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EDITORIAL

THE GOLDEN RULES OF GLOBAL DOMINATION

By Darwis Khudori



Executive Editor
Bandung Spirit Bulletin
Architect and historian
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The world continues to be polarised between the West and the Rest, Developed and Developing countries, Rich and Poor peoples? Is it normal? Is there any alternative? Why? How?

Debates have been conducted, books written, diplomatic dialogues organised, wars waged, blood flows... around those questions. Nothing is new in this issue. But struggle continues towards the end of polarisation.

This essay is just a humble part of the struggle. It is focused on how the West dominated and continues to dominate the rest of the world.

The Western domination over the rest of the world may be presented in two periods: colonial and post-colonial. This essay will not define "what" but identify "how" the domination was and is organised.

Colonial Period

During the colonial period, it was carried out through five interrelated measures:

Golden Rule of Colonial Domination:

- 1) *Territorial control*
- 2) *Imposition of cultural, economic and political model*
- 3) *Exploitation of colonies to enrich the mainland*
- 4) *Racial discrimination*
- 5) *Peopling*

1) Territorial control

All Western colonialism passed by military conquest. From the Spanish conquistador Pizzaro

in Peru in 16th century to the French torturer Aussaresses in Algeria in mid-20th century, it was about military control over a territory. There were negotiations sometime, between local or national representatives of power and Western agencies, but behind the negotiations there was the determinant factor of Western military supremacy. It was to share the control over African territories among European imperialist powers that the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference was organised to come out with the territorial division of Africa as it remains operational until today.

2) Imposition of cultural, economic and political model

The territorial control achieved its full effects through the changes of the way of thinking of the targeted people from their original one to a new one suitable for exploitation. In the name of "mission civilisatrice" (French jargon) and "White's Skin Burden" (British jargon), fuelled by a conviction of the superiority of their way of life, Western colonialist-imperialist powers imposed to the colonised people their cultural model

(education, language, religion, social relations, dress, architecture, gastronomy...), economic model (monetary system, cultural crop for export, extraction of raw materials, maintaining cheap labours...) and political model (governance, administration, political parties...). It is in this way that Africa was divided into multiple Nations-States, grouped into English Speaking and French Speaking, and that African people were called with Western names: David, Joseph, Robert, Jacqueline, Françoise, Rosalie...

3) Exploitation of colonies to enrich the mainland

This is the main goal of colonialism. This is how the British opened rubber plantations in Malaysia, the Dutch transformed Java to be coffee plantations, the French developed monoculture of peanut in Senegal, palm in Benin, cotton in Sahel, bananas in Guinea, cacao in Côte d'Ivoire... This is how extractive industries started: diamond and gold in South Africa, petrol, bauxite, tin... in Indonesia and Malaysia, copper, cobalt, uranium... in Congo. For that respect, physical and social infrastructures were built, unilaterally, by force, not primarily for the well-being of the targeted people but for exploiting them and their territory more effectively and more efficiently for the benefit of the mainland.

4) Racial discrimination

Racial discrimination existed in diverse traditional societies before Western colonialism, but it is the latter that used it systematically as a tool of economic exploitation for the benefit of the mainland. It was to affirm the superiority of Western people over the colonised one, to dispossess the colonised people from their own personality, to divide them into small entities, to control and to exploit them easily for a long term. In Latin America, the Spanish colonialism created caste system and developed racial nomenclature such as "*mulatto*", "*mestizo*", "*zambo*"... In Indonesia, the Dutch classified the colonised people into first class (the Dutch, European, White), second class (the Easterners: Arab, Chinese, Indian) and third class (the "*Inlanders*": local, autochthonous, indigenous people). In Algeria, the colonial law of 1865 allowed Arab and Berber Algerians to apply for French citizenship only if they abandoned their Muslim identity. In different colonised countries, racial segregation was applied in schools, urban zones, public transport, professional fields, etc.

5) Peopling

It was occupying the colonised territory by people from the mainland, by force when necessary, including evicting or killing the local inhabitants. This might be done in different scales: small scale (settlement of colonial administrative or residential zones in an existing structure like the British in India and the Dutch in Indonesia), larger scale (foundation of new towns like the French in Algeria, the Dutch and the British in South Africa), largest scale (replacing the whole inhabitants of a country, a region or a continent by people from the mainland involving the genocide of indigenous people like the Spanish in Central and South America, the British in North America and in Australia).

Those operations were expected to end with the political independence of the colonised countries, which would allow them to exercise their sovereignty, to take back their dignity, to develop their culture and economy, to participate in preserving world peace, without the interference of foreign interests. On the other hand, the West was expected to stop its domination to the rest of the world. The reality is different from the expectation.

Post-colonial Period

Following Samir Amin, the West continues to dominate the rest of the world through monopoly control over five following sectors:

Golden Rule of Post-colonial Domination: Monopoly Control over:

- 1) Sciences and technology;*
- 2) Information, communication and media;*
- 3) Global financial system;*
- 4) Weapon of mass destruction;*
- 5) Access to natural resources.*

1) Sciences and technology

Thanks to its centuries of domination over the rest of the world and its accumulation of wealth and knowledge, the West is far in advance in sciences and technology, which makes a catching-up by the rest of the world impossible and the dependence on the West continues. Moreover, instead of sharing, the West created tools, such as patent and intellectual property, to control the access of the rest of the world to sciences and technology. This gives a double advantages to the West: on

one hand, the West can appropriate knowledge of traditional societies who are not aware of the patent and intellectual property; and on the other hand, the rest of the world cannot access to knowledge and technology protected by patent and intellectual property. The ultimate reason of this is money. The case of Covid-19 vaccine is a clear example. Another example is the US refusal to the participation of China in the ISS (International Space Station).

2) Information, communication and media

Information, communication and media determine the behaviour of states, nations, societies, peoples, individually and collectively. All political decisions would not have any impact without news transmitted by media to public. Geopolitical tensions, conflicts, wars take place or do not take place due to the media. The mainstream medias operating globally are under the control of the West and serving the interest of the West characterised by "Eurocentrism" (Samir Amin): AFP, AP, Reuter, BBC, ABC, VOA, CNN, CBS, NBC, French Televisions, Skynews, The Economist, Newsweek, The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, Le Monde... The NAM had tried to break the Western hegemony by the call for "*A New International Information Order*" (1976) and the creation of NANAP (Non-Aligned News Agency Pool) to provide the NAM member countries with news for their mass media. It was a success for a short period (1976-1981). The lack of cohesion and the lack of strong leadership inside NAM in the 80s led the NANAP to its disappearance. The digital era does not change the global structural domination: GAFAM (Google, Appel, Facebook, Amazon, Microsoft) are U.S. based. It is in this context that the Western mainstream medias continue to denounce, even to censor, medias that are not aligned to the West, such as CGTN (Chinese Global Television Network) and RT (Russia Today) and accuse them as a tool of propaganda of respectively China and Russia.

3) Global financial system

The choir of Western countries on economic sanctions against Russia for its military attack on Ukraine revealed how the West controls global financial system. It is based on un number of instruments and regulations of international monetary system created and controlled by the West. During four decades following the end of WWII, the most important of them were the World Bank and the IMF founded following the WWII in

1944 at Bretton Wood, New Hampshire, USA. Both of them have their head quarter in Washington at five-minute walk from the White House. The World Bank duty is to give loan to the developing world and Eastern Europe. Since its origin, the president of the World Bank has been a US citizen proposed by US government. It operated in the interest of US, including overthrowing leaders non-aligned to US and supporting military dictatorships in favour of US: Iran, Haiti, Chile, Guatemala, Congo, Indonesia, Philippines, Korea, Tunisia, Egypt etc. The NAM and G77 called for "*A New International Economic Order*" in the 1970s in order to change the structural dependence of the developing world on the West. It succeeded in developing South-South cooperation. Like their call for "*A New International Information Order*"; the movement was weakened in the 1980s. In fact, starting from 1980s, with Reagan in US and Thatcher in UK, world finance has been dominated by powerful oligopolies of bankers and financiers imposing the doctrines of deregulation, structural adjustment, privatisation... to the rest of the world. They can impose economic sanctions to countries non-aligned to the West, freezing their assets or deposits in Western countries, blocking their central bank, preventing them from international exchanges...

US Project of military control over the whole planet since 1945 according to Samir Amin:

- 1) to neutralise and to enslave the other partners of the triad (Europe and Japan) and to minimise the ability of these states to act outside the American bosom;*
- 2) to establish NATO military control and to "Latin Americanise" the old pieces of the Soviet world;*
- 3) to fully control the Middle East and its oil resources;*
- 4) to put into failure the project of a powerful and independent China, subjecting it to the permanent military threat and possibly dismantle it;*
- 5) to ensure the subordination of the other large States (India, Brazil) and to prevent the formation of regional blocs that could negotiate the terms of globalisation;*
- 6) to marginalise the regions of the South that do not represent a strategic interest.*

The project was designed after Potsdam based on nuclear monopoly. And the three targets to be conquered are Russia, China and.... Europe.

4) *Weapon of mass destruction*

The restrictions and sanctions of the West toward Iran and North Korea for their efforts to acquire a nuclear weapon are a clear example of how the West tries to keep the monopoly control over weapon of mass destruction. This is a part of the US project of military control over the whole planet since 1945. Samir Amin identified six objectives of this global strategy: (i) to neutralise and to enslave the other partners of the triad (Europe and Japan) and to minimise the ability of these states to act outside the American bosom; (ii) to establish NATO military control and to "Latin Americanise" the old pieces of the Soviet world; (iii) to fully control the Middle East and its oil resources; (iv) to put into failure the project of a powerful and independent China, subjecting it to the permanent military threat and possibly dismantle it; (v) to ensure the subordination of the other large States (India, Brazil) and to prevent the formation of regional blocs that could

negotiate the terms of globalisation; (vi) to marginalise the regions of the South that do not represent a strategic interest. The project was designed after Potsdam based on nuclear monopoly. And the three targets to be conquered are Russia, China and.... Europe.

5) *Access to natural resources*

The goal of all those strategies is to ensure the privileged access of the West to natural resources of the whole planet. It is in the interest of the West that territories rich of natural resources non-aligned to the West remain in the state of chaos: Middle East, Africa, Latin America...

So, what to do?

Before his disappearance without trace, Wiji Thukul, Indonesian poet facing the atrocity of Soeharto regime, wrote in one of his poems: *"There is only one word: Fight!"* ■

BANDUNG SPIRIT WATCH

MOZAMBIQUE: Post Covid-19 from inside A perspective from a Mozambican citizen

By Inês Raimundo

Associate Professor of Human Geography at Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique



The issue is: how will the situation be Post Covid-19? Is that post-Covid 19 has a short-term vision, or is it something that will last for long? The world is in the UN Climate Change Conference (COP26), and what about Covid? Are we safe with these vaccines? While Global North is discussing the effectiveness of the vaccines, Mozambicans do not have room for that. So what they do is to accept the available vaccines that depend on the goodwill of the countries.

Context

The first time that I heard about the Coronavirus and the Covid-19 lethal disease was from my husband, who has the habit of watching the news on one of these international TV channels. It was

late November 2019 when we heard about something happening in China and commented. I did not pay much attention as I thought that was happening in China and would not affect the rest of the world. But unfortunately, I forgot the basic

African proverb: *"If your neighbour's house is under fire, you have to be cautious about that."* Then, in March of 2020, all were caught by the rumours of the first cases of infections by Covid-19. By April, two closer people died from this lethal disease and subsequently, the country had to go through the most brutal measures of freedom of limitation that the country has gone through since its independence in 1975. All became mad as we were forced to limit our mobility and do what we usually do, including gathering in church service and burial ceremonies. New vocabulary enters our households, workplaces and curfew or lockdown became buzzwords. No more face to face classes, and suddenly for teaching and research interviews, we had to learn how to manage these virtual platforms. It was chaotic, but we coped with it, and we are learning.

Covid is the disease that effectively globalizes nations. From the Global North to the Global South, it is not immune to this disease. It has affected the economy to all extents and freedom: tourism, travels, freedom of gathering in meetings, in churches, in mosques, beliefs, socialization, to enjoy the beach, visits to families and people admitted in hospitals, burials, etc. Even though there is some resistance and manifestations against Government decisions on limiting movements and eventually how people were doing things, Covid does not care about our freedom. The issue is: how will the situation be Post Covid-19? Is that post-Covid-19 has a short-term vision, or is it something that will last for long? The world is in the UN Climate Change Conference (COP26), and what about Covid? Are we safe with these vaccines? While Global North is discussing the effectiveness of the vaccines, Mozambicans do not have room for that. So what they do is to accept the available vaccines that depend on the goodwill of the countries.

The Covid situation in Mozambique and trends

The first case of Covid-19 detected in Mozambique was on 22nd March 2020 (*Assembleia da República-IX Legislatura 2020*), and consequently, the Government decreed the First Emergency State on 30th March, through the presidential Decree no 11/2020. After the Parliament of the Republic ratified through the Law no 01/2020, de 31st March. After this first Emergency State, there were three extensions in May, June and July. The

extensions happened because of the acceleration of the Pandemic and the increase in the number of infections via Covid-19. The infections occurred within the community.

Likewise, in other African countries, Mozambique is one of these countries that permanently "post" questions are demanded: Post terrorist attacks? Post cyclones? Post floods? Post Forced Displacements and Refuge? And then Post Covid? There are many post questions as the country deals daily with natural disasters, military instability, and Covid-19. Even though the situation is not worse compared to other regions, it is a fact that all have to take serious measures (social distancing, wearing masks, washing hands including the use of ashes and sanitizers) or that can counteract infections and deaths.

There is much to say about Covid trends in Mozambique. Some of the reasons are as follows:

- 1) Weather conditions as the country are in one of the hottest areas of Southern Africa where inclusively temperatures can surpass 40 degrees Celsius;



<https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/af.htm>

- 2) To make Covid prevention measurements effective, all means, including police, were used to ensure that people were not out of their homes at a particular time. Considering that during the state of emergency, the schedule was between 9 pm to 4 am. Nobody was expected to be seen on the streets unless for

justifiable reasons; shops, bars, cinemas, theatres, sports arena, evening classes were closed in the account of Covid;

- 3) People who were born after independence and their progenitors had the chance to take anti-malaria preventing tablets, and is one of the medicines that was used at the beginning to treat Covid;
- 4) Limitation of crossings along borders and in the same extreme border was shutdown; and
- 5) Acceptance for vaccination against Covid.

Up to the date of 6th November 2021, the Ministry of Health, through its Official Bulletin, *Bulletin 599*, <https://www.misau.gov.mz/index.php/covid-19-boletins-diarios> (access 12/11/2021), registered 151,367 people tested positive in Mozambique; 149,298 recovered cases and 1,934 deaths caused by Covid in a total population of 27,909,798 registered by the fourth General Census of Population and Housing of Mozambique.

The understanding of Covid and how do we cope with that?

Understanding a new disease and the context that happened is crucial. Government (decision-makers), health professionals, academia, ordinary people, business people, and people engaged in informal businesses, including cross-border traders, have a say on how Covid-19 has impacted their lives. There are several perspectives on the Covid issue:

- 1) Initially, people thought that Covid was not meant for Africa, and when numbers rose in South Africa and Egypt, the worries started; however, with the slowness of infections, people started to believe that Africa was immune to Covid-19 because of weather conditions;
- 2) In response to global measures, along the year 2020, the Government decreed three emergency states followed by the states of calamity. In the account of the Mozambique Constitution, article 282 is about State of Emergency and State of Siege and article 284 states that a State Emergency cannot surpass 30 days and, if the situation does not change, can be extended three times in an equal period;
- 3) The medical and health perspective: Is the most affected in the account of the fragility of the health system. There is a shortage of trained professionals and infrastructures to respond to the bulk of sick people that add to those affected by traditional diseases, namely

malaria, diarrhoea, and other environmental diseases. Medical doctors, nurses and other health professionals were campaigning for strict government measures to cope with the disease;

- 4) Academia see this Pandemic as another challenge because of the lack of resources for research adding to that the effect to other research as because of mobility restrictions, the researcher could not be able to collect research data through traditional ways, such as face to face interviews, using of libraries and time limitation;
- 5) Ordinary people, including cross border traders and informal marketers: Generally, Covid has impacted all sectors of the economy, and the informal sector is the one taking into account the number of people working in this sector. Informal cross border traders were. On the other hand, ordinary people; and
- 6) Business sector – the business sector was the most affected by the Covid. The impacts hit businesses of all levels because of restrictions on importing raw materials or import of commodities. Newspapers informed about how badly Covid-19 impacted Informal cross border traders.

Post-Covid: What next?

Reading news about Covid-19 in Europe where there is information of the four waves of Covid and registered deaths, people wonder if Global North cannot cope with the Pandemic who we are to cope with Covid? Nevertheless, on the other hand, Mozambique is in the midst of other challenges, namely natural disasters, terrorist attacks, disinvestment in gas, petrol, and coal sees its situation worsening with the increase in the unemployment rate. While the military situation is slightly under control with the support of the international army and the actions on reducing risk disasters, the attention is towards post-Covid, if we can say a Post-Covid in a shorter period.

