

# **The Study of Factors Affecting the Functional Crisis in Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)**

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## **Abstract**

Non-Aligned Movement followed the establishment of world peace by some newly independent states during cold war in order to respect for the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of member states, and struggle with the excesses of great powers and seeking the equality and justice in the international system, but because of sabotage of the two superpowers, structural problems, member heterogeneous, and failure in creating nationalism and international oriented results, was not able to succeed. Changes such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, struggle, political and economic crisis was also an additional cause. Structural reform such as establishment of a permanent secretariat, crossing the purely ethical directives and not legal orders, and creating working groups to follow the above mentioned affaires, which involves funding and reviewing the primary principles and objectives, can lead the movement to realize its primary objectives. The main question is that what do factors affecting functional crisis in Non-Aligned Movement? And Is Nam a international organization? Hypothesis is that by contemplation in the evolution and function of NAM for international law and the changes that have occurred in international relations so far, it is consistent with these changes and has created a powerful and effective fraction in the public communities. As it lacks an international legal personality, is not considered as an international organization.

**Keywords:** non-alignment, bipolar system, cold war, movement, international organization

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**Introduction**

In the early years after World War II, international system was changed from multi-polar to bipolar. The United States and the Soviet Union used the critical conditions of post-war countries such as Germany and Japan and even the victors of “France and England”, and driving out competitors with high economic and military potential and their ideology and increased their sphere of influence. The second factor in the international arena was the independence of numerous countries and freed from the clutches of the evil of colonialism which had called for a fairer system. This non-domination factor of the countries led to adopting the non-alignment strategy and struggling against it. Non-Aligned Movement with member potential that make-up two-third of UN member states, has been less successful in the event of fulfilling its ideals.

Non-Aligned Movement as a sign of the end of the colonial era, announcing opposition to acceptance of domination of the great powers and was an open tribune for expressing opinions and positions of the third world and developing countries. Its membership is like an achievement to a political, economic, and social independence. In order to be able to follow the issues raised by undeveloped countries and their reaction to the matters of international law, it is essential to review and study the special groupings which have been done among them. This is because the opinions of most of undeveloped countries are mainly raised in these groups or were stated in international forums on behalf of undeveloped countries.

Given the role of NAM, the presence of this institute (at least for confirming subjects of international law) could mean cooperation and coordination of undeveloped countries in strengthening the new international regulations. Peaceful coexistence and anti-colonial position and other issues, have an effective role in expressing the neutrality of this institute. Measures that have been done in support of Iran, Palestine, opposing of racial segregation and demand of opening the market of northern countries to the export of southern ones are considerable and noteworthy. These principles and standards reflect the positions of NAM which was also reflected in the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly thereafter. Lack of secretariat which is the main weakness of NAM along with other problems of internal and external factors need a basic review in its structure and objectives by member states.

The first attempt to create convergence among countries that later became known as non-aligned, was done in 1955 in Bandung Conference in Bandung, Indonesia. Jawaharlal Nehru, Jamal Abd El-Nasser and Ahmad Sukarno, heads of the time of governments of India, Egypt and Indonesia, proposed the idea of forming such an organization in this conference. As this event has occurred shortly after India's independence, was also under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's worldview. In Bandung Conference, which was held based on the agreement of Colombo conference in 1954 and was the first step in building solidarity and cooperation and achieving common positions, world peace, cooperation among the countries, direct and indirect colonialism and its effects and the risks of non-compliance, respecting the ideas of each other, and maintaining friendly relations, promotion and development, some principles were considered: respecting for the objectives and principles of the UN Charter and the International Obligations, respecting for the fundamental human rights, respecting for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries, the recognition of the equality of all races and all nations, refraining from interfering in the internal affairs of States and respecting for the right of nations for individual or collective defense (fa.wikipedia.ir).

