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# ***SESSION 1 : THE GENESIS OF NAM – The Initiative of Five***

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## **The Genesis of the NAM – the Initiative of the Five : Josip Broz Tito**

**By Jovan ČAVOŠKI**

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The history of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) as one of the specific global phenomenon during the Cold War period is tightly connected with the evolution and performance of socialist Yugoslavia on the international stage. In fact, the foreign policy strategy of non-alignment was one of the cornerstones of Yugoslavia's global entanglements during those decades, while President Josip Broz Tito was considered by many in the developing world as the outright champion of such a concept. Yugoslavia was not only the first European country, along with Cyprus, to become a member of the non-aligned group and the founder of the subsequent NAM, but also Belgrade exercised such a prominent and dominant role in the neutralist forums during the Cold War that in many ways Tito's stance affected the international performance of the entire Movement. Without the proper understanding of the Yugoslav role in the formation and evolution of the NAM, one could not fully grasp Tito's considerable capacity to stimulate initiatives and steer developments among different Third World countries and their leaders.

This presentation will deal with the formation and evolution of the Yugoslav policy of non-alignment during the late 1950s and early 1960s. This was a vibrant period marked by Yugoslavia's growing political and economic offensive into the Third World, as well as by the dynamic spread of non-aligned impulses among many newly liberated nations, which naturally drew a lot of attention not only from other nations but also from both superpowers and the blocs they headed. This presentation will primarily focus its analysis on Tito's intensive personal diplomacy with Asian and African leaders leading up to the Initiative of the Five in 1960 and the subsequent 1961 Belgrade Conference, also scrutinizing the principles and mutual experiences that enabled Yugoslavia's rapprochement with other non-aligned nations during those years. Through meticulous analysis of Yugoslavia's interactions with different Third World countries and the two superpowers, this presentation will try to shed additional light on the first decade in the formation of this new global phenomenon, the NAM, and Tito's concrete role in that process.

This presentation will be based on author's extensive research in the archives in Serbia, India, China, Myanmar, US, Britain, Russia, Germany etc.

## **Soekarno in global history and his role in NAM**

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The paper tries to present Soekarno as a historical phenomenon of global history, representing what Samir Amin called “The Rise of the South”, the rise of the “peripheries” of capitalism, Africa, Asia-Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean. The biographical outline of Soekarno corresponds schematically to the global history of capitalism described by Samir Amin. The Soekarno's life was situated at the decline of capitalism marked by multiple crisis since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century including Nazism/Fascism, two world wars, and Cold War. The rise and fall of Soekarno corresponds to the down and up of capitalism. The fall of Soekarno (1965) announced the fall of Soviet Union (1991). While the personality and the role of Soekarno in Global History reflected the geographical situation of Indonesia as an archipelago characterised by diversity of languages, cultures, religions, situated between two great civilisational entities: China and India. This led naturally Indonesia and Soekarno to be in a position of mediator between the two. Projected globally, it is a natural position of Indonesia not be aligned to any power bloc and to play role of mediator, network builder and solidarity maker. The paper will illustrate how Soekarno reflected these roles.

## **The Genesis of the NAM – the Initiative of the Five : Nkrumah**

**By Amzat BOUKARI-YABARA**

Doctor in African History and Civilizations

Teacher at the African Political School of Paris (Ecole Politique Africaine, EPA)

the General Secretary of the Pan-African League UMOJA

Reflecting on the involvement of Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana in the Bandung Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement, this talk will engage the meaning of a possible history of a Global South movement historically led by pan-African struggles. It will question how and why the specific place of Africa in this new distribution of global power remains at the heart of a new rising twenty first century internationalism.

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## ***SESSION 2 : THE GENESIS OF NAM- The 1961 Belgrade Audio-visual Archives***

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### **Yugoslavian audio-visual archives**

**By Mila TURAJLIC**

In September 2021, the 60th anniversary of the first Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement offers an opportunity to re-discover this event, prompted by the recent identification and digital scan of 20 reels of previously unseen and unedited 35mm footage from the conference.

The reels are part of an exceptional archive filmed from the 1950s to the 1980s by the Yugoslav Newsreels in non-aligned countries in Africa and Asia. Yugoslav Newsreels (Filmske Novosti) was a politically-run film studio at the nerve-center of socialist Yugoslavia's information strategy. From filming the first encounters between the political and revolutionary leaders who marked the era of decolonization - including Nehru, Nasser, Sukharno, Nkrumah and Yugoslavia's President Tito - they would document every single Non-Aligned Summit during the Cold War. Forgotten during the break-up of Yugoslavia, and erased from the country's public memory - along with former Yugoslavia's central role in the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement - these archival images have remained unseen and unexplored for decades.

Since 2013, Mila Turajlić has been researching this filmic archive, exploring a praxis of transnational ciné-kinship. In collaboration with the last living cameraman of Filmske Novosti, Stevan Labudović, she began digitizing and examining these materials, engaging the perspective of the filmmaker who shot them. Labudović, who as the cameraman of President Tito was designated from 1954 to follow Tito on voyages to Africa and Asia and Latin America, was assigned to film the only color footage of the 1961 Summit in Belgrade, and filmed Non-Aligned Summits until that Summit in Belgrade in 1989.

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## ***SESSION 3 : BELGRADE 60 YEARS ON in Global Perspectives – Part 1***

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### **The Place and Role of the NAM in Global Politics: Alternatives in a Multipolar Setting?**

**By Istvan TARROSY.**

The talk will offer first an overview of the NAM in the global system using a geopolitical approach. It will then focus on what alternatives (if at all) the NAM can present in economic and political terms, as well as from the perspective of smart power in today's international relations. Several cases will illustrate the growing importance of South-South cooperation, which stays in the core of the 'Bandung spirit', whose revitalization keeps returning on certain agendas. The talk will finally present a number of questions for further debate over the changing global order and the place and role of the NAM within it.

### **Ecology, Sustainability and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)**

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The world today is plagued with a growing number of environmental issues that affect us locally, regionally and globally. These include climate change, scarcity of natural resources, water security, biodiversity loss, deforestation, and environmental degradation. Evidence suggests that these issues create or exacerbate conflicts. The effects of climate change for example disproportionately affect poorer peoples and nations while the drivers of this issue largely comes from richer nations. It is therefore imperative that a better understanding of these issues be obtained to build more effective environmental governance and policy which can reduce conflict and ensure security from local to global scales. Natural resources have fueled conflicts and were used as a source of wealth to fund conflicts. In times of warfare, environmental stewardship largely remains unchecked. A reduction in conflict will lay the foundation for enduring social and environmental sustainability. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) has advocated for environmental protection to be viewed as an integral part of development. NAM

has also promoted the preservation of global life-support systems and expressed a readiness to partner and promote international cooperation in the area of the environment. The population dynamics and the planetary boundaries (Climate change, Biodiversity loss, Biogeochemical, Ocean acidification, Land use, Freshwater, Ozone depletion, Atmospheric aerosols, Chemical pollution) which exist suggests that this trend is not sustainable if it is pursued and therefore change is needed. With the NAM members mainly being developing countries, it is possible for them chart a pathway to development that is sustainable and ecofriendly. A look at the declaration of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mid-term Ministerial Conference in Baku and the Online Summit-level Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement Contact Group in response to COVID-19 both demonstrate that NAM will continue to be a loud advocate for environmental sustainability.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years On from the Perspective of Geopolitical Economy**

**By Prabhat PATNAIK**

Non-alignment was not just a foreign policy stance. This stance was rooted in a *sui generis* conception of the “nation” and “nation-building” that countries throwing off the imperialist yoke had dreamt of pursuing. The European conception of the nation, developed in the wake of the Westphalian Peace Treaties in the seventeenth century, had three features: it saw the “nation” as standing above the people, for which the people only made sacrifices; it was not all-inclusive but always had an internal “other”; and it was imperialist from its very inception. This was bourgeois nationalism which reached its infamous apogee under fascism in the 1930s.

By contrast, anti-imperialist nationalism in the third world was an altogether novel idea, where the nation’s *raison de etre* was to improve the lives of the people; it was all-inclusive; and it built bridges with other people engaged in anti-imperialist struggles. The non-aligned movement, the Bandung and other subsequent Conferences, were the outward expression, in the realm of foreign policy, of this basic project.

This project alas is no longer alive. Under the impact of neo-liberalism and the hegemony of international finance capital, the third world nation itself is now fractured, with its domestic corporate-financial oligarchy, aligned to globalized finance, and a segment of the middle class that has been a beneficiary of neo-liberalism, being on one side of the divide; and the workers, peasants, other petty producers and agricultural labourers, who have witnessed even absolute immiserization under neo-liberalism, being on the other side.

Neo-liberal globalization however has run its course and is now engulfed in a crisis from which there is no obvious escape. This opens up opportunities for new mass struggles, and hence a revival of non-alignment in a substantive, not just a formal sense. Non-alignment makes sense only when it is linked to people’s struggles. And an era of struggles is now opening up.

## **« CULTURES-IDENTITIES-IDEOLOGIES » : Mouvement des Non-Alignés et « Force morale » dans un monde polycentrique**

**By Isaac BAZIÉ**

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vice-president of the Canadian Association for African Studies  
and co-founder and director of the Laboratoire des Afriques Innovantes – LAFI

(English below)

Le MNA est, sans conteste, fils de Bandung, auquel les chroniqueurs du non-alignement ne cesse de le renvoyer, à juste titre. Le MNA est né dans un monde fortement polarisé et partagé entre des idéologies et des manières de voir le monde qui s'opposaient et s'excluaient. L'affirmation au 21<sup>e</sup> siècle d'un monde polycentrique abolit-il la pertinence du non-alignement? C'est en tout cas l'argument que ses détracteurs aiment avancer.

La présente contribution est basée sur des dimensions majeures et implicites mais qu'on oublie facilement dans les préoccupations et les déploiements stratégiques du MNA : les identités et les cultures, les valeurs morales; c'est-à-dire les visions du monde que portent les peuples pour lesquels aussi bien la conférence de Bandung que celle de Belgrade ont été organisées. Ma réflexion permettra de mettre en évidence l'importance et les implications de ce que les pionniers du MNA ont appelé « la force morale ». Lors du 7<sup>e</sup> sommet du MNA à New Delhi, Thomas Sankara, ancien président du Burkina Faso, a identifié la principale caractéristique du mouvement en ces termes: « Notre mouvement est avant tout une force morale qui rassemble des pays divers par leur position géographique, leur étendue, leur population, leur économie et les systèmes sociaux dont il se sont dotés autour d'une politique positive et constructive pour promouvoir une paix collective entre eux, et entre tous les pays de notre planète ». Nous verrons que 60 ans après Belgrade, cette perspective peut se rattacher à des approches décoloniales afin de réfléchir sur le devenir de l'humanité.

(English version)

NAM is doubtless son of Bandung, to whom the chroniclers of non-alignment keep sending him back, and rightly so. NAM was born in a world that was highly polarized and divided between opposing and exclusive ideologies. Does the affirmation of a polycentric world in the 21st century abolish the relevance of non-alignment? At least that is the argument that its detractors like to put forward.

The present contribution is based on major and implicit dimensions that are easily forgotten in the concerns and strategic deployments of NAM: identities, cultures and values: world views held by the peoples for whom both the Bandung and Belgrade conferences were organized. My reflection will help to highlight the importance and implications of what the pioneers of the MNA called "moral strength". At the 7th NAM Summit in New Delhi, Thomas Sankara, former President of Burkina Faso, identified the main characteristic of the movement in these terms: "Our movement is first and foremost a moral force that brings together countries that are diverse in their geographical position, size, population, economy and social systems around a positive

and constructive policy to promote collective peace among themselves, and among all the countries of our planet". We will see that 60 years after Belgrade, this perspective can be linked to decolonial approaches in order to reflect on the future of humanity.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years On from the Perspective of Arms control and Disarmament**

**By Kate HUDSON**

As well as opposition to colonization and economic subjection, those participating at the Belgrade conference were also agreed on opposition to military blocs, their commitment to world peace, and strong advocacy for global nuclear disarmament. That thread was to remain a constant over the subsequent sixty years and today we continue to see NAM countries in the leadership of global disarmament initiatives.

Despite the political differences within the NAM, its work towards nuclear disarmament hasn't just been words, it has been action too. Virtually the entire global south is self-organised into internationally recognised nuclear weapon-free zones, originating in the 1960s.

In the 1960s NAM countries also played a significant role in securing the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, although the non-compliance of the nuclear weapons states rendered it inadequate as a legal vehicle for disarmament.

As a result, NAM countries pressed for a new legal instrument to ban nuclear weapons, resulting in the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons which came into force last month. The Treaty makes nuclear weapons illegal for the first time, outlawing the development, possession, and deployment of nuclear weapons by participating states. Most of those countries that have ratified it are from the global south. The NAM also continues to press within the UN for a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East.

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## ***SESSION 4 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Asian Perspectives 1***

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### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Indonesia**

**By Aminuddin FAISHAL**

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The non-aligned movement (NAM) has developed into a large movement in terms of the quantity of members. But after 60 years of its birth and existence towards, to what the extent does this movement have real significance and benefit all its members? This article intends to review historically the contribution, problems, and prospects of Indonesia's interaction within the NAM. There are three framework arguments that will be explored more deeply are: First, In the post-cold war, the NAM has adopted the model called “ceremonial leadership” that is rotated from one country to another. This resulted in not much progress towards the ratification of the values and principles of Belgrade can be formulated and implemented massively Second, cooperative relationships that involve individual socio-economic mobility run very slowly and are still limited by technical problems. As a result, the transfer of research, science and technology is not able to contribute to strengthening the economic and industrial structure amongst all members. Indeed, there has been progress despite discussions and interpretations of the changing world constellation followed by the information sharing policies. From an Indonesian case and perspective, this article provides a critical note of the future of NAM which is nothing more than an organization of friendship.

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## ***SESSION 6 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Asian Perspectives 3***

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### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Vietnam**

**By Le Thi Hang Nga**

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Founded in Belgrade in 1961, The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is the most prominent international grouping of the states of the third world countries. It is argued that, with the end of the Cold War, NAM also lost its relevance. However, though it is true that some of the movement's objectives lost relevance as a result of the end of the Cold War, yet the movement's relevance is justified on the ground that some of the old issues have taken a new form and need collective efforts to find solutions. The dynamics of the new emerging world order are constantly changing, so there is a need to continue NAM so that the world system do not end up with several rival blocs or power centers in the future.

Vietnam has been an active participant in NAM since the early days of the movement. In 1955, Vietnam attended the Asia – Africa Conference in Bandung (Indonesia) which was considered to be the precursor of NAM. At the Conference, Vietnam actively promoted solidarity among newly independent nations, contributing to establishing basic principles that would later become the guiding principles of NAM's activities. From 1970 to 1973, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam served as observer of NAM (George Town Conference, Guyana, 1972) and then a member of the Movement (at the IV Algeria Summit, 1973). In 1976, a unified Vietnam joined NAM. Since then up to now, Vietnam has always attached great importance to its participation in the movement, considering it a part of the country's consistent, open, multilateral and diversified foreign policy.

The paper is to give an assessment of NAM 60 years from the perspective of Vietnam and its contribution to NAM past, present and future.

### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Iran**

**By Ali MOHAGHEGH**

In the last hundred years, Iran had 3 historical experiences:

1. Adoption of neutrality policy (during World War I and World War II, which did not work and Iran was occupied during the two wars . in World War II Iran was called the Bridge of Victory, but after the war, Iran was ignored and the occupying countries (The Allies of World War II), which had won the war, paid no attention to the damage done to Iran.
2. Commitment to the West during the Cold War in the form of CENTO (Central Treaty Organization).
3. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iran has adopted a policy of non-alignment and joined the NAM.

The reason for Iran's joining the movement was the conformity of the ideals of the Islamic Revolution with the goals of the Non-Aligned Movement. Non-Alignment is a voice. Non-aligned countries, despite their diversity and differences, share the need for multilateralism.

The efforts of the Non-Aligned Movement to end the Iran-Iraq war and its support for the implementation of Security council Resolution 598 , condemnation of the US attack on the Iranian airliner in July 1988, and their support for Iran's nuclear rights, should be mentioned.

The 16th NAM summit was held in Tehran under the slogan "Sustainable Peace in the Shadow of Joint Global Management" and Iran took over the rotating presidency of the movement. Iran participates in the meetings at the highest level and always tries to present the movement as a genuine and independent international movement and a necessity to present developing countries.

So when we talk about the NAM, we talk about a mission, a structure and a player. The mission of non-alignment is to create fairer arrangements in the international community. The international system has changed, but the missions of NAM has continued, and it is to counter unilateralism.

Structure: It seems that the movement must strengthen its structure and adapt to the new conditions.

And NAM as a Player: Non-alignment means that the world should not be ruled only by powers and that international order should not be based solely on agreement between them. Here The role of the NAM is highlighted.

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## ***SESSION 7 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from African Perspectives 1 (in French)***

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### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Algeria**

**By Abdelkader ZIGHEM**

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(Only in French)

Créée en pleine période de guerre froide, cette organisation internationale à caractère politique, accueille au départ seulement les pays qui refusaient de s'inscrire dans la logique d'affrontement entre les deux blocs Est-Ouest, leur évitant ainsi d'adopter une posture franche en faveur ou contre l'un ou l'autre des deux antagonistes. Mais à mesure qu'il prenait de l'ampleur sur la scène internationale en termes d'influence, il enregistre une tendance au déclin depuis la Perestroïka en 1986, et le Mur de Berlin, en 1989, qui a entraîné dans sa chute le monde bipolaire. L'objectif pour lequel il a été créé devient somme toute, anachronique. Mais depuis, la typologie de sa doctrine initiale née des principes de Bandung, a subi un « lifting » prenant, cette fois, une dimension à forte connotation économique, autrement dit, une opposition à l'influence des grandes puissances économiques pour une mondialisation plus conforme à l'intérêt des pays du Sud.