A Post-Covid perspective is still incognito, considering the other situations that the country is facing and what a country can expect in a situation of only 3 per cent of people vaccinated. Nevertheless, above all, the population has to bear in mind is that:

- 1) The traditional forms of production organization will be on another way;
- 2) Mozambicans need to have a plan B on food imports and other commodities. Depending on South Africa food imports showed how the

country is vulnerable, particularly during the curfew or lockdown as happened during the pick of the Covid-19; and

- 3) We all need to learn how to cope and learn from what is happening in other corners of the world where citizens are badly affected by Covid.

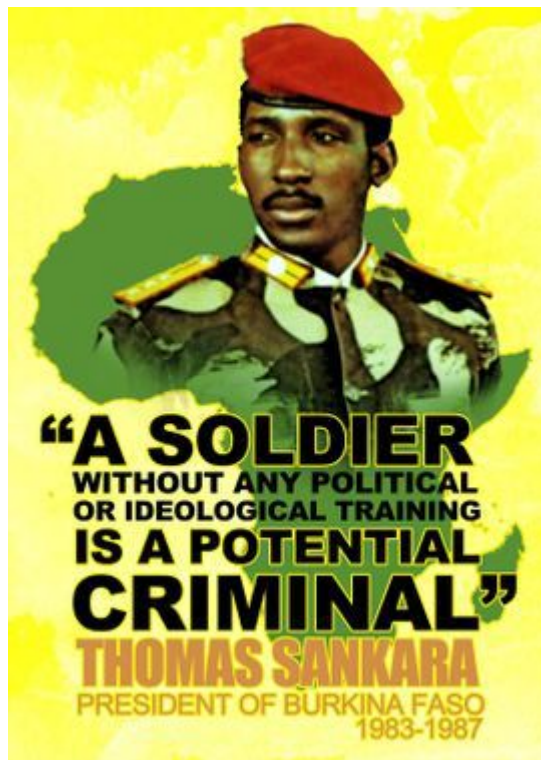
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JUSTICE FOR THOMAS SANKARA:

End of the trial on the assassination of an African hero of the struggle against imperialism



<https://academia.hypotheses.org/19607>

October 15, 1987. The military fanfare we heard on the national radio signaled an abrupt stop of all broadcasts and a state of emergency: everyone in Burkina Faso – at that time, Upper Volta – knew what the uninterrupted military fanfare meant: a coup had occurred. The charismatic revolutionary, Thomas Sankara, had been in power for only four years. The country had changed radically with the improvement of life conditions for millions of people, in that short time. On that memorable evening of October 15, 1987, we were wondering what happened. The suspense ended with the information about the assassination of President Sankara and other persons with him. It was the brutal end of the revolution. Thirty-five years after those tragic days that dramatically halted the revolutionary momentum, the trial of those involved in the assassination of Thomas Sankara and his companions has just announced sentences. See details here <https://cijs-icjs.net/fr/2022/04/07/icjs-press-release-press-conference-verdict/>

**ICJS press release followed by the opening statement to the
PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE LAWYERS OF THE FAMILY OF PRESIDENT THOMAS SANKARA
FOLLOWING THE JUDGEMENT OF APRIL 6, 2022 BY THE JUDGEMENT CHAMBER OF THE
MILITARY COURT OF OUAGADOUGOU**

OUAGADOUGOU, 07 APRIL 2022

The International Campaign for Justice for Sankara (ICJS), coordinated since 1997 by GRILA (Research and Initiative Group for the Liberation of Africa), takes note of the decision pronounced by the Honourable Judge Urbain Meda of the Military Court of Ouagadougou, on 6 April 2022. This judgment is the first of its kind in the history of the continent, and marks a precedent in the history of law. For most of the past 25 years, ICJS lawyers have been trying to get the law heard against the state, and then before a military court. They have always stood up against impunity. ICJS is grateful for all the pan-African and international mobilisation that has assisted it over the past 25 years. It salutes the memory of the victims and of all those who paid with their lives or gave their blood to bring this historic day to pass.

Thanks to the courageous mobilization of the people that drove out the Françafrique regime of Compaoré, the Honourable Judge Yameogo has re-launched the proceedings, in accordance with Burkinabe law and the rights obtained for the widow Sankara and her children before the UN Human Rights Committee in 2006.

Between March 6, 2015 and October 7, 2020, there was a successful inquiry in several stages and the trial reopened on October 11, 2021. Since France was slow to provide declassified

documents, which it unfortunately only finally provided in a selective and incomplete manner, the trial resumed, disjointed from its international component.

Having refused our request to film and record its hearings for posterity, the court nevertheless held, in a specially requisitioned venue, a trial that will go down as a landmark in the legal history of Burkina Faso and Africa. The normal progress of the trial was disrupted for a time by a coup d'état, which put the constitutional legitimacy of the process in question. The permanence of the functions of the state allowed the trial to resume, and in full knowledge of the facts, the pleadings of the civil parties and the defense as well as dozens of witnesses were heard. Some defendants were convicted and others acquitted, as described in the attached opening statement. Large parts of the truth about the assassination of President Sankara and his comrades were revealed, despite the silence and denials of several of the accused. Whether they were running away or hiding, the last of the masterminds and assassins have seen their subterfuges publicly revealed and they are now facing their own conscience and history. We call on Côte d'Ivoire and France to hand over the culprits and to participate in the elucidation that would bring closure to this case.

See more at <https://cijs-icjs.net/2022/04/07/icjs-press-release-press-conference-verdict/>

BRICS WATCH

BRICS – WORLD ORDER: What prospects for a new multilateralism?

By Marco Ricceri

Last 9 September 2021 the Heads of state and government of Brazil, China, India, Russia, South Africa, gathered for the XIII summit of the BRICS international coordination, held under the presidency of India, and approved the New Delhi final declaration on the topic: 'BRICS @ 15: Intra-BRICS Cooperation for Continuity, Consolidation and Consensus'.

Secretary General
EURISPES
BRICS-Lab, Italy



The XIII Summit was also an opportunity to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the BRICS coordination and to confirm the commitment *"to enhancing intra-BRICS cooperation under the three pillars: political and security, economic and financial, and cultural & people- to-people exchanges"*.

The XIII BRICS Summit expressed its deep appreciation for the intensive program of initiatives promoted by India, in the BRICS presidency year 2021, a program characterized by the outcomes of over 100 events (indicated in Annex II of the Declaration), including at the Ministerial and other high-level Meetings, held so far in the areas of Foreign Affairs, National Security, Finance, Trade, Industry, Labor and Employment, Agriculture, Energy, Health including Traditional Medicines, Environment, Education, Customs, Youth, Culture and Tourism as well as a range of important deliverables in various fields (indicated in Annex I of the Declaration) *"aimed at further strengthening the BRICS Strategic Partnership for the mutual benefit of its participating States and peoples"*..

This official, public commitment proclaimed by the BRICS summit to operate in the name of continuity and consolidation of collaboration between the member states of the coordination is the subject of a careful evaluation for its implications on the balance of the international system. In particular, the scientific and academic world tends to orient their reflections on some main open questions, for example: what relationship exists between the strengthening of the internal cooperation pursued by the BRICS states and their external projection? What contribution can come from the joint action of the BRICS in support of a cooperation oriented towards the Global South, capable of building a new multilateralism and promoting a more

balanced world development? What, then, is the impact of the BRICS joint action for the birth of a different world order?

These questions take on particular value also in relation to an important fact: the beginning, with 2022, of the rotating presidency of the BRICS coordination entrusted by China, the state that in recent years has recorded the highest growth rate and development with respect to the other members of the coordination. In this regard, it should be remembered that already in 2017 China had supported the need for a greater external projection of BRICS cooperation and to open participation in coordination to other member states: this is the BRICS Plus strategy proposal launched at the IX summit. BRICS held in Xiamen on 4 September 2017: "We shall also strive towards broad partnerships with EMDCs, and in this context, we will pursue equal-footed and flexible practices and initiatives for dialogue and cooperation with non-BRICS countries, including through BRICS Plus cooperation.....We will enhance communication and coordination in improving global economic governance to foster a more just and equitable international economic order. We will work towards enhancement of the voice and representation of BRICS countries and EMDCs in global economic governance and promote an open, inclusive and balanced economic globalization, thus contributing towards development of EMDCs and providing strong impetus to redressing North-South development imbalances and promoting global growth" (Final Declaration, Xiamen, 2017) .

The aforementioned open questions were also the subject of reflection and debate by the scientific community gathered last 9-11 February 2022 on the occasion of the annual conference "The Rise of Asia" promoted by the University of Le Havre and the Groupe de Recherche Identités and Cultures GRIC in collaboration with the Sorbonne University of Paris and the specific session dedicated to the theme "BRICS -World Order", the results of the presidency of India in 2021 and the prospects that can be opened with the presidency of China in 2022.

The central point on which there has been the greatest convergence in the debate of academics and experts is the following: that the BRICS coordination has reached a crossroads and faces a future of uncertainty. The reasoning developed

concerns the gap that occurs in the BRICS between the process of a progressive strengthening of internal cooperation, in specific sectors of financial, economic and social development, and the process of external projection-action which, on the contrary, is considerably weakened over time and more and more replaced by the distinct, single initiatives of the individual member states, each one engaged in its own autonomous protagonism.

At the basis of this situation there would be specific factors such as, for example, the considerable diversity in the development rates of the individual member states of the coordination that creates a set of different needs and interests. For example, according to professors **Elisabetta Basile** and **Claudio Cecchi** of La Sapienza University of Rome (Italy), to understand the importance of this situation it is necessary to refer to the institutionalist theories on the basis of which it is possible to clarify how the intertwining between economic and institutional factors, in the broadest sense of the term including ethical, cultural and social factors, leads to the construction of very different capitalist models, as emerges from the comparison between India and China. By their nature, these models have different development paths; hence the plurality of situations and perspectives that characterize the complex reality of the BRICS; a plurality that is undoubtedly a value but also an element of weakness of the coordination.

Another academic, prof. **Marko Juutinen**, of the University of Tampere (Finland) recalls the value of the neo-Kautilyan theoretical approach, with reference to the Indian philosopher and social analyst **Kautilya Arthashastra**, to evaluate the international projection of the BRICS action and the concrete possibility of the affirmation of their values, also in their projection relating to the Global South cooperation. It is a theoretical approach that appeals to realism in the evaluation of international relations and the condition of pluralism. According to Juutinen, the global order is changing with shifts of the centers of power, even if we do not know how it is changing and above all in what new reality the global order is going to be transformed. The BRICS is a

coordination characterized by great heterogeneity, with considerable internal tensions as emerges for example from the contrasts between India and China; but at the same time it is a reality that respects the pluralism of different situations. Hence the open questions on the possible role of coordination on the international scene.

For the researcher **Gizem Aslanyurek**, of the University of Istanbul (Turkey), currently engaged in research activities in South Korea, it is necessary to refer to the theory of bifurcation, according to which the structural transformation processes always present an alternative between chaos or formation of a new system; it is therefore in the power of the main protagonists of the processes of change, starting with the BRICS coordination, to work towards the construction of a new, more advanced and positive scenario. Will the BRICS, with their global vision geared towards a more balanced international situation, be in a position to translate this vision into effective policies?

For the Russian expert, **Yaroslav Lissovolik**, program director of the famous Valdai Discussion Club, the real possibility for an effective relaunch of the role of the BRICS in building a new multilateralism and a more balanced global governance is substantially linked to the relaunch of the BRICS Plus strategy, the expansion of the areas of cooperation and participation of other states in coordination, a revival that could be possible in particular under the presidency of China in 2022.

Those mentioned are just some examples of the elements for reflection that emerged in the session dedicated to the role of the BRICS in the world order. But they make it clear how the scholars who participated in the conference "The Rise of Asia" 2022 have on the one hand recognized the great value of the experience represented by this important international coordination, but at the same time, on the other, have expressed numerous questions about their possible evolution. Two aspects of the reflection carried out that lead everyone to intensify the common work of analysis and reflection. ■

BANDUNG SPIRIT THINKER AND ACTOR

Decolonization in Canada

By Isaac Bazié



Executive Editor
Bandung Spirit Bulletin
Literary and Cultural
Studies Scholar
Burkina Faso/Canada

The so-called "European exploration" of Canada, which began in 1497 with John Cabot, was the beginning of the colonization of a territory inhabited by nations falsely called "Indians" today referred to as First Nations. Canada in the 21st century is a society built on that colonization; the country still needs to do more justice to First Nations and their ancestral rights and guarantee them acceptable living conditions. More and more people raise their voices in that sense. These voices come from First Nations, but also Whites, among others. They denounce the systemic racism characteristic of all societies that have nurtured colonialism; they also point out the physical, economic, and moral injustices going alongside such systemic racism.

The two texts below portray two key personalities in Canada, who illustrate two types of actors solidly linked in this decolonial battle: Manon Barbeau, a white woman from Québec, and Sipi Flamand, a member of the First Nations.

MANON BARBEAU: Decolonization by empowering Aboriginal Peoples to tell their own stories

Freeze frame

My first meeting with Manon Barbeau occurred during an international conference in October 2019, at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She co-authored a presentation with Miaskom Sipi (Sipi Flamand), Vice-Chief of the Band Council of Manawan, the country of the Atikamekw-Nehirowisw (see Section "Challenge and alternative" below). Both, Manon Barbeau and Miaskom Sipi come from a territory marked by colonization (Québec, Canada), and inhabited by nations who live side by side without knowing each other: from an historical point of view, Manon's nation came from France, and settled in



the territory of Sipi's nation. In the conference room, their image is meaningful, while they present the way Manon Barbeau actively and efficiently participate in decolonizing efforts undertaken by people like Sipi.

Manon Barbeau works with images among people and vulnerable communities, particularly Aboriginal peoples in Canada and beyond; she is a writer, director and filmmaker. Her world is that of the marginalized, the migrants, refugees,



WAPIKONI MOBILE

Créé par Manon Barbeau en 2002 et co-fondé en 2003 par le Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw et le Conseil des jeunes des Premières Nations.

disadvantaged peoples in Turkey, Palestine and the West Bank, Hungary etc. The particularity of Manon Barbeau is that she doesn't give herself a monopoly on the images and sounds she works with when she talks about others, quite the opposite: she gives them the camera and the microphone, hands over the tools and passes on the know-how, so that they can produce their own images about themselves and tell their own stories: a profoundly decolonial approach, which rebalances the power dynamics and creates the possibility of a discourse produced by colonized communities, structurally and systemically disadvantaged and marginalized, but engaged in the reappropriation of their freedom, of the respect and dignity they are due, and of a quality of life that's acceptable. In the early afternoon of this so-called "Indian" summer in Cluj-Napoca, the image, as I said, is eloquent: it tells the path that a white Québécoise has been able to travel towards a world that is so close to many Canadians (and everywhere there has been settlement in America), but also so distant, because of the lack of knowledge maintained over time by systems that have either ignored or simply caricatured the First Nations.

Background

In her childhood, nothing apparently would have predicted that Manon Barbeau would one day be what one could call an actress, an activist committed to the decolonization of vulnerable peoples and subjects. Abandoned at the age of 3 in a daycare center in the early 1950s, along with her little brother, Manon Barbeau (whose father, Marcel Barbeau, was a painter and signatory of the famous *Manifesto Refus global* in Quebec, and whose mother, Suzanne Meloche was also a poet)

was taken in by her two paternal aunts. It was therefore something of a miracle when, in 1969, she began studying cultural animation and film at the Université du Québec à Montréal. Already well established in a career as a writer, director and filmmaker, with 15 years of experience at Radio-Québec, it was a project on becoming a woman, that is, on this transitional phase between the status of a teenager and

that of a woman, as well as on the rituals that accompany it, that brought her into contact with the First Nations. This encounter with nations so close (in Quebec) and yet so unknown and isolated marks a turning point in the journey of the woman I saw sitting next to the vice-chief of an Aboriginal nation: the material and psychological distress with serious consequences — alcoholism, suicide, etc. — does not leave Manon Barbeau indifferent. In 2001, she decided to teach the young people of the community how to use the camera and to write a script with them; in this film, it will be them, they will speak and tell their stories: a concrete way to break the isolation in which they find themselves. This is how the *Wapikoni Mobile* project was born, named after a young Aboriginal girl with a special aura, radiating generosity and enthusiasm in her community, Wapikoni Awashish, who died in a car accident: this tragic and premature end was like a thunderclap in the community and for Manon Barbeau. The idea behind Wapikoni Mobile was to give the camera to young people in Aboriginal communities, thanks to a mobile studio, so that they could make their own documentaries and thus interact with the rest of the world. Officially launched in 2004, Wapikoni Mobile will have made more than "1500 films by its participants" in 2017-18 (see the report and the word of the founding president Manon Barbeau). Since then, the impact of this tireless creator for the First Nations' cause has only grown, as well as the recognition that her action will receive both in Canada and internationally.

