

# **Cuba and the Non-Aligned Movement:**

## **Interactions of Pragmatic Idealism**

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## **Abstract**

Revolutionary Cuba's foreign policy has long been distinct in both its independence and global perspective. In conducting its foreign affairs, Cuba has followed a counterdependent strategy to balance its disciplined ideology and principles with its pragmatic security concerns. As such, Havana has prioritized multilateral relations with the Global South and sought to build solidarity throughout the Third World. One particularly important route for this is through the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the largest international body besides the United Nations (UN). Non-alignment, a term pioneered by newly independent India to define its foreign policy response to the Cold War, refers generally to the rejection of military blocs and the associated international politics in favor of more equitable and democratic relations between countries. Operating on consensus, the NAM has begun to put these principles into practice and reoriented global policy through the UN toward issues including economic inequality, cultural preservation, health cooperation, human rights, and peaceful coexistence.

As one of NAM's founding members and, of those, the only Latin American country, Cuba has twice hosted the Movement's triennial summit of heads of state or government, chairing the Movement until the subsequent summits. Only two other countries, Egypt and the former Yugoslavia which were both integral in founding the NAM, share this distinction. This study examines Cuba's role in and impact on the NAM. First, it provides overviews of Cuba's foreign policy following the overthrow of the Batista government and of the NAM itself. Then, the study analyzes Cuba's two chairmanships of the Movement, from 1979 to 1983 and from 2006 to 2009, which came during the high points of Cuba's prestige in the developing world and had lasting effects on the shape and direction of the Movement.

## Introduction

The foreign policy of Revolutionary Cuba has long been considered unique in world affairs, not least because of its early rejection of U.S. dominance and its subsequent uneasy yet dependent relationship with the Soviet Union. A central tenet of this policy has been the prioritization of multilateralism and demonstrative solidarity with the Third World.<sup>1</sup> An important organ through which Cuba has pursued these goals is the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Founded in 1961 on the rejection of military blocs and their associated international politics, the NAM has consistently advocated peaceful coexistence, democratization of the international system, and equitable and sustainable development, among other things. Embodying the principles of multilateralism, non-intervention, the equality of nations, self-determination, and national liberation, the NAM today has become the second largest international organization behind the United Nations and continues to demand reforms to the world's economic and financial systems as well as the UN itself.

Cuba has played an important role in the Movement, beginning with its status as the only founding member from Latin America. In addition, it has twice hosted the organization's triennial summit of heads of state or government and chaired the NAM for the following three year term. The former Yugoslavia and Egypt, whose renowned leaders Josep Tito and Gamal Abdel Nasser were founding fathers of the Movement, are the only other countries to share this honor. Each of Cuba's chairmanships, however, came at important moments in the history of the NAM. The first, from 1979 to 1983, marked a period of debate over the institutionalization of the organization and of difficulty in settling disputes between member countries. The second, from 2006 to 2009, was a time of reorientation and reinvigoration of the Movement as it sought to find its purpose in a dramatically

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, terms including the Third World, Global South, developing countries, and underdeveloped countries will be used interchangeably. This is due to the inherent links between the NAM and the term Third World, which refers to the countries that emerged onto the world scene around the world wars and were largely characterized by their low levels of development and their predominant location south of the Tropic of Cancer.

changed world. Cuba's leadership in each of these moments would have lasting effects on the NAM as a whole.

This paper explores the relationship between Cuba and the Non-Aligned Movement in an attempt to determine the effects each has had on the other. The first part examines Cuba's foreign policy following the success of the Revolution led by Fidel Castro, including its goals, motivations, and history. The second part focuses on the NAM itself—its history, structure, and principles. And the third part analyzes Cuba's actions as chair of the movement, both in the 1979 to 1983 and 2006 to 2009 periods. It will be seen that each entity has impacted the other in a variety of important and lasting ways.