1) S'agissant du fait pour l'Algérie, de s'être joint à ce mouvement, il faut aller en chercher la raison dans la période de la guerre de libération, alors que le FLN cherchait à tout prix une victoire diplomatique sur la France. Le MNA, encore à ces balbutiements lors de la conférence de Bandung en 1955, a donc servi de tribune politico internationale à l'Algérie, qui a pu inscrire la « question algérienne » à l'ordre du jour, ralliant ainsi à sa cause les 29 pays afro-asiatiques participants, lesquels ont approuvé une résolution en soutien au peuple algérien, et manifesté leur engagement d'apporter leur appui à la lutte pour sa libération.

2) Quant aux avantages d'être membre du MNA selon l'intérêt de l'Algérie, il semble que ce soit seulement celui de chercher à maintenir une position au sein de la communauté internationale, conforme à ses aspirations en termes de politique étrangère, et ainsi, la renforcer et la consolider.

3) Pour ce qui est de la contribution de l'Algérie au développement du MNA, on peut citer sa lutte contre le terrorisme et le crime organisé, et sa participation à l'instauration et au renforcement du dialogue Nord-Sud, pour faire face aux défis économiques mondiaux. En sus,

d'avoir organisé en 1973 à Alger le 4<sup>ème</sup> sommet des non-alignés, à l'issue duquel, sur sa proposition, fut adoptée la décision de former un bureau de coordination pour le MNA aux Nations Unies.

4) Enfin, la perspective d'avenir du MNA selon l'intérêt de l'Algérie, pourrait se traduire par sa volonté de s'adapter aux avancées du multilatéralisme, afin de continuer de coopérer avec des pays plus avancés en vue de favoriser et de faciliter son insertion dans la communauté économique et monétaire internationale.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Ivory Coast**

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(English below)

Bandung, dans cette ville d'Indonésie, nous voici à l'année 1955, à la veille de l'ouverture de la Conférence qui s'y tient, lorsque celle-ci commence ses travaux, le 18 avril 1955, la majorité des pays colonisés d'Asie sont désormais indépendants, quelques pays d'Afrique également, certains sont à l'aune de recouvrer leur souveraineté et le plus grand nombre demeurant encore sous la tutelle coloniale lutte ouvertement pour accéder à leur émancipation. Bandung, tout en condamnant le colonialisme va symboliser l'accession triomphante des peuples colonisés à leur émancipation. Bandung est aussi l'affirmation d'une troisième voie, c'est-à-dire une indépendance à l'égard des deux grands blocs idéologiques mis en place au sortir de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale autour des Etats-Unis et de l'Union soviétique. Cette voie est réaffirmée en 1961 à Belgrade.

Quelle est cette réalité en Afrique où la plupart des pays accède à l'indépendance durant la décennie 1960-1970<sup>1</sup> ?

Avec le néo-colonialisme qui remplace subtilement la décolonisation et qui se traduit par la conclusion de traité sécuritaire et de préférence économique, des anciennes puissances coloniales avec leurs ex-colonies, que reste-il en Afrique du non alignement 60 ans après Belgrade ?

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<sup>1</sup> Le dernier à recouvrer l'indépendance est la Namibie en 1990.

Nous répondrons à ces interrogations par l'analyse des relations France-Côte d'Ivoire de 1960 à 2010. En Côte d'Ivoire le non-alignement est symbolisé par cette formule devenu le slogan de la classe politique à l'indépendance : « La Côte d'Ivoire est l'amie de tout le monde et l'ennemie de personne ».

En principe, depuis l'indépendance, elle exploite toutes les possibilités et tire toutes les conséquences de cette position édictée pour assurer la réalisation de ses objectifs de politique intérieure. A la pratique ce pays se bâtit dans une étroite coopération avec la France qui se mue à une dépendance économique, politique et militaire dont la base légale réside dans les accords de coopération signés avec la France en 1961. Le pacte colonial survit 60 ans après l'indépendance nominale, 60 ans après Belgrade, et 65 après Bandung. En quoi consiste cette dépendance ? Telle est la question coloniale qui appelle à des questions de clarification.

Comment s'en défaire pour s'inscrire dans le monde multipolaire ?

Notre communication se propose de répondre à toutes ces interrogations. L'analyse résultera de l'examen d'une documentation importante abondante sur la question.

(English version)

Bandung, in this city of Indonesia, here we are in the year 1955, on the eve of the opening of the Conference held there, when it begins its work, on April 18, 1955, the majority of countries colonized from Asia are now independent, some African countries also, some are in the yardstick of recovering their sovereignty and the majority still remaining under colonial tutelage are openly fighting for their emancipation. Bandung, while condemning colonialism, will symbolize the triumphant accession of the colonized peoples to their emancipation. Bandung is also the affirmation of a third way, that is to say an independence with regard to the two great ideological blocks set up at the end of the Second World War around the United States and the Union. Soviet. This path was reaffirmed in 1961 in Belgrade.

What is this reality in Africa where most countries achieved independence during the decade 1960-1970?

With neo-colonialism which subtly replaces decolonization and which results in the conclusion of a security treaty and preferably economic, of the former colonial powers with their ex-colonies, what remains in Africa of non-alignment 60 years after Belgrade?

We will answer these questions by analyzing France-Côte d'Ivoire relations from 1960 to 2010. In Côte d'Ivoire, non-alignment is symbolized by this formula which became the slogan of the political class at independence: "The Côte d'Ivoire is everyone's friend and nobody's enemy". In principle, since independence, it exploits all possibilities and draws all the consequences of this position decreed to ensure the achievement of its domestic political objectives. In practice, this country is built in close cooperation with France, which is transformed into economic, political and military dependence, the legal basis of which is the cooperation agreements signed with France in 1961. The colonial pact survives 60 years after the nominal independence, 60

years after Belgrade, and 65 after Bandung. What does this dependence consist of? This is the colonial question which calls for questions of clarification.

How do you get rid of it to join the multipolar world?

Our communication aims to answer all these questions. The analysis will result from a review of a substantial body of literature on the subject.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Ghana - Congo**

**By Elisabeth DIKIZEKO**

Université Paris 1

(French Only)

### **Ghana-Congo, une diplomatie pour la paix et la souveraineté**

Entre le moment de la conférence de Bandung, où la délégation de la Côte-de-l'Or fit une forte impression et l'événement de la conférence de Belgrade, marquée par un début d'année funeste, assombri par la nouvelle de l'assassinat de Patrice Lumumba et de ses compagnons, l'État ghanéen, conduit par Kwame Nkrumah sous la philosophie de la neutralité positive, a su s'imposer comme un acteur influent et incontournable de la scène panafricaine et du mouvement des non-alignés.

En prenant des engagements forts sur des questions liées à la paix, au désarmement, à la non-prolifération nucléaire (illustrée par les protestations contre les essais nucléaires français dans le Sahara) et en participant à la première intervention des Nations-unis en Afrique, au Congo dès juillet 1960, la politique étrangère ghanéenne a posé la marque de ses ambitions tout en révélant les limites et la faiblesse des moyens économiques et militaires des États nouvellement indépendants, soumis à la politique néocolonialiste et impérialiste des puissances.

Chantre infatigable de l'amitié afro-asiatique et du panafricanisme, le Ghana s'est distingué par une diplomatie active, d'une part en étant à l'initiative de plusieurs conférences importantes sur les enjeux de sécurité (comme lors de la conférence pour l'action positive et la sécurité en Afrique de 1960 ou encore lors de la conférence « un monde sans bombe » de 1962), d'autre part dans un esprit visionnaire, en travaillant à l'unité et pour l'émergence d'une force armée africaine indépendante afin de préserver paix et souveraineté."

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Morocco**

**By Fatima HARRAK**

(French Only) *No Zoom presentation*

## **Le Maroc – Pour la consolidation de la solidarité Sud-Sud**

Au début de 1955 le Maroc n'était pas encore affranchi de la tutelle coloniale. A ce forum international aux illustres participants (Nehru, Nasser, Soekarno et Chou En Lai...), le Maroc avait envoyé un illustre observateur, le grand 'alim et leader du mouvement national et du parti de l'Istiqlal, Allal el-Fasi. Sa tâche était de faire le plaidoyer de la cause nationale et de chercher le soutien à la lutte pour l'indépendance.

L'esprit qui planait sur les réunions de cette conférence était celui de l'espoir et de grands rêves pour un monde nouveau où les affranchis du colonialisme (les « Damnés de la terre de Fanon ») auraient une place dans ce monde bipolaire, où ils pourraient achever leur indépendance économique et culturelle sans avoir à subir une nouvelle tutelle ou devoir se positionner avec une puissance ou une autre.

En appelant pour “une troisième voie”, celle du neutralisme, ces pays afro-asiatiques n'avaient pas la tâche facile :

- Les Etats-Unis ne croyaient pas en quelque chose qui s'appelle « neutralisme » (« Ou bien avec nous ou contre nous » était déjà la maxime de la politique étrangère américaine.)
- L'attitude des Européens n'était pas très différente. Pour les anciennes puissances coloniales (Grande Bretagne, la France, Espagne...), ce mouvement des jeunes nations indépendantes représentait une rébellion contre l'ordre établi. En France, et à part des voix émanant d'intellectuels de gauche comme Sartre ou Fanon, la réaction était franchement hostile. Certains allaient jusqu'à parler du début de la fin de « la suprématie blanche » !

L'idée du “non-alignement” se concrétisa avec le sommet de Belgrade en 1961 quand le mouvement afro-asiatique devint un mouvement planétaire comprenant l'Europe et l'Amérique du Sud. Le Maroc, devenu indépendant en 1956, ne pouvait pas rester en dehors de cette mouvance.

A Belgrade le Maroc était représenté par le roi Hassan II (qui venait de succéder à son père, Mohammed V). Son discours devant la conférence définissait les grands principes du non-alignement marocain basé sur la coexistence pacifique, la lutte anti-impérialiste et le soutien à la lutte des peuples contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid.

Il faut rappeler ici que, juste avant la conférence Belgrade, le roi du Maroc Mohammed V avait réussi à réunir à Casablanca d'illustres chefs d'Etats africains --Nasser, Nkrumah, Touré, Keita...-- pour une conférence qui sera le premier jalon de ce qui deviendra ultérieurement l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine (OUA). Dans son discours devant la “conférence de Casablanca” Mohammed V réitéra le soutien du Maroc à la lutte des peuples africains contre le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme ainsi que la nécessité de bâtir une Afrique unie et non-alignée. La Charte de Casablanca du 7 janvier 1961, adoptée par le groupe de chefs d'Etat africains (dit “groupe de Casablanca”), réaffirma la volonté des Etats africains présents à pratiquer une politique de non-alignement s'inspirant de la déclaration de la conférence afro-asiatique de Bandung.

Donc dès 1956, et jusqu'au début des années 1970, le Maroc va continuer à tenir sur la scène internationale un discours anticolonial, et même révolutionnaire. Il concrétisera son "neutralisme positif" en s'ouvrant sur le camp socialiste, établissant des relations diplomatiques et de coopération avec l'URSS, la République populaire de Chine, et les républiques socialistes de l'Europe de l'Est, en particulier la Yougoslavie et la Roumanie.

Mais progressivement, et surtout après les deux coups d'Etat militaires de 1970 et de 1972 où les USA était impliqué, le Maroc se range sous la bannière de l'Atlantisme. Ce virement se traduit par une domination de l'économique par l'Europe occidentale et du domaine militaire par les USA. Même après l'évacuation des bases militaires américaines après le deuxième coup d'Etat militaire de 1972, des accords de coopération stratégique permirent à l'armée américaine de continuer de bénéficier de larges facilités logistiques sur le territoire marocain. Dans les domaines économique et culturel la France restera le partenaire privilégié, suivie par l'autre colonisateur du Maroc, l'Espagne

Donc, fermement imbriqué dans le camp occidental depuis les années 70 le Maroc n'aura d'alternative ou de marge de manœuvre que de jouer sur une rivalité, toute relative, entre France/Espagne et les Etats-Unis. Mais cela ne diminua en rien son action solidaire avec les pays du "Tiers Monde" au sein des organisations des Nations Unies comme sur le plan bilatéral.

La période unipolaire qui suivit la fin de la guerre froide rapprocha à nouveau les "damnés de la terre" qui se trouvèrent, ensemble, écrasés/sapés, par les dictats de la politique d'ajustement structurel. Ce n'est qu'après l'émergence parmi ces pays pauvres de potentiels puissances économiques --pays dits "émergents"—que le moment unipolaire céda la place à une nouvelle période de rêve d'un nouvel ordre mondial plus juste et plus équitable.

Le règne du présent roi du Maroc, Mohammed VI, qui a débuté en 1999, a coïncidé avec cette renaissance de l'esprit de Bandung ! Appelé "roi des pauvres" Mohammed VI, a choisi de centrer sa politique autour du principe de solidarité, une solidarité aussi bien interne qu'externe. La solidarité interne implique l'inclusion politique, économique et sociale et un développement durable axé sur l'élément humain. La solidarité externe implique des relations de bon-voisinage, l'option pour le co-développement, la coopération bilatérale et multilatérale et l'engagement pour la préservation de la paix et de la sécurité.

**Les efforts de solidarité externe du Maroc se sont manifestés dans :**

**- le renforcement de la coopération avec les pays du Sud en général, et avec l'Afrique, le voisin immédiat, en particulier, pour la paix et la prospérité,**

*- la recherche de solutions pacifiques aux conflits régionaux, et internationaux, dans le cadre du respect des principes et fondements du MNA et de l'ONU,*

*- et la mobilisation de tous les moyens nécessaires pour assurer le financement de l'agenda 2030 pour le développement durable, étant entendu que la pauvreté et de la précarité, les changements climatiques, la migration clandestine, les différentes formes de contrebande et du crime organisé transfrontalier et la complicité entre mouvements séparatistes armés et réseaux terroristes, constituaient une menace pour la paix et la sécurité régionale et internationale.*

En plaçant le renforcement de la solidarité avec les pays du Sud, et les pays africains en particulier, au cœur de sa politique étrangère, le Maroc de Mohammed VI traduisait les principes et objectifs du mouvement des non-alignés. Par sa participation à de nombreuses

opérations de maintien de la paix de l'ONU et d'assistance médicale et humanitaire, le Maroc a aidé à apporter des solutions efficaces aux problèmes de paix et de sécurité. En développant sa coopération économique, sociale et culturelle avec ces pays il a contribué à consolider le partenariat mondial en faveur des objectifs du développement humain et du développement durable.

Les nombreuses visites du roi Mohamed VI en Afrique sont autant de symboles de cette solidarité externe qui vise le développement d'un modèle innovant et réel de coopération Sud-Sud, basée sur le partage des connaissances, des compétences, des expertises et des ressources, tout en réalisant des projets de développement dans un cadre de coopération bilatérale ou multilatérale.

Puis-je conclure par un exemple concret de cette politique de solidarité externe. La pandémie du Covid a pris tout le monde par surprise. En plus des actions de solidarité dans le cadre de ses relations bilatérales (masques, tenues pour le personnel médical...), le Maroc a très tôt proposé à l'Union Africaine de créer un cadre opérationnel pour travailler de concert dans la lutte contre la pandémie. Sa proposition de coopération régionale repose sur cinq principes : solidarité, anticipation, prévention, traitement holistique et priorité aux citoyens, en particulier les plus vulnérables.

Dans sa proposition le Maroc considère qu'une solidarité au niveau continental s'impose :

- Parce que la crise sanitaire va durer un certain temps et que le vaccin qui sera disponible, devra être universellement accessible et abordable ;
- Parce qu'il s'agit d'atténuer l'impact socio-économique qui paralysera des secteurs entiers de l'économie et laissera des dizaines de millions de personnes sans travail, ce qui nécessite de préserver les progrès réalisés dans la lutte contre la précarité et la pauvreté
- Et parce que ces défis sont cruciaux dans un continent comme l'Afrique, où 85 % des personnes qui travaillent se trouvent dans le secteur informel. D'où la nécessité d'agir ensemble pour obtenir l'annulation ou l'allègement du fardeau de la dette africaine.

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## ***SESSION 9 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from African Perspectives 3 (in French)***

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### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Senegal**

By Jean-Jacques NGOR SENE

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(French Only)

#### **Sénégal : Pathos néocolonial et louvoiements diplomatiques à travers le Grand Sud**

Le mardi 20 octobre 2020, à New York, dans le cadre de la 75<sup>e</sup> session de l'Assemblée Générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, Monsieur Mamadou Racine Ly, Premier Conseiller de la Mission Permanente de la République du Sénégal auprès de l'ONU introduisit le « Point 86 : État de droit aux niveau national et international » sous le titre pompeux comme il est d'usage dans la maison : « Déclaration de la délégation sénégalaise. »

La déclaration s'applique à prouver que le Sénégal épouse les engagements du Groupe Africain et du Mouvement des non-Alignés pour déployer sans équivoques « **les mesures visant à prévenir et à combattre la corruption.** » Trois lois/directives toutes promulguées dans l'espace-temps 2009 – 2020 sont mise en avance par le diplomate pour faire admettre au public que le pays a solidement adopté les principes de « transparence », mieux, de « bonne gouvernance » dans les domaines constitutionnels, juridiques et par l'observation des traités sous- régionaux.

Notre propos s'acharne à démontrer brièvement que sous des dehors géostratégiques et déclarations progressistes comme celle à laquelle nous faisons référence ci-dessus : les conditions objectives dans lesquelles la Nation sénégalaise a rejoint le NAM après l'indépendance ; puis muselé le débat pluraliste interne et installé le clientélisme comme méthode de gouvernement ; poussé l'État patrimonial-mendiant-gaspilleur comme philosophie politique ; célébré la transhumance idéologique comme technique efficiente d'enrichissement personnel (1968 – 2020), et adopté les recettes en faillites fabriquées dans les capitales occidentales pour sacrifier le niveau de vie de nos concitoyens sur l'autel d'intérêts familiaux, sectaires, corporatistes et mercantilistes ; le portrait qui se peint, notamment par les modes de participation du pays dans les plateformes du Groupe de Quinze (G15) et du Groupe des Trente-Trois (G33) est hélas, plutôt celui d'un pathos néocolonial, symptôme extérieure d'une politique intérieure rigoureusement contraire aux intérêts nationalistes du Grand Sud. (Les appellations G15 et G33 sont *sui generis* insultantes à la mémoire militante du Nouvel Esprit de Bandung.)