Actions in the Spirit of Bandung

In recent years, Canada has been called upon by the United Nations on several occasions to

significantly improve the quality of life of First Nations. In fact, it is to the UN Charter that the participants of the famous Afro-Asian Conference referred in to 1955 in Bandung, to demand an end to colonization and the subjugation of peoples. By denouncing colonialism as a "negation of fundamental rights" (Final Communiqué, Bandung Conference), they were doing nothing less than denouncing what unfortunately is still the sad reality for many people, even in the 2000s: undignified living conditions that have pushed people like Manon Barbeau to use the powerful revolutionary tool that is the camera to allow indigenous people to come out of the invisibility that all colonized subjects face at some point in their history. Certainly, political colonization is over; there are, one would rightly say, important gains and positive changes in the relationship between First Nations and Canadians. But as in other contexts marked by colonization, we often forget that the end of the political dimension of colonization is far from meaning the abolition of the structures of domination, which are very long-lasting and resistant to change. These structures are therefore what continues to produce the systemic injustices that more and more Aboriginal voices are denouncing in Quebec, Canada and the world. To succeed in denouncing them and bringing about positive change, activists like

Manon Barbeau are decisive allies: strengthened by the awareness that she shares the same humanity with Aboriginal youth and marginalized people, Manon Barbeau has decided to share her tool with them as well: the pen and the camera. Both had already allowed her to show facets of a society in pain — punks in particular; sharing or better, making available the Aboriginal people's side, is simply to become aware of the greatness of human territory, its richness in diversity of lives, peoples and cultures, each as important as the next.

Solidarity with colonized peoples

Upon closer inspection, the Canadian woman who made a lasting commitment to the nations represented by the Aboriginal man sitting next to her had, against all appearances, what it took to make a deep connection with him: a journey marked by marginality, lack and stigmatization, but also by periods of light through which she was able to demonstrate resilience and courage. All it takes to show solidarity with causes such as First Nations communities, as long as you don't give up on yourself: Manon Barbeau succeeded. This is also how activists who change the world are born.■

CHALLENGE AND ALTERNATIVE

SIPI FLAMAND:

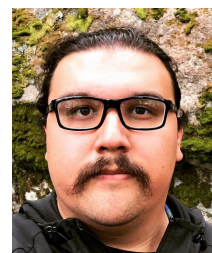
Movement towards decolonization and the resurgence of Aboriginal peoples

***Kwei kaskina,
Miaskom Sipi Wapaeckine nit icinikason, Atikamekw
Nehirowisiw nin ota ni otcin Nitaskinak, notcimik.***

My name is Sipi Flamand, from the Atikamekw Nehirowisiw Nation.

My name is Sipi Flamand, from the Atikamekw Nehirowisiw Nation. One of the Aboriginal nations in Quebec. I come from the community of Manawan, but I usually introduce myself as

coming from Nitaskinan "Our territory" and Notcimik (the forest or more literally "where my blood comes from"). I speak my mother tongue which is Nehiromowin, one of the best preserved



Vice-chief of the Atikamekw Council of Manawan, activist. Master's candidate in Aboriginal Governance at UQAT. Holder of a Bachelor's degree in Political Science, Université Laval.

native languages in Canada. I am a descendant of the survivors of residential schools, an era that greatly affected a large part of the Aboriginal population in Canada. My parents shared with me the Atikamekw nehirowisiw values of respect, courage, love, honesty, humility, truth and wisdom in order to put an end to the intergenerational trauma of the residential school era. I am very grateful to my parents, those who gave me life, and especially for what they taught me on the red path, the path of healing.

During my youth, I participated in cultural events such as powwows, ceremonies that shaped me spiritually and that still guide me in my life as a political leader. I was able to acquire rich knowledge and experience so that I could better defend my best, Atikamekw Nehirowisiw and Aboriginal peoples. The network that I was able to benefit from with the indigenous people in the Americas also allowed me to better assert myself politically and socially and thus exercise a leadership rooted in resilience and the resurgence of political thought that conveys the values that resemble me as an Atikamekw Nehirowisiw. This is then what I want to convey in my political and cultural actions in the current society.

These tools allow me to better communicate my relationship with my history, the history of Aboriginal peoples and the society in which I interact. Moreover, as a filmmaker-activist, I have been able to use means such as cinema by making short films to make our realities known as Aboriginal people, thus promoting the reappropriation of identity and culture among young people, but also those who wish to bring about changes in the relationship with society in general. The approach that I was able to develop in the cinema allowed me to learn more and to deepen my personal steps as a researcher-community within the framework of the realizations of these short films: *"Onickakw!"* (2013), *"Mantokatcikan"* and *"Kitci Nehirowiskwew"* (2015) which you can see on the wapikoni.ca website.

We, the indigenous peoples, all speak of the recognition of our rights by the State with which we are in relation. For this to happen, it is necessary to give Aboriginal people their rightful place in the governance of their ancestral territories.

Currently, on the political level, the natives have a strength that they could use to better defend their rights, but it is also necessary to re-establish their mode of governance, their traditional system of



authority recognized by the elders where the place of women and youth are important in the decision-making. As indigenous people, our elders have a very good knowledge of the territory which they could pass on to the younger ones to be able to fight against extractivism, capitalist cannibalism. It is also in this way that we will decolonize the conception of the territory and especially of the conception of the "natural resources" that are our relations that we must all re-establish in an approach of respect with the animal, vegetable and spiritual world, because it is with this that we must work to counter all the murderous problematic that we all encounter at present as human-beings in relation to the climate crisis. We must make known the foundations of the political thought of the indigenous peoples to bring about real change in society.

It is within this framework that I am conducting my research as a Master's candidate on how Aboriginal people, and more specifically the Atikamekw Nehirowisiw Nation, can put forward their traditional mode of governance to re-establish a balance in social, environmental and political relations, thus highlighting the political philosophy that represents us well. When the Indian Act was implemented in 1876 in Canada, Aboriginal people were subjected to operate with a structure that they did not think about, nor did they participate in the building of bodies such as Band Councils. As a political actor in a structure

thinkers such as Taiaiake Alfred, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, John Borrows, Glen Sean Coulthard and others in redefining Aboriginal modes of governance, re-establishing Aboriginal legal traditions, and most importantly, restoring balance in Aboriginal communities after years of imposed thinking that has been very detrimental to our inter- and extra-community interactions.

For some years now, Canada has been talking about reconciliation, so why not talk about decolonization or first decolonization and then reconciliation! Because, as we all know,

reconciliation is currently unidirectional and defined by the State, which means that a form of colonialism and Canadian power over Aboriginal rights is maintained. When we talk about Aboriginal rights, we are also talking about the rights to self-determination and self-government, we need to give Aboriginal peoples the opportunity to redefine their political structure and recognize what they do to function well as a nation. We have the tools and knowledge to better define ourselves, such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), a declaration that was thought out and reflected upon by indigenous people from around the world. Reconciliation can then finally happen as we redefine our relationship with the larger society together.

Joyce's Principle - Systemic Racism

On September 28, 2020, my community and all First Nations were shocked to see a

live video on Facebook where we could hear the nursing staff of the Joliette hospital denigrating Joyce Echaquan, a woman from my own community, the one who experienced abuse in her last hours on earth. Today, this video exists and the story of racism against indigenous peoples has



imposed under this Act, I feel a certain continued control by the Crown and the State in my political actions, while I advocate for freedom and real self-determination in a constitution defined by ourselves, the Aboriginal peoples. It is from this perspective that I draw inspiration from Aboriginal

been seen by all and across borders. After years of denouncing and fighting against the mistreatment of Aboriginal people in the public system, we can now demand from the State that the life of an Aboriginal person counts as much! It is in this spirit that we have embarked on a broad consultation with Aboriginal communities and the general public to bring about a paradigm shift, particularly in the health care system, by articulating Joyce's Principle. This principle reads as follows:

The Joyce Principle is intended to ensure that all Aboriginal people have the right to equitable access, without discrimination, to all health and social services, and the right to the highest attainable standard of physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health.

Joyce's Principle necessarily requires the recognition and respect of the traditional and living knowledge of Aboriginal people in matters of health (Conseil des Atikamekw de Manawan & Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw, 2020)

Moreover, we are still canvassing politically and socially so that the Quebec government can adopt this principle, knowing that the Canadian government is very open to implementing it, especially by putting in place a bill on the health of Aboriginal peoples inspired by Joyce's Principle. This can be a positive note towards decolonization

for my part so that all indigenous peoples can benefit from quality services and especially humanely respectful in the health system and thus feel in a culturally secure environment.

Towards decolonization

Decolonization is the path we must take. It is a path that we can establish a new relationship with governments, with extractivist companies and society in general. What has been done in the past with the exploitation of natural resources that contributes to the destruction of our ancestral territories can no longer work and especially disrupt the lives of all human beings on the planet. The indigenous peoples have the responsibility to maintain the sacred balance on Earth, as David Suzuki says.

It is therefore necessary to decolonize and re-establish our traditional political, social and spiritual institutions by revalorizing the Atikamekw nehirowisiw principles and values in our modes of governance while adapting it to the current reality and taking into account the importance of the next seven generations, so we must act now for the future of the Aboriginal peoples.

Kitci mikwetc!

Thank you very much! ■

BANDUNG SPIRIT IMAGINATIVE UNIVERSE

ONCE UPON A TIME IN HISTORY: From Bandung 1955 to Havana 1966 Afro-Asian Reconquest of Independence

By Darwis Khudori and Isaac Bazié

Executive co-editors of Bandung Spirit Bulletin

Within the period called "Bandung Era" (1955-1970 or 1955-1980 or even 1955-1990), the years of 1955-1966 may be the most intensive period of struggle against Western imperialism and colonialism and for independence and sovereignty across Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Symbolically, it was marked by the 1955 Bandung Asian-African Conference and the 1966 Havana Tricontinental Conference. Algeria, Angola, Azania, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Congo, Cuba, Dominica Republic, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Irak, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique,

Namibia, Palestine, South Africa, Syria, Tanzania, Vietnam, Yemen, Zimbabwe... were in flame of revolutionary wars against Western imperialism and colonialism. Following the 1955 Bandung Asian-African Conference, organisations of African-Asian union were formed and active in concerted actions against NEKOLIM (term created by Soekarno: Neo-colonialism and Neo-imperialism) and for a new world order based on Bandung Spirit ideals (Peace, Independence, Equality, Solidarity, Emancipation): Afro-Asian Students, Afro-Asian Workers, Afro-Asian Writers, Afro-Asian Journalists, Afro-Asian Lawyers, Afro-Asian Farmers... One of the tools of their movements was The Afro-Asian Journalist published by Afro-Asian Journalists Association based in Jakarta. We present here a glimpse of the ANTI NEKOLIM spirit of time through caricatures published in the Asian-African Journalist No. 3 May/June Volume 2, 1965 (Darwis Khudori).



The anti-colonial struggle was making significant gains when the cartoons were published: the political independence that many peoples in Asia had already achieved was a goal that most African countries had also reached since

1960. The long and violent struggle against European colonization used a strategy that has become famous: taking the weapons of the colonizer and turning them against him. The benefit of such an approach is evident: the message sent to the colonizer will be delivered and understood because it has been designed in his language and with his codes. The cartoons reproduced in this issue use the same strategy. They illustrate two facets of the reality of colonized people's conditions and expectations: violent exploitation and rebirth. "The last act of robbery and plunder", "One simple move and....", "Imperialists' march of death across Afro-Asia" therefore spoke the message of an imminent and violent end of imperialism whose most famous face is American. However, the expected end can't occur without fundamental solidarity between the two "A's" found in three other cartoons: the solidarity between Africa and Asia.



The other facet of the colonized peoples is illustrated by one cartoon: "Martyrdom and Resurrection in Asia and Africa". The crucified black man is an excellent illustration of how the colonized use the images and cultural and political tools imposed by the colonizer to defend themselves against him. Europe's colonial

expansion into Asia and Africa was also done with the Bible. By using the image of the crucifixion, this cartoon is the most eloquent of all. It recovers the core of the Christian religion and replaces Christ on the cross with the black man. We must pay attention to the details in this representation:



the Black man on the cross is not in agony; on the contrary, he keeps an impression of strength confirmed by his size and his alert look. This impression of strength and vigilance is also visible in the contrast between

the massive vertical cross, with the muscular black Christ, and the puny figures armed with derisory spears around him.

The figuration of the suffering and restoration of the Black man with images from the Bible goes



beyond the cartoon of 1965. The resurrection narrative is an interpretative lens that gives meaning to the martyrdom of Black people, which is followed by life and triumph. The current context of decolonization somehow conveys

the value of the 1965 cartoons in terms of rising, rebirth, or resurrection, Afro-Asian solidarity. The rise of Asia in the 2000s contributes to designing a multipolar world and the possibility of strategic alliances for Africa and Asia. It's meaningful that the black man on the cross does not only represent exploited and martyred Africa, but also Asia: Beyond color and territory, the community of destiny is based on the same experience of colonization, exploitation, and racism (Isaac Bazié). ■

IDEAS AND DEBATES

DEMOCRACY: Bandung, Belgrade, the West and the Rest

By Darwis Khudori



Executive Editor
Bandung Spirit Bulletin
Architect and historian
Indonesia/France

The word "democracy" continues to create polemics and geopolitical tensions, especially between the West and the rest of the world. Is democracy a "goal" or a "means" or a "way of life" or all of them?

If it is a "goal", does it have the same level of "liberté", "égalité" and "fraternité" of the ideals of French Revolution and "peace", "independence/sovereignty", "equality",

"solidarity" and "emancipation" of the ideals of Bandung Spirit?

If it is a goal, what happened with the countries that have reached a status of "democracy"? Did they reach their goal? If yes, why most of the colonialist and imperialist countries are the most "democratic" ones? Does it mean that "democracy" contains a seed of imperialism and colonialism or at least a seed that allows imperialism and colonialism to grow? If not, does it mean that they reached a wrong "democracy"? If they have not reached a true "democracy", what kind of "democracy" should they run after? Is there any real democracy or higher level of democracy? Is there any "democracy" without epithet Greek, ideal, real, true, universal, Western, liberal, representative, participative, feminist, Christian, Islamic, social, popular, radical, European, American...?

If democracy is a "means", is it the only one to reach a "goal"? Are all kinds of goal can be reached only by "democracy"? Who have the right to decide the means to reach a goal? Does one group of people have the right to decide the means to be used by other people to reach their own goal? Should democracy replace sovereignty? If yes, at what level? Personal level? Family level? Community level? Urban level? National level? Regional level? Continental level? International level? World level? Is "democracy" applicable to all levels, all goals and all circumstances?

If democracy is a way of life, is "democracy" an absolute truth? Is "democracy" a matter of obligation or choice? Does "democracy" behave like religion and "democrats" like religious believers? Do "democrats" accept agnostics in "democracy"? Is there any fanatic, fundamentalist,

radicalist "democrat" who pretends to be the holder of absolute truth and to carry out a sacred mission to spread "democracy" all over the world by all means including invading and destroying countries considered "undemocratic"? Does "democracy" needs preachers who pronounce and write the word "democracy" in all their discourses and declarations? Can "democracy" exist without the word "democracy"? Is there any silent "democracy"? Is it "undemocratic" not to declare "democracy"? Is it necessary to declare "democracy" to defend "democracy"? Is the word "democracy" neutral? Is the word "democracy" immune from any manipulation? Are not the words "democracy", "human rights", "good governance"... favourable tools of Western powers to dominate the world, as criteria to punish and to give sanctions to countries that are not aligned to them?

Were the 29 heads of state/government in the 1955 Bandung Conference and the 25 heads of state/government in the 1961 Belgrade Conference wrong that they did not include the word "democracy" in their declaration? Is the UN Charter wrong that it does not contain the word "democracy"? Is the UN Declaration of Human Rights wrong that it does not mention the word "democracy"? Are the heads of state of Western countries right that they pronounce the word "democracy" every time they appear in a public space?

Is "democracy" a unifying or dividing, an inclusive or exclusive word for the diversity of the real world? ■

RECENT ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Duško Dimitrijević and Jovan Čavoški (eds.), *THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT*, Belgrade, Institute of International Politics and Economics, 2021, 512 p., ISBN 978-86-7067-283-3.