## **The Foreign Policy of Post-1959 Cuba**

Since the overthrow of the Batista regime, the government of Cuba has employed a foreign policy unique unto itself. Although a small, developing country in the geopolitical shadow of one superpower and incorrectly believed by many have been a proxy of the other, Cuba's foreign policy has been truly global and brought the island prestige, influence, and respect throughout much of the world. This has been possible because of the balance Cuba has developed between revolutionary idealism and security-focused pragmatism. According to former Cuban Ambassador Carlos Alzugaray Treto, Cuba's international relations are ideologically based on the principles of 'sovereignty, self-determination, its own model of socialism, and the independence of its foreign policy.'<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the survival of the Revolution motivates pragmatic concerns in terms of both military and economic security. Scholars disagree on how these variables interact, yet there are many points of agreement among observers both on and off the island.

This chapter aims to synthesize a framework based on this debate within which to understand the goals and motivations of Revolutionary Cuba's foreign policy, the actions the country has taken to advance toward these goals, and the temporal evolution of this policy's ends and means. Without neglecting the importance of Havana's complicated relationships with world superpowers, analysis will emphasize Cuba's relations with the Third World, as this is more relevant to the current context.

### ***Temporal Framework***

There are a number of important events that have generally negatively impacted Cuba over the past 53 years causing the country to adapt its foreign policy. The 1989 collapse of the Soviet Union was the most important of these due to Cuba's level of economic dependence and its lack of control over the circumstances. This event and the subsequent intensification of the U.S. embargo profoundly affected

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<sup>2</sup> Carlos Alzugaray Treto, "Cuban Foreign Policy during the 'Special Period': Interests, Aims, and Outcomes," in *Redefining Cuban Foreign Policy: The Impact of the "Special Period"*, ed. H. Michael Erisman and John M. Kirk (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 56.

all of Cuban society, crashing the already fragile Cuban economy and leading Fidel Castro to declare the “Special Period in Time of Peace.” Other important events include: the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 in which Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces successfully repelled a force of Cuban exiles armed and trained by the United States; the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, resolved through a deal between the US and the USSR without the participation of Cuba; the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which Cuba had to reluctantly support; the epic failure of the 1970 10-ton sugar harvest that negatively affected both Cuban agriculture and the larger economy; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, which Cuba also had to support within months of assuming the chairmanship of the NAM even though Afghanistan was a non-aligned country; the implementation of glasnost and perestroika in the USSR simultaneous with Cuba’s “Rectification of errors and negative tendencies,” weakening Soviet economic support; and diplomatic crisis following the so-called “Black Spring” of 2003, where Cuba’s government arrested 75 prominent dissidents en masse.

In order to best conceptualize the phases of Cuban foreign policy in light of these events, I adopt and augment the time periods outlined by H. Michael Erisman in his books *Cuba’s Foreign Policy in a Post-Soviet World* (2000) and *Cuba’s International Relations: The Anatomy of a Nationalist Foreign Policy* (1985). He highlights three stages loosely based around the aforementioned events and Cuba’s responses to them as follows: 1959-1972, ‘early evolution in the shadows of the superpowers’; 1972-1985, Cuban globalism; and 1985-1992, “the passing of the Cold War.”<sup>3</sup> To these I add 1992-2003, which can be called reorientation and reinsertion, and 2003 to the present, re-emerging globalism. These time periods will be shown to encapsulate the adaptation and evolution of Cuba’s strategies to achieve the consistent foreign policy goals it has maintained.

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<sup>3</sup> H. Michael Erisman, *Cuba’s International Relations: The Anatomy of a Nationalist Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985); H. Michael Erisman, *Cuba’s Foreign Relations in a Post-Soviet World* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).