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Burkina Faso**

**By Isaac BAZIÉ**

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vice-president of the Canadian Association for African Studies  
and co-founder and director of the Laboratoire des Afriques Innovantes – LAFI

(French Only)

**« Burkina Faso et MNA – Rétrospection sur un appel audacieux au réalisme engageant »**

Au moment où le Mouvement des Non-alignés voyait le jour à Belgrade en 1961, le Burkina Faso n'existait ; il était plutôt question de la Haute-Volta. On se souviendra que celle-ci fit partie des pays qui ont à l'époque décliné l'invitation à participer à ce rendez-vous historique. Cette posture en retrait fut cependant passagère. Pendant que le mouvement qui est aussi vieux que les contradictions et les questions de sa pertinence, trouvait ses assises au fil des sommets, les réalités politiques dans l'ancienne Haute-Volta changeaient. Un changement notoire dans la présence peu remarquable de ce petit pays est celui qui s'observe lors des 7<sup>e</sup> et 8<sup>e</sup> sommets du MNA, qui se sont respectivement tenus à New Delhi et à Harare. Lors du premier sommet, le représentant de la Haute-Volta était un jeune capitaine de l'armée, chargé de représenter son président et son pays. Il s'appelait Thomas Sankara. Trois ans plus tard, il revenait au sommet du MNA, cette fois à Harare, mais en tant que président de la république qu'il a renommée Burkina Faso, Pays des hommes intègres.

La présente communication pointera cette période et mettra en évidence le retentissant appel que lança cette voix en rupture avec ce qui vient de la Haute-Volta-Burkina Faso avant et après Sankara sur les tribunes du MNA.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Guinea**

**By Mamadou Aliou Diallo**

Doctorant en Sociologie à l'école doctorale Sciences Sociales de Paris 8  
Membre du Centre de recherche interuniversitaire, expérience, ressources culturelles, éducation (EXPERICE), chargé de travaux dirigés à l'Université d'Evry Val-d'Essonne

Le processus de décolonisation, annoncé dès 1947 avec l'indépendance de l'Inde et du Pakistan et qui touche tout d'abord l'Asie avant de secouer l'Afrique, va donner naissance à de nombreux nouveaux États ». Parmi ces États, figure la République de Guinée, qui, en 1958, plus précisément, le 2 octobre 1958, obtient son indépendance. Toutefois, la déclaration d'indépendance ne satisfait pas l'ancienne puissance coloniale. C'est le début d'une relation tumultueuse entre les deux pays.

Dans un contexte de guerre froide, à défaut de bonnes relations avec la France, l'ancien président guinéen se tourne vers certains pays africains, les pays de l'Est comme de l'Ouest, une façon de marquer son non alignement aux grandes puissances. Dans sa politique de neutralité, il n'entend pas dépendre de l'Union Soviétique, bien que ses relations avec la France n'étaient pas au rendez-vous. C'est le moment de la pratique d'une politique de neutralité, qui va consister à demander équitablement une aide à tous (le bloc de l'Est et de l'Ouest). On comprend que la politique de non alignement d'Ahmed Sékou Touré, bien qu'étant dans d'une relation tumultueuse avec la France, consistait à solliciter les acteurs des deux blocs, sans pour autant se soumettre à un des deux. Ici le non alignement de la Guinée peut être un rempart pour commuer l'absence de la France dans le développement de la Guinée.

La question du non alignement de la Guinée est purement stratégique, car le pays est officiellement non aligné, mais s'appuie principalement sur l'Union Soviétique sans pour autant rejeter l'aide des USA.

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***SESSION 10 : Information –  
Communication – Technology – Media***

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**Third World Magazine in NAM Perspective of a New Global  
Information Order**

**By Beatriz BISSIO**

The Non-Aligned Movement had a central aim: to end domination; a liberation project in the political, economic and cultural spheres. During the 1973 Fourth Summit, in Algiers, a new front of struggle was defined: the goal of a New International Economic Order, an economic issue with deep political implications. The idea was to democratize international relations through the transformation of the existing order. To complement this aim, the international information order was placed on the agenda as well and vigorously criticized. At the Colombo Summit, three years later, the non-aligned countries shifted the emphasis on culture and ideology, and a New International Information Order was defined as another central goal, due to the power of communication as an instrument of domination.

My paper will address the role of the magazine *Third World* (Tercer Mundo), founded in 1974 in Buenos Aires by a group of Latin American journalists, and its impact on South-South relations during its more than three decades of circulation. The magazine was inspired by the debates at the Algiers Summit, in which one of its founders, Brazilian journalist Neiva Moreira, had participated as a special envoy for a Latin American newspaper.

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***SESSION 11 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years  
on from Latin American & The Caribbean  
Perspectives 1***

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**Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Chile**

**By Isabel CABAÑA ROJAS**

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This presentation will address the participation of Chile in the NAM, by examining the main actors and the history of the involvement, with focus on its origins, the 18 years of absence, and the renewed approach to the movement. The decision of Chile to become a full member of the NAM in 1971 was grounded, among other reasons, in the values shared with the movement and its countries, which were in synchrony with the project of the Unidad Popular's government of Salvador Allende. Despite being a socialist government, Salvador Allende intended to build a Chilean-based socialism, beyond the scope of the USSR or any intervention of the powers, and to work on Latin America to become an important region to the NAM. The leading role the country intended to play was interrupted by a military coup backed by the United States in 1973, which put an end to that project and marked the 18 years absence of Chile as a NAM member. Since its reincorporation in 1991, Chile's approach adapted, in accordance with its own internationalization project, which has been based on economic cooperation, trade and development.

**Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Peru**

**By Rafael RONCAGLIOLO**

Sociologist, journalist and university professor

Honorary Professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru

Former President of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC)  
(1995-1998)

Former Vice President of IAMCR – AIERI (International Association for Media and  
Communication Research) (1982-1986).

This presentation will have three parts:

The first part will deal with the historical references that precede Peru's entry into the Non-Aligned Movement. The trajectory of Peruvian leadership in the confrontation with imperial threats is presented here, which runs through Peruvian history since its independence from Spain, in 1821.

In the second part, reference will be made to the politics of Peru, and in particular to the foreign policy that frames Peru's participation in the NO Al. That is, to the existence of a nationalist military project that faces investments and interests from the USA, since the nationalization of oil, in 1969; and the convergence between the nationalist military and a group of eminent diplomats, among which the best known is Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

In the third part, a proposal for active non-alignment will be formulated for Peru and the region for the 21st century. A proposal that starts from recovering the coordination and agreement between the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, which today are going through the greatest fragmentation in their history.

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***SESSION 12 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years  
on from Latin American & The Caribbean  
Perspectives 2***

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**Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Guyana**

**By DUBLIN Devon**

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Guyana was the first country in South America to join the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and quickly became active and prominent within the grouping culminating in the hosting of the meeting of the Foreign Affairs ministers of the NAM from August 8-12, 1972 which adopted an Action Programme for Economic Co-operation. In addition, it catapulted Guyana into the position as a champion in the western hemisphere for the developing countries of Africa and Asia especially in relation to liberation movements. A primary reason for Guyana joining the NAM was that it had recently gained independence which was met soon after by the claim by Venezuela that the 1899 arbitral award that established the border within the two nations was invalid. As a small, poor country with a weak army, diplomacy and membership in groupings such as NAM were pivotal in the defense of Guyana's sovereignty. The Charter of the United Nations and the NAM principles of the peaceful resolution of disputes, respect for the territorial integrity of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and solidarity with other States, has served Guyana well. The future perspectives of NAM from the perspective of Guyana equally consists in it being allowed to pursue paths that are aligned to its real interests rather than those of the superpowers and through multilateralism obtain support to respond to the challenges it faces within the framework of international law so as to protect its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence. The path in question that Guyana is forging is based on one that has full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, peace and inclusive Development.

**Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Cuba**

**By Leonel NODAL**

### 1- Why did your country decide to join NAM?

Cuba became a founding country of NAM due to the Bandung Conference impact on the Cuban Revolution led by Fidel Castro Ruz and due to Castro's vision of internationalist solidarity among peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Also significant were the contacts established with Afro-Asian leaders by Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara during his tour between June and September 1959.

Also, a motive was the historical conditioning of Cuba's role in the Western Hemisphere as a precursor and active promoter of the rejection of US imperial hegemonism in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Roots of a genuine indigenous Cuban anti-imperialist policy in the face of the US proclamation of an exclusive zone of influence under the slogan "America for the Americans", the central thesis of the US policy of domination of Cuba in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Monroe Doctrine central thesis of Latin American domination.

### 2. What are the advantages of NAM membership according to your country's national interest?

Cuba has demonstrated since 1 January 1959 that "giving is the best way to receive":

- Cuba defends political solidarity in the United Nations and all international forums with the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, against racial discrimination and apartheid; against military and economic interventionism; in favour of the self-determination of peoples, non-interference in the state's affairs, rejection of the use of force to settle conflicts.
- The practice of internationalist solidarity.
- Medical and military assistance to Algeria to preserve its independence, multiplied and extended over time and until today; solidarity which has earned Cuba international respect and political authority, demonstrated by the universal rejection of the US economic, financial and commercial blockade.

### 3 What is your country's contribution to the development of the NAM?

Cuba chaired the Movement in two periods: from 1979 to 1983, and from 2006 to 2009. Havana hosted the NAM Heads of State and Government Summits on two occasions: VI Summit in 1979 and XIV Summit in 2006.

Cuba has been a firm and permanent pillar of the NAM, especially after the Soviet Union and European socialist camp disintegration, the proclamation of a unipolar world ruled by the United States and the presumed "end of History" with a universal predominance of neoliberal capitalism. Their action defeated those who advocated the end of the NAM.

### 4. What is the future perspective of NAM under the national interest of your country?

Cuba hopes that the Non-Aligned Movement will maintain its unity based on its basic and constitutive principles. It is important to strengthen global solidarity and multilateralism, to

mobilise the states and international organisations efforts to provide concerted and effective responses to the challenges of the contemporary world.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Bolivia**

**By Miguel Angel PÉREZ and Miguel Angel P. PEÑA**

In 1952, Bolivia was the scene of one of the most influential revolutions in the American continent. This revolution had profound implications for Bolivian society.

The Bolivian revolution showed close adherence to the principles laid out at the Bandung conference. The leader of the revolution, Victor Paz Estenssoro, visited India to learn about their development model and to strengthen relations with the leaders of this country. He also visited Indonesia and Yugoslavia.

This adherence to the Bandung principles has remained constant in Bolivia's foreign policy over time. Bolivia is proud to have been present as an observer at the Belgrade Conference and to have been accompanied by this process which is now 60 years old.

At the end of the 1960s, a guerilla war led by Che Guevara took place in Bolivia, which would have a deep impact on broad sectors of the population and especially on Bolivian and Latin American youth. With guerilla leadership as a new form of political expression in Bolivia, as in the rest of the Latin American countries, the doctrine of national security would allow the birth and consolidation of military dictatorships.

In Bolivia, dictatorship came with a bloody coup in 1971. This led to a foreign policy aligned with the United States. In 1979, Bolivia became a full member of the NAM, Non-Aligned Movement. When the military reign was over, the country was democratized. In the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Bolivia has sought to deepen its relations with other NAM countries.

Bolivia has been emphatic in pointing out that multilateralism is an ideal way of finding solutions to the fundamental problems afflicting humanity – including those related to the maintenance of international peace and security.

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## ***SESSION 13 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Western World Perspective***

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### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Cyprus**

**By Marios EVRIVIADES**

Professor, International Relations and Security  
Neapolis University Pafos.

My presentation will provide the political rationale for Cypriot Non-Alignment.

Cyprus, as an independent state, participated in the 1961 Belgrade meeting that founded and institutionalized the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). She was amongst the twenty-five founding members of a political movement that commenced amongst Afro-Asian states in the mid-1950s, during the height of the Cold War. And significantly Cyprus, still under colonial rule, had been there from the very beginning.

Cyprus became independent in 1960, after a four-year anti colonial guerrilla war against British colonialism that commenced in 1955. Preparations for the uprising had been underway from the previous year. And the years 1954 and 1955 are considered the critical years for the founding of the movement. In 1954 in Colombo Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Burma, India, Indonesia and Pakistan (also known as the Colombo Five), met in Colombo, endorsing a proposal by Indonesia for a larger gathering of Africa-Asian states to address wider issues pertaining to the region. This was in light of the international Geneva Conference on Indochina of the same year. The now famous Bandung NAM conference in Indonesia, followed in the next year.

Cyprus was represented in Bandung by the political leader of the Cypriot anti-colonial movement, Archbishop Makarios, who in 1960 was elected the first Cypriot President.

In the eagerness of Makarios to be present in Bandung in 1955 and to be a founding member of the movement in 1961 we can trace the rationale of Cypriot nonalignment that lasted from 1961 to 2004, when Cyprus withdrew from the movement on account of its membership in the European Union. Simply put this rationale aimed to at least counterbalance and at best neutralize efforts of the Atlantic Alliance to emasculate Cypriot independence. And, as it turned out in 1964, these Atlantic Alliance efforts actually materialized in an orchestrated attempt to even eliminate Cypriot independence on the bogus political grounds that Cyprus, as an independent state, jeopardized Atlantic security in the critical region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

In 1964 when these neo-imperialist efforts were reaching a climax, the NAM movement was a very influential force in global affairs and especially in fora like the United Nations. Cyprus

utilized NAM's support and solidarity to successfully ward off these machinations. Ten years later in 1974, with the waning of the Cold War and consequentially of NAM, Cyprus found itself in a much weaker position and was subjected to internal subversion and external aggression, the consequences of which are present to this day, with a large part of Cypriot territory under the military occupation of a leading NATO state, Turkey.

Still the ongoing efforts today, still led by Atlantic states Britain and Turkey, to eliminate Cypriot independence though various and repeated political subterfuges, have failed to materialize. And this is partly on account of the legacy of Cypriot nonalignment.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Austria**

**By Hans KÖCHLER**

President, International Progress Organization (Vienna)

After World War II, Austria regained its independence on the basis of a constitutional commitment to a non-aligned foreign policy. In the Moscow Memorandum of 15 April 1955, the Austrian government committed itself to work for the adoption of a law that would enshrine in the Constitution a provision of **permanent neutrality** according to the model of Switzerland. The law was to be passed after the ratification of a "State Treaty" with the four Allied Powers on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Austrian territory. After the conclusion of the Treaty on 15 May 1955, the Austrian Parliament, on 26 October 1955, declared that Austria will permanently refrain from joining any military alliance and will not allow any military basis of foreign powers on its soil. The law's concept of neutrality was not to be understood in the ideological sense, however. The country always saw itself as part of the Western world. Neutrality, tied to a commitment to armed defense, has become a defining element of Austrian state identity ever since the post-war era.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, in the era shaped by Chancellor (Prime Minister) Bruno Kreisky, Austria practiced a so-called "active policy of neutrality," which meant, *inter alia*, support to causes of the then-Third World, in particular the establishment of a New International Economic Order, the struggle against apartheid and the aspirations of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the establishment of an independent state. This was the time of Austria's constructive engagement with the Non-aligned Movement. Austria also played an active role in the debates on development policies and North-South dialogue. The Chancellor entertained close relations with leaders such as Indira Gandhi, Tito or Yasser Arafat.

After the end of the Cold War, Austria's focus shifted to full integration with the European Community (later, European Union). Even before the accession to the European Union (in 1995), Austria joined, in 1994, the "Partnership for Peace" of NATO. As member of the European Union, the country also takes part in "EU Battlegroups" within the Union's Common Security and Defense Policy. The integration into the intergovernmental structures of the EU has been perceived by many as incompatible with Austria's constitutional status of permanent

neutrality and, thus, its Constitution. Accordingly, the Parliament amended the neutrality law of 1955, inserting an article into the Constitution that allows for the active participation in military operations within the framework of the country's EU membership.

Currently, Austria's relationship with the Non-aligned Movement is only of historical importance. The country's foreign and defense policy is mainly oriented towards the EU and the United States. There is also no clear position regarding the excesses of neo-liberal globalization. This has meant a constant erosion of Austria's neutrality in favor of Western-centered realpolitik. It is worthy of note, however, that the majority of Austrians, unlike the governing elite, still adhere to a more traditional understanding of neutrality in the sense of strict non-alignment.

In spite of the obvious paradigm change in Austria's foreign policy – in comparison to the Cold war era, the country's continued commitment to multilateralism and its active participation in the movement against nuclear arms could open the way for constructive cooperation, albeit limited in scope, with countries of the Non-aligned Movement.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Italy**

**By Prof. Giuseppe SACCO**

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As a country defeated in WWII, and occupied by Anglo-American forces, Italy didn't have much choice about its position in the new post-war order. At the Yalta Conference it had indeed been openly established that the east-west dividing line would pass through Trieste and the Adriatic Sea, with Yugoslavia under a Soviet-style regime, and Italy in the Western bloc.

This settlement, however, didn't take into account the fact that Italy had a strong, very strong Communist party (PCI). Domestic political polarization was therefore maximum between 1947 and 1953, but subsequently the two sides started converging. Non-alignment, in such a condition, would have been logical, and indeed Italy seemed three times to evolve in this direction, also thanks to JFK's and Jimmy Carter's brief passage at the White House.