Review of the Thematic Proceedings

Researching the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) could hardly be considered a simple and easily feasible endeavor in the study of contemporary

international relations. Its development, which began in the first years after the Second World War, and to this day represents a relatively short period from the scientific-historical aspect in order

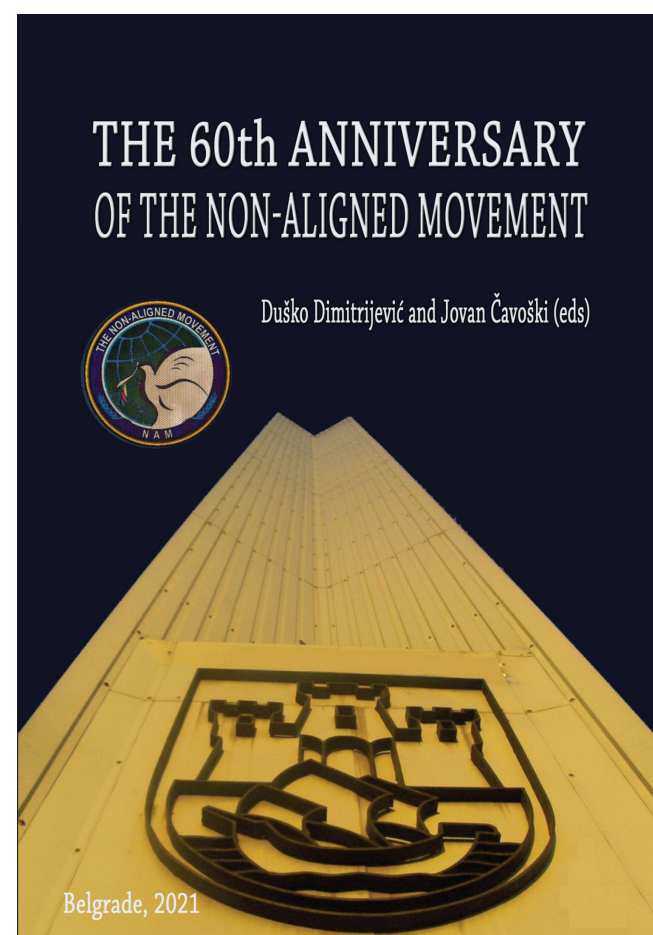
to establish the real "time distance" necessary to examine such a social phenomenon. However, the absence of this factor does not diminish the significance of this book, which undoubtedly contributes in a scientifically acceptable way to elucidating many aspects of the NAM as a dynamic phenomenon whose variables were directly correlated with the development of international relations and international law. All the more so, it is worth paying due tribute to the authors of this thematic publication, because it registered more significant changes about the NAM in its sixty-year development.

The thematic collection includes original research by very eminent scientists, diplomats and researchers from all parts of the world. Through a compilation of different approaches and all kinds of scientific views and ideas, the editors of this collection managed to synthesize different doctrinal understandings about NAM - a political actor who marked an entire historical era of international relations. In addition to explaining the evolution of the NAM, the publication also provides certain answers to the questions of its further development and transformation. Hence, it is clear that this case is a scientific work of wider international significance that synthesizes analyzes of various aspects of the NAM from political, economic and legal to historical, sociological and security, which ultimately indicates that this work exceeds the usual standards present in scientific literature. The Proceeding was created as a result of the diligent work of Dr. Dimitrijević and Dr. Čavoški, who demonstrated their knowledge of theoretical and practical problems of history and development of international relations in the best way in the part dedicated to the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the NAM.

In methodological terms, the book synthesizes a wider range of historical, legal, political and economic problems divided into the following thematic units: 1) Historical origin and evolution of the Non-Aligned Movement; 2) Reflections of the non-Aligned Movement - 60 years after the Belgrade Summit and, 3) Revitalization of the role of the Non-Aligned Movement in contemporary international relations.

In the First part of Proceeding, which refers to the historical development of NAM, we are introduced to an extraordinary review by Jovan Čavoški from the Institute for Recent History of Serbia,

dedicated to the evolution of NAM's role in international relations during the Cold War. The author concludes that during the Cold War, NAM became the third pole of international relations because it represented the interests and needs of the world standing between the two blocs, while seeking appropriate advantages in strengthening its individual and collective security and encouraging economic development and prosperity. Academician of SANU, Professor Ljubodrag Dimić, in his analysis dedicated to Josip Broz Tito and the beginnings of NAM, points out that Yugoslavia in Tito's time had the political power to actively and peacefully take on the role of leader in the movement whose outlines were in sight during the Belgrade Summit. At that time, non-alignment seemed to the author to be "politics with the future". Professor Aleksandar Životić from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade gave a particularly interesting study on the development of the foreign policy commitment of the former Yugoslavia to non-alignment in the context of the development of the Middle East crisis in the period after the Second World War. Amit Das Gupta, a researcher from the University of the Federal Armed Forces from Munich in this part of Proceeding, focused on examining the role of India in the formative years of the NAM. He concludes



that although India played a key role in the formation of the NAM, the indecision of Indian foreign policy in relations with the great powers, as well as neighboring countries, over time contributed to the deviation from the position of equidistance. Robert B. Rakove from Stanford University wrote an analysis dedicated to the U.S. approach to Cold War non-alignment. It shows Washington's reactions to non-alignment in the early and middle years of the Cold War, with special attention to the Kennedy administration's pressure to engage the leading countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, especially at the Belgrade Conference. Professor Ruslan Vasilievich Kostyuk and Ekaterina Petrovna Katkova from St. Petersburg State University and "LETI" University, in their work dedicated to the attitude of the Soviet Union towards NAM, indicate that the USSR had a decisive role in defining the strategy of the entire "world socialist system" in relation to non-aligned countries. The similarities of the positions of the two sides towards the authors were reflected in the need for democratization of the international economic order, which is why Soviet diplomacy considered NAM an ally on the world stage. Professor Hongwei Fan and Xinyao Liu of the Research School of Southeast Asian Studies of the Xiamen University, in their work on China's foreign policy toward the NAM, gave instructive experiences about the evolution of these relations from the founding of the NAM to the present day. The authors conclude that from the very beginning, China supported the NAM and sympathized with its problems. Arno Trültzsch from the University of Leipzig gave an extremely valuable overview of the impact of the NAM in the UN on the development of international law. Through the case study, the author described the place and role of the former Yugoslavia in the codification and progressive development of international legal principles related to disarmament, peaceful settlement of disputes, peaceful coexistence and economic justice, especially related to human rights discourse. Professor Lorenz M. Lüthi from McGill University in Montreal gave a significant analysis of the NAM's relationship to other regional movements and international organizations during the Cold War. The author concludes that these relations were often riddled with disagreements (e.g. in the case of the Southeast Asian, American and Arab organizations) and that in other cases, despite common interests and goals, relations were transposed to the UN (e.g. in the case of the

Organization of African Unity). A valuable study in this part of Proceeding is the analysis of Sanja Jelisavac Trošić on the struggle for the establishment of the New International Economic Order (NIEO). The establishment of the NIEO meant a call for reform interventions in international institutions, economic structures and mechanisms to stop treating developing countries as passive subjects of the international economic order, as well as for measures to reduce the growing economic gap between developed and developing countries. Despite various economic crises, the idea of NIEO has not faded, but according to the author has remained relevant today. In the continuation of this part of Proceeding, Professor and Ambassador Duško Lopandić and researcher Ratimir Milikić from the Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade presented their study on the consequences of non-alignment policy on the status of the former Yugoslavia in Western European integration (Council of Europe and EEC), concluding that this policy was a somewhat limiting factor when, after Tito's death, global changes across Europe sparked a debate about the prospects for Yugoslavia's potential membership in these European organizations.

At the beginning of the Second part of the Proceedings, which refers to the reflections of the NAM - 60 years after the Belgrade Summit, the presentation will begin with an analysis presented by the former Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, Živadin Jovanović. Emphasizing the importance of the NAM jubilee, the author concluded that in the past 60 years, the NAM has played a historically significant role in four basic directions of global development - decolonization, reducing the bloc division of the world, strengthening solidarity among developing countries (South - South), and democratization of international relations. Its current role is also not disputable, since the NAM has remained a significant factor in modern international relations and a place where the needs and attitudes of humanity are articulated. A particularly important analysis was provided by Dragan Bogetić from the Institute for Recent History of Serbia. He deals with specific issues of the role and place of socialist Yugoslavia in the formation of the NAM. Based on the analysis of relevant archival material, the author came to the conclusion that NAM would never have achieved its global role in the Cold War polarized world without the continuous, skillfully designed and

offensive performance of Yugoslav diplomacy and Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito. On the other hand, socialist Yugoslavia could never have played such a significant role in this bloc-divided world without the constant, well-organized and efficient operation of this broad and democratically organized Movement. Hence, it is no wonder that Tito built a new world without which he himself could not survive, just as, after all, that world in its original version could not survive without Tito. Ezzat Saad, Director of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs, provided a very interesting contribution on the role and place of Egypt in the NAM, its efforts to maintain the survival and continuity of the NAM as the most important framework for coordinating the political positions of developing countries. Professors Leyde Ernesto Rodriguez-Hernandez and Dariana Hernandez Perez, of the Raúl Roa García Institute of International Relations in Havana, commented on Cuba's role in the NAM, as well as the importance of the Third World on Cuban foreign policy and revolution. Thomas Prehi Botchway and Akwasi Kwarteng Amoako-Gyampah from the University of Education in Winneba gave an overview of the development of Ghana's foreign policy in the context of the evolution of the NAM. Sue Onslow of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, School of Advanced Studies at the University of London, analyzes Tanzania's deep position in the NAM in the late 1980s and 1990s after President Julius Nyerere resigned. Also, the author discusses the relationship with the superpowers and the People's Republic of China. Professor Chris Saunders from the University of Cape Town presented in his paper an analysis of South Africa's relations with the NAM and in this regard many open issues related to colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism including all other forms of aggression and domination that this country has carried out in past times. M. Faishal Aminuddin, Vice Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Brawijaya, in his paper referred to the position of Indonesia in the NAM with an assessment of the perspective of the Movement that cannot go beyond friendly relations. Professor Kamal Makali-Aliyev at Malmö University tried to explain the role of Azerbaijan in the NAM with a multidisciplinary approach using the methodology of international security and international law. Professor Beatriz Bissio from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro gave a very useful overview of Brazil's attitude towards NAM,

which in the previous period was quite proactive in terms of "parallel paths and common goals".

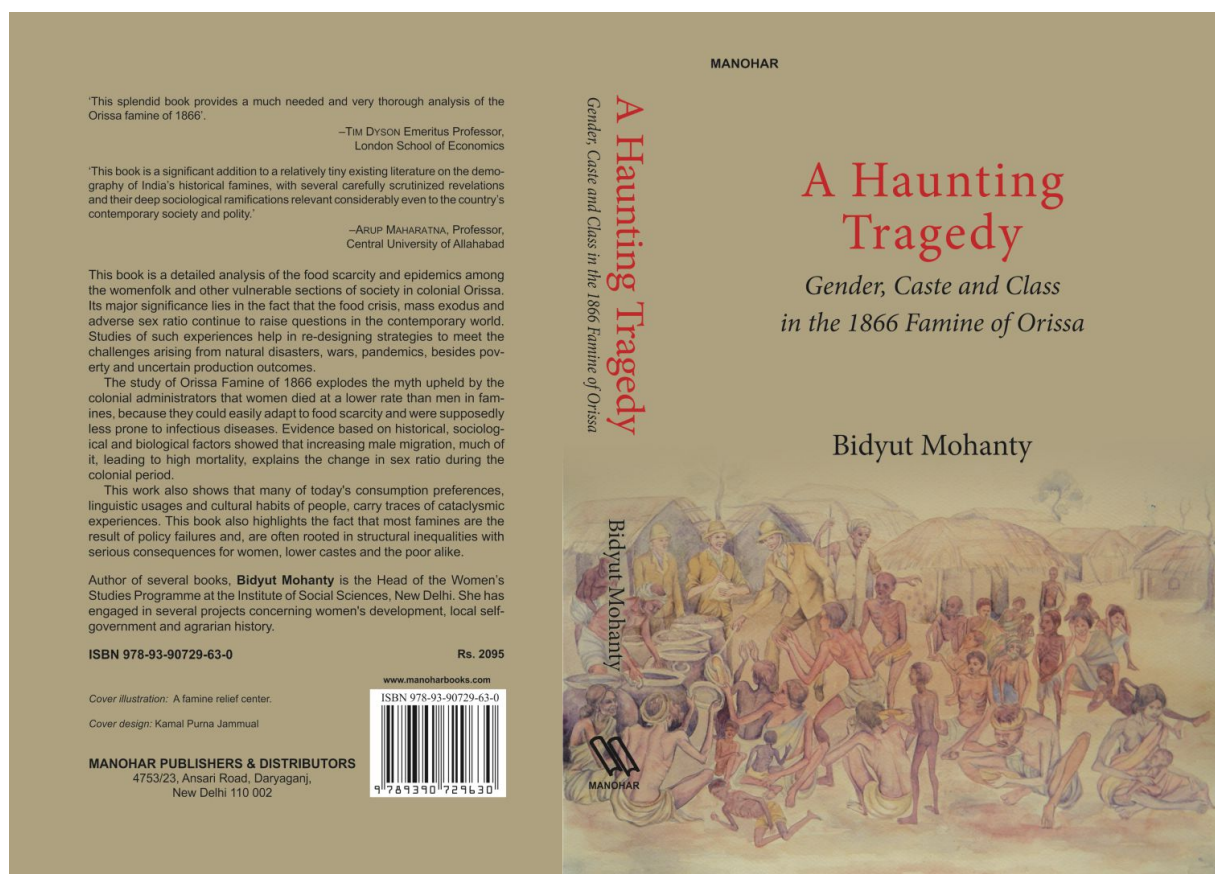
The Third part of Proceeding provides numerous explanations on the revitalization of the role of NAM in contemporary international relations. The first analysis in this section was given by Professor István Tarrosy at the University of Pécs, who addressed some of the key questions about the further evolution of NAM. In his work, the Ambassador of Serbia and journalist Dragan Bisenić pays attention to the post-Cold War period in which, like other international organizations, NAM is looking for its new place in international relations. Egyptian Ambassador Amr Aljowaily presented his views on possible directions for the development of the NAM, which arose from his personal experience and diplomatic practice during his service in the Egyptian Mission in New York. Duško Dimitrijević, Professorial Fellow from IIPe from Belgrade, otherwise the editor-in-chief of the subject Proceeding, provided an interesting and very significant contribution dedicated to the positioning of NAM in the UN and reform tendencies within the UN system. Yayan Ganda Hayat Mulyana from the Education Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia presented in his article the place of Indonesia in the development of NAM. The author commented on the current challenges facing NAM such as the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as on predictions of NAM's future role in international relations. Professor and Honorary President of the Slovenian Society for International Relations, Jozef Kunić, gave a brief analysis of the Slovenian view of the position of NAM. He referred to the development of NAM from the Belgrade summit until today, stating that some kind of "New NAM" will appear, whose organization and manner of action is difficult to predict at this moment. For small countries like Slovenia, it is difficult for them to remain neutral and non-aligned, because in his opinion they must cooperate with the economies of developed countries, which is not possible without good political relations. In the final part of the Proceeding, Director and Senior Adviser Madhusudan Bandyopadhyay and Amitava Bandyopadhyay provided extremely valuable information on the work of the non-governmental organization - Center for Science & Technology of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries in New Delhi.

From the above contributions to the Proceeding, it follows that the attractive strength of the NAM is part of its historical continuity and political flexibility to adjust to a kind of neutral position in the mutually opposing relations of great powers and other important international actors. Hence probably its ability to be one of the sources of new and progressive ideas that are developing in parallel with the needs of the largest number of member countries of the international community that strive to ensure peace and security in the world. The growing need of non-aligned countries to consider current world problems has been a major feature of the NAM since its earliest days. The Cold War and the post-Cold War period did not substantially change his original idea of a non-aligned or equidistant position in international relations. This idea was traced at the first NAM summit held in Belgrade in 1961, with the efforts of Yugoslavia, India and Egypt, but also other countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America, which played a key role in its establishment. Seeking its own path of development (the so-called Third Way), the NAM, despite numerous

challenges and temptations, contributed to the stabilization of international relations. Today, the NAM represents an important political factor in the creation of a universal system of importance for the democratization of modern international relations, which has been vividly pointed out by numerous authors of this work. It is a political forum where political views and experiences are exchanged that can contribute to a more balanced and sustainable economic and social development and the strengthening of international relations between the North - South and South - South. In the end, it should be pointed out that this extraordinary thematic publication by Dr. Dimitrijević and Dr. Čavoški comes at the right time, since it does not only respect the needs of the professional public to mark a significant political jubilee, such as the 60th anniversary of the NAM.■

Professor Blagoje Babić
Professorial Fellow of the IIPE, Belgrade

Bidyut Mohanty, *A Haunting Tragedy: Gender, Caste and Class in the 1866 Famine of Orissa*, New Delhi, Manohar, 2022, 421 p. ISBN 978-93-90729-63-0



This monograph presents an in-depth analysis of the consequences of food crisis and epidemics on women and other vulnerable sections of society in a historical perspective. The significance of this study lies in the fact that food crisis, distress migration and adverse sex ratio for women continue to raise troubling questions even in the present-day world. Such historical experiences help us in designing coping strategies to meet those challenges which now have acquired new dimensions of crisis arising from climate change, civil wars, pandemics, natural disasters besides persisting conditions of poverty and uncertain production outcomes.

This study explodes the myth upheld by the colonial administrators that in famines women died at a lower rate than men because they could adapt better to food scarcity and were biologically less prone to infectious diseases. Sociological and biological factors are examined in detail with the historical data to present an alternative explanation. Evidence showed that increasing male migration and much of it leading high mortality

explained the trend an increasing sex ratio between 1901 to 1921 in Odisha.

A special feature of this study is a substantial focus on the impact of famine on society, culture and literature. As in case of the societies struck by great famines the world over, many of today's behavioral patterns, consumption preferences and cultural habits of people as also social formations and linguistic stock carry traces of those cataclysmic experiences.

This study of the Great Orissa Famine of 1866 and subsequent famines till 1921 highlights the fact that most famines then and now are mainly results of policy failures and are rooted in structural inequalities. How women, lower castes and the rural poor suffered from the famine and reacted to the food crisis has much lessons for today.