## ***Perspectives on Cuban Goals and Motivations***

Cuban American academic Jorge Domínguez was an early challenger of the idea that Cuba was a Soviet proxy and did not have its own foreign policy. In his book *To Make a World Safe for Revolution*, Domínguez argues that, within the realm of international policy, “No master plan has guided Cuba’s leaders, but they have responded effectively to many international opportunities” because they have followed certain guiding principles.<sup>4</sup> These principles—which he attributes directly to Fidel Castro—include hostility to the U.S. and U.S. imperial ambitions, a teleological view of history in which it is desirable to accelerate historical progress, and the idea that revolution is not sustainably possible in one country.<sup>5</sup> More tangibly, he contends that Cuba has held the following five pragmatic goals in descending level of importance: survival, support for revolutionary governments, the pursuit of political opportunities with economic benefits, support for revolutionary movements, and good economic relations.<sup>6</sup>

Alternately, Erisman states that “counterdependency [is] the central pillar of the Revolution’s foreign policy.”<sup>7</sup> This builds upon and includes the arguments he advanced in the 1980s that the main elements which determine Cuba’s foreign policy are military and economic security; ideological considerations including anti-imperialism and Marxist-Leninist proletarian internationalism; a desire to be a leader in the Third World; a strong sense of mission; and nationalism, particularly “broad based national self-determination and freedom from external control.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, Erisman’s conception of counterdependency is the overarching framework in which these variables interact and are prioritized.

More explicitly, he rejects the realist perspective of Hans Morgenthau and Henry Kissinger due to its lack of applicability to small states and its neglect of ideological dimensions, especially nationalism

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<sup>4</sup> Jorge I. Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba’s Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 248-249.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Erisman, *Cuba’s Foreign Relation in a Post-Soviet World*, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Erisman, *Cuba’s International Relations*, 7-10.

in Cuba's case, vis-à-vis security concerns.<sup>9</sup> He also negates the idea that Cuba's foreign policy is explainable as a revolutionary crusade, not only because this leads to diametrically opposed visions of that policy based on the observer's own ideological perspective, but because opposite of the realists it overemphasizes ideology and underemphasizes pragmatic concerns.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, he dismisses the early views of Cuban foreign policy as an extension of Fidel Castro's personality or as a surrogate of the Soviet Union as overly simplistic and fundamentally misunderstanding of real world power dynamics.<sup>11</sup> Rather, Erisman presents Cuba's counterdependency foreign policy

as one in which the government assigns top priority to cultivating the capacity to *prevent exogenous penetration* of its decision-making processes and thereby *reduce its vulnerability* to external power center to the point where its sociopolitical and developmental dynamics *are not* basically the product of a subordinate relationship with a stronger industrialized country, but rather are a reflection of a series of formally or informally negotiated relationships on both horizontal (South-South) and vertical (North-South) axes.<sup>12</sup>

In other words, Cuba seeks to maintain its autonomy from world powers and build structures to survive in spite of hegemonic pressures.

Finally, Carlos Alzugaray contends that the underlying motivation of Cuba's policies (like those of all nations) is survival, and that security and development are the two necessarily complimentary components of this.<sup>13</sup> As such, Cuban national interest is, in his opinion:

To maintain the independence, sovereignty, self-determination, and security of the Cuban nation, as well as its capacity to adopt a popular, democratic, and participatory form of government based on its own traditions and a prosperous socioeconomic system. This allows Cubans to protect their cultural identity and sociopolitical values and to project their international contribution in the world arena at a level of involvement proportional to their real possibilities as an effective member of international society.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post-Soviet World*, 23-26.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 26-30.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 30-36.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>13</sup> Carlos Alzugaray, "Cuban Security in the Post-Cold War World: Old and New Challenges and Opportunities," in *Cuba in the International System: Normalization and Integration*, eds. Archibald R. M. Ritter and John M. Kirk (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 161-162.

<sup>14</sup> Alzugaray, "Cuban Foreign Policy during 'Special Period'," 52.

In addition, he specifically identifies U.S. hegemonic aspirations as the major threat to Cuba's national interest.

### ***Policies and Specific Events in Cuba's Foreign Affairs***

With these somewhat differing views of the aims of Cuba's foreign policy in mind, we can now turn to an examination of specific events that occurred in each of the earlier identified time periods in order to better determine the interaction of these variables as well as to understand the strategic adaptations of Cuba's policy to meet these goals.