All of these attempts crashed tragically against what turned out to be unpassable obstacles. These came in full light first at the end of the 1953-62 decade, when the Christian Democrats (DC) in power in Rome had tried a policy of cooperation with Arab progressives, led by Egypt. Subsequently the DC and the PCI attempted a strategy of cooperation in domestic as well as in foreign policy, but in February 1980, the DC, followed in November by the PCI, were forced to announce that they were abandoning it. Undoable as well proved to be - in 1985, and even more dramatically in 1992 – another attempt by the socialist PM Craxi to conquer the space for an autonomous line towards the Third World, without extricating Italy from the alliance with the US in the European context. And this, in spite of the fact that NATO had become obsolete with the collapse of the USSR.

Finally, a long-standing policy of friendship and support to progressive forces in the Third World – that had led Col. Gaddafi to say that “the Italians are the only European nation who don’t have colonialist nostalgias” – came to brutal end in 2011. On that year, indeed, the Libyan leader was murdered at French initiative on October 20. And 22 days later, on November 12, the Italian Government was forced to resign by a European-engineered plot.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of France**

*Short abstract (300 words maximum) not available*

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## ***SESSION 14 : Cultures – Identities – Ideologies***

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### **Dimension culturelle du non-alignement et décolonisation chez Joseph Ki-Zerbo**

**By GINO Mariana and KI-ZERBO Lazare.**

(French Only)

Cette communication reviendra dans un premier temps sur l'engagement progressiste aux multiples facettes (scientifique, intellectuelle et politique) du professeur Joseph Ki-Zerbo, avant d'aborder la place de la culture dans la conception de la libération africaine et du développement endogène. Dans une intervention ici pertinente sur le « non-alignement et les cultures », il a résumé cette conception et mis en évidence certaines lacunes du Mouvement des non-alignés (NAM), en particulier sa dimension étatique qui, selon la vision développée ailleurs, pourrait être, en soi, une source d'oppression. En déclarant que « l'impérialisme culturel et l'alignement qui y répond sont plus utiles et moins visibles que l'alignement politique, économique ou militaire (...) et plus dangereux », J. Ki-Zerbo a une interprétation du marxisme liée notamment à Amilcar Cabral, ainsi qu'à la tradition sociale chrétienne d'Emmanuel Mounier. En outre, le corpus de l'UNESCO sur le Nouvel Ordre Mondial de l'Information (NWIO) est également une source attestée. Ce thème est resté récurrent dans la pensée de Ki-Zerbo et dans son pays, un pays de cinéma à l'échelle africaine, autrement de l'industrie culturelle majeure au vingtième siècle.

### **Neither Here nor There: Cultural Change and Opportunities for South Korean Adoptees**

**By LEE Jaesun**

With more than 100,000 orphans arising from the Korean War, South Korea actively sought to promote international adoptions, especially to the United States. This paper explores the history of domestic and international adoption in South Korea, with particular attention to the cultural challenges adoptees faced as a result of Korean emphasis on consanguineal kinship traditions. Ironically, in the aftermath of the Korean War and the surge in the numbers of Korean orphans, government restrictions dramatically curtailed international adoptions without establishing policies that guaranteed protections or mandated inclusion for adoptees remaining in South Korea. Although substantial research has explored adopted Korean returnees and their diasporic identities, few scholars have examined South Korean orphans, who suffer the compounding consequences of unsuccessful domestic adoption campaigns and legislation that severely limits potential international adoptions. Examining an archive compiled from mass print media,

government policy papers, and adoptee ethnography, this paper argues that government policy since the war has been superficial and short-term, motivated more by nationalistic pride than by meaningful engagement with the root causes of these challenges, ultimately maintaining pressure on a significantly vulnerable segment of the population.

## **The Concept of Protecting the Country in the Digital Age Based on the Thought of Ki Hadjar Dewantara**

**By SARAGIH Tomy Michael**

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Head of Law Laboratory  
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Creating peace in the Indonesian context can come from many figures, one of which is Ki Hadjar Dewantara who is a national education figure in Indonesia. Sourced from his book entitled Democracy and Leadership. He said that tolerance is allowing other people to live according to their own will. This attitude is the fertilizer for the development of a sense of freedom, independence and responsibility. Ki Hadjwa Dewantara's thinking is realized in Article 28C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia that everyone has the right to develop themselves through fulfilling their basic needs, has the right to education and benefits from science and technology. According to researchers, education is the most peaceful way to protect the country from the digital era. The digital era in this concept distance itself from the meaning of conventional warfare which focuses on the struggle for power. With equal education and broad access for all people, peace can be achieved optimally. This is in line with the meaning of peace internationally.

## **Film Communication within East Asia in the pre-pandemic, pandemic, and post-pandemic era**

**By Ni Sen**

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This paper traces the communication of East Asian films in the 21st century, under the multidisciplinary perspective of cultural and communication studies. Within the framework of the film history, film theory and film criticism, the paper analyzes the structural inherent law and external factors, especially COVID-19 pandemic that formed and influenced the film communication among China, Japan and South Korea. And based on specific examples commonality and individuality, the paper aims to provide historical references and possible answers to the current problems encountered in film communication in East Asia.

# Cultural Reflections in Korea's Pandemic Film

By Ni Sen

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Natural disasters, wars, and plagues have always accompanied mankind. People have developed philosophical reflections about these disasters. The epidemic film is a concrete presentation of this reflection. In the context of today's global pandemic that is raging around the world, this paper reflects on South Korea's epidemic movies and seeks ways to deal with the current plight. This paper focuses on the Korean epidemic movie, *Gamgi* (2013) and analyzes the various possibilities of individuals, groups, politics, and technology in Korean epidemic movies. It also try to elaborate on the various relationships between race, gender, collective and individual, utopia and dystopia.

## The rise of RIC from BRICS and the cultural transformations in Eastern Africa

By Diana Sfetlana STOICA

The reflection I propose is focused on the rise of Asian countries from the BRICS club of emerging powers (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), coined as RIC countries. This rise is seen at a cultural level and refers to endings of it on the narrative transformations in Eastern Africa. The analysis is a qualitative one, exploring the concept of 2M, mobility and media, where mobility is expressed by tourism.

Analysing some aspects of tourism from Russia to Eastern Africa, as well as the implications of Indian-Chinese tourism artefacts and the transportation sectors' narratives, besides the Chinese and Indian presence in the African mass media, specifically regarding television and cinema, shaping a daily locus of the eastern African imagination on the realities of the world and of their own ones, the main objective is to define the importance of a 2M concept for the identification of a Self and the ways in which controlling the 2M in a state could become decisive for the creation and maintenance of a collective memory that should change, in time, the perceptions on these realities and contribute to the social construction of a culture that should be the foundation of a *sustainable after-postcolonial gouvernementalité*.

Enclosing every observation on tourism and media from this study into a philosophical holistic perspective on power, taking inspiration from Foucault, Derrida, Bayart but also from African analysts and philosophers, the expectations are not only to define the influences or non-influences of RIC countries on Eastern African ones, but also the roles of potential influences in balancing the identification of the African in the world. Moreover, the strive is to punch the hypothesis on the soft power of RIC countries on Eastern African countries, its forms and styles of the scramble for discursive resources, causing the struggle of Africans for the new Re-Africanization.

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## ***SESSION 16 : Geopolitics – Globalisation – Regionalisation 1***

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### **Japan's cultural diplomacy to Latin America in the XXI**

**By Isabel CABAÑA ROJAS**

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Japan's cultural promotion to Latin America has had particular characteristics. The nature of the relationship of Japan and Latin America has been different and certainly devoid of the historical burden that connects Japan to its Asian neighbours: it has been mainly shaped by two factors: migration and the quest for resources (Matsushita, 1993). After World War II, and especially since 1990, the goal of Japan has been to strengthen the political and commercial ties with Latin America, as is perceived as an area of investment, partnership and cooperation (Myers & Kuwayama, 2016). For that, cultural policy has focused on bridging Japan to the region, by means of cultural exchange and language education, among others. In this, JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and Japan Foundation have played significant roles as the main governmental agencies that deal with cultural policy in Latin America. The XXI century, however, have brought new actors and factors to this interplay, like the massification of Japanese pop culture, or the presence of China's and South Korea's cultural diplomacy and soft power in Latin America, all of which have presented new complexities and dynamics that may be altering Japan's approach to the region.

This work intends to offer some reflections about Japan's cultural diplomacy in Latin America in the last two decades, by reviewing its history and main characteristics, as well as the most important programs implemented, based on the analysis of documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, JICA and Japan Foundation.

### **The China threat: an unnecessarily forward-looking posture**

**By Flavia LUCENTI**

PhD candidate at the University of Roma Tre.

Her research interests are focused on IR Theory, Social Psychology, International Relations of China and International Relations of Russia.

Recently, the idea that we are on the verge of a new Cold War, which this time sees China as the rival to the US, has been transformed by both media and academics into a recurrent topic. Especially, Trump's diplomatic line exasperated US relationship with China, which reacted and

took an aggressive attitude while striving to get a greater say in international affairs in the face of the US reprimand for infecting the world, violating human rights of the Uyghurs, smothering Hong Kong and spying on Western users of TikTok. While the Beijing government embraced a new brand of diplomacy inspired by the famous Chinese blockbuster, the “Wolf Warrior”, in the US-led West, the anxieties about a new threat were brought back to the mind of many experts of international politics.

However, portraying China as a threat we should protect against, is not, necessarily, a forward-looking posture. A sociological approach to the storytelling inquiry would suggest that prophecies become self-fulfilling whenever the agents tend to frame what happens in a context which they are familiar with, as if their actions contributed to the occurrence of an event that originally was only supposed. According to this logic, it is likely that the idea, nowadays very famous, of a new Cold War might be distorting the facts, fueling a version of international politics that is mainly functional to the US narrative, which actually prevents objective evaluations of the international politics. If indeed it is ever proved that the diffusion of such narrative (that leaves China with no choice other than to be portrayed as a threat to the West) largely depends on the US fears of losing its leading position, this would then be considered as a less trustworthy story.

## **Limitations of Hungary's Eastern Opening Policy in the Light of the World Systems Theory**

**By Viktor ESZTERHAI**  
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China – Central Eastern Europe relations  
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The financial crisis of 2007-2008 prompted the Hungarian government to try to diversify the country’s one-sided economic dependency from the European Union. The name of this endeavor became widely known as the “Opening to the East” policy, introduced in 2011 that was soon followed by the “Opening to the South” policy, which fit well with the growing multipolarization of the international system. Nearly a decade is long enough time to evaluate the results of this foreign policy direction. Building on Immanuel Wallerstein’s world-systems theory the paper points out that semi-peripheral status presents structural constraints that are almost impossible to challenge despite the strong will of the political elites.

## **The Enlightenment and Reflections on China's Road in 70 Years**

**By Ouyang Xiangying**  
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The People's Republic of China has been established for more than 70 years. Reflecting on the course of 70 years of development, reform and opening-up have enabled China to avoid the tragedy of the collapse of the Soviet Union, but the process of connecting with the world is complicated. The nature of socialism in China cannot be changed, but the specific institutional arrangements can be adjusted, because the historical mission of socialism is to release the vitality of production by constantly adjusting production relations, to develop productivity to a higher level, and to serve the society at a higher stage. There is not only a competitive relationship between socialism and capitalism, but also a relationship of complementing and learning from each other. Both the existing socialist and capitalist systems need to be improved. Today's world is facing a change that has not been the same in a hundred years. In a world of uneven development, China should maintain its strength while maintaining sufficient strategic introspection and "running through the essence of Chinese philosophy" and "through international relations to build a community of human destiny." The future of world socialism is in the East, but the road to China's rise is still a long way off.

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## ***SESSION 17 : Geopolitics – Globalisation – Regionalisation 2***

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### **Geopolitics of Indonesia under President Joko Widodo**

**By David MARKO**

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Asia Pacific, the most populous region on the planet is perhaps now also the most geopolitically relevant, thanks to decades of rapid economic growth and to an alliance network that helps give the U.S. control of the Pacific Ocean. China appears to be on the rise, and how Beijing manages its internal challenges and economic and political transition will define the region in the decades to come.

Indonesia has taken a leadership role within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in drafting a common outlook on the Indo-Pacific concept. The widening of Indonesia's geostrategic canvas from the Asia-Pacific to the Indo-Pacific is in line with President Joko Widodo's intent to make Indonesia a Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF). *The 'Global Maritime Fulcrum' (GMF), initially introduced by Jokowi during his 2014 presidential campaign, incorporates his idiosyncratic perception of Indonesia's maritime role, that is his insistence on reviving Indonesia's maritime identity (Agastia, 2016). He reiterated a more detailed version of the GMF vision at the ninth EAS, in November 2014, affirming five pillars of the GMF, namely: (1) maritime culture; (2) maritime economy; (3) maritime connectivity; (4) maritime diplomacy; and (5) maritime security. Jokowi's pillars were later drafted into a more comprehensive Indonesian Ocean Policy in 2017, which was a first attempt to comprehensively develop a maritime orientation in foreign policy. This added detail to the five original pillars and added two additional pillars to give a total of seven pillars covering: (1) marine and human resources development; (2) maritime security, law enforcement and safety at sea; (3) ocean governance and institutions; (4) maritime economy development; (5) sea space management and maritime protection; (6) maritime culture; and (7) maritime diplomacy. The addition of the two new pillars had been expected to increase Indonesia's regional and global engagement, but Jokowi's implementation of the GMF has largely been at the domestic level, mainly focusing on the development of infrastructure.* In view of the rivalry between the US and China and the emergence of various Indo-Pacific initiatives from other countries, Indonesia believes that ASEAN must try to maintain its centrality. The draft of Indonesia's perspective for an ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific: towards a peaceful, prosperous, and inclusive region was submitted for considerations by ASEAN, and after 18 months of intensive lobbying by Indonesia the concept was finally adopted at the ASEAN Summit in June 2019. The ASEAN outlook promotes the principles of openness, inclusiveness, transparency, respect for international law and ASEAN centrality in the Indo-Pacific region. It proposes a building-block approach, seeking commonalities between existing regional initiatives in which ASEAN-

led mechanisms will act as a fulcrum for both norm-setting and concrete cooperation. Rather than creating a new regional architecture, the East Asia Summit (EAS) is proposed as the platform for advancing the Indo-Pacific discourse and cooperation. Indonesia's ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific marks its renewed foreign policy activism as a middle power and underlines the continuing importance that Indonesia places on ASEAN as the cornerstone of its foreign policy, emphasising ASEAN's centrality as the primary vehicle for managing relations with the major powers in the Indo-Pacific region.

In the process of locating its role in the Indo-Pacific structure, Indonesia has actively pushed for a more prominent 'regional leader' and 'bridge-builder' role based on its own role conception. This may be seen by its leadership's promotion of the idea of an inclusive Indo-Pacific that is accommodating, rather than isolating specific actors. In addition, Indonesia's choice to use ASEAN to advance its Indo-Pacific outlook also shows that Indonesia is much more willing to fulfil the structural expectations of conduct befitting a 'middle power' role through regional leadership. In general, this article has found that Indonesia's role has been accepted. Both great and middle powers have shown support for the inclusive nature of the Indonesian-led AOIP, which accentuates Indonesia's capacity to enact its 'bridge-building' and 'regional leader' role. The role location process shows that Indonesia has been responsive to cues and expectations from other dominant actors. This leads to the overall acceptance of its broader 'middle power' role, particularly within the Indo-Pacific construct.

## **Ayatollah's agreement, Islamic Republic of Iran's role in the contemporary non-aligned movement**

**By Fr Vedran OBUĆINA**  
University of Regensburg.

Although a member of important multilateral organisations, Islamic Republic of Iran has been wary of multilateralism and was prone to connect more within organisations without ideological background. In that sense, NAM was an especially interesting organisation for revolutionary Iran, which used the motto of "neither East nor West" in determining new Iranian state. The foreign policy of Iran follows in principle an independent, anti-hegemonic, anti-imperialist and non-aligned policies, which are also very close to the foreign policy ideas within NAM. Iranian foreign policy found fertile ground in NAM for its vision of self-determination, the alternative war against terrorism, but also for its more general policies in energy and culture. NAM readily accepted the Iranian vision of dialogue amongst civilisations and its call for reform in global energy governance. NAM also accepted Iranian quest for the peaceful nuclear energy, as seen in the 2012 summit of this organisation, held in Tehran.

This paper focuses on Iranian vision of NAM from historical perspectives of the Islamic Revolution to the contemporary role of Iran in NAM and strives to answer the questions why did Islamic Republic follow the NAM strategies in its foreign policy; is there any Islamic idea used for legitimising NAM; how did the Iranian foreign policy used the NAM for its goals; and does Iran exercises any influence or power over other major member states in NAM.

The author is Croatian political scientist and theologian, a specialist for Iranian studies, author of the book "The Political System of the Islamic Republic of Iran".

# **India's Entanglement in the Web of the Emerging Bipolar Dynamic: Need for a Repackaged Non-Alignment for a Reimagined Cold War**

**By Mirinalini KUMAR**

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Jansen defines non-alignment as the desire and ability of a country that considers itself to be independent to follow an independent policy in foreign affairs. Thus, NAM isn't a policy of neutrality or expediency and opportunism. In fact, it is what allowed the erstwhile colonies to secure their new found independence during the Cold War.

Yet, while it seems that its relevance was limited to that era, present circumstances make it seem otherwise. Even though the international sphere boasts of a multi-polar world, it was always inclined towards the US. China seeks to challenge this status quo, giving the glimpse of another Cold War in the offing. However, it is starting at the level of what Buzan and Waever call the 'Asian Super Complex' (a regional security complex). It seeks to eliminate competition at the regional level first, especially due to India challenging its rise (establishing close relations with its allies; border issues). India's inclination towards the US as well as the threat of the rise of the quadrilateral cooperation isn't helping the cause.

Since India was one of the founders of NAM, the deep nature of its current entanglement in this bipolar dynamic seeks our attention. India proposes a repackaged non alignment wherein its independence would stay of supreme importance but it wouldn't distance itself from difficult decisions. Further, with China's immediate proximity to India, any retaliatory alliance would make India a battleground for proxy wars.