This work will be of much interest to policy makers and scholars and students in Gender Studies, Economic History, Public Policy, Agricultural Economics, Cultural Studies and Demography. ■

RECENT PAST AND PRESENT INITIATIVES

FESPACO 2021



The 27th edition of FESPACO (*Le Festival panafricain du cinéma et de la télévision de Ouagadougou* / Ouagadougou Panafrikan Festival of Cinema and Television) took place on October 16-23, 2021. 500 films from 64 countries were projected. News, facts and analysis were published in online medias. The following is an original and personal account from a festival participant.

AFRICA'S BIGGEST FILM FESTIVAL FESPACO IN MY MEMORY

By Manju Mishra



Doctor in Communication Studies, Director of CJMC College of Journalism and Mass Communication, Kathmandu, Nepal, Initiator and Chairperson of Nepal Africa Film Festival.

People view Africa through a very peculiar lens: disasters, civil wars, disease and starvation. Very little is known about Africa apart from its wildlife and the narrative promulgated by mainstream media. It's both pity and irony that people venture to gauge a book by its cover, for most of our initial perceptions of Africa are mostly unfounded stereotypes. In a world where change is the only constant, the relevance and authenticity of all prevalent stereotypes and prejudice must be put to serious questioning. Out-dated and selective narratives portrayed, sometimes unintentionally, in the media and in our history books about Africa taint our understanding and provide fertile grounds for baseless stereotypes to flourish. Our core assumptions derived from what we've been taught about Africa in our school curriculum is grossly out-dated. For a continent that has been extolled as the cradle of mankind, we certainly lack a holistic point-of-view of African culture.

It is not a coincidence that I have great passion, love and interest towards Africa. At the age of 9 I was adopted by an African American with whom I stayed a long time and who admitted me to a very prestigious school here in Nepal. After finishing my high school it just so happened that I went to study in Russia at Patrice Lumumba University (named after the Congolese martyr, assassinated for his fight for nation independence) where, even there, I had plenty of friends from Africa. After several years, when I finally returned to Nepal, I decided to organize Nepal Africa Film Festival (NAFF) with the theme "Africa through African Lens" which garnered serious media attention in our capital.

I have been organizing this festival since 2011 and ever since then, I have always desired to go to Burkina Faso to participate at the festival which I had heard so much of. Over these years at NAFF, I got introduced with Prof Darwis Khudori in Nepal whom I asked to help me connect NAFF with African partners. He then introduced me to two Burkina-Faso professors who became literally, gifts-of-god for me for the continuation of our Nepal Africa Film Festival.

This year, I had the good fortune to attend FESPACO Film Festival where I was introduced to dozens of renowned African film makers, producers and directors. The festival was very

lively and felt very passionately organized. I saw people enjoying, singing and dancing which triggered many recollections in me. There were many events happening simultaneously at different areas of the venue which I found to be managed rather diligently and with great scrutiny given to guest convenience. There were halls where parallel discussions and workshop regarding film industry in Africa was organised. More than fifty thousand people visited the festival and 500 delegates film makers producers and directors from all parts of Africa had come to attend this Pan African Film Festival in Ouagadougou. In the festival I met renowned Malian film maker and director Souleymane Cissé who studied in Russia in 1970s in Moscow State University. I was very pleased to meet him thanks to FESPACO. In the mean time I also met the producer Thomas Grand of Golden Fish which we screened this year. The world is small while you have people loving around you.

The festival is organised every two year and last year they celebrated fifty year of FESPACO. This is the largest film festival all over Africa and has a great importance of social, cultural and political values to tie up the film makers in Africa continent. During my stay in Ouagadougou I received an opportunity to be introduced with Delegate General of FESPACO Alex Moussa Sawadogo who is a master minded person in

architecting the FESPACO. His hard work and dedication made Pan African Film Festival a great success. It was jointly inaugurated by the president of Burkina Faso and the president of Senegal along with minister for culture of neighboring countries. In the closing ceremony of FESPACO where dignitaries and his excellencies were present, Delegate General Alex thanked and named Nepal for its contribution in bridging the gap between Nepal and Africa. His words encouraged me to work more with dedication. Some of the film makers debated with me that in present years the festival has been more French because many films had been selected made by none Africans about Africa which did not reflect African views.



Manju Mishra with Guy Désiré Yaméogo (lecturer, film director and scenarist) and Eugène Bayala (film and television actor and film director) during Fespaco 2021.

Burkina Faso is a small, landlocked country just like Nepal in the West African Region. Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) achieved independence from France in 1960 right around when many of the African countries got their independence after the second world war. Then in 1983, Thomas Sankara became president and implemented a number of major reforms, changed the name of the country from the Republic of Upper Volta to Burkina Faso. I always greatly admired this giant of a man which the land of Burkina Faso produced. It will forever be etched in history, of all the crimes powers-that-be initiated to inhibit a leadership as honest and loving as Thomas Sankara – a man with such depth of

moral integrity. His character I believe shall always serve as a reminder for others to embrace honesty and integrity with complete selflessness even in the face of great danger.

The country experienced several terrorist attacks in its capital. Very much similar to Nepal where two decades ago, Maoists in the name of democracy attacked many of our ancient cultural and historic places, destroyed government offices, schools and colleges and hospitals. My experience at Burkina Faso has been thoroughly pleasant and I was pleasantly surprised by the humbleness and gentleness of the people in this land. Truly, the name Burkina Faso, which means "Land of Incorruptible People," stands very apt even today. I felt that as a land locked country our problems are very similar. As I arrived in Ouagadougou in the airport I was so impressed by the hospitality shown by the airport staffs. What impressed upon me considerably was when a guy who took a professional Passport photo of me refused to take money after I told him I may not need his photos. He answered me so politely: since the photos were not printed, I was not obliged to pay. I was deeply impressed by his honesty. At that moment, I realized, had it been some other places, highly probable that the photo vendor would have insisted I pay for the photo. All in all, I felt FESPACO was extremely well organized and the government had given due attention to its

management. Because of the number of people that I saw that were so passionately involved, I found the festival to be more of a national festival rather than an isolated event in the capital. During my ten days, I was told more than fifty thousand people attended this event. The streets in Ouagadougou was full of FESPACO embalm and posters. I was also requested to do a small presentation where I focused primarily on "Africa through African Lens".

"Africa through African Lens" – It means viewing Burkina Faso through the eyes of Burkinabe's, it is not through the eyes of Mali or Togo or Niger (just to name a few) that we view this great land that gave birth to Thomas Sankara. In the same way Nepal through Nepalese Lens only. Only then shall we be able to provide good leadership for our own

identity and our own culture at the international level. We need our common voice, our very own platform to represent ourselves and our culture through film festivals and other extensions of media which strongly reflect us without any prejudice. Until we fearlessly and strongly represent ourselves through our own lens we can never be good and true stewards of our land and our people. Hence, countries in Africa and underdeveloped countries should embrace Africa through African lens and help counter the narrative promulgated by Western media and their biased lenses which dictates our sovereignty.

Coming years, we seek to collaborate with FESPACO in Nepal which is a great thing for our small festival. I have personally requested them to screen a film about Thomas Sankara as our opening film at NAFF. To attract and bridge the gap between countries who know less about Africa I suggest that there be a small section dedicated to screening films of other parts of the world who show deep interest in the various cultures within Africa. ■

THE RISE OF ASIA 2022

The 6th edition of The Rise of Asia in Global History and Perspective took place fully online on February 9-11, 2022 under the theme of *"Covid-19 from Asia to the World: what assessment and what perspective for a common future?"*

Hosting and Organising Institutions: CHAC (Centre of Contemporary Asian History), University Paris 1 Pantheon-Sorbonne and GRIC (Group of Research on Identities and Cultures), University Le Havre Normandy, France.



Coorganising Institutions: Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya and Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Gauhati, Assam India.

140 papers presented and discussed.
15 clusters.
7 plenary sessions.
30 parallel sessions.
195 registered participants.
48,2% women - 50,8% men.
47,7% doctors - 26,2% masters -
12,8% bachelors - 13,3% others.
54 countries represented.

More information is available at <https://bandungspirit.org/>

Challenges

The Covid-19 Pandemic allows us to state the following points:

1) We are living in a crisis of civilisation provoked or accelerated by the pandemic and the climate change, crisis that may be seen as a transition from capitalist mode of production-based towards another; the new one is however unknown in advance.

2) Asia plays an important if not leading role towards a new global civilisation;

3) There is a risk that the rise of Asia leads to a planetary catastrophe since it is based on a model of growth created and developed by the West based on economism, productivism, consumerism, materialism, patriarchy, model denounced as the

root problem.

So, how does this "crisis of civilisation" manifest in different fields and different localities? In what way the pandemic affects peoples, societies, nations, states? How do they manage the pandemic? Do Asian countries perform better than others? Does the pandemic constitute a point of "bifurcation" (Immanuel Wallerstein), a moment of "delinking" (Samir Amin), towards a "global rebalancing" or a "global restructuring" (Manoranjan Mohanty)? What "status quo" and what "transformation" following the pandemic? Are there signs of changes towards a new global post-capitalist, post-productivist, post-consumerist, post-materialist, post-patriarcal civilisation?

As a matter of indication, major changes in the following fields may help us to answer those questions:

- 1) Gender and women's issues (feminist movements, ecofeminism, gender justice, "depatriarcalisation", LGBT, MeToo...).
- 2) Ecology (climate change, pandemic, green cities, green capitalism, eco-renewable energy, plastic, waste, pollutions, eco-socialism, vegetarianism, veganism...).
- 3) Digital universe (information, communication, media, GAFAM, Ali Baba, cryptocurrency, fake news, artificial intelligence, cyber-economy, cyber-crimes, cyber-war...).
- 4) Biotechnology (medical-agricultural-industrial-environmental-biotechnology, genetic engineering, cloning, GMO, vaccines...).
- 5) Demography (national-regional-international uneven growth, aging societies, over population, ethnic-religious-conflicts, urbanisation, migration...).
- 6) New phase of decolonisation (counter hegemony, decolonisation of mind, Black lives matter, Palestine lives matter, anti-racism, anti-occupation, anti-apartheid, anti-war...).

The followings are three articles related to the conference.



Engineer and economist, former professor of social sciences at the School of Architecture Paris-La Villette; member of International Board of World Social Forum.

THE RISE OF ASIA 2022: What role of social movements?

By Gustave Massiah

We are living in a time of great uncertainty and strong contradictions. It is a period of change and rupture. It is marked by the conjunction of two major crises: a financial, economic and social crisis, and an ecological and healthcare crisis.

The financial crisis of 2008 was a first warning. It is a systemic crisis, that of the dominant mode of production. While the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 seemed to announce the victory of the capitalist system and the hegemony of the new phase of capitalism, neoliberalism, which was imposed in 1980, after having been experienced in Chile since 1973. The financial crisis of 2008 marks the structural crisis of neoliberalism. This crisis is reflected in a new series of conflicts and insurrections from 2011, with the Arab springs, in Tunisia and Egypt, the indignados, the occupy. In more than fifty countries popular movements

demonstrated against inequalities and corruption. The reaction from 2013 - 2015 is represented by authoritarian and repressive regimes. And also by the rise of far-right ideologies

From 2019, a new pandemic, the coronavirus, disrupts the world. Very quickly, it is clear that this pandemic is linked to the ecological crisis and cannot be understood if we do not take it into account. This is not the first time that the pandemic and the climate have burst into history. In a prescient book in 2017, Kyle Harper published a book in London about the fall of the Roman

Empire. He underlines the conjunction of a pandemic (the pest) and a glaciation accompanied by a volcanic episode. He indicates that the pest took the roads of the first globalization of the Roman Empire, and that the conjunction of the pandemic and the climate explains in part the loss of resilience of the Roman Empire. It raises the question of the loss of resilience of the current international system.

We must admit that the current crisis is considerable. It is economic and social, ecological, democratic, cultural and geopolitical. How can we analyze the changes and the perspectives?

To do this, I suggest that we refer to the proposal of Gramsci, who wrote in prison, shortly before his death in 1937, in a period of profound upheaval: the old world is dying, the new world is slow to appear, and in this chiaroscuro monsters are emerging. The monsters are here and prepare dictatorships and wars. How to evaluate the new world. The hypothesis is to identify fields in which the old world is in crisis and in which new possibilities are emerging. Fields in which contradictions are at work, in which new avenues emerge and in which the confrontation between the old and the new happens, in which several paths to the future coexist and confront each other.

Darwis Khudori, the initiator and coordinator of the Rise of Asia Conference since 2017, proposed for the 6th edition of the conference to look into six fields in which major changes are supposed to occur: Gender and women's issues; Ecology; Biotechnology; Digital transformation; Demography; Decolonization.

In the following, I will insist on the way in which the partition between the old and the new, the relations of the new world, the contradiction between the new forms of domination and emancipation is constructed in each of these fields.

1. Gender and women issues

The question of feminist emancipation has taken a major place. It is a new stage in the long struggle of women for their liberation. It is a major disruption in societies, which calls into question the relations between the sexes and gender relations. It challenges patriarchy and male domination and questions the forms of

vulnerability. The depth of the questioning translates into forms of panic and arouses extremely violent reactions from certain men. It is a radical revolution that is spreading in all countries and religious or national cultures.

The panic in social relations is translated into a panic in theory. The affirmation of the necessity to take into account gender relations and relations to racism in order to understand class relations provokes a very violent reaction. Some people read in it a questioning of class relations rather than a necessity to deepen the understanding of their reality. But the reality is the opposite, as Angela Davis so well demonstrates.

Intersectionality is presented as a choice for minorities in relation to the understanding of class relations. Afrofeminism, in the countries where it manifests itself, shows the close link between the working classes, feminist demands and "racialized" groups.

The question of racism is, with the feminist question, the object of reactions of great violence. The two most radical movements today in the United States, and in reference in a large part of the world, are #MeToo and Black Live Matters. The question of racism in connection with the question of migration refers to the unfinished nature of decolonization.

2. Ecology

The ecological question has emerged as a central issue, particularly through the consideration of changes linked to climate change and the loss of biodiversity. Awareness of the ecological emergency has been long in coming. The observations and warnings concerning the climate began in the seventies. They were not listened to and until recent years have received little attention. Although the fossil fuel extractivist companies got wind of the research early on, they have sought for decades to cover up their responsibility and sow doubt. As a result, no serious action was taken. Awareness of the importance of the necessary measures is beginning to grow. It begins with measures to correct the greenhouse gas emissions of energy policies. It calls into question the logic of the policies implemented and the questioning of the development model. The very notion of development, and its subordination to productivist growth, is now fundamentally criticised. The issue has become civilisational.

The emergency is one of the subjects put forward by the populations and this concern is reflected in the movements of opinion because the consequences are increasingly visible. The authorities claim to take this into account. Not without contradiction, when at the same time they continue to develop the same policies. But in certain areas, in the debate on energy policies and urban policies for example, ecology is a concern that often translates into the search for technological solutions that would not jeopardise the dynamics of economic growth. A global debate from now on.

Ecology is becoming a key factor in understanding the evolution of global geopolitical relations, but also in a more anthropological dimension. The climate, biodiversity and the cohabitation of the species all raise questions about the relationship between the human species and nature. It is a philosophical questioning, the end of the infinite time that always postpones solutions to tomorrow, and of the infinite space that always discovers new territories to exploit. We have clearly entered what Geneviève Azam calls the time of the finite world, which translates into the emergence of an emergency to defend the possibility of a decent life for everyone on this planet.

3. Biotechnology

Biotechnology combines the science of the living world with technology. It broadens our knowledge of living beings. It questions the limits of the human body. Since the 1990s, the discovery of DNA and RNA has led to the development of biochemistry, genetics and molecular biology, and is now being extended to the study of genomes, proteins, nanotechnologies, transgenesis and genetic engineering.

Biotechnology is enabling revolutionary applications in health, the environment, agriculture, hydraulics, energy, etc. Biotechnology has enabled impressive scientific advancements. In the 2000s, micro-organisms, possibly genetically modified, and many enzymes used in many sectors of the economy have enabled many applications, but they have also raised health and safety issues.

Genetic modification has generated important and often conflicting ethical, political and economic debates on the licensing of life forms. The

development of biotechnologies in agriculture, first in the experimental phase and then in the field (1990-2000), in particular through GMOs, has given rise to numerous controversies and resistance from farmers, particularly from Via Campesina, which is opposing peasant agriculture and biological agriculture.

Environmental and safety regulations favour start-ups and venture capitalists to the detriment of public research. Since the end of the 1990s, several biotechnology leaders have experienced a stock market bubble without equivalent in history, which ended in a financial crash and maintained the public's mistrust of a sector that is difficult to understand.

The use of biotechnology in the health sector is resulting in a lack of understanding for large parts of the population, leading to great fear and distrust, as we have seen with vaccines and the use of bacteria. Science is seen as esoteric and controlled by the powers of money, leading to a growing distrust and mistrust of politics and corporations. The extraordinary possibilities opened up by biotechnologies divide societies between the knowledgeable and the sceptical.

4. The digital transformation

What are the profound changes that are building the new world and prefiguring the contradictions of the future? Digital technology is not the only revolution taking place. Digital technology is renewing language and writing.