#### **Berry Yony conference**

In June 1956, heads of India, Egypt, and Yugoslavia came together in Berry Yony Island for the first time. Nehru was upset of the reporters' noise about the conference and stated: "they think that we want to form a new bloc, whereas our common goal is to be anti-bloc". Tito believed that "neutrality not only paves the way for peace to Yugoslavia, but it also preserves its independence and integrity". Nasser also believed that "Egyptian neutrality is as to distance war from Suez Canal Zone". In this way, neutrality as a new force was the three leaders' centered talks. In the common resolution of the three heads, the concept proposed in Bandung has been corrected. After that, they spoke of positive neutrality. The meaning of this policy was "development before any other action" (Abdolrashidi, 1365: 28).

#### **Relations strengthening after Berry Yony conference**

As Berry Yony talks established the basis for future policy of neutrality and strengthened friendly relations between the three leaders of

India, Egypt, and Yugoslavia, was very important. After attending the Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Tito informed Nasser and Nehru about the issues raised in the meeting and continued to do so in future as well. With an agreement with the Russians and Zhou Enlai's mediation, Nasser Received arms from Czechoslovakia. There were numerous meetings between Tito and Nasser and these communications was a cause of distancing Egypt from The soviet.

After Nasser's return from Berry Yony conference, something happened. Nasser received a message from the US foreign minister, John Foster Dulles, announcing the cancelation of America's help for building the Aswan Dam. This was in fact the first shock to the declared policy of positive neutrality. The next day, Nasser to interact with this decision, nationalized the Suez Canal to spend its revenues into building the Aswan Dam (Abdolrashidi, 1365: 28).

### **Administrative Structure of Non-Aligned Movement**

According to the procedure of Non-Aligned Movement, between the two summit intervals of heads of Non-Aligned, a ministerial meeting is held in which the important decisions of the heads are reviewed and updated and in accordance with the new requirements, the previous documents and decisions are amended, or new documents and decisions are approved. About the importance of the ministerial meeting it must be mentioned that after the heads summit, foreign ministers meeting, which is in fact held between the heads summit, is of the utmost importance even other ministerial meetings. This is because most of the affairs relating to document preparation and negotiations for the heads summit, is done in ministerial meetings. Its negotiations are usually more detailed and more complex. (Javadi, Non-Aligned Movement)

### **Non-Aligned Movement organizations**

Although NAM had initially no specified organization, but now it has many organs that have been created over time:

- 1- Heads conference
- 2- Movement Presidency
- 3- ministers conference
- 4- Office for the Coordination of Non-Aligned countries
- 5- Among the states Coordination Groups (Ghavam, 1384).

### **Objectives of Non-Aligned Movement**

Of conferences that have been held so far, these cases can be reminded as non-alignment movement (NAM) strategy:

- 1- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity
- 2- Reduction of the tension in the international relations
- 3- Opposition of integration to the military unions
- 4- Supporting of the United Nations Charter
- 5- self-determination and freedom of all nations from colonial rule
- 6- Positive international cooperation
- 7- Peaceful settlement of disputes
- 8- struggling against racism
- 9- the need for disarmament under international monitoring and signing an agreement of disarmament by
- 10- Non-interference Creating a context of nationalism and internationalism in expanding the relations of the Third World countries
- 11- Combat with underdevelopment (Ghavam, 1384).

### **Qualification of membership in Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)**

In the fifth Summit in Algiers in 1973, qualification of membership was determined as follows:

- 1- Non-dependency to any military alliances
- 2- Following the principles of peaceful coexistence policy
- 3- Assisting the liberation movements
- 4- No transferring of military bases
- 5- No signing of bilateral or trilateral agreements of military support (The strategy of non-alignment and its effects on international relations) (Ghavam, 1384).