This paper, thus, seeks to trace India's relation with the two new emerging poles of the international order and understand how India plays a major role in putting off our inevitable future of a reimagined Cold War. NAM must adjust itself to the changing international scenario so that it may be able to play a moderator's role in a strife torn world.

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## ***SESSION 18 : Geopolitics – Globalisation – Regionalisation 3***

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### **The Break-up of Ethiopia?**

**By Alemseged ABBAY**

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Nationalism can cause wars and wars crystallize nationalism. The two have reinforced each other in Ethiopia, a country whose national identity has been challenged by competing solidarities among the Amhara, Eritreans, Tigrayans, Oromo ... The Tigrayans in northern Ethiopia waged a costly nationalist war to relieve all Ethiopians from the brutal *Derg* regime (1975-91). They introduced an ethnic federal structure to maintain unity and pursued the Chinese model of developmental state to make the country one of the fastest growing economies in the world. In 2018, a US-sanctioned *coup d'état* ousted them from power and a unitarian Amhara regime assaulted the federal system in a flagrantly anti-Tigrayan policy. In November 2020, with overt and covert backing of the USA, UAE, Eritrea, Somalia, and South Sudan, the regime launched a carnage against the regional state of Tigray, pushing the democratically elected government out of power. Treated as enemies, Tigrayans feel ejected. In victory, the Amhara of Ethiopia have lost the hearts and minds of the Tigrayans; in defeat, Tigrayan nationalism has won and the departure of Tigray to be the master of its own house seems to be a forgone conclusion. The departure of Tigray will remove the keystone of the arc of the polity. With the cradle of Ethiopia, Tigray, going it alone, those that were grafted into the polity during the waning moon of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Oromo, will have less incentive to stick around. Black Africa's oldest state may fall apart.

### **Algerian diplomatic behavior towards the worsening Libyan crisis**

**By Dr. Amine BENCHARAD**

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And

**By Abdelkader NEHARI**

This scientific research seeks to provide an in-depth scientific and critical reading about the new Algerian diplomatic behavior towards the worsening Libyan crisis between the Tripoli government and the retired Major General Khalifa Haftar, and their supporters from the regional powers surrounding Libya, especially with the proposal to remove the Algerian army from its borders for deliberation for the first time, as Algerian policy is based on Bandung principles, the most important of which is non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

Through the systematic analysis of the data related to the Algerian diplomatic activity through documented data and statistics, the researchers reached several conclusions, perhaps the most important of which is that official Algeria is seeking today to bypass political solutions and intensify diplomatic efforts as an alternative. For military solutions and security approaches, Algeria doesn't interfere in the internal affairs of countries and avoids any military solutions to crises, with public attempts to stand at the same distance from all sides, including that international forces seeking to intervene in Libya, directly or indirectly, and that the proposal to send Algerian military forces outside its borders and with international approval is a proactive behavior against military problems in the future and has no exclusive relationship to the Libyan crisis.

## **The NAM and Russia: Transformations and new challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

**By Marina SHILINA**

Professor, Plekhanov Russian University of Economics

Since the NAM establishing in 1961, Russia is directly and indirectly has been connected with it, especially after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. and the destruction of bipolarism. In a globalized and data-colonialized world, the NAM and Russia are standing in front of the new challenges.

In 2020, Russia is going to change its status at the NAM from the “guest” to the “observer”. These efforts are supported by Azerbaijan. In other words, Russia is going to expand its functions at the NAM.

There are not so many papers, focused on the NAM and Russia relations, especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We argue that this research highlights the importance of recognizing and identifying new features of the NAM and Russia relations.

**Methodology:** In this paper, the systematic and multilevel approaches are used.

We focus on several main levels of challenges transforming the nature of the NAM and Russia relations that were identified in our study. On a meta-level, even though the bipolarism destruction, the NAM as an alternative to “polarism” continues to operate. The new “delinking”

strategies of the NAM and Russia are just creating. In Russia, the idea to communicate with the NAM is on priority. Russia's new status will contribute to the reinforcement of its global role as both a Euro-Asian and Northern-Southern country. On meso and micro-levels all the 120 countries and Russia are trying to reload their relations as well.

This paper will investigate the specifics of an emerging trend towards Russia's new role in the NAM and discuss its new effects, opportunities, and limits.

## **Black Africa and third world power equation in global power struggles: The Dilemma of the Neo-Colonial Dimensions of the Bandung and Belgrade Non-Aligned Summits**

**By NWAEZEIGWE Nwankwo Tony**

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The present paper takes the position that the April 1955 Bandung Asian-African Conference and the September 1961 Belgrade Non-Aligned Summit were two international platforms whose outlooks although promising to the emergent Black African nations, were in reality subtly aimed at using them as political pawns and cannon-fodders to construct a third base of global power and influence. In none of these two organizations were the Black African nations well represented in their formative years and thus were never in the position of strength to either effectively determine the core objectives and principles of these organizations or their implementations. Most of these principles and objectives were aimed at alienating the Black African States from their erstwhile colonial masters without meaningful and functional alternatives and were in most cases self-serving to neo-imperial ambitions of the founding-fathers of both organizations. This could be seen by its marginal influence among the Black African nations and functional commitment to African affairs. It is against this background, taking into consideration the original principles of the Bandung Asian-African Conference and the Belgrade Non-Aligned Summit of 1961 that this paper looks at the roles and relevance of both organizations to the Black African Question in global politics from their succeeding years to the 18th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit held at Baku, Azerbaijan in 2019.

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## ***SESSION 19 : Gender and Women's Issues***

### ***1***

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#### **Fighting Online Violence against Women during Covid-19 in Indonesia**

**By GULHOM Eva Solina**

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The Covid-19 pandemic has strictly driven some provinces in Indonesia to impose Large-scale Social Restrictions (PSBB). This policy might be the right solution. Yet, it also brought a new problem in lives that include women. PSBB has forced people to limit their physical mobility and shifted it to the use of high dependence on technology platforms such as the internet or social media. The intensity and frequency of social media usage lead to online gender-based violence against women occurring. The Jakarta Women's Legal Aid Institute recorded there were 30 cases of online gender-based violence against women in Indonesia from March to April in 2020. Unfortunately, this number may be on the rise. Many forms of online gender-based violence come to the surface and are mostly intended to threaten, to shame, and control women. Some of them are online sexual harassment, threats of spreading intimate contents with exploitation as the motive, dating violence, and online extortion. Surprisingly, not all women in Indonesia understood and reported the forms of this violence to the National Commission on Women's Protection or related institutions due to the lack of information and socialization from the local government during the pandemic. As a result, this issue marked up the long list of solutions that involve government and private sectors to tackle down online abusive violence becoming worse. This paper will explicitly demonstrate the importance of eroding online violence towards women during Covid-19 in Indonesia. The courage to speak up is needed. Supports from the public to use voting rights are essential to voice positive things and to stop violence against women.

#### **Quest for Identity with Dignity: A Study of Transgenders' Trauma**

**By Dr. MOULI T. Sai Chandra**, an academic, poet, translator and critic, is a Fellow of Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland. With 4 books of poems in English to his credit, he published 30 books [19 edited anthologies of literary criticism and 11 authored works]. His areas of interest comprise Literary and Cultural Studies besides socio-economic aspects of Language Learning. He is the Chief Editor of VIRTUOSO, a Refereed Transnational Bi-Annual Journal of Language and Literature in English. Vice Chairman of AESI [Association of English Studies in India] for a second term.

In the postmodern context the socially excluded people have started migrating from the margins to the centre. They have started narrating their untold stories to liberate them from the past and to change the perception of the patriarchal society which marginalized them from time unknown. The voice of 'the others' has been suppressed by the popular narratives. When they emerge from their suppressed condition to voice their issues they are viewed as a threat to the established norms. Gender variants, gender non-conforming groups of people have always invited indignities and sneer from society. Transgender issue is more identity based one than sexual orientation problem. Members of the community express their identity in diverse ways. Basic urge is to impress upon people their distinctness. Passing refers to the experience of a transgender person as the gender they want to be seen as. They yearn to be accepted as they are. This urge starts from an early age but is sniffed in the bud by family members. Trauma experienced is beyond description. Transition refers to the process of changing the way one looks and how people see and treat an individual as a deviant one, which in fact the person is. Transition can be in medical or social arenas. Medical treatment is handled by experts in the subject, use of hormones and surgical procedures. Though it is a global issue, in Asian countries due attention has not been paid as regards remedial action. More so in India. Social transition encompasses acquiring a new name, change in dressing, joining friends or family members as person with new identity. Post pandemic scenario may help in reforming societal approach.

## **Anti-sexual Harassment Movement in Nigeria**

**By UGBUDIAN Luchy Igohosa**

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The paper examines anti-sexual harassment movement in Nigeria. For decades there have been cases of sexual harassment in the Nigerian society. The apparent shaming, trauma and stigma that victims of harassment faced led to non-disclosure which further created a cycle of grave silence in most parts of the country. The paper revealed that the intensity of the anti-sexual movement led by Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) culminated in the adoption of National Gender Policy in 2006 and the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act of 2015 which prohibited gender based violence. The implication of the paradigm shift was demonstrated in the workplace when the National Industrial Court of Nigeria (NICN) took the initiatives in handling sexual harassments cases. This was evident in the verdict of NICN in 2013 that convicted the employer and harasser in the case brought by Ejike Maduka against Microsoft & Ors. Although the movement has led to some measures in addressing sexual harassments, there is the need for the adoption of a holistic and comprehensive legal framework by the Nigerian government that will remove disparities in legal codes between the Southern and Northern parts of the country which has been unhelpful in eradicating sexual harassment.

# **The Politics of Hair: The articulation of Papuan women ethnic identity on Facebook**

**By Yuyun W.I. SURYA**

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This paper examines the way Papuan women articulate their ethnic identity on Facebook. It focuses on the way Papuan women construct their ethnic identity through posts and comments on a Facebook group page called *Orang Papua* (people of Papua/Papuans). Unlike their other fellow Indonesians, Papuans have distinct physical appearance as they are closer to Melanesian race that has darker skin and curly hair than Malay. The articulation of Papuan women ethnic identity is significant as it relates to the context in which lighter skin and straight hair have become the standard of beauty perpetuated through the media in Indonesia. Prabasmoro (2003) and Saraswati (2010) in their study of skin lightening in Indonesian women's magazines suggest that light skinned women embody ideal beauty in Indonesia and it is construed as cosmopolitan.

Papuans are denied freedom of expression and sovereignty and are unable to rely upon mainstream media to represent their cultural and political interests. Facebook is a proper place to look at the construction of cultural self. Facebook's interactivity, multimodality and user-centric nature not only facilitate the construction and representation of various ethnic and political identities but these characteristics also make it a site where expressions of identity can be observed. Through Facebook, Papuans can articulate their ethnic identity, previously marginalised by the state, which cannot be expressed through mainstream media. Multimodal discourse analysis is chosen as the method. This method offers a tool to collect and analyse data that is appropriate to study texts in social media.

It reveals that posts containing black skin and curly hair received supportive comments such as "awesome Miss Papuan Melanesian", or "I am Papuan, too." These comments contribute to the way identity is constructed on social media because they are considered as endorsement to the asserted identity. The ideal Papuan women is placed within the struggle to contrast themselves to Indonesians, yet straight hair and lighter skin still embody ideal beauty. Papuan women's posts on Facebook indicate that the ideal Papuans should be dissimilar to Indonesians' light skin and straight hair. Lightening skin and straightening hair in the Papuan context signals a loss of primordial (and therefore politically assertive) identity.

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## ***SESSION 20 : Gender and Women's Issues***

### **2**

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#### **Addressing Violence against Women and children in Jammu & Kashmir: A Comparative Analysis post-Abrogation of Article 370**

**By MADHAVI Jupaka and PARIHAR Seema Mehra.**

The paper aims to undertake a comparative analysis of the impact of Article 370 before and post its abrogation, especially with the focus on addressing violence in all forms on women and children in the newly formed Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The paper examines government institutions' role in ensuring women's safety, empowerment, child development, and protection in Jammu & Kashmir against the backdrop of gender inequality and the realization of human rights of women and children.

The paper addresses different forms of violence on women and children in Jammu & Kashmir, especially in light of the constitutional orders of 5 August 2019 regarding the Abrogation of Article 370. The consecutive orders issued on 6 August 2019 and The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act as effective from 31 October, 2019 has created enough geopolitical debates and academic introspection. The gender inequality dimension would examine aspects of addressing violence against women and girls, early and forced marriage, sexual and reproductive health, reproductive rights, persistent gender discrimination, etc. The women empowerment dimension would review women's equal participation and equitable representation at all levels, promoting women's potential through education, skill development, employment, economic self-reliance, women's equal access to the labor market and social security systems, work-family balance, etc.

Similarly, to reach the humanitarian goals of upholding child rights, the paper elucidates the emotional and physical well being of the children of Kashmir as they have grown up amidst violence. The institutional accountability of constitutional courts, Juvenile Justice Boards (JJBs) standing up and be counted as protectors of child rights would be compared concerning the provision of psychological and social support to families for children, safe environment to attend school, availability of food, milk and basic needs of children, safety concerns of children for traveling to the hospitals and status of child rights violation post abrogation of Article 370 while exploring workable solutions and strategies for women and children living in conflict zones.

# **Women-headed households, migration and adaptation to climate change in the Mahanadi Delta, India**

**By Hans ASHA**

Director Development Research Institute

Member Board United Nations Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund

Co-chair Pakistan India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy

Given the socially determined roles of men and women, contemporary gendered research on the social impacts of climate change enables a better understanding of their differential vulnerabilities, coping mechanisms and adaptation processes. Using data from a household survey from five coastal districts of the Mahanadi delta in Odisha, India which are biophysically and socio-economically at high risk, it will discuss the structural causes of gender inequality as arising from the dynamic intersection of multiple forms of discrimination. The focus will be on women-headed households in relation to vulnerability, migration and adaptation in the context of climate change in the delta.

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## ***SESSION 21 : Gender and Women's Issues***

### **3**

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#### **Women Singers' Struggles in Present Iran**

**By HOSSEINZADEH Fatemeh.**

Since the revolution of 1979, Shiite leaders in Iran have forbidden women from singing on the premise that women's voices are too provocative, with the potential for immoral arousal. So, women's singing has been restricted ever since, starting with a full prohibition and evolving into a ban on women singing solo in the coming decades. For instance, female vocalists can perform solo for an all-women audience, or choral singing or co-singing along men and women is allowed, since it makes female voices difficult to detect. Dissident singers could face legal ramifications from heavy fines and corporal punishment like lashing to long prison sentences. Many female singers have been forced to choose a life in exile, to be able to pursue their careers in music. The purpose of this presentation is to illustrate how female singers in Iran have grappled with such restrictions and take a closer look at some female singers in Iran, their trajectories, and activism concerning women's right to sing in recent years, particularly online campaigns and documentaries addressing this discrimination. Global awareness of this discriminatory act by the Iranian government against women is highly important and necessary to maintaining a gender-bias free world where human rights are not only respected but implemented.

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## ***SESSION 22 : Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Central-Eastern Europe and Russian Perspectives***

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### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Azerbaijan**

**By Jason E. STRAKE**

As the first former Soviet republic to serve as chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Azerbaijan presents an unusual case of a state that has mainly become active in the organization in the 21st century, thus confounding its conventional characterization as a relic of Cold War international politics. After being granted observer status in 1994 as part of president Heidar Aliev's pursuit of reconciliation with Iran, Azerbaijan was largely non-committal towards the NAM for the better part of the next seventeen years, declining to send delegates as it prioritized gaining representation in Euro-Atlantic institutions and attracting support from Western governments to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and consolidate its role as a major energy exporter... beginning in the mid-2000s, Baku began expanding its diplomatic portfolio with Asian-African countries and NAM founders such as Cuba and Indonesia, thus eventually reengaging with its ministerial meetings until applying for full membership in 2011. his presentation examines Azerbaijan's increasing use of NAM membership as well as chairmanship from 2019-2022 as a platform for strategic maneuvering within the international system to achieve its national objectives during the past decade, and its larger significance for the participation of former Soviet states in Global South institutions.

### **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Serbia**

**By Dusan PROROKOVIC**

Summary: Although Yugoslavia was among the founders of the NAM, the states that emerged from its disintegration did not retain membership in this organization. There are several reasons. Among other things, the reason is the orientation of all six newly formed countries towards joining the EU (Slovenia and Croatia have become full members of the EU), and four have become full members of NATO (along with Slovenia and Croatia, Montenegro and Northern Macedonia). However, in the case of Serbia, one can detect an attempt to maintain good relations with the members of the NAM, but also an attempt to rely on the principles of non-alignment in foreign policy. Again, there are several reasons, and among the most important are the consequences of NATO aggression in 1999, which were reflected in the establishment of complex relations between Serbia and Western countries. Despite the fact that it has formally opened negotiations with the EU, in foreign policy, Serbia generally does not follow the EU,

but is guided by its own interests and often acts completely independently. The reasons for this position are also in the deep roots of non-alignment, which left a significant political imprint on the foreign policy of Serbia, which was the key initiator of the creation of Yugoslavia. Serbia and Montenegro, united in a state union (FR Yugoslavia was proclaimed in 1992), tried to keep the membership in the NAM, but that membership was suspended in 1992. Therefore, the observer status has been verified since 2001. On the one hand, therefore, Serbia is trying to use the framework of the NAM to pursue its own foreign policy, sometimes contrary to the interests of the EU. On the other hand, the legacy of non-alignment represents a solid basis for conducting a multi-vector foreign policy, based on the principles of the NAM. Given the current changes in world politics as well as the global challenges we face, this approach can bring positive results and enable a small European country to defend its interests more effectively.

