, poverty alleviation and the environment has become the focus of the NAM struggle in various international forums in the 1990s.

At the 10th NAM Summit in Jakarta in 1992, most of the uncertainties and doubts regarding the role and future of the NAM were successfully overcome. The message of Jakarta, which was agreed upon at the 10th NAM Summit in Jakarta, is an important document produced during the period of Indonesia's leadership and contains a new NAM vision, including:

- Regarding the relevance of the NAM after the Cold War and increasing constructive cooperation as an integral component of international relations.
- Emphasizing international economic cooperation in filling the independence that was achieved through the previous NAM struggle.
- Increase the economic potential of NAM members through increased South-South cooperation.

In connection with efforts to build the capacity of NAM member countries, according to the mandate of the 11th NAM Summit in Cartagena in 1995, the NAM South-South Technical Cooperation Center (NAM CSSTC) was established in Jakarta, which was jointly supported by the Government of Brunei Darussalam and Indonesian government. NAM CSSTC has organized various fields of training programs and activities, studies, and workshops / seminars that are attended by NAM member countries. The form of the CSSTC NAM activity program is focused on poverty alleviation, efforts to

promote small and medium enterprises, and the application of information and communication technology.

Prominent issues related to the problem of terrorism, the spread of intra and international conflicts, disarmament and weapons of mass destruction, as well as the impact of globalization on the economy and information technology, have made NAM need to adjust its policies and struggles. In this context, the NAM views its role not only as an object but as a balanced partner for other global actors.

Regarding the negative impact of the global monetary crisis on developing countries, the 15th Summit also emphasized the need for NAM to work more closely with the G-77 Group and China. A fundamental reform of the global economic and monetary system and foundation needs to be carried out by strengthening the role of developing countries in the decision-making process and strengthening the role of the United Nations.

On March 17-18, 2010, a Special Non-Aligned Movement Ministerial Meeting (SNAMMM) on Interfaith Dialogue and Cooperation for Peace and Development was held in Manila. In general, the NAM member delegations who attended the meeting agreed that many conflicts in the world today are caused by a lack of tolerance. In addition, many NAM member countries explain various aspects of political, economic and social injustice that can trigger extremism and radicalism.

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