There are several transformations in progress, unfinished and uncertain revolutions. There is no guarantee that they will not be smashed, deviated or recuperated. But there is also no guarantee that they will not be. They are shaking up the world; they are also bringing hope and are already marking the future and the present. For the moment, they are provoking rejection and great violence.

The digital is a technological revolution that has strong interactions with social change without overdetermining it. Social movement activists have played a role in the development of the digital, even if their contributions have been confiscated and diverted by GAFAM (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon, Microsoft). There are also opponents within the digital world, who form a specific social

movement that converges with and can strengthen social movements.

Digital activists have a role to play as a social movement. They can play a leading role in the fight against GAFAM and against the exorbitant impunity and power of digital multinationals. They can play a role in the development of participatory verification tools that are essential to oppose the counter-attack of the authorities on the very field of digital and information (mass surveillance, disinformation, infox,...).

They can contribute to providing movements with the digital tools that will strengthen the first phases of mobilization, that will enable them to resist the authorities' counter-attacks, that will enable them to resist hegemonic platforms, that will help to avoid tactical paralysis, that will facilitate the movements' narratives, that will inscribe the movements in the determination of strategies.

5. Demography

The demographic question is linked to the ecological question and the limits of the planet. But ecology is not just about demography, it is the growth model, that of productivist capitalism, that is in question. Since the sixties, the debate has linked environment and development. The report to the Club of Rome, known as the Meadows report, published in 1972, addressed the ecological consequences of economic growth and linked the limitation of resources to demographic change. The reasons for environmental degradation are diverse, for some it is the devastating effects of new agricultural and industrial technologies, for others it is a consequence of wealth inequalities. China was one of the first countries to address the issue of population growth with its one-child policy. Other forecasts estimate that China's population will fall to 754 million by 2100 (estimates given in Empty Planet).

We must return to the demographic question. Two Canadian demographers, Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson, in a recent book, *The Empty Planet*, analyse the shock of global demographic decline. They question the United Nations' predictions that the world's population will rise from 7 to 11 billion by the end of the century before stabilising. They estimate that the peak will be 9 billion between 2040 and 2060. And that the population will be decreasing in about thirty countries in 2050

(compared to about twenty today). Fertility rates are not astronomical in developing countries. Many are at or below replacement level. The reason for this is the emancipation of women and the move towards a rate of 1.7 children per woman. Globally, social ageing is becoming a key issue.

This demographic issue will determine a central issue today, the issue of migration. Migration has accompanied the history of mankind since its beginnings, starting with Neanderthal man and Homo sapiens. At each period, migrations adapt and take on new characteristics. Today, with the phase of neo-liberalism as a phase of capitalist globalisation, migrations take three forms: economic migrations which prolong and modify the labour migrations marked by the industrial evolution of the 20th century, political migrations linked to situations of war and repression; environmental migrations which are going to take on major importance. However, what characterises migration today, in terms of the mobilisation of migrants and also in terms of those who make it the cause of all evils, are the references to slavery and colonisation. This is because decolonisation is not over and the imagination links the situation with the first colonisation, that of colonial empires and imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. The struggles against racism and discrimination refer to decolonisation and extend it.

Several new elements will modify the question of migration in the next period. The crisis of demographic decline in many countries, particularly in the most industrialised countries, and the ecological crisis have already been mentioned. Another factor is the reduction in the agricultural population in many countries, it is declining from the majority of the population to about 5% of the population. This evolution may modify the relationship between nomadic and sedentary populations, which has been significant since the invention of agriculture in Mesopotamia. Other changes will accompany the evolving characteristics of nation-states that have defined the forms of border management over the past three centuries.

6. A new phase of decolonization

In Bandung, in 1955, the conference of the heads of state of the first independent states of Africa and Asia took place. Chou Enlai, who represented China, declared: the states want their independence, the nations their liberation, the

peoples their revolution. He will use this formula in his speech to the United Nations.

The independence of the states is more or less complete. We can measure its scope, but we can also see its limits. Especially since, from the 1980s – the dominant countries, the United States, Europe and Japan, took control of globalization by imposing neoliberalism. They put an end to the attempts of the countries of the South to equilibrate international trade by imposing on them debt and austerity programs known as structural adjustment programs. The second phase of decolonization is beginning, that of the liberation of nations and peoples. It calls into question the form of nation-states, as can be seen in the demands for plurinational states on the one hand and the evolution of forms of globalization on the other. It also questions the role that large geo-cultural zones could play in the evolution of the international system.

As we said it before, the question of racism and decolonization is, along with the feminist question, the subject of very violent reactions. The two most radical movements today, starting from the United States, and in a large part of the world, are #MeToo and Black Live Matters. The issue of racism in connection with the issue of migration refers to the unfinished nature of decolonization.

The fight against racism is part of an unfinished decolonization. Thus, on the question of migration,

while the forms of migration today concern work, wars or the environment, what we see resurfacing in cultural and ideological debates are the relationships between migration, colonization and slavery. Decolonization remains on the agenda because of the inequalities in the world system and also because of the actuality of the long history of forms of domination.

In provisional conclusion

We are living in a contradictory period: on the one hand, the rise of extreme right-wing and reactionary ideas; on the other, the radicality of new ideas carried by very offensive movements (feminist, anti-racist, ecological, indigenous peoples, peasants, workers, migrants).

As Gramsci said, the battle for cultural hegemony is intensive. On the one hand, it opposes identitarianism and securitarianism; on the other, equality and solidarity. The debate is about the conception of freedom: individual and libertarian for the right, individual and collective for the left.

This is what social movements can contribute by redefining their strategy in relation to the evolution of the situation and the ruptures that are occurring. They can fight against ideas of security and identity, on the one hand, and on the other hand promote equality and solidarity, especially international solidarity. ■

Bandung Spirit and Its Journey towards Gender Equality

By Sayf Muhammad Alaydrus



Conference paper presenter, undergraduate student in Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia

During this whole rollercoaster of a pandemic, the Bandung Spirit managed to held The Rise of Asia Conference in 2022. Although it was done virtually, the Bandung spirit we shared felt stronger than ever. I was truly honoured to be a part of it, to learn so much from it, and of course, to present our research in a panel of distinguished professors, scholars, researchers, and activists in their respected fields.

"Human rights are for everyone. No matter who you are or whom you love" (Ban Ki-moon, Secretary of the United Nations 2007-2016)

As an undergraduate student making his debut in an international conference, I did not expect to feel not only welcomed, but also nurtured. On a personal note, I gained so much more than mere

scientific presentations on such a topic. I was also given the opportunity to gain insights, tips, and feedback to grow as a scholar, a student, and a human being.

Realising the status quo for gender and sexual minorities all over the world, especially during the pandemic, I grew a profound interest to study the endless spectrum of gender and sexuality. Facing gender-based discrimination myself made me able to relate and empath more with their struggles. Given this huge platform, we promised our informants that their voices will be heard loud and clear, for their voices are oftentimes silenced—and thankfully, we kept that promise. That is not even the best part. The best part is that everyone in our panels listened to it, and that is our contribution to the Bandung Spirit's goal for equality.

The Bandung Spirit has always believed in equality and respect for human rights. From the Bandung Conference in 1955 until now, it is essential to share a common interest to achieve equality. In the conference, that value is still honoured and upheld, since we were given the chance to promote women's rights, decolonization, LGBTQ+ rights, and many more through our works. In alignment with the COVID-19 pandemic, scientists revealed that women are disproportionately affected by it. Our study also showed that transgender individuals received a significant amount of discrimination and hardships during the pandemic. It just shows how we, as humans, are still miles away from achieving gender equality. However, we also find a thing of beauty in these

challenging times. We see girls and women helping each other. We see how every time we told our truth about discrimination and inequality, we are opening more hearts, eyes, and ears. Therefore, standing side by side with the Bandung Spirit's passion for human rights, perhaps gender equality is not that far after all. That is, of course, if we consistently made a persistent wholehearted effort to promote it. As President Sukarno said, "If we have a strong will that comes from the heart, then the whole universe will go shoulder to shoulder to make it happen," (translated from Bahasa Indonesia).

With that said, I am eternally grateful for all participants and committees. Congratulations to Prof. Darwis Khudori and the Bandung Spirit Network for the very successful The Rise of Asia 2022 Conference. To my colleagues, Devan Frisky Vizal Finanta and Azzah Kania Budianto, thank you for being the most amazing partners and friends one can only imagine. To my academic advisor, Prof. Myrtati Dyah Artaria, MA, Ph.D., thank you for the endless guidance. To everyone, thank you for the enrichments you gave to make young bloods like us flourish. May the Bandung Spirit live on forever, in all of our works.

To close, President Sukarno once said, "Let us not be bitter about the past, but let us keep our eyes firmly on the future". Yes, I agree, Mr. President. With our continuous efforts to honour humanity and diversity, surely our eyes can envision that the future—our future, is equal. ■



Emeritus Professor of
Political Sciences and
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University of Delhi,
Researcher and Activist at
Council for Social
Development, New Delhi,
India.

The Covid-19 Conjuncture and The New Global Spirit

Concluding Remarks of The Rise of Asia 2022

By Manoranjan Mohanty

This note written in early April 2022 recapitulates the remarks made on 11 February. Now the Russia–Ukraine War has preoccupied the entire world and in fact the Bandung Spirit Community has discussed from a variety of vantage points its serious implications for peace and the agenda of building non-hegemonic global order promoting equity, sustainability and democracy. Even as the war continued with much ferocity causing vast casualties in Ukraine, actually the deliberations of The Rise of Asia Conference largely provided a framework guiding the Bandung forces to think about the unfolding world tensions and possibilities for intervention.

The Rise of Asia conference 2022 demonstrated that the Bandung Spirit had given rise to a New Global Spirit in the Covid Era. The many thematic, regional and plenary sessions addressed the crisis caused by the Novel Corona Virus-2019 or Covid-19 during the two calendar years 2020 and 2021, the responses by the national regimes, regional organisations, civil society and the global role played by the WHO on the one hand and the corporates on the other. The highlight was the role the civil society forces and indigenous people's initiatives played in many countries, especially of Latin America, Africa and Asia. That the prevailing development model of neo-liberal capitalism promoted by the hegemonic global forces created the conditions that invited the spread of the virus and its numerous mutants causing much damage to human life became the running theme of the Conference. The deliberations brought out four most fundamental trends of our time which have crucial significance for thinking and action by all.

1. EARTH CONSCIOUSNESS acquired a new intensity in the evolving discourse on Ecology. How interconnected the planet's inhabitants across the national borders were and how interdependent the nature's species were – both came out boldly during the recent experience with the Covid-19 crisis and its spread in fast pace. Humans are not the sole habitants on planet Earth. The existence of other living species and all life systems must be acknowledged and be part of all human action and social planning. This theme had emerged during the anti-colonial struggles during the past two hundred years, but had been sidelined. The indigenous people had again affirmed it during the Covid-19 crisis. This again figured prominently in the streets of Glasgow outside the COP 26 Climate Summit in November 2021. This was the crystallization of an essential ingredient of the Bandung Spirit, a basic premise for peace and global transformation.

2. INEQUALITIES REVEALED in their multiple dimensions some hitherto little recognized giving the mission of Decolonization a new agenda. Colonialism had many old as well as new forms in terms of race, caste, gender, ethnicity, religion and culture besides the inequality among rich and non-rich nations. Everywhere the majority of the Covid victims – dead and affected were the poor, the black, various kinds of minorities. Among the

worst affected by the lock-downs were the migrant workers and the working people in the unorganized sector. Women bore the worst burden in all countries. No doubt many in the dominant sections were also victims, but the proportion of the less privileged was far more. The unequal world order was most evident when the rich countries cornered the vaccines for their own population and created constraints for the WHO programmes. Anti-colonial forces have for decades warned that unless inequities in structure and practice are addressed and monopolies are broken causes of violence and conflict would persist.

3. RE-EMERGENCE OF THE PUBLIC was yet another prominent phenomenon when in every country governments took up the leadership and financing role to cope with the challenges posed by the Covid-19 Pandemic. Over three decades of promotion of the private sector under the tidal wave of neoliberalism came under a rude shock. The public health infrastructure had been weakened and private medical services – many of them giant corporates were given the leading role in most countries. Public education and Public health budgets had been cut. The concept of the public was derided and everything private was celebrated. That public enterprise and public action can be efficient, transparent, non-corrupt, technologically sound and economical while serving the interest of all was dismissed for long. During Covid-19 period governments in all countries including the western capitalist countries became active players regulating hospital services, distributing essential medical equipment, arranging and conducting vaccination programmes and guiding people's movements and communications. Education sector too now attracted state regulation, not only on opening and closing of schools and colleges but also attending to many other problems of students that surfaced more sharply during this period. Public support for livelihood, free or subsidized distribution of food and providing sources of income now became the immediate duties of the governments. While Covid-19 era taught a lesson on the necessary welfare and developmental role of the state, a new notion of the 'public' crystallized. It gave prominent role to the decentralized and participatory role of local institutions, communities and civil society organisations. Indeed, all enterprises including various forms of individual, cooperative and corporate had an important role

to play along with the state enterprises. But the test was to what extent surplus was appropriated for private interest rather than in public interest. War and military tensions were the norm for carrying out the production and trade processes legally and illegally by the industrial-technological-military complexes of the prosperous economies. We see more and more instances every day.

4. DEMAND FOR GLOBAL RESTRUCTURING

was more pronounced than ever before. Suffering from the iniquitous world order that defied the demands of the anti-colonial forces, the big powers pursued their hegemonic policies created monopolies in technology, finance, communication, information and weaponry. Beginning in 1991, whatever gains were made during the early decades of post-colonial transformation accentuated by Bandung-Belgrade-Havana initiatives to democratize the world system, were pushed aside by the global monopolies and the neo-liberal rulers almost in all countries. Even as newly emerging countries such as China, India, Brazil, South Africa, Argentina and Indonesia acquired increasing global influence the trend was to join the high table of decision-making replacing some declining powers.

G-20 was the forum created by advanced, industrialized G-7 group to accommodate 13 other large economies to operate the existing world order. Initiatives such as BRICS were once seen as challenging this system to democratize the global political economy. But it too was a part of the process of 'Global Rebalancing' with new members joining the big power club or practicing similar trade and financial norms.

Covid-19 experience exposed the flaws – gross inequities and excessive costs of continuing with the prevailing world political and economic system. The Wars since Vietnam to Syria, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq and now Ukraine had already proved how the big power politics had made the United Nations a toothless forum of debates. The Pandemic and the climate crisis fully brought out how big power politics had made such an important global institution nearly superfluous.

The G-77 forces now numbering over 120 countries on the other hand wanted to make the UN an effective, democratic institution of global peace and democracy. They demanded 'global restructuring' – a restructuring of power relations at every level in every sector that assures equality and freedom to all territorial and social groups to pursue the agenda of decolonization of peace, equity and sustainable transformation.

Thus the neo-liberal focus on 'governance' assuming that the policies and structures were given, needed to be replaced by 'transformation' that warranted changing structures, cultures and policies and implementing them in a democratic, decentralized, participatory framework.

These deliberations had many rich ideas and analytical points and above all insightful formulations and concepts which we are bound to carry into our future discourses and political initiatives. For example we had a powerful discourse on 'civilizational conjuncture' and the 'convergence of three global crises' – financial and economic crisis, climate change crisis and the social crisis evident in much violence, tensions and confrontations among racial, religious, ethnic and caste groups, class and gender contradictions which were evident during the Covid-19 era. The Pandemic that brought the world together to share most up-to-date information on the spread or treatment or precautions or vaccines created what one colleague described as 'Infodemic'. We had presentations not only on 'multilateral organizations' but also on 'minilateral organizations'. Many new dimensions of the 'digital economy' and 'digital polity' and their inevitable and debatable implications were discussed.

A new global spirit was emerging to further the spirit of Bandung-Belgrade-Havana through a new global civil society and a new 'civilizational movement' in global history. We are all lucky to have been a part of this glorious process.

JAI JAGAT! ■

Bandung Network India, Council for Social Development, Development Research Institute **BANDUNG DAY SYMPOSIUM: A Conversation with Professor Muchkund Dubey and scholars from different parts of India and abroad under the chairmanship of Professor Manoranjan Mohanty on **The Contemporary Global Conjuncture and the Role of the United Nations**, April 24, 2022, at 18:30-20:00 India Time.**

Zoom link: <https://us02web.zoom.us/j/89060608140?pwd=a2ovd2YvMzVVU1BdHovMTIEVWZvUT09>

BANDUNG SPIRIT CONVERSATION SERIES

Taking advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic, Bandung Spirit Community has organised and will continue to organise Bandung Spirit Online Conversation Series. In connection with the Bandung-Belgrade-Havana Commemorative Conference, the online conversation has been dedicated to **BANDUNG-BELGRADE-HAVANA GLOBAL GEOPOLITICAL HOTSPOTS AND INSIGHTS**.

RUSSIA-UKRAINE: WHAT PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE? A Conversation with friends of Russia and Ukraine

Friday March 18, 2022, at 14:00 French Time Zone (GMT+1).