## **Assessment of NAM 60 Years on from Perspectives of Hungary**

**By Istvan TARROSY**

### **Relations with the Non-Aligned, Pragmatism in Foreign Policy and the Hungarian Way**

This contribution will firstly look at the major events in world politics in the mid-1950s, including the Congo Crisis, the Suez Crisis and the Soviet crushing of the Hungarian uprising, all of which can be connected to different ways of oppression against which later on the newly independent states of Africa and Asia offered a third path, non-alignment. Secondly, it will be discussed how Hungarian foreign policy under János Kádár was opening up towards countries of the then Third World gradually more assertively and in a pragmatic manner. Finally, in terms of pragmatism, certain parallels will be shown between the opening of the 1960s and that of the 2010s.

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## ***SESSION 23 : New Globalism in a Post-Covid World 2***

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### **Post -Covid world: Lessons to be learned and voices to be heard**

**By Beatriz BISSIO**

The pandemic that has afflicted global humanity since the beginning of 2020 has forced a rethink of old problems which from now on acquire urgent and obvious relevance. And this subject is closely related to the scientific evidence showing that we are close to the point of no return related to the destruction of our natural habitat (ten years, only, according to some scientific sources!). But the application of today's human knowledge and technology would allow us to change this scenario. The communication will analyse examples of the bad behaviour of some segments of society and of some leaders and, on the other hand, positive and promising lessons from different places and cultures that could inspire future practices.

### **Digital transformation of globalization: digital fascism or digital democracy**

**By Elena VEDUTA**

The COVID-19 pandemic has drawn a line between the "old" and "new" worlds. What will this world be like? There are two possible development options. What they have in common is the inevitability of the digital transformation of globalization. The difference is whether it will be capitalism or socialism.

The project of "inclusive capitalism" presented by the Vatican together with 27 of the most influential bankers and families ( so-called "guardians") declares the need for society to move to a more equitable and sustainable model of growth by eliminating cash and private property. However, the declarative project has neither a growth model, nor calculations of a plan for it - the trajectory of sustainable economic growth. Therefore, under the capitalist version, the economic crisis will continue, and will continue the decline in production, the growth of unemployment and social stratification. It is supposed to keep the power of 1% of the population over 99% of the population through the establishment of total digital control of people up to DNA intervention. Therefore, the project proclaims the elimination of cash, private property and states. Artificial intelligence (AI) will stand between the "guardians" and people. It will be based on Big Data information flows, will itself identify correlations and build some curves for

making decisions on managing people. It will mean complete lack of rights for people or the establishment of digital fascism.

Digital fascism is opposed by digital democracy. To establish it, a digital planning model for economic development in the direction of increasing the quality of life is required. The dynamic model of the input-output balance (IOB), organizing the interaction of production agents in the direction of maximizing the growth rate of the final product in the structure ordered by the end consumers under the condition of full employment, was developed by the cybernetic scientist Nikolai Veduta. He summarized the cybernetic experience of Soviet planning, compiled by the method of successive approximations, with online feedback from manufacturers and end users. The creation of AI based on an economic integrator - a dynamic model (MOB), which determines the requirements for the formation of flows of digital twins of manufactured products and the costs required for this, will make it possible to move from leaderism to true democracy, which determines the strategic goals of social development - the comprehensive development of the individual and social justice.

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## ***SESSION 24 : The Mediterranean***

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### **The challenges of post-COVID 19 Mediterranean societies and the prospect of cooperation in the Med area**

**By Roger ALBINYANA**

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Twenty-five years ago, the Final Declaration of the Euro-Mediterranean Ministerial Conference held in Barcelona in 1995 was approved, kick-starting the Barcelona process, as it is known. This began a new era in the relations between Europe and the Arab Countries of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean, together with Turkey and Israel. It is undeniable that the Mediterranean region is nowadays in a weaker and more delicate situation than it was in 1995, beset by growing political instability, income inequality between the two shores of the Mediterranean that has not been mitigated but aggravated, as well as a climate crisis which places it as one of the worst global spotlights. However, without the political, economic and social cooperation at regional and sub-regional levels that has intensified since 1995, reality would have definitely deteriorated much further. The Euro-Mediterranean partnership will not articulate in the very near future a new economic and social agenda in the Mediterranean region, but it can facilitate a deepening of the current framework for regional cooperation and a pretext for going beyond the traditional areas and instruments where this cooperation is already taking place with the goal of better adapting this exercise to the current challenges of post-COVID19 Mediterranean societies.

### **The Union for the Mediterranean UfM: for a renewed cooperation spirit and strategic projects in Med Area**

**By Giuseppe PROVENZANO**

Advisor for Research and Innovation at the Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean  
Barcelona – Spain

The Euro-Mediterranean region is composed by 42 Countries coming from the European Union and the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean, joining hands from the realization that breath of contemporary challenges requires a renewed cooperation spirit.

Twenty-six years after the Barcelona Process launched a new era of cooperation in the Mediterranean basin, the Union for the Mediterranean is an established forum for advancing a positive agenda between the two shores.

What are the main challenges facing the region, and how can we tackle them together? From being a hotspot of climate change, to youth and women unemployment and underemployment, the space for joint actions is wide, and common initiatives are increasing in size and scope.

The case of education, research and employability as key solutions to many Mediterranean issues. While they cannot be the only tools in advancing sustainable development, together they offer the chance of unlocking the potential of the most educated generation in history. This can be done also by bridging the gap between education and the world of work, which requires analyzing best practices and keeping an open mind to innovation.

Research is by its own nature an important example of the added value of regional cooperation: agrifood, blue economy, climate change and energy require innovations that come easier while working together.

## **Collective Identity and the Euro-Med Cooperation Revival**

**By Enrico MOLINARO**

Secretary General of the Italian Network for Euro-Mediterranean Dialogue (RIDE-APS),

Head of the Anna Lindh Foundation Network in Italy

Rome - Italy

Collective Identity is the most important factor in world politics providing leaders with moral, philosophical and social legitimation. The socio-political competition between a Statist-oriented élite and a Glocalist-oriented élite, finds its application in the geopolitical reality, for example with the opposite case-studies of the Anna Lindh Foundation-ALF, and the BRICS' organization.

The Italian Euro-Mediterranean Network suggests a renewed definition of collective identity between the afore-mentioned opposite identity models, possibly encouraging also a productive dialogue between European, Mediterranean and BRICS actors. The Barcelona Declaration inspires all the recent attempts to revive Euro- Med cooperation, including the annual Ponza-Prima Med initiative. The Covid-19 pandemic highlighted the urgent necessity of an efficient Euro-Med cooperation among countries to tackle regional challenges, with possible involvement of new external actors such as the BRICS' organization.

## **China and the Mediterranean Sea Beijing's pragmatic approach to the region**

**By Francesca MANENTI**

Centro Studi Internazionali CeSI

Rome – Italy

In the last five years, China has reinforced its presence and its commitments in the Mediterranean Sea. Driven by the Belt and Road Initiative, China started to engage countries

on the three shores of the basin, in order to involve these areas into the new transnational architecture proposed by President Xi Jinping for interconnecting the different regions and boosting the opportunities of trade and exchanging. Moreover, the rise of China as new global superpower strengthened its stance as valuable interlocutor and increased the chances for China of finding actors interested in having a better relation with the Asian giant. Thus, China became a first player in North Africa, Middle East as well as an important partner for Southern European countries. However, even though Beijing has indeed stakes in operating in these regions and in assuring the dialogue with these regions, China still lacks a strategy for the Mediterranean and keeps looking to these three different shores as different geographical areas. The paper aims at contributing to the debate on China's role in the Mediterranean, by presenting how China lacks a holistic political conceptualization of the Mediterranean Sea as *unicum*, while its presence is driven mainly by economic and security calculation. The analysis intends to show how this factor impacts on China's attitude in the region as well as on the possible future of China engagement toward the region. The paper will present the results of CeSI's initiative "The Mediterranean Sea and China after 2020: which way ahead?", that was carried out last year and whose report will be released by the end of February.

## **Navigating through competitive multipolarity. The long-standing quest for a comprehensive EU approach in the Southern Mediterranean**

**By Elena TOSTI DI STEFANO**

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Rome – Italy

It seems long since a confident European Union was firmly advancing its democratisation ambitions in the Southern Mediterranean. Indeed, after the end of the Cold War, the EU has progressively portrayed itself as a unique international entity which is naturally predisposed to act in a 'normative' way, namely, to promote the core European norms of democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights through its relations with other actors. Accordingly, the 1995 Barcelona Process (Euro-Med Partnership, EMP) was launched out of the vocation to turn "the Mediterranean basin into an area of dialogue, exchange and cooperation guaranteeing peace, stability and prosperity" through the extension of EU norms, standards, and technical procedures to the Union's southern counterparts. In the years 2003-2004, the Arab Mediterranean partners were incorporated into the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), originally designed to share the benefits of the eastern enlargement with neighbouring countries in a way that is distinct from EU membership.

Until the Arab uprisings, the inconsistency of value promotion in the Southern Mediterranean had been mostly attributed to the EU and its member states' desire to preserve the *status quo* of local authoritarian regimes for security, energy, and trade interests. Nevertheless, the post-2011 turmoil and spill-over effects further shed light on the inherent limitations of the Union's transformative approach. As such, the *fil rouge* running through the EMP and the ENP is, arguably, the (unfulfilled) pursuit of 'Europeanisation beyond Europe'. Indeed, the Euro-Med Partnership may be considered as an exercise of 'normative region-building', as the Union

sought to forge a common Mediterranean identity based on its own founding values. Such a Eurocentric posture was reiterated, bilaterally, by the Neighbourhood Policy, where such values have been considered as a non-negotiable package of institutional, economic, and political principles that 'EU'rope already holds and that neighbouring countries should have learnt to adopt.

The recent years have seen global scale transformations and a reconfiguration of the international order. In the Southern Mediterranean, the role of non-state actors, the increasingly assertive policies of regional powers and Russia and, not least, the rise of China, make the EU's policy choices ever more difficult. The 2016 EU Global Strategy seemingly marked a shift from a normative stance to a more pragmatic approach focussed on local ownership, flexibility, and tailor-made policies directed at strengthening the conditions for endogenous, sustainable economic development and political processes.

In light of the above, this conference contribution aims to retrace the evolution of the EU's strategy in the Southern neighbourhood with the aim to discuss the challenges and prospects for a coherent and concerted EU approach in the present scenario of competitive multipolarity.

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## ***SESSION 25 : BRICS-G20***

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### **The Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism: BRICS News Approachs on the Global Arena**

**By Rodolfo MILHOMEM DE SOUSA**

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Specialist in International Law and International Politics

Lawyer and Researcher

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The Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism has been negotiated for more than twenty years, with recent advances perpetrated by some countries belonging to the BRICS. As the only international legal instrument in the fight against this global scourge, the countries that compose it are active in the diplomatic agenda on the subject, and are not overlooked in any of its negotiating summits.

Thus, this work is a continuation of the 2019 article, punctuating recent developments within the BRICS, both in relation to the external performance of the group and also in the internal legislative changes of each country that reflect how these countries see this global problem.

Contrary to the mere assumption that the group does not have concrete activities in the international arena, the BRICS continue to act together in a variety of themes, ranging from financing to development projects (Bank of the BRICS) to the remodeling of the architecture of world trade, even with apparently opposite governments, revealing the importance and its weight in International Relations.

Nevertheless, the theme of terrorism is a concrete agenda for the countries that integrate it, functioning as an amalgamation that unites them in a common objective. The Convention on Terrorism continues to be part of the group's diplomatic language, appearing again in the recent international policy statements made at the latest summits.

Even with the advent of a Pandemic capable of monopolizing and reshaping the international agenda and the efforts of countries, the work of terrorist groups has been increasing, with the activation of new cells and the maintenance of internet advertising. In this sense, the group's countries have passed new laws and policies on the topic, which further reinforce the ambiguity between genuine combat against terrorist groups and freedom of expression and destruction of opposition within a country, undermining democracy.

In this way, the work analyzes the recent laws passed internally by the countries, the combats and internal problems that still inflict them, attacks, restriction of freedom, reduction of democracy and external action in the implementation of the Convention on Terrorism.

# **For a new world economic order: the principles of sustainability applied by the BRICS NDB Bank and the main Multilateral Development Banks MDBs**

**By Marco RICCERI**  
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The principles, policies, practices on sustainable development, in its triple economic, environmental and social dimension, are the common platform that all United Nations member states have approved and built since 2015 to promote the start of a new world economic order. This basic political decision, confirmed and renewed on several occasions over the past few years, is being translated into new growth strategies, plans and programs that involve, albeit with different methods and times of implementation, the international institutions, governments, major public and private operators. The global health and economic crisis caused by Coronavirus has confirmed the value of the analyzes on the fragility of the development model followed so far and the need to accelerate the processes of change with a more intense common effort.

In accelerating this corrective process, an important role is recognized by international institutions, such as the United Nations and the European Union, to multilateral development banks, as promoters of the diffusion of new investment guidelines and methods, structures able to guide and condition the choices of private operators in the direction of truly sustainable development, to act as engines for the reconstruction and a growth oriented to the quality of development.

In this context, it becomes important to have a clear vision of the principles, criteria, performance and result indicators, which guide the choices of the main Multilateral Development Banks MDBs; in other words their sustainability assessment models. To this end, the Author illustrates the main results of a large study conducted in 2020 by the EURISPES Institute (Rome-Italy) which presents a comparative analysis of the sustainability models applied by the BRICS NDB Bank. and the following development banks: the European Investment Bank (EIB), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the African Development Bank (AfDB), the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI), the Latin American Development Bank (CAF), the Islamic Development Bank (ISDB), the World Bank (WB).

## **Challenges for BRICS trade cooperation**

**By Dr. Prof. Irina YARYGINA**  
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Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation

The subject of the study is the legal and financial features of the BRICS trade cooperation and its practice in contemporary environment. The purpose is to identify problems that impede the

effective development of economic relations, reveal challenges and put forward proposals for their improvement. The study shows that the BRICS countries have significant reserves for multilateral cooperation and support of trade relations. In this regard, harmonization of economic relations of partner countries is required to solve strategic problems with the goal of improving living standards of the BRICS population. By simplifying the access of entrepreneurs to credit, tax incentives for exporters of industrial goods, flexible conditions for direct and indirect financing, expanding participation of institutional investors and development banks with BRICS participation in putting strategic programs into action we can contribute to sustainable economic growth of partner – countries.

Actually, trade cooperation of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa is one of the priority areas of the Economic Partnership Strategy of member-countries. In the list of key objectives of this Strategy is a promotion of trade cooperation, expanding access to the stock markets of member countries and diversifying investments. It is noted that acceleration of trade cooperation, along with other areas, is designed to strengthen balanced and inclusive economic growth, as well as increase the level of international competitiveness of the BRICS economies, which account for 17,3% of world trade in goods, 12,7% of world trade in services, 21% of global gross domestic product (GDP).

Currently, the process of supporting economic relations and expansion of national currencies also depends on the instruments, used in trade and cross-border regions with neighboring countries (Mongolia, Vietnam, the countries of the Eurasian Economic Union, etc.). Areas of interactions and preferential “green lights” for partner countries are being discussed and can include energy products, wood processing, agriculture, machinery and equipment, innovations, finance, infrastructure development, medicine, environmental protection. Mechanism of public–private partnerships, creation of multinational enterprises with participation of BRICS business entities play an important role in facing new challenges. Intergovernmental support for commercial, industrial centers, aimed at expanding trade ties, can also open up broad prospects, including the framework of multilateral investments and entrepreneurship development.

## **BRICS and AFRICA: the need of a new investment paradigm for sustainability**

**By Roberto RIDOLFI**

President Link2007

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**The “Rise of Asia” has promoted the BRICS grouping and now the BRICS need to show leadership and innovation in the theatre of international financing for development.**

The new normal after the pan-crisis generated by the COVID-19 Pandemia is yet to be established but it is clear that sustainability will have to play a prominent role. International relations are getting more and more interlinked and emerging economies are more active on the scene of trade and development than ever before. In future this will continue to increase.

Emerging and developing countries have significantly increased their weight in global GDP and in global economic growth. Part of their financial resources is still invested in developed countries, with low yields while there are large unmet needs in the emerging and developing countries in the field of infrastructure and sustainable development. A shortfall of investment of approximately US\$1 trillion annually was estimated already in 2012, before the definition of the SDGs. Today the needs are much greater.

The leaders of the BRICS nations have committed to the creation of a new Development Bank which would be a complement, not a substitute, for existing financial institutions both in the public and the private sector. Yet it will need to have a different character in order to gain a personality with a good reputation. In fact it could also strengthen the voice of developing and emerging economies in the development finance architecture and more importantly, boost the South-South cooperation agenda both in quantity and quality.

Despite the strong language of political declarations, the BRICS, concretely, have yet to provide clear signals of innovation and differentiation about financing sustainable development which is now a request on the political dialogue both bilaterally and multi-bilaterally with African Nations.

The new paradigm will be all about measuring sustainability and impact to raise international profile of the political interactions.

In this framework it is a political imperative for the BRICS to promote the interests of the developing world and to contribute strongly to South-South cooperation agenda.

Transparency and Sustainability will be of essence. The (not-so-technical) aspects of providing a framework and the metric for sustainability due diligence are paramount.

The BRICS countries have many lessons around to avoid mistakes of the past made for example by the EU or by others.

A strong clear SDGs focus is a must. In fact the strong unifying factor the glue today in the BRICS to pursue external policy on financing development is, in fact, the SDG framework. This gives a strong sense of purpose to add to the strong rationale and inspires the conclusions and recommendations of this paper.

## **BRICS: local currencies, productive credit and debt reduction. Policies for a new global economic architecture**

**By Paolo RAIMONDI**

Economist, columnist of ItaliaOggi,  
Fellow of the EURISPES “BRICS-LAB

## Rome (Italy)

The Covid pandemia has brought the world economy and trade to its knees. Even the BRICS countries, with the exception of China, suffered huge losses in GDP, social wealth and employment in 2020. They say the negative effect of the pandemic will be worse than that caused by the global financial crisis of 2007-8.