### **Political entity of undeveloped countries**

NAM considers three subjects on international issues:

- a. Failure to make independent decisions capitalism and colonialism
- b. Struggling with capitalism and different aspects of colonialism
- c. Neutrality In association with major powers

At the moment not only Movement insists on its previous objectives, but also tries to rebuild the international economic discipline. Often it can be seen that most of the important UN resolutions, underlying issues that

have previously been raised in the form of resolutions or statements by the Non-Aligned Movement. The following examples reveals the participation cases and role of the movement in regulating of these standards and principles: the end of the old colonialism, the end of apartheid, disarmament, non-interference, the right of self-determination, the new system of international economic, the new system of global information, the new system of global culture, and peaceful coexistence. These standards and principles reflects the position and anti-colonial subscriber line which is in fact constitutes the main elements the movement's identity. These are also reflected in the resolutions of the UN General Assembly later on.

### **Positions of Non-Aligned Movement**

Non-Aligned Movement that has been encountered threatening changes, tried by reviewing its main objectives, to be adapted with these changes, and by studying the interests of developing countries in the current situation, guaranty its previous conditions and prove its efficiency. The performance and method of the Movement is a sign of the end of the colonial era, opposition to any domination, and a place to express opinions and positions of third world countries (fa.wikipedia.ir). Some commentators believe that the NAM like other movements, has affected from individuals and leaders characters. By describing the political situations of India, Indonesia, Egypt, and Yugoslavia and reviewing the biographies of their leaders in 1950s, they have concluded that these countries and their leaders, all of whom played historical roles in the independence of their countries and liberation from colonialism and the influence of other countries, had some similarities, such as:

- 1- All of four countries have passed the long and difficult period of being colonized, domination and supremacy of the stronger and powerful country, and their struggle for independence and non-aligned was right.
- 2- All of the leaders of four countries were the first political leaders of their countries after independence and liberation from colonialism. Not only all of them participated actively in the colonial and anti-imperialist wars, but also led them.
- 3- From 1950 to 1955 was a turning point in political campaigns for all four countries.

- 4- In 1994 in Colombo conference, Nehru is the prime minister of India and Sukarno was elected as the first president of Indonesia in the first elections after the independence.

Abd El-Nasser was elected as the Egyptian president and Tito is the leader of people republic of Yugoslavia that all of four have attended in Bandung conference in 1955.

Non-Aligned Movement is among the institutions that has the features of international organization, but as it lacks an international legal personality, is not considered an international organization (Abdolrashidi, 1365:20).

### **Legal nature of Non-Aligned Group**

Non-Aligned Movement does not have legally a fixed shape and specific identity. The main reason is the lack of group association. The founders of NAM initially announced repeatedly that their goal is not to create a new block, but have risen against foreign blocks.

Non-aligned countries are constituted of different regimes, diverse ideologies and different strategies. They occasionally come together and send out some declarations and resolutions. There are three groups in the Non-Aligned Conferences:

- 1- Member states
- 2- Countries and organizations as supervisor that are allowed to attend in all meetings and committees and can comment out but cannot vote.
- 3- Guest Countries and organizations that can only attend in general meetings but cannot comment out or vote (Ghavam, 1384:343).

### **Positive and negative neutrality**

India's Prime Minister Nehru said in 1947 that general policy is to avoid from power and non-union to any group against other one. We should behave friendly with both groups and yet dependent to none of them. Both blocs are too much distrustful to each other, as other countries look with suspicion on the two blocks.

It is essential to distinguish positive and negative neutrality, that is, first, positive neutrality is a political ideology and belief, whereas negative neutrality is an experience. Second, positive neutrality pays attention to the international intentions and peace and condemns invasion and do not hesitate in the process of developing relations and international cooperation. But in negative neutrality as soon as hostile

powers are preparing for war, that government tries to keep away itself from any major international issues which is related to the war (Rahmani, 1348: 25).