Video of the conversation is available on youtube at <https://youtu.be/O7c1UF0JjHc>



BANDUNG SPIRIT ONLINE CONVERSATION SERIES

RUSSIA-UKRAINE: WHAT PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE?

VIDEO A conversation with friends of Russia and Ukraine
March 18, 2022 at 14:00 French Time Zone (GMT+1)

ORDER OF SPEAKERS (based on the geographical proximity with Ukraine):
 Gracjan Cimek, Poland (Naval Academy of Gdynia)
 Dragana Mitrovic, Serbia (University of Belgrade)
 Hans Köchler, Austria (International Progress Organisation, Vienna)
 Dimitris Konstantakopoulos, Greece (Defend Democracy Press, Athens)
 Bruno Drweski, France (National Institute of Languages and Civilisations, Paris)
 Yin Zhiguang, China (University of Fudan, Shanghai)
 Manoranjan Mohanty, India (Council of Social Development, Delhi)
 Connie Rahakundini Bakrie, Indonesia (Senior Defense and Military Analyst, Jakarta)
 Devon Dublin, Guyana (WWF-Guianas)

CO-CHAIRS:
 Darwis Khudori, Indonesia/France (University Le Havre Normandy, France)
 Beatriz Bissio, Brazil/Uruguay (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

FOR MORE INFORMATION, SEE <https://bandungspirit.org/>

ORDER OF SPEAKERS (based on the geographical proximity with Ukraine):

Gracjan Cimek, Poland (Professor, Doctor, Political Science, International Relations, Polish Naval Academy, Gdynia)

Dragana Mitrovic, Serbia (Professor, Doctor, Political Economy, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade)

Hans Köchler, Austria (Emeritus Professor, Doctor, Philosophy, University of Innsbruck, President of International Progress Organisation, Vienna)

Dimitris Konstantakopoulos, Greece (Journalist and writer, editor of Defend Democracy Press, former correspondent in

Moscow, former advisor of the Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou on East-West Relations and Arms Control, Athenes)

Bruno Drweski, France (Professor, Doctor, History, Political Sciences, Eastern European Studies, National Institute of Languages and Civilisations, Paris)

Yin Zhiguang, China (Professor, Doctor, International Relations, School of Public Affairs and International Affairs, Fudan University, Shanghai)

Manoranjan Mohanty, India (Emeritus Professor, Doctor, Political Sciences, Chinese Studies, Council for Social Development, New Delhi)

Connie Rahakundini Bakrie, Indonesia (Doctor, Defence and Security Studies, Senior Defence and Military Analyst, Universitas Jendral Ahmada Yani, Jakarta)

Devon Dublin, Guyana (Veterinary Doctor and Zootechnician, Master's Degree in Marine Life Sciences, PhD in Environmental Science Development, the Governance Coordinator for WWF-Guianas, WWF-Guianas)

CO-CHAIRS:

Darwis Khudori, Indonesia/France (Professor, Doctor, Architecture, History, Oriental/Asian/Islamic Studies, University Le Havre Normandy)

Beatriz Bissio, Brazil/Uruguay (Professor, Doctor, History, Political Sciences, International Relations, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

G20 PRESIDENCY OF INDONESIA AMID GLOBAL CRISIS: What challenges and what hopes for a global future?

Thursday April 21, 2022, at 15:00 French Time Zone (GMT+1).

Video of the conversation will be available on youtube



The G20 Summit will take place at the end of October 2022 in Indonesia amid global crisis provoked by the Covid-19 pandemic, aggravated and prolonged by the Russian military attacks on Ukraine. The G20 risks to be dragged into geopolitical battle between world power blocs. What are the global challenges seen from different countries and perspectives? What common request / message / recommendation (from Bandung Spirit Community) to be addressed to Indonesia as president of G20?

ORDER OF SPEAKERS (based on the geographical proximity with Indonesia):

INDONESIA: Connie Rahakundini Bakrie (Doctor, Defense and Security Studies, Senior Defence and Military Analyst, Jakarta)

CHINA: Yin Zhiguang (Professor, Doctor, International Relations, School of Public Affairs and International Affairs, Fudan University, Shanghai)

TAIWAN: Chen Kuan-Hsing (Professor, Doctor, Literary and Cultural Studies, National Chiao Tung University, Bandung School, Taipei)

INDIA: Manoranjan Mohanty (Emeritus Professor, Doctor, Political Sciences, Chinese Studies, Council for Social Development, New Delhi)

PALESTINE: Mazin Qumsiyeh (Professor, Doctor, Biology, Palestine Museum of Natural History, Palestine Institute of Biodiversity and Sustainability, Bethlehem University, Occupied Territory)

SOUTH AFRICA: Siphamandla Zondi (Professor, Doctor, Political Sciences, International Relations, University of Johannesburg)

NIGERIA/RWANDA: Nwankwo Tony Nwaezeigwe (Professor, Doctor, Transnational History, African Studies, Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka)

GREECE: Dimitris Konstantakopoulos (Journalist and writer, editor of Defend Democracy Press, former correspondent in Moscow, former advisor of the Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu on East-West Relations and Arms Control, Athens)

SERBIA: Dragana Mitrovic (Professor, Doctor, Political Economy, Chinese Studies, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade)

ITALY: Paolo Motta (Architect, Territorial Planner, Researcher, Expert Member EURISPES' BRICS LAB, Rome)

AUSTRIA: Hans Köchler (Emeritus Professor, Doctor, Philosophy, University of Innsbruck, President of International Progress Organisation, Vienna)

BRAZIL: Beatriz Bissio (Former journalist, Professor, Doctor, History, Political Sciences, International Relations, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

BOLIVIA: Pedro Vacafior (Journalist, International Editor at Bolivia News, Analyst and Broadcaster at Radio Panamericana, Cochabamba)

CO-CHAIRS:

Darwis Khudori, Indonesia/France (Professor, Doctor, Architecture, History, Oriental/Asian/Islamic Studies, University Le Havre Normandy, Initiator and Coordinator of Bandung Spirit Network of Scholars and Activists of Social and Solidarity Movements)

Isaac Bazié, Burkina Faso/Canada (Professor, Doctor, Literary, Cultural and African Studies, Université du Québec à Montréal, Founder and Director of LAFI Laboratoire des Afriques Innovantes, President of the Canadian Association of African Studies)

BANDUNG-BELGRADE-HAVANA

In Global History and Perspective:

What dream, what challenges, what projects for a global future?

INTERNATIONAL, INTER-AND-TRANS-DISCIPLINARY COMMEMORATIVE CONFERENCE OF:

66th Anniversary of the Bandung Asian-African Conference

60th Anniversary of the Belgrade Non-Alignment Conference

55th Anniversary of the Havana Tricontinental Conference

Jakarta-Bandung-Surabaya-Bali, Indonesia, October 20-27, 2022

In Conjunction with the G20 Summit, Bali, October 30-31, 2022

General information: <https://bandungspirit.org/>

Inquiry: secretariat-bbh@e-group.bandungspirit.org



Jakarta-Bandung-Surabaya-Bali October 20-27, 2022



**CALL FOR PAPERS
FOR PARTICIPATION
FOR PUBLICATION**

International, Inter-and-Trans-disciplinary Conference
66th Anniversary of the Bandung Asian-African Conference
60th Anniversary of the Belgrade Non-Alignment Conference
55th Anniversary of the Havana Tricontinental Conference

BANDUNG-BELGRADE-HAVANA
IN GLOBAL HISTORY AND PERSPECTIVE
WHAT DREAMS, WHAT CHALLENGES, WHAT PROJECTS
FOR A GLOBAL FUTURE?

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the commemorative conference of the 66th, the 60th and 55th anniversaries of respectively Bandung, Belgrade and Havana conferences is rescheduled from October 25-30, 2021 to October 20-27, 2022. The conference will be focused on the "legacy" and "beyond the legacy" of the Bandung Conference. In this spirit, the conference is also dedicated to the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Belgrade Non-alignment Conference and the 55th anniversary of the Havana Tricontinental Conference, which were the most outstanding follow-ups of Bandung. Indonesia is the right place for commemorating the three conferences since

they bear testimony to the key role of Indonesia and President Soekarno, besides other Bandung leaders, in the history of international struggle for global peace, justice and prosperity. By chance, Indonesia is the president of G20 from December 1, 2021 to November 30, 2022, and the 17th G20 Summit will take place in Bali on October 30-31, 2022. So, it would be historical for the Bandung Spirit Network of Scholars and Activists of Social Movements that its conference is to take place at the proximity in space and time of the G20 Summit. It would be interesting to observe how Indonesia, initiator of the Bandung Conference in 1955, became president of G20 in 2022. It would also be a great opportunity for conference participants to witness, and to watch, the conjunction of convergent and/or divergent global forces in a certain moment of history. The call for papers, for participation and for publication is now open. ■

RETHINKING REVOLUTIONS

From Lenin to Sankara and beyond: State of Knowledge and Perspectives

International and interdisciplinary conference, ENAM (École Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature), Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, July 11-12, 2022.

Deadline of abstracts submission: May 15, 2022.

For more information, see <https://bandungspirit.org/> or <https://lafi.uqam.ca/>



The conference is organised in the framework of BANDUNG-BELGRADE-HAVANA Commemorative Conference. It is co-organised by Institute of AFRASI (African, Asian and International) Studies, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso and LAFI (Laboratoire des Afriques Innovantes), Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada.

The Covid-19 pandemic is only one of the major crises of this new millennium, marked by a fundamental questioning and major mobilizations at the social, political, economic, cultural, and environmental levels. In such a context of real and symbolic breaking points, where a dream for

radical changes towards a better world is very strong, the word "revolution" is among the first to appear in mind as a possible way out. It sprang up from historical reservoir together with names of political leader associated to the word: Lenin, Mao, Gandhi, Soekarno, Tito, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Sékou Touré, Modibo Kéita, Patrice Lumumba, Amílcar Cabral, Hugo Chavez, Evo Morales, Thomas Sankara... (the absence of female name in the list reflects the historical reality of men-dominated social structure worldwide that is still the case to the present day). The word is often attached to a country (French Revolution, Russian Revolution, Chinese Revolution, Cuban Revolution...), a colour or an adjective (Industrial Revolution, Cultural Revolution, Green Revolution, Orange Revolution, Quiet Revolution...), a symbolic object (Revolution of Roses, Revolution of the Carnations...).

The inter-and-transdisciplinary conference "Rethinking Revolutions" aims to bring together researchers and activists to revisit and rethink revolutions, to build a state of knowledge and to draw lessons for the future. The reflections could focus on concrete case studies or be more general and theoretical. They could also examine the uses of the concept of revolution in a particular discipline or field of activity: the spectrum of such an inquiry goes from the political to the sociological, cultural, metaphorical, and symbolic dimensions.

It is also necessary to question how revolutionary ideas, figures, and symbols emerge and circulate: their translation, adaptations to different contexts, etc. In this matter, it will be of importance to examine the scarcity or invisibility of revolutionary women, the circumstances that explain these phenomena, and the role of women in historical or contemporary revolutionary processes. The scope of the conference goes from the study of colors, flora, and their revolutionary meanings, to that of real historical or current revolutionary situations, places, or personalities. The expected presentations should focus on building a state of knowledge that enlightens "revolution" as practice and concept as well. On the other, it will be relevant to add to this effort of rethinking the revolutions, a reflection on its uses in the current post-pandemic context and question the perspectives. ■

BEYOND THE SPIRIT OF BANDUNG Philosophies of National Unity: Secular or Religious?

CALL FOR BOOK CHAPTERS

Abstracts of 250 words maximum from Asia and the West may be sent until May 31, 2022 to Antoinette Kankindi at akankindi@strathmore.edu and Frans Dokman at f.dokman@planet.nl



University of Dar es Salaam
(Society and Religion Research
Centre, Department of
Sociology and Anthropology)



Radboud University Nijmegen
(Faculty of Philosophy, Theology
and Religious Studies, NIM
Institute)

Already selected authors have been asked to submit their paper before May 31. However, we still welcome contributions from Asia and the West. Accepted papers will be published as chapters of a book. Guidelines for purposes of publishing will be communicated once abstracts have been accepted.

After the 1955 Bandung Conference most “non-aligned” Asian and African countries, opted for philosophies of national unity to guarantee peace and stability. In the African case of Tanzania, the Ujamaa philosophy was secular although Tanzania had a “civic religion”. In the Asian case of Indonesia, the philosophy of Pancasila was “religious pluralistic” by recognizing six “official” religions.

In both this and other countries, the philosophies of national unity are now contested. Consequently, 66 years after the Bandung Conference, the question is:

- What philosophy, secular or religious, succeeds or succeeded in promoting peace and stability?
- Are there comparable philosophies of national unity from other countries?

Themes

Papers should focus on the following themes:

1. Revival of philosophies of unity: Did Ujamaa and Pancasila succeed in creating unity through promoting religious pluralism, secularism and inclusiveness?
2. What are the fundamental differences between philosophies of unity in Africa and Asia? Are

there fundamental common elements between these philosophies?

3. Can philosophies of unity be used to promote tolerance and a (global) society which is multi-cultural and multi-religious?
4. Can philosophies of unity be used to solve contemporary challenges such as ethnicity, tribalism, bigotry, social exclusion, religious cleansing, ethnicity and tribal cleansing?
5. Can philosophies of unity be tools to promote regional integration and continental unity? Can these philosophies of unity enhance effective functioning of the continental machineries such as African Union (AU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).
6. How do Asian philosophies and religions deal with the issue of unity, inclusiveness, secularism and pluralism (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Confucianism and etc.)?
7. Do African philosophies, such as Ubuntu, construct or obstruct creating unity?
8. How did religious institutions respond to these philosophies of unity through secularism
9. Is unity a product of an ideology? How do philosophy and/or religion inform an ideology?■

VIEWS ON GLOBAL ISSUES

BANDUNG SPIRIT ONLINE CONVERSATION SERIES, MARCH 18, 2022

RUSSIA-UKRAINE:

WHAT PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE?

A conversation with friends of Russia and Ukraine



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When it comes to the use of force between sovereign states, the Russian invasion of Ukraine of February 24, 2022, has not heralded a paradigm change or, as the Western establishment suggests, the beginning of a “new era” of international relations. The new era of lawlessness has begun, right after 1990, with a series of unilateral coercive measures and wars of aggression against those who, in the absence of a balance power, suddenly found themselves at the receiving end of the emerging hegemon’s assertion of national interests. According to the self-proclaimed victors of the global power struggle, the Cold War’s paradigm of *peaceful co-existence* was to be disposed of in favor of a unilateral pursuit of national interests. Mutual respect of sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs, peaceful co-operation among states perceived as equals, were superseded by a false universalism of rights exclusively defined by the hegemon of this “New World Order”¹ – in defiance of international law as it had been defined in the post-war consensus that enabled the creation of the United Nations Organization. Peoples and states “in the periphery” – Iraq, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Syria, Libya – paid a high price for imperial realpolitik in the clothes of human rights and democracy.

In terms of global politics, the ongoing war in Ukraine has to be seen against this background. The escalation of the conflict into armed confrontation could have been avoided if the Republic of Ukraine would have pursued a principled policy of non-alignment,² as had been contemplated in the period before the unconstitutional change of government in 2014 (which happened after massive intervention into the internal affairs of Ukraine), and if Kyiv would

have agreed to constitutional reform towards a federal system allowing for domestic self-rule in the country’s eastern territories.

Because of how the United Nations has been construed as an inter-governmental organization, the UN Charter’s system of collective security is dysfunctional in any conflict such as the present, where at least one permanent member of the Security Council is involved. It is for this reason that the International Court of Justice’s “Order” on provisional measures of 16 March 2022 cannot be enforced. The circumstances – in the complex web of law and realpolitik – will require *political compromises* on all sides to restore peace – in Ukraine and between Ukraine and Russia – and preserve peace at the global level.

Some of the measures that should be contemplated by the respective parties are:³

Concerning Ukraine:

- Commitment to a status of permanent neutrality, similar to what Austria committed itself to in 1955, to be guaranteed by a P5+ arrangement.
- Constitutional reform with the aim of establishing a federal system, similar to what exists in a number of European countries, with meaningful autonomy for the eastern (Russian-speaking) regions. This would mean a return to what has already been agreed upon in Minsk (2014/2015). The agreement between Austria and Italy (1969) on autonomy for the German-speaking province of South Tyrol could serve as an example.
- Abolishing all measures that are detrimental to the fundamental rights of Russian citizens of Ukraine – as well as of other ethnic minorities – in the entire country; i.e. acceptance of the fact that Ukraine is a multi-ethnic state.

Concerning Russia:

¹ Köchler, *Democracy and the New World Order*. Studies in International Relations, Vol. XIX. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 1993.

² Cf. the proposal of the International Progress Organization (2015): *Statement on Ukraine peace talks in Minsk*, 12 February 2015, http://i-p-o.org/Koechler-UKRAINE-MINSK_TALKS-Statement-12Feb2015.jpg.

³ For details, see also, Köchler, *Blueprint for Peace in Ukraine*. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 10 March 2022, www.i-p-o.org/Koechler-PEACE-UKRAINE-10March2022.pdf.