As in their initial spirit, then as a response to the Great Crisis, the BRICS are now proposing again the founding values and their development programs, not only to consolidate their cooperation, but to actively promote the reform of the entire world political, economic and financial system, respectful of sovereignty and multilateralism

The New Development Bank assumes an even more central role in some aspects of the program. Important is the renewed promotion of the use of national currencies in the financing of development projects and in the system of payments within the BRICS. This recognizes the growing inability of the dollar to manage on its own the old system born in Bretton Woods in 1944. It is a strategic step towards the possible creation of a new, fairer international monetary system based on a basket of currencies.

With the support for the suspension of the payment of the sovereign debts of the LDC countries, also promoted by the UN and the G20, the BRICS intervene forcefully in the process of managing and revising the debt. After central banks of the so-called advanced world in 2020 injected \$ 7.5 trillion of liquidity and the governments created \$ 12 trillion in public aid out of new debt, the debt issue can no longer be used to justify austerity and underdevelopment measures.

In addition, the NDB intends to develop new financial instruments to create additional productive credit capacity exclusively directed towards development projects and sectors of the real economy. This is in contrast with speculative finance that is causing dangerous financial bubbles to grow dramatically.

These are measures that prepare the ground for the creation of a new global economic-financial architecture. It will be up to the advanced countries, starting with the European Union, to give positive responses to these initiatives and proposals. A real joint collaboration against the pandemic could be the test case.

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## ***SESSION 26 : Ecology-Sustainability***

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### **Dealing with Greater Jakarta Flooding Inclusively from Social, Environmental and Economic Perspectives**

**By Trikurnianti (Yanti) KUSUMANTO** (The Netherlands/Indonesia)

Research consultant

TYK research & action consulting, The Netherlands

with (in alphabetical order): Bemmelen, Sita Thamar van; Elhasani, Dicki; Moeliono, Tristam Pascal; Sutarti, Gusti Ayu Ketut Sutarti; and Wijayanti, Pini

Greater Jakarta illustrates a case where economic opportunity draws people and businesses to utilise and inhabit even the most flood-prone localities. Close to 50 percent of its inhabitants lives in such areas. Besides land subsidence and climate change being key factors inducing floods, flood risks also are driven by development aimed at economic growth, in turn leading to uncontrolled urbanisation. Floods may result from economic development rather than from extrinsic calamities. Simultaneously, floods themselves can compromise efforts of improving people's lives, boosting the economy or caring for the environment.

Possible pathways are shared to deal with the flooding problem from social, environmental and economic perspectives, while referring to the UN global policies the Sustainable Development Goals, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change (i.e., the Climate Change Adaptation component).

### **The Rise of the Regenerative Ecobrick Movement**

**By Ani HIMAWATI and Russel MAIER**

Graduated from Leiden Universiteit and University of New Brunswick

Anthropology & Philosophy (& Community Empowerment)

Ecology and Regenerative Dissemination

The Global Ecobrick Alliance, Co-founder and Principal

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*“Is there any chance for the poor, the weak, the disadvantaged, to improve their state of being in peaceful way? Is there any role of humanities, art, culture, architecture, literature, religion, spirituality in directing the global change?”*

-- Soekarno,  
Opening Speech,  
Bandung, Indonesia,  
April 18, 1955

Over the last 50 years, industrial attempts to manage waste plastic have been systemic failures. Industrial recycling has led to the widespread export of western plastic to Asia where it has leaked loose into the biosphere. As the plastic has accumulated, the detrimental ecological impacts of its degradation have become clear. In Asia, where the brunt of the world's plastic has landed, communities have banded together and found a solution in ecobricking. Ecobricking first emerged in Asia in the Northern Philippines, in the land of the Igorot people. There, it was influenced by the Ayyew ethic of the Igorots, and the Filipino spiritual and permaculture movements to emphasize circular, localized, low-tech regenerative principles. The Filipino ecobricking movement emerged with a focus on sequestration and plastic transition. This was distinct from contemporaneous plastic movements that fell back on industrial recycling. As the movement spread to Indonesia, the Ayyew ethic evolved. The Indonesian ecobrick movement's unfolding has enabled the principles of transcaste, non-capital, leading by example, replicability, localization, circularity, mandalic collaboration to mature and evolve. The refining of these principles provides a beacon towards deep petro-capital transition and to other environmental movements around the world.

## **An Earthen Ethic for Solving Plastic**

**By Ani HIMAWATI and Russel MAIER**

Graduated from Leiden Universiteit and University of New Brunswick

Anthropology & Philosophy (& Community Empowerment)

Ecology and Regenerative Dissemination

The Global Ecobrick Alliance, Co-founder and Principal

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*“What is the place of individual living being, human as well as animal and vegetation, in this changing world? “*

-- Soekarno,

Opening Speech,

Bandung, Indonesia,

April 18, 1955

Over the last four billion years the Earth has transformed itself from a barren planet to a thriving, diverse, stable, and conscious biosphere. In the past we have used the example, ways and wisdom of great teachers of the past to discern right from wrong. Today, we can follow the Earth's example. The way the Earth has greened the biosphere provides a commanding path to follow. By looking at the Earth's billion year process we can see that the Earth's processes secured and stored carbon, removed more carbon than they produced, always favored the biosphere over the biome, always increased diversity, and always increased consciousness. Using these as principles we can manifest our human longing of contributing to ecological harmony. Using this *Earthen Ethics* we can discern what is an authentic ecological contribution. What follows the Earth's example is green. What is conflicting with the Earth's ways what is gray. With this vantage we can make sense of our current petro-capital economy and can evaluate our current technologies. We can also build new technologies from the ground up that we can be certain are green. Plastic, is a remnant of the Earth's ancient management of carbon.

Plastic is also an artifact of the petro-capital economy. As such plastic processing can exemplify the application of Earthen Ethics. In so far as industrial plastic management technologies do not store carbon, do not promote biodiversity, are not net-greening, and do not prioritize the biosphere, they are not authentic ecological contributions. However, by following the Earth's example of carbon compaction and storage we can meet the criteria of Earthen ethics in a process of *plastic sequestration*. Plastic sequestration provides an example of authentic ecological contribution that can be quantified and commodified. With a valuation in the petro-capital economy, the accounting of ecological contributions, can serve as means of petro-capital transition.

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## ***SESSION 27 : Arms Control & Disarmament***

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### **NAM & Nuclear Diplomacy**

**By Nilofar SUHRAWARDY**

Senior Journalist & Author of Several Books

Specialisation in Communication Studies & Nuclear Diplomacy

Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) was and still may be viewed as an important means of diplomatic communication. The usage of the term – Nuclear – tends to give rise to apprehensions about what Nuclear Power implies. Now, the big question is the implications which can be drawn from usage of the term- Nuclear Diplomacy? Of course, a lot is decided by which powers use this strategy and for what purpose.

The paper aims to study the subject- NAM & Nuclear Diplomacy – from several angles. This includes a brief analysis of NAM's significance as a means of diplomatic communication. The importance of the same with reference to Nuclear Diplomacy will be analysed. Nuclear diplomacy of key powers, including NAM members and non-NAM members shall be briefly referred to.

With this being an age of communication boom, the role of media shall also be taken note of. Diplomatic communication, be it of NAM or Nuclear Diplomacy is certainly not limited to media coverage. Nevertheless, media coverage does play an important role in influencing opinion about key issues. In this context, the role played by who/what influence media coverage regarding NAM as well as Nuclear Diplomacy will also be considered.

The role played by media during the so-called phase of Arab Spring cannot be ignored by NAM. The hard reality witnessed in the name of Arab Spring may be viewed as a wake-up call for NAM to exercise a more assertive role particularly where Nuclear Prowess sidelines Nuclear Diplomacy.

It is not possible to deliberate extensively on each and every issue linked with NAM & Nuclear Diplomacy. The paper aims to focus on a few key issues, particularly the ones outlined in this abstract.

### **India's face-offs with Pakistan and China: Geopolitics and Nuclearism**

**By Achin VANAIK**

India's two face-offs have different unfolding dynamics. Kashmir has lain at the heart of the India-Pakistan conflict, responsible for hot-cold wars and for periodic efforts at detente. The Modi government's unconstitutional annulment of autonomy for its part of Jammu & Kashmir effectively signals that Pakistan is now a permanent enemy, the external counterpart to Hindu Nationalism's anti-Muslim domestic policies. This nuclear-edged confrontation, already more serious than anywhere else, has only been heightened through cross-border attacks by both sides. Whereas Pakistan's military/nuclear thinking is India centric, India rejects hyphenation with Pakistan, seeing itself as a rising power that should not only be pre-eminent in South Asia but must power project beyond. China then is seen as its main strategic problem. China does not see India in the same way. It is the US that is its primary strategic concern. However, the Modi government has accelerated its military and political ties with the US, Japan and Australia to make up the 'Quad' dedicated to containing China. Thus Beijing sees value in pursuing closer ties with Pakistan and other immediate neighbours of India to exercise leverage over New Delhi while the Sino-India border dispute---exacerbated by the mid-2020 armed clashes---will remain unsettled owing to intransigence on both sides.

On the nuclear front the US's Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) and Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) systems push China to expand its nuclear arsenal, with knock-on effects on the South Asian balance. Thus there are unilateral, bilateral and trilateral factors at play in shaping nuclear preparations. Correspondingly, even short of regional or global disarmament, there are unilateral, bilateral, trilateral and multilateral Nuclear Risk Reduction Measures (NRRMs) that can be pursued by these three Nuclear Weapons States (NWSs). Some of these will be presented so as to encourage discussion, dissemination and wider build-up of public opinion.

## **Irrationalism and Trump's nuclear policy**

**By Dimitris KONSTANTAKOPOULOS**

War, expansion and Imperialism have been one of the main paths used by the western capitalist system, in order to overcome its crises and impasses, as proved by Colonialism and WWI and II.

Since one century there is a clear totalitarian tendency inside Western Capitalism leading to War, in perpetual antagonism with other, more moderate tendencies. We will try to show why, behind the supposed "anti-war" and "anti-establishment" profile cultivated by Trump, we can find the representatives of the pro-war tendency.

The appearance of the nuclear weapon modified deeply War tactics and strategies but it did not abolish the above stated truths. The quest for a crushing nuclear superiority, ultimately permitting to prevail in a nuclear conflict, without having to suffer unacceptable cost as a result of retaliation, continues unabated to our days.

Most people believe a nuclear war is not possible, or at least probable. We will examine very briefly why this is not true and why a nuclear conflict represents a very real risk.

Only the belief to the possibility of being able one day to launch a nuclear war (or to threaten with such a war) can explain why the USA took the initiative to dismantle nearly all the arms control structure established during and after the “end” of the cold war (ABM, INF, Open Skies Treaties).

Trump has followed a very aggressive nuclear policy going as he has transited from the “never-ending-wars” to the preparation of “cataclysmic” wars. We will examine the main characteristics of his policies and explain their extremely dangerous character. They constitute also a serious indication, if not proof, that behind this supposedly “anti-war” President, are the most dangerous totalitarian and extremist imperialists forces in the center of the western capitalist system.

We will try also to examine the function of the political and ideological structure of Trump’s political discourse. Irrationalism and incoherence are its dominant characteristics. To our opinion they betray the ultimate goals of the forces behind him, whose program can be summarized as “Dictatorship in the West, War against everybody else”.

Given the climatic, nuclear, Middle Eastern policies of Trump and the ideology he is promoting, his removal from one of the main power centers of the still dominant western capitalist system has diminished the probability of a global disaster. But his defeat is not final. As for the opposing camp in the leadership of western capitalism it is also traversed also by clear totalitarian tendencies, albeit different in their forms and methods.

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## ***SESSION 30 : New Globalism in a Post-Covid World***

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### **Globalization, Capitalism and Nationalism**

**By Dimitris KONSTANTAKOPOULOS**

There is no more confusing term than “globalization”, the international system established after the soviet collapse, in 1989-91, as a result of the introduction of capitalism in the ex-Soviet space and of the subsequent US unchallenged global hegemony. “Hidden”, under the “globalization” surface, there is also another process of fundamental importance, working for decades already before the soviet collapse, that is the more and more pronounced transformation of Western capitalism which acquired more radical neoliberal characteristics, leading to the near complete financialization of economy, that is the accumulation of capital more by “speculation” than by production.

If we want to be based on material and objective realities we must define globalization as the (only partially fulfilled) project of global domination of capitalist relations of production and distribution and the accompanying civilization, all that under the ultimate guarantor role of the US superpower. If this project will succeed it will mean the absolute domination of Financial Capital and Western Capitalism on the globe, a project by definition totalitarian (“The end of History”).

The attempt to impose this system has begun in conditions of extreme optimism by leaders of western capitalism. But early on it has begun to meet huge challenges and provoke serious crises, having contributed largely to the economic crisis we entered in 2008. It has fueled radical social movements (sometimes with a pronounced national background) and a turn to leftist ideas in various regions and is directly responsible for the great crisis of the EU, the child of “globalization” *par excellence*.

Geopolitically too, the resistance of peoples and states of the Middle East to the series of imperialist wars and interventions unleashed in 2003, the comeback of Russia as a great military power and the explosive economic and technological rise of China, have put the system of globalization in front of very serious problems.

Confronted to this impasse, a sector of the “Empire of Finance” and of the world capitalist class has developed its own pseudo-alternative to the globalization, by using nationalism to channel social dissatisfaction to supporting sui generis Far Right Movements (like Trump in the US) and of an agenda of “War against All” worldwide (Iran, Islam, China, South, Russia, Civilization, Nature).

The system will go on, most probably oscillating between “globalizers” and “extremist imperialists” and producing new and bigger crises, with the potential to threaten even life on

Earth, if a third alternative, of a new democratic, “multipolar”, ecological, social world alternative does not appear quickly.

## **Delinking, Development Strategy and the Global South: a Decolonial Perspective**

**By Siphamandla ZONDI**

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The idea of delinking that began as a colloquial conversation in response to the vagaries of unequal integration of the developing world into the modern/colonial world system evolved into a deeply political, ideological and theoretical concept with a revolutionary content. Samir Amin pursued this evolution and became a leading theorist on its meanings and implications. For him, it entailed “the organisation of a system of criteria for rationality of economic choices based on a law of value” with its foundations in the national interests and popular aspirations. This system, he argued, was delinking in that it would be independent of the system of criteria for economic rationality that produced by the dominant law of capitalist value that produced and reproduced poverty, inequality and peripheralisation of the developing world. This presented a potential for a systematic and holistic response to the demon of underdevelopment that Walter Rodney, Braudel and others had so eloquently identified as a major threat to a progressive, shared, inclusive and emancipatory future for the world. This was supposed to find meaning in national development strategies of third world countries individually and, due to the principle of collective self-reliance, also in collective development paradigms/approaches. This paper proposes to interpret this delinking theory and to examine the extent to which it has influenced the policy positions of the NAM and BRICS on development. We will use broad policy typological analysis on the positions of various countries on the Development Agenda 2030, which became the Sustainable Development Goals, to unpack this possibility, using data from a select Voluntary National Review reports of UN member states belonging to NAM and BRICS. On this basis, we will opine on what the implications of the findings are on delinking as an ideological option. The paper will employ a decolonial lens of analysis.

## **The BRI and the Tech-war in the Covid and post-Covid world**

**By Dragana MITROVIĆ**

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The COVID-19 pandemic has tarnished China's reputation and its aspiration of global leadership. The pandemic has catalysed the already tense relations between the PRC and its major Western partners, and particularly USA-PRC relations and the ongoing trade and tech war. As a direct consequence of the ongoing pandemic-caused global economic crisis, many multinational corporations will move their production units away from China, as pandemic made them conclude that the existing global chains of production with China as a centre were too unsafe. The USA launched tech war, deeply rooted and driven by ideological rifts and strategic competition, led to decoupling between the two largest economies. Relations of profound engagement and interdependence in many areas were pushed into "decoupling", de-globalization and "diversification", as dependence on China was seen in many Western capitals as a security threat and caused policy shifts that, as a consequence, endangered the realization of China's economic and social goals, including the realization of many of the BRI projects. The confrontation between China and its Western economic partners - defined by some as a "new cold war", is also strongly affecting the stability of the already too weak global economy and global institutions.

Carrying out the existing BRI projects in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in jeopardy by the USA sanctions, is of great importance in the pursuit of China's domestic economic goals and in the preservation of its international role as an economic super-power and a major country. The BRI's role to create markets for China's overcapacity-burdened industries and state-owned enterprises increased in value under the threat of de-globalization and the cost of the pandemic for the domestic economy. Additionally, digital technologies, broadly led by China's corporations in many areas, including e-commerce, are revealing and strengthening new forms of globalization and secure China's role in it, including the Digital Silk Road. China's role as major creditor, especially to African countries, as well as problem-solving of many of the BRI projects in Third World, will be important test of its aspirations as a global power. After-pandemic global economic recovery and growth will be even more dependent on China's resilient economy as its engine.

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## ***SESSION 31 : Geopolitical Economy***

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### **The long transition and Eastern Europe**

**Dr. Habil. Annamaria ARTNER, C.Sc.**

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In the last six decades capitalism did not stop increasing social-economic and environmental inequalities and triggering crises. In fact, all these crucial problems have deepened and spread to global level due to the expansion of the activity of transnational corporations and the international superstructure of the centre capital (IMF, WB, EU, WTO etc.). The imperialist Triad of the United States, Western Europe and Japan (Samir Amin), which can also be called “Western Galaxy” (Darwis Kudhori) represents only the tiny minority of the population of the Earth but is in a position to enforce its interests globally. To go beyond this unjust and hierarchic system and build a new one that is based on equality and common interests of all people of the world take various forms of class struggles and demand many efforts from those social classes that are interested in this change. Based on Marx, Samir Amin explained why this transition would be long and what are its difficulties. The experiences of Eastern Europe, beginning with the 1917 Russian Revolution and ended up in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and the restauration of capitalism in the whole region, together with the evolution of the non-aligned movement and a lot of other developments (i.e. rise of China, discontent and protests of people in the centre countries, increasing number of autocratic or neo-fascist governments, geopolitical conflicts in many regions etc.) form very important parts of the long transition as Amin considered it.