### **Efficiency or inefficiency of Non-Aligned Movement**

Fifty years experiences show that despite an important role that NAM could play in strengthening of political and economic relations of third world countries, due to various flaws and weaknesses was not able to achieve its projected objectives. The major weaknesses of the Movement are as follows:

- 1- Members of the Movement are composed of heterogeneous states and despite the fundamental condition of non-dependence to one of the superpowers, a number of members are affiliated to one of the world's blocs.
- 2- Since the decision of movement is unanimous, opposing point is subordinate to the consensus of the majority.
- 3- The most fundamental weakness of the Non-Aligned Movement are lack of secretariat, charter and organizational mechanisms. For this reason the approvals are not run. Most recently after a meeting in Durban, required fields and instructions is formed for this issue so-called NAM Troika which has started consultations with members at the level of ministers and heads to carry out the decisions or follow-up them. At present, NAM Troika is composed of Cuba, Egypt, and Islamic Republic of Iran.
- 4- Legally, NAM decisions have no sanction and its only backing is public opinion.
- 5- Politically, the influence of big powers like the US, China, and Russia caused division and disunity among members of Movement.
- 6- Political groupings within the Movement such as the Arabic countries, black Africa and so on, caused severe disagreement among the members and improper decision.

It seems that Non-Aligned Movement in addition of identity and nature crisis (yet after half a century is not converted into an organization) due to major problems, including disputes between members, will have a fate like other regional bodies in South Korea ( Aghahi '1392: 311-4).

**Iran and Non-Aligned Movement**

This Movement has potential capacity that Iran can meet its national interests by utilizing them. First, 120 of world countries are members of it which is about two-third of United Nations members. Second, basic principles of Non-Aligned Movement such as the equality of all human, whether small or grown up, and respect for international justice adapted with foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. Justice seeking, peacefulness, and helping the oppressed is a good tradition which has a good status in Iran and Iranian entity. Therefore, Non-Aligned Movement that has the same principles inside it, in consideration of Islamic Republic of Iran has a high honor and esteem and we regard NAM as a global movement of noble nations of the world for achieving peace, justice, freedom, independent, non-violence, war, authoritarianism, and unilateralism. So, decision-makers made a lot of efforts to achieve the following goals: struggling with the stationed international order under the hegemony and domination of the United States. Iran has always called for a more active role of NAM against domination and unilateralism policy of America And shaping international relations based on justice and human values. Besides these long-term goals, in short-term, the government stressed the need to allocate a permanent seat on the Security Council with veto right to NAM (Dehghani Firozabadi,1392: 305)

**The first conference of wives of heads of Non-Aligned Movement**

By the proposal of Mrs. Suzanne Mubarak, Egyptian President's wife, the first conference of wives of heads of Non-Aligned Movement on the sidelines of the fifteenth summit of NAM (2009) was held in Sharm el-Sheikh. This meetings, under the title of "Women in crisis management, prospects and challenges, the best methods and lessons that can be learned", was held for two days. There were 17 wives of ministers and heads of states of NAM that have participated in this meeting. The wife of president of Montenegro as supervisor member and the wife of Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary-General, as special guest have attended in the meeting. In the document published by the summit, some point of views have been discussed on the issues of the financial crisis, food crisis, health crisis, humanitarian issues, peace and security, and ICT were discussed (Sheikhan 1391).

**Non-Aligned countries and the concerns ahead**

In the first summit of NAM (1961) which was held in Belgrade, qualification of membership of countries based on non-coalition with big powers, and membership status in defense treaties was raised. The discussion in Belgrade has been centered on the danger of outbreak of war between America and Russia. In this meeting a statement on the content has been issued in which supporting the independent countries and struggling with imperialism and the commitment of this Movement in rebuilding the structure of the global economy is mentioned.

In the early of 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of cold war, the concern of this Movement about globalization, trade and investment, foreign debt, AIDS and international crime were at the top of the Movement discussion and was very important.( [www.asriran](http://www.asriran))

**Movement in the new situation “to be or not to be”**

Despite the Movement detente and prevention of political and military crises in the second half of the twenties century and cold war, Movement was able to decrease the recruitment of superpowers and the arisen challenges. With collapse of the Soviet Union and Warsaw military treaty, Movement found its preliminary political life according to the two views.