- Acceptance of Ukraine as a sovereign state with distinct identity – as member, *inter alia*, of the United Nations and the Council of Europe. The “assurances” of security and territorial integrity of the Budapest Memorandum of 1994 – that have proven ineffective – should be superseded by a new, enforceable, agreement, to be ratified by all signatories.
- Return to the Minsk Agreements (a step to be taken by both sides). Instead of unilateral recognition of secessionist territories as sovereign states, Russia should insist on full implementation of the autonomy provisions under the Package of Measures of Minsk II.
- Referendum on the final status of the Crimea, to be monitored by the United Nations and/or the OSCE.

Concerning the “Western community” of states:

- States should not try to exploit the post-Cold War situation with the aim to extend their sphere of influence (under the leadership of the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union).⁴ After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, eastward expansion of NATO was not justified in terms of the balance of power in Europe; it has proven incompatible with regional and global security. The Alliance should finally pay attention to Henry Kissinger’s blunt assessment (when the crisis erupted in 2014): “Ukraine should not join NATO.”⁵
- The West needs to abandon its claim to ideological supremacy, an approach that has been at the roots of interference into the domestic political process in Ukraine. (The so-called “Maidan Uprising” of 2013/2014 was substantially financed from outside the country, in particular from the United States).
- The policy of unilateral economic sanctions should be abolished.⁶

Concerning the global community, represented by the United Nations:

⁴ See the recent analysis of John Mearsheimer: “John Mearsheimer on why the West is principally responsible for the Ukrainian crisis.” *The Economist*, London, 11 March 2022.

⁵ Henry A. Kissinger, “To settle the Ukraine crisis, start at the end.” *The Washington Post*, 5 March 2014.

⁶ Cf. Köchler, “Sanctions and International Law,” in: *International Organisations Research Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2019) (“Economic Sanctions, Global Governance and the Future of World Order”), pp. 27-47.

- The UN should act as facilitator between the parties. On the basis of its Charter, the organization may – possibly in coordination with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) – provide the logistic framework for negotiations. As in many other conflict situations, the UN can also assist with monitoring and peace-keeping missions once a ceasefire is reached between the parties. However, because of the decision-making rules in the Security Council, the United Nations cannot play any *active* role for the cessation of hostilities and the restoration of peace.

Only states that have maintained a position of strict neutrality in the conflict between Ukraine and Russia can act as mediators. Turkey – the country of reference of the Montreux Convention⁷ – may play an essential role not only as regional mediating power, but also as guarantor, together with the P5⁸ and other regional powers, of the security of the Republic of Ukraine should it opt for a status of permanent, armed neutrality. (An international status of neutrality makes only sense if a state has the means to defend itself.) As earlier “security assurances” to a nuclear-free Ukraine have proven totally ineffective, any new guarantees must be based on precise treaty obligations to be ratified by the legislative branches of the involved states.

Because of the structural paralysis of the United Nations in all matters affecting the interests of the permanent members of the Security Council,⁹ a new global security architecture will become indispensable if the stability of world order is to be preserved in the long term. It is here where the Bandung Principles¹⁰ – and a revitalized Non-aligned Movement – may gain relevance under a future balance of power that will be multi-polar. ■

⁷ *Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits Signed at Montreux, July 20th, 1936.*

⁸ The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

⁹ Köchler, “The Dual Face of Sovereignty: Contradictions of Coercion in International Law,” in: *The Global Community – Yearbook of International Law and Jurisprudence 2019*, Part 6: “Recent Lines of Internationalist Thought.” New York: Oxford University Press 2020, pp. 875-885.

¹⁰ *Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference of Bandung*, 24 April 1955, Chapter G: “Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation.”

RUSSIA-UKRAINE CRISIS

A comment from Palestine

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We look at unfolding events in Ukraine with a sad and depressing sigh of de ja vu (I also have friends in Ukraine). It is sadly expected and history repeats itself because people do not learn from history. They do not examine trends and directions. Let us look at things as they were before this supposed unexpected Russian "invasion."

Ukraine, like most countries in Europe, is cobbled together from different language and religious and cultural groups. Democracy and human rights were never on the agenda of the hypocritical Western Leaders who meddled in these Eastern European countries. The US with 270 military bases including in Eastern Europe was adamantly opposed to "live and let live" and kept wanting more banana republics that serve imperial and Zionist interest.

Make no mistake about it: the current puppet president of Ukraine (who also holds Israeli citizenship) would not have come to power without US/Israeli sponsorship. The Ukrainian neo-nazi militias that were fighting the pro-Russian separatists in Eastern Ukraine are armed to the teeth with Israeli weapons.

The Israeli and the US governments have been involved all along and not just in Europe but around the world propping racist dictators and puppets to serve the nefarious goals of world domination. The hypocrisy of speaking of human rights and international order are not lost on billions of people who see the West's support of colonization, occupation, dictatorships, and pillaging of resources in dozens of countries even as we speak: apartheid in Palestine, genocidal attacks on Yemen, Syria, Venezuela, Lebanon, and Cuba or the use of an economic system controlled

by the few to punish millions of people unless they allow pro-Zionist, pro-imperialist puppet dictators to keep them enslaved.

And no, we do not excuse Russia by stating these facts. War takes two sides.

It sometimes seems the only rational governmental voices globally are those of Iran and China who call for self-determination and respect for the charter of the UN and signed agreements (Minsk, nuclear agreement with Iran etc)! The Western governments seem set on this self-destructive course. Even those who start to think rationally like Germany are quickly silenced and ordered to obey (even against its own economic/people interests). It is inevitable to fail because billions suffer to enrich the few (arms manufacturers, business tycoons, Zionists/racists). That destructive course covered with persistent lies and rhetoric of "us good, them bad" while earth is literally sick (climate change, overexploitation, pollution, racism etc) will even make millions more, including in the West itself, reach a point to consider even the North Korean dictator as more rational and truthful than their own governments! This is not a healthy state of affairs for the globe. The two roads ahead are either massive global awakening and real change in world order or a bleak future for all of humanity (yes Russians, Americans, Europeans included). ■

THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR AS AN EYE-OPENER TO AFRICA: A Promenade into Western Hypocrisy in Global Conflicts

By Nwankwo Tony Nwaezeigwe

On 24th day of February, 2022, in what looked like a big surprise to the whole world, but not least a surprise to Europe, Russian tanks rolled into the Republic of Ukraine in what President Vladimir Putin described as a "Special Military Operation." On 2nd March, 2020, the 93-member United Nations General Assembly in an Emergency Session voted to condemn Russia's action in a most overwhelming manner.



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Africa as usual in her usual euphoria of Global solidarity with her erstwhile colonial masters—the United States of America-led anti-Russian coalition, overwhelmingly joined the bandwagon, with only Eritrea taking the bull by the horn by standing on the side of Russia, with three other nations— Belarus, Syria and North Korea. Against Eritrea's position 28 African nations voted in favor of the resolution, while seventeen abstained. It should also be recalled that the three African members of the United Nations Security Council—Ghana, Gabon, and Kenya had voted in favor before being overtaken by Russia's Veto. Equally striking was the condemnation of Russia by African Union (AU).

There is no doubt that Africa's voting pattern on that 2nd March Emergency Session of the United Nations General Assembly was a jamboree borne out of her neo-colonial entanglements with the West, otherwise going deeply into the fundamental moral basis of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the best bet for African nations will be to stay neutral, because the war does not concern them. The reasons are obvious.

Fundamentally, any African involvement in the conflict will readily translate, to state in Nigerian parlance, to the case of the sheep joining the goat in a fight of horns. The cases of the two World Wars where Africa was used as guinea pigs can no longer be tenable under the present world order. Africa as a Continent of independent nations cannot this time be dragged into a war that does not concern them— a war that is aimed at serving the selfish hegemonic ends of America and United Kingdom at the expense of Russian Federation. To state the obvious, the Russian-Ukraine war is a

veritable avenue for the Continent to prove the mettle of her independence and non-allied position in global politics.

The situation in Africa today where the Continent found herself in a state of multiple neocolonial tentacles only demands unequivocal neutrality. The West and her American allies utilizing their colonial umbilical cords are striving unceasingly to maintain their fast dwindling paternal influence in the Continent in a move that tends to focus on the containment of the growing economic influence of oriental China moving with her economic weaponry from the east. The Russian Federation on the other side is gradually staging a comeback of her Soviet-era influence in Africa. In fact to make the Russian presence in Africa antithetical to the traditional Western neo-colonial pattern of relations, President Vladimir Putin during the 2019 Russia-Africa Summit in Russia stated: "We are not going to participate in a new repartition of the Continent's wealth rather we are going to engage

in competition for cooperation with Africa.” Underneath these three tentacles of neo-colonial entanglements is the Arab-Israeli contest for influence in Africa.

The African States in confronting this NATO-orchestrated war of imperial expansion against Russia should not quickly forget the historic roles of the defunct Soviet Union of which the Russian Federation stands as the successor-nation in the liberation of Africa from the pangs of European colonialism. At a point where African nations were glued to the imperial servility of the Western powers the Soviet Union provided an alternative political vision that gave the West the bitter impetus to double down their imperial foot-holds in Africa.

Every party to the conflict—from America through Great Britain to the European Union has its peculiar interest which is not in tandem with the collective interest of Africa. President Joe Biden sees the Russian-Ukrainian war as an avenue to distract the attention of the American public from his sickly unpopularity and weakness at his home-front; while for Boris Johnson of United Kingdom it presents an avenue to recreate the dying effigy of the British imperial hegemony. This was the same reason that created Brexit, just because Britain felt with her towering imperial ego, she cannot be part of a union where Germany assumes the status of the largest economy in Europe. Indeed it is wrong to refer to the on-going Russia-Ukrainian war simply as Putin’s war or Russian-Ukrainian war, it is best to describe it as Joe Biden and Boris Johnson war against Putin with Ukraine as the sacrificial lamb.

Britain appears to bear historic enmity against Russia for no conceivable reason other than the intimidating size of Russia. Take for instance the Crimean war of 1853-1856. Why did Britain join the Crimean war on the side of the Ottoman Empire—an Islamic State against Russia—a Christian nation, if not for the reason of maintaining their Global hegemony and fear of Czar Nicholas I? Otherwise how can one explain the moral basis of Britain and America spear-heading the supply of arms to Ukraine to continue fighting Russia, without for once addressing Russia’s grievances or encouraging the course of diplomatic settlement between the two warring nations? Today, Vladimir Putin has become Czar Nicholas I of our modern times for Great Britain

and for that reason should be subdued, this time with a coalition of European Union and her NATO allies.

Russia went to war with Ottoman Turks in defense of her Orthodox members who were being denied their rights in the Holy Land by the Ottoman leadership under the instigations of France, which had never forgotten their humiliating defeat Napoleon Bonaparte; the same reason she joined the Ottoman Turks in the Crimean war. This was the only war Britain had fought against Russia with France and Ottoman Empire that makes Boris Johnson taunt Russia of a previous defeat in war. Like the case of Crimean war, Russia invaded Ukraine because of the urgent need to protect her Russian kinsmen against oppressions by those Putin rightly described as ultra-nationalists and neo-Nazists.

Indeed what could be more Nazi than the Ukrainian language law of 2019 where non-native Ukrainians were stripped of their rights to their official indigenous languages in daily and business communications, instruction in schools and literary publications with imposition of penalties? No nation in Africa can impose such devious Nazi language policy against her people; not even in Nigeria where Hausa language is the most spoken indigenous language after English. The people will definitely fight back like Russians are doing. No European nation would tolerate that act of naked fascism; not in Switzerland where German, French, Italian, and Romansh are official languages; or Great Britain where in the midst of the globalization of English, Scots, Welsh, Gaelic, Irish, Angloromani, Cornish, Manx, and Shelta are still regarded as official languages in their respective ethno-linguistic zones.

Yet the West did not see any moral reason to condemn Ukraine over this obnoxious legislation; may because the same law gave exemptions to English and other official European Union languages, while making Russian, Byelorussian and the Jewish language of Yiddish lingua non grata. Ironically the now living-canonized war-time Hero-President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky who claims to be Jewish and speaks more Russian than Ukrainian does not see any reason to reverse the obnoxious law. Does this not underscore as well as reinforce the unrepentant rabid sense of Western double standard in Global politics?

There is therefore no gainsaying the fact that the 2019 Ukrainian law on "Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" which forms one of the bases of Russian invasion was Nazi in both form and character, and against the provisions of Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Declaration on the Protection of Indigenous languages. Indeed the Minsk Agreement under the auspices of the Trilateral Contact Group, which America and the European Union convinced Ukraine to jettison, specifically emphasized the issue of linguistic self-determination. Interestingly, Paragraph 8 of the United Nations 2nd March, 2022 Resolution on the Russian-Ukrainian war made mention of the Minsk Agreement by calling for its implementation. Yet Ukraine and those nations that co-sponsored the resolution failed to state those responsible for its non-implementation since 2015.

President Vladimir Putin in his December 23, 2021 Annual Press Conference had stated ipso facto: "The U.S. is placing rockets at our doorstep.... How would the U.S. react if we delivered rockets near their borders with Canada or Mexico?" This is a fundamental question that underlines the diplomatic hypocrisy of the West, when considered in the light of the 1962 Cuban Crisis that brought the World to the brink of nuclear war. The West has also not denied Putin's accusation that the unscrupulous eastward NATO expansion at the expense of Russia's national security interests was a breach of a 1990 agreement with the Soviet Union; neither has the West denied the fact of Russia's willingness to cooperate with her in matters of mutual security interests.

And if one may ask, of what relevance is the existence of NATO to Global Security today in the light of the disintegration of both the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact? NATO fundamentally came into existence to contain Communist expansion to the West. Today, Soviet Union is no more and the succeeding State of Russian Federation is no longer communist and socialist in orientation. Indeed the depth of capitalist orientation in the Russian Federation turned out to become another axis of economic nightmare to the West to the extent that the World is now abuzz with another ridiculous stigmatization of successful Russian capitalists as Oligarchs. For how long will the World be captive to the West's incendiary psychopolitical imperialism?

Part of the Preamble to the resolution states: "Recognizing that the military operations of the Russian Federation inside the sovereign territory of Ukraine are on a scale that the international community has not seen in Europe in decades and that urgent action is needed to save this generation from the scourge of war." Yes! Truly the Russian invasion of Ukraine occurred in a scale never witnessed in Europe, yet it has occurred severally in non-Western nations with the West as the main actors as well as instigators. The Russian invasion of Ukraine has not yet reached the scale of American invasions of Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan, and the shameful 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia code-named "Operation Allied Force" in which over 1000 members of security forces, and about 600 civilians were slaughtered.

The world stood aghast in 1994 when for over 100 days the Hutus of Rwanda slaughtered their over 800,000 Tutsi kinsmen. Where were America and Western Europe—the so-called scions of modern democracy? Indeed the Russian-Ukrainian war clearly reveals the depth of Africa's diplomatic orphanage in Global politics, the predicament of not being part of the blue-eye racial complex of the world. How can the West give Africa tutorials on racial equality and fundamental human rights by presenting the Ukrainian situation as the worst scenario when even the same Ukrainians stopped African students in their country from boarding the train to escape the war and Poland even stopped them from crossing into their country, and those who managed to cross into Poland were clamped in detention.

The world again stood akimbo while the same American-led NATO bombed President Muammar Gaddafi of Libya out of existence. The same devastations were wrought in Syria, Yemen, and still ongoing in Nigeria with the connivance of America and her European allies. Why then should the Russian-Ukrainian situation become a subject of grave Global concern with self-inflicting obnoxious sanctions leveled against Russia and threat of Third World war? This is the fundamental moral question that underscores the Western vile propaganda and attempts to drag the unsuspecting nations into a conflict that is never their making. Thus short of taking sides, Africa's best bet is unfettered neutrality—a watch-watch scenario. ■

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We are scholars and activists of social and solidarity movements getting together around the common ideals of Bandung Spirit. Our network continues to develop since 2005, the year of the 50th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, which was commemorated for the first time by "non-state" actors (civil society, scholars and activists of social and solidarity movements) in divers parts of the world. See more information at <https://bandungspirit.org/>

BANDUNG SPIRIT BULLETIN is aimed at: 1) Strengthening and consolidating the movement; 2) Informing and learning each other among members of the movement; 3) Documenting individual and collective experiences, ideas, thoughts, and reflections related to the movement; 4) Informing the public about the activities of the movement.



The bulletin header symbolises the Bandung Spirit Movement in the cosmos offering possibilities of imagined Bandung Constellation. Its position is not at the centre, but at a certain point of the universe, to symbolise its awareness as a tiny and humble element of a collective movement. It was designed by Darwis Khudori, architect, historian, executive editor of the bulletin. As for the Bandung Spirit logo, it was designed for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the 1955 Bandung Conference organised by scholars and activists of social movements in Indonesia on April 2005. It takes a form of a flower as a symbol of love and peace. The number of petals (50) refers to the 50th anniversary, while the five colours symbolise five continents and their cultural diversity. The composition of the petals is such that it gives impression of a collective movement following the movement of the hands of clock, symbolising dynamism, interdependence and solidarity following the time. The logo designer is Erwinton P. Napitupulu, Indonesian architect based in Bandung. ■

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