#### **1959 to 1972: Redefining Cuba's Foreign Policy**

The early years of the Revolution proved to be a turbulent period for Cuba. The new government set to the task of restructuring all aspects of Cuban society and redefining Cuba's very existence in the world. As a decidedly nationalistic revolution, the new regime began at the outset to take definitive action on the anti-imperialist views expressed by Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and other leaders. That said, Cuba did not drastically reorient its foreign policy without first laying important groundwork to belay open hostility from the U.S. From the start of Revolutionary government, Havana set a delicate balance between pragmatic concerns—physical and economic security threats from the U.S.—and the leftist idealism that was the basis of its popular support.

This can be seen throughout a series of events that transpired within this period. First, take Castro's unofficial visit to the U.S. in April 1959. Rather than follow official protocol and discuss an invitation from the American Society of Newspaper Editors with the U.S. embassy, Fidel accepted the invitation to speak and plans began for a Cuban delegation to the U.S. Meetings with U.S. government and international economic officials, including then Vice President Richard Nixon, were only arranged later.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, these meetings reached certain impasses, such as the refusal of the Cubans to ask for development loans and the simultaneous refusal of the U.S. to offer said loans due to each party's

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<sup>15</sup> Lars Schoultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 92-93.

desire that the other initiate this conversation. This distant, albeit not hostile, reception gave Cuba room to pursue closer economic relations with the Soviet Union, culminating in the February 1960 Soviet Trade Fair in Havana opened by Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan and a subsequent bilateral economic agreement.<sup>16</sup> Cuba was thereby able to lessen its economic dependency on the U.S. However, between the superpowers this was a generally zero-sum game leading to greater Cuban economic dependency on the USSR and Soviet-bloc Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON, by its Russian acronym). This can be seen, for example, in Moscow's agreement to buy Cuba's unsold sugar after the U.S. cancelled its sugar quota for the island in June 1960 in response to the nationalization of U.S.-owned oil refineries due to their refusal to refine Soviet crude.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, the imposition of the U.S. embargo in 1962 coincided with a large increase in Cuba-USSR and Cuba-COMECON trade, reaching 61% of the island's total trade by 1965.<sup>18</sup>

The 1961 CIA-backed Bay of Pigs Invasion by Cuban exiles (or Playa Girón, as it is called by the Cubans) also shows Fidel's balancing skill. In his eulogy to the Cuban soldiers killed by the 15 April pre-invasion bombing run at Havana's Cementerio de Cristobal Colón, he injected the fight with ideology: not only was this a nationalist fight to protect the homeland, Castro called for the defense of the socialist nature of the revolution. According to Cuban revolutionary and retired government official Ismael Sené, Fidel believed that the Cuban people would be further inspired by this explicit declaration of what most already believed to be their cause: socialism.<sup>19</sup> However, their pragmatic tactical skill, especially as to knowledge of the terrain, coupled with the CIA's incompetence, was likely more important to their victory.<sup>20</sup> That said, the most important impact of this event on the international

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<sup>16</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's International Relations*, 16-17.

<sup>17</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's Foreign Policy in a Post-Soviet World*, 58-59.

<sup>18</sup> Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution*, 64.

<sup>19</sup> Ismael Sené, interview by author, Havana, Cuba, April 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Schoultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic*, 142-169.

stage, besides the immediate sympathy gained by Cuba, is its continued use by Havana as irrefutable proof of Cuba's strong independence and anti-imperialism.

Next, the cases of the 1962 Missile Crisis and the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union reflect the equilibrium between ideology and pragmatism that Cuba sought in its relationship with the USSR and show Havana's antipathy toward dependency and coercion by any power. In 1962, it was the resolution of the crisis that angered Fidel Castro and Cuba's government. An agreement between Nikita Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy deescalated the situation, removing Soviet "offensive weapons" from Cuba, ending the military blockade, having the U.S publicly agree to not invade Cuba, and secretly removing U.S. missiles from Turkey. Castro was incensed that Cuba as a *sovereign* actor was excluded from making the agreement and that its security concerns were neglected because it did not believe the U.S. could be trusted.<sup>21</sup> In 1968, Castro eventually released a statement that justified the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops despite strong ideological misgivings viz. sovereignty and self-determination, sympathies with Czechoslovak people, and fear of the precedent this could set for a U.S. military invasion of Cuba. According to U.S. historian and filmmaker Saul Landau, Fidel was visibly repulsed by having to give this statement.<sup>22</sup> Yet, military and economic security concerns due to Cuban dependency on the Soviet Union outweighed ideology.