The proposed presentation aims to outline how these above-mentioned elements of the long transitions are related to each other and what role Eastern Europe can play in the future on the long road of changing the world.

### **Lessons from A Succeed and Failed Cooperative: Kibbutz Degania (Israel) and KUD Bumijawa (Indonesia) Experience**

**By Mukti Zaenal ASIKIN**  
PhD Candidate

This publication is based on the results of a qualitative study on Kibbutz Degania, Israel (2017-2018) and the Village Unit Cooperative (KUD), Bumijawa - Indonesia (2019). This study examines the development of cooperatives in rural Israel and Indonesia from the perspective of the sustainability of cooperative organizations.

Kibbutz, an economic and social collaborative, has entered its 111th year since Degania was founded in 1909. The kibbutz numbers only 274 units, but accounts for about 48% of all Israel's agricultural production. The kibbutz, which is only 2% of Israel's population, accounts for 12% of Israeli exports. Kibbutz has transformed from an agricultural and now 65% of revenue comes from industry. Kibbutz ideology is: "give all you can and take only what you need". Faced with the global economic crisis and local political pressures, Kibbutz survived and even continued to grow (Kislev, Lerman, & Zusman, 1991). This is achieved through innovation, even organizational and ideological adjustments (Abramitzky, 2018; Ben-Rafael, 2011; Palgi, 2017; Kimhi 2019).

In 1978 Government of Indonesia initiated the formation of the KUD. KUD is played as a service center for rural economic activities. The government, gives an important role for KUD - even a monopoly, as a distributor of agricultural credit and infrastructure assistance (offices, warehouses, machinery, transportation equipment). In the first ten years of its establishment, the number of KUDs reached 4,444 units and continues to 9,635. KUD contributed to Indonesia's success in achieving rice self-sufficiency in 1984. This success received an award from FAO.

However, after the Asian economic crisis in 1998, the number of KUDs dropped to 6,946 (Suradisastra, 2006) and faced problems on: member participation (Putra, 2017), corruption (Sugarda, 2016), management setbacks (Riswan, 2017), and 30% are inactive (Wiguna & Sukadana, 2018).

Research findings from Kibbutz and KUD present a story of the causes of success and failure in building and sustaining rural cooperative.

## **The competition between China and France over economic stakes in Algeria**

**By Youcef HAMITOUCHE**

Professor researcher

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This paper will focus on the Sino-French economic competition over Algeria. Since its independence in July 1962, Algeria has established a special relationship with France due to historical, cultural, economic and political factors. These reasons explained Algeria's heavy economy and trade on its former colonial metropole.

After the year 2000, China intensified its presence in Africa in general and Algeria in particular and began to challenge French political and cultural presence and as well as economic interests in these parts of the world.

Therefore, successive French rulers became to consider the extension of China's influence in the African continent as a threat not only to the interests of their country but also to those of their European partners. Indeed, OCDE countries among them France have faced over the past fifteen years a sharp decline of their trade exchanges with African countries in general and Algeria in particular due to mounting Chinese economic competition.

As a result, economic presence of China in North Africa for instance has been intensified since the beginning of the 21th Century and its trade volume with this region had tripled between 2003 and 2013, due to competitiveness of China's goods and services.

Also, despite the visit of a delegation of French businessmen led by the Prime Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault to Algeria in December 2013, many projects with local companies were not concluded.

Algerian's strategic shift to China began in 2012, after the attack carried out by a group of terrorists against the gas plant of Tiguentourine near Algeria's most important gas fields where Western companies, including French were operating. These companies sized this occasion to exercise blackmail on Algeria in order to obtain lower prices for gas in return for continuing advantageous exploration in this country. In this situation, China offered assistance to Algeria by proposing contacts in the field of exploration and in the construction, building and housing sectors. Thus, fifty Chinese companies that were in competition with French firms, had won contracts worth \$ 20 billion for implementing projects in building and construction sectors in Algeria

France sees China's presence in Algeria with suspicion since this presence might turn China into the most privileged economic partner of Algeria in the future.

Algeria has tried to reduce its economic dependence on France and engaged into a partnership with China which does not evoke matters of democracy and respect of human rights, while France insists on these issues when dealing with Algeria.

What are the stakes of Chinese interests in Algeria? What is the position of France toward Chinese economic involvement in Algeria? What is the nature of economic and trade relations between Algeria and China, on one hand and with France on the other? What are the consequences of Chinese presence in Algeria on French interests in this country?

The presentation will focus on the development of economic and trade ties between Algeria and China at various periods, with particular focus on the last two decades. The study will rely on relevant data and statistics provided by specialized Algerian, French, Chinese well as international sources.

## **The effects of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) on the ASEAN economies**

**By Péter KLEMENSITS**  
PhD, Southeast Asia expert  
Researcher

Senior Researcher, Pallas Athene Geopolitical Institute, PADME Foundation, Central Bank of Hungary

and

**By Alexandra Zoltai**

China Researcher

Researcher, Pallas Athene Geopolitical Institute, PADME Foundation, Central Bank of Hungary

China's Belt and Road project, announced in 2013, has had a major impact on the world, and the ASEAN countries are, of course, not an exception. However, there is no consensus among the member states on how to manage China, and therefore the response to the BRI was not uniform, either. Some countries regard the project as a threat, others as an opportunity, but they agree that dependency on China should be kept to a minimum. However, what role this effort plays in the Belt and Road project and how feasible it is, is a major question.

The presentation will start with a short summary of the BRI and especially the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road and the general development of the ASEAN China trade and economic cooperation. It will then discuss in detail the response of the individual ASEAN countries to the BRI and the growing Chinese economic influence as well. The research assumes that after 2013 – *inter alia* thanks to the BRI –, ASEAN-China relations have substantially improved and economic cooperation has been strengthened. To demonstrate this, by using economic indicators, we seek to create a benchmark to compare the impact of China on the economies of ASEAN countries. The results will show which country is most dependant economically on China and whether each country's related political narrative corresponds to the change of the economic data.

## **The Non-Aligned Movement and the transition of the world system**

**Dr. Habil. Annamaria ARTNER, C.Sc.**

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The presentation discusses the non-aligned movement in the framework of the ongoing change of the world-system. This change has begun after the second world war with the collapse of colonialism. There was a chance that the socialism-oriented and the non-aligned countries could surround the global imperialist centre, limit its effects, and eventually overthrow capitalism. However, the inner contradictions have weakened this broad and promising coalition and the centre was able to regain its power by exploiting and deepening these contradictions, using

weapons against socialist governments and movements, constructing other “soft” instruments of neocolonialization, and, finally, extending the neoliberal ideology and policies to almost the whole world.

The socialism-oriented experiment of Eastern Europe has collapsed, and the non-aligned movement has weakened, but the transformation of the capitalist world system could not be stopped: it has entered the “phase of senility” – as said Samir Amin. He also claimed that all experiences and failures of struggles against capitalism, including the history of the Soviet Union and its allies, form a part of the historical transformation of global capitalism.

The non-aligned movement comprises economically and politically different countries, but they all belong to the periphery of the capitalism. Therefore, their indigenous development requires a “delinking” (Amin) from the exploitative mechanism of the centre, and if they succeed to reach that independence, the road to socialism opens as well.

The presentation aims to outline what role the non-aligned countries might play on the long road of changing the world.

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## ***SESSION 32 : Gender and Women's Issues***

### **4**

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#### **Social capital of women and the existence of local cultural handicraft home-based industry during covid-19 pandemic in java**

**By Emy SUSANTI**

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Generally, local cultural handicrafts are produced and managed by women in private homes - home-based industries - whose existence is being eroded by factory-made handicraft products from within the country and abroad. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the existence of local cultural crafts was increasingly difficult to develop. This study aims to reveal how women's social capital could sustain the existence of home-based industry local cultural handicrafts during the Covid-19 pandemic. The location of this study is 3 districts on the island of Java, namely Tuban Regency, East Java Province, Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta Province and Bogor Regency, West Java Province. Data collection using a questionnaire was carried out for one month and collected 198 women crafters as respondents. In addition, in-depth interviews were also conducted with 12 women owners / managers of local cultural handicraft home-based industries. The results of this study reveal three types of women crafters' social capital that have been supported the existence of local cultural handicraft home-based industry. The first is the type of 'bonding social capital', which is a social network of family and neighbors that most supports the existence of the local handicraft home industry. Meanwhile, this research also shows that there is a type of 'bridging social capital' in the form of social networks of coworkers and social networks of collectors. Meanwhile, the type of 'linking social capital' in the form of social networks with local governments and donor agencies is less prominent in supporting the existence of the local handicraft home-based industry.

#### **Look what corona virus has done to us: living in the time of covid-19 pandemic**

**By Diah Ariani ARIMBI**

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*The economic impact of this virus is very dramatic, nothing like this has ever happened in our lifetime. But money, you know, bring the economy back and money, that's more of a reversible thing. We're going to take the pain in the economic dimension, huge pain, in order to minimize in the death dimension.*

– Bill Gates, Co-founder of Microsoft Corporation

If I may add, Gates' quote above definitely needs some extensions, not only that local, regional, national and global economy is dramatically affected by the Covid-19 but also all sides of our life: to include our mental health, our well-being, our view of life and many others. Accordingly, in this paper, I would like to discuss the effects of this virus on our life. Everyone is affected by this coronavirus differently depending on their social class, cultural background, countries they come from and different contexts. Those coming from upper social class will definitely have different experiences from those coming from lower social class. I cannot speak on behalf of everybody, I can only speak on behalf of myself. And certainly, I cannot discuss every aspect of life, thus I will only touch general aspects that I am aware of.

## **Increasing Knowledge of Pregnant Women and Mothers of Toddlers about Dental Health and Oral Cavities during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Indonesia**

**By Satiti KUNTARI, Seno PRADOPO, Udijanto TEDJOSASONGKO**  
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The role of mothers is very important in determining the level of health, including the oral health of their children. This study aims to reveal the empowerment of pregnant women in an effort to optimize the growth and development of teeth and oral cavities of children under five in poor communities. This research is an action research with a gender perspective approach. The locations of this research are 3 districts in the province of East Java, namely Temoran Village, Omben District, Sampang Regency; Bandung Rejosari Village, Sukun District, Malang Regency and Salary Village, Kerek District, Tuban Regency. Data collection using interview techniques using pre-test and post-test questionnaires on pregnant women and mothers of toddlers. Within one month, the respondent's data collected 180 people - pregnant women and mothers who have children aged 5 years and under. In-depth interviews were also conducted with 15 health workers from the Puskesmas and local community leaders. The results of this study indicate that the knowledge of pregnant women and mothers of toddlers about dental and oral health can be improved by mentoring health cadres and lectures from health center officers. During the Covid-19 pandemic, health facilities for pregnant women and toddlers were diverted

to tackle Covid-19. Moreover, the dental health of pregnant women and children, which has not been a priority so far, requires special attention. From the pre-test and post-test results, the results of this study prove that there is a significant increase in the knowledge of pregnant women and and toddler mothers about oral health during the Covid-19 pandemic.

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## ***SESSION 33 : Gender and Women's Issues***

### **5**

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#### ***Canthelan : A Solution to Share and Care During the Covid-19 Pandemic***

**By Anis FARIDA**

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The Covid-19 pandemic status stated by WHO in March 2020, has destroyed the economic structure and weakened social interaction in general. The need to secure ourself with strict health protocol standart as well as financial safety is an absolute requirement in pandemic. But on the other hand, the uncertain conditions caused by the pandemic have strengthened the bonds of solidarity and generated a collective action among the women community. This research problem is, how the *Canthelan* solve the problems caused by the covid-19 pandemic in the women's community in Lebo. This research was conducted in Lebo Village, Sidoarjo District, Sidoarjo Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. This phenomenon is interesting to study because the sustainability of the *canthelan* since the beginning of the pandemic till the research was conducted. Qualitative research methods with a feminist approach were chosen to present a whole picture of the Lebo's women community effort in generating and maintaining the sustainability of collective action in the form of *Canthelan*.

*Canthelan* is a local term which represents a model of sharing and caring to others, by hanging a plastic bags containing basic needs food i.e. rice, sugar, eggs, tofu, vegetables, fruits, water, etc. The funds for making *Canthelan* come from donations from the local women's community and from other parties outside the community. The idea of *Canthelan* originated from the some member of women's community who concern about suffering of other people during pandemic. Termination of employment, obstruction of business, loss of job or other various problems caused a decrease income. This deteriorating condition become a trigger to raise up a solidarity among several women from low economic strata to do something beneficial for others. Mbak Erni, the figure who initiated *Canthelan*, stated that she is not a well-off person and often experiences shortages, but she has concern to other people like her can survive in a pandemic situation. This weekly activities held every Friday have not been significant to solve the social problems caused by the pandemic, baut the spirit of sharing in overcoming problems has become a solid step to save the community.

# **Women's vulnerability in economic problems and education of children in families in the pandemic time of covid-19 in indonesia**

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Various studies have shown that women have sufficient abilities to carry out their roles in the domestic and public sectors. This situation occurs in normal living conditions where all family members can move in various spaces of life. The husband works outside the home as the main breadwinner of the family, the wife also works, both inside and outside the home, and the children go to school. However, in the current world situation which is experiencing a pandemic due to the outbreak of the corona-19 virus, family life, and women in particular, have become difficult because various events must be faced. Starting from the decline in the economic condition of the family, to the cessation of various activities due to the enactment of government policies on social restrictions and community activities outside the home, including in this case are educational activities held at schools which are then transferred at home. This difficult situation in the end also has an impact on the ability of women in the family to survive all the problems caused by the Covid-19 pandemic.

The results of this study indicate that women are the most vulnerable in facing a pandemic situation because of two main problems: first is because of the loss of jobs, both by their husbands and themselves, and secondly because of the burden of educating children that should have been done by teachers in schools. turning to the mother, so that the mother tends to experience conflict with the child. In such a situation, the imbalance of domestic roles between men and women at home is increasingly apparent, and the participation of men (fathers) in assisting children to study at home appears to be minimal. As a result of all this, gender injustice has become increasingly acute in a pandemic situation.

## **The vulnerability of women in policies to handle the covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia**

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The human rights law stated that people who included in the vulnerable groups are pregnant women, children, groups with disabilities, the elderly and the poor people. However, during the pandemic, vulnerable groups highly experienced its growth, especially in groups of women and children, community groups in remote, marginalised and outermost areas. Social distancing policies in the form of working from home, and learning from home, can increase the workload for women, specifically mothers. Women have to do their work, assist children in learning from home, managing family nutrition and implementing health protocols, including threats of violence. Data on violence against women in 2019 shows that 75% of the cases reported are domestic violence. The policies also have an impact on working women. Companies that dismiss female employees are accompanied by partial or non-payment of wages. For domestic workers, the work from home policies do not apply for them, but their jobs are getting doubled because the whole family comes and lives at home. Vulnerability is getting higher due to the absence of regulations for protecting domestic workers, lack of health insurance, being exploited and anxious about contracting Covid. Meanwhile, women in other informal sectors experienced a decrease in income, such as shopkeepers, traders in traditional markets, salon workers, mobile traders and micro, small and medium enterprises. Existing policies are still general in regulating community movement and implementing health protocols. The prevention and handling policies have not been based on a gender perspective, even though in practice, women are the targets of the policies. Therefore, it's hoped that the policy and handling of covid will be carried out by integrating gender-based and inclusive human rights perspectives.

## **Collective awareness and resilience of women in higher education in Indonesia towards covid-19 pandemic**

**By Keppi SUKESI**

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In many crises, experience portrayed women's quick and positive responses to crisis management. An astounding shift due to the outbreak of Covid-19 throughout the world has a tremendous impact in all fields and various circles include the higher education community consisting of women and men. This study aims to: 1. Analyze the collective awareness of women in the higher education community in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. 2. Analyze women's resilience and social resilience to the Covid-19 pandemic. Using a mixed-method, the present study was started by distributing an online survey to universities in Indonesia and continued with an in-depth study of campus communities in Malang, East Java. The result of the research were: first, the lecturers, administrative staff, and students obtained information about Covid-19 from social media, electronic and print, and from primary sources, especially family, neighbors, and colleagues. For the women community, the media effectively improves resilience behavior towards Covid-19 through mutual awareness. Second, the health protocols awareness shows the significant contribution of education and instilling aspects of the discipline, concern for personal health, family, and society, and women through local wisdom play eloquent roles for themselves and environment. By understanding the Covid-19 transmission

and new adaptation patterns, women take positions in food security and family nutrition, the education of children, environmental awareness, and improving the movement of changing behavior.

## **Increasing information literacy for Indonesian women to fight disruptive information related to covid-19**

**By Dewi Yanti LILIANA**

IEEE WIE

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Indonesia is the 4th largest population country in the world. In this country information can easily spread among people in the internet, whether it is valid information or the false one. Although there is a specific law about information and electronic transaction, people still produce and distribute information without the awareness of the risk. Spreading fake news, especially related to COVID-19 issue results in excessive public reaction or panic because people tend to spread disinformation widely on social media. This has the amplification effect of fears caused by uncontrolled information. COVID-19 Hoaxes in Indonesia have spread out significantly because people are reluctant to read and most people have low information literacy. This research aims to prevent the spread of disruptive information in Indonesia. The applied method is action research with penta-helix approach which collaborates several elements; the women community, communication media, academician and governments in overcoming disruptive information. 37 participants are from gender study center across Indonesia. The results are real actions by holding virtual workshop activities on information literacy. Key persons from each women study center in all regions in Indonesia attended virtual workshops to strengthen their information literacy skill. Having information intelligent key persons, it is proved that the spreading of hoax can be reduced. This will support the community in Indonesia to be smarter and wiser in coping with COVID-19 related information.