**The first view:** After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Existential philosophy of movement disappeared as far as Argentina withdrew from membership in the movement. The disappearance of the bipolar system, the presence of the United Nations and other international assemblies, and national and regional goals consolidates interests and positions of states.

**The second view:** This view believes that in the bipolar international system, each of the two superpowers balances its rival and the balance of power is formed. But in unipolar system, countries that are not aligned with it are in danger and threat. Therefore, the membership countries with all capacities, quantities, and qualities, play an active and constructive role.

**Comment and review of Non-Aligned Movement performance**

Non-Aligned Movement during the cold war at the time of Charismatic leaders such as Nehru and Sukarno, resisted against two super powers of East and West bloc thinking and through sanctions of

joining to unions and military treaties, played an important and effective role in reducing the tensions, and regional challenges. Moreover, decolonization policy of the Movement caused many Asian and African countries in the colonial rule, became independent. In 1949, United Nations General Assembly approved the resolution of the end of colonialism. Unfortunately, with the passage of time, some factors have affected the Movement strategies and questioned its effectiveness. These factors are as follows:

**a. External factors:**

The effort of East and West superpowers with circumvents tried to inconsistent and not integrate with this Movement. The foreign minister of US, Dulles, announced that “he who is not with us is against us”, meaning not dependent to the US and dependent to East and vice versa. Soviet efforts with anti-capitalism slogans and showing consistency with third world countries, tried to guide and bringing them to himself, and it was this time that, Cuba, Russian pro-ideology announced that it is belonged to East bloc.

**b. Internal factors:**

- 1- Internal grouping
- 2- Member heterogeneity both economically and ideologically
- 3- Nationalism and the way of decision-making
- 4- The lack of enforcement for decisions made
- 5- Non-compliance of some members to the Non-Aligned strategy
- 6- Failure of the Members to create nationalism and internationalism and related achievements

**Transforming Non-Aligned Movement into an international organization**

Expanding the cooperation in two areas of cultural, due to communication growth, and economical, due to the increasing role of economy, and reinforcing the cooperation among the NAM members enhances the position of this institute. The important prerequisite in this regard is Transforming Non-Aligned Movement into a full-scale international organization. But according to three main features of an international organization, NAM cannot be considered an international organization: 1- Having independence and separate legal identity and independent from the member States. 2- Permanency or durability. 3- And the establishment of headquarters and regular cabinets.

One of the issues that has is noteworthy in the discussion of an organization and its cabinets is a permanent secretariat, and was one of the most important issues of some countries such as Iran in recent years.

Creating a working group of seminar in this regard and sending the measures report to Coordination Committee and explaining the objectives and principles from the Members, expansion of the cooperation, attraction of member participation with supplying and spending the secretariat and other institute required costs will be considered. Only in this way can the Movement after removing the structural weakness and reforms in order to fulfill the five principles, which was based on accordingly, take essential and effectiveness steps and plays role as a successful international organization.

### **Conclusion**

When we note the role that the Non-Aligned Movement can play in the future, we will come to the conclusion that today the movement is faced with issues that was substantially different fifty years ago. In order to be able to affect the current events, we should follow international developments with more attention. NAM has concluded that as long as global peace and development in needy countries did not happen, intended objectives of NAM is not realized. Today for some reasons, NAM has taken away from the movement created by their leaders. It seems that NAM no longer wish to adopt a hostile position against the world powers. Even if it is not able to present international subjects itself, but announcing cooperation with the international community and respecting and adhering to its rules is very important and valuable. Whereas many political analysts believe that the existential Philosophy of such organization is related to bipolar world, they do not see any reason for the movement presence on the international scene with the standards and coordinates of the Cold War. Since this NAM lacks international legal personality is not considered an international organization.

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