Beyond the superpowers, Cuban policy varied in this period. Although a founding member, Cuba did not place a lot of importance on the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Fidel Castro did not attend the first three ministerial summits, sending Pres. Osvaldo Dorticós to Belgrade in 1961 and Cairo in 1964 and sending Foreign Minister Raúl Roa to Lusaka in 1970.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the government was actively trying to export revolution throughout the hemisphere based on its *foco* theory, in which a small vanguard

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<sup>21</sup> James G. Blight and Philip Brenner, *Sad and Luminous Days: Cuba's Struggle with the Superpowers after the Missile Crisis* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 73-75.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 139-145; Saul Landau, interview by author, Washington, DC, 15 February 2012.

<sup>23</sup> William M. LeoGrande, "Evolution of the Non-Aligned Movement," *Problems of Communism* 29 (January-February 1980): 39, <http://www.proquest.com> (accessed 14 February 2012).

group could initiate guerrilla war and through this create the necessary conditions for a popular revolution.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, 1966 saw the founding of the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL) following the Tricontental Conference of leftist governments and movements in Havana. The stated purposes of this organization are to fight globalization, imperialism, and neoliberalism and to defend human rights.<sup>25</sup> Through this organization, Cuba began to build solidarity with Third World revolutionary movements and would continue to prove the sincerity with which it believed in this principle during the following decades. However, this faced some delay due to domestic failure of the ten million ton sugar harvest of 1970, which instead of solving the island's economic problems sent shockwaves throughout its entire economy. It was only after the country recovered from this economic disaster that Cuba was able to pursue a truly global foreign policy.

### **1972-1985: Cuban Globalism**

The 1970s were a period of institutionalization of the Revolutionary government and by 1972 the Cuban economy had begun its recovery from the 1970 sugar harvest and would see expansion throughout the decade. It was within this context that Cuba's foreign policy manifested a global strategy. Although Havana had shifted its dependency from the U.S. to the USSR, it was not dependent to the same degree and did not want to maintain this dependency but rather build as many positive relationships as possible to protect itself from external coercion. As such, Cuba began to act upon the values it had formulated over the prior decade—especially that of Third World Solidarity which it viewed as the key to its long term survival and prosperity. This can be seen in a number of events that transpired during this period. First and foremost, Havana increased its participation in the NAM. Very briefly (as this will be discussed in subsequent chapters), Fidel attended his first summit in 1973 in Algiers where he argued for a more radical and anti-Western path for the organization. In 1976 at

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<sup>24</sup> Joshua Johnson, "From Cuba to Bolivia: Guevara's Foco Theory in Practice," *Innovations* 6 (2006): 26-27, <http://people.ucalgary.ca/~innovate/issues/2006winter/Johnson%20Cuba%20to%20Bolivia.pdf> (accessed 14 February 2012).

<sup>25</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's International Relations*, 30-31.

Colombo, the Cuban delegation was elected as the next chair, receiving near unanimous support. And Cuba chaired the NAM from 1979 to 1983, which included hosting the 1979 Summit in Havana and representing the organization at the UN.<sup>26</sup>

Second, Cuba began to break its diplomatic isolation, reestablishing relations with a number of generally sympathetic (or at least non-threatening) Latin American and Caribbean governments and abandoning its open support of most revolutionary movements in the region. Mexico and Cuba never broke relations; and normalization with Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Jamaica, and Peru happened in 1972, with Argentina in 1973, with Venezuela in 1974, and with Colombia in 1975.<sup>27</sup> By the end of this period, Cuba had also restored its relations with Bolivia in 1983, Uruguay in 1985, and Brazil in 1986.<sup>28</sup> It should also be noted that Cuba maintained connections with Salvador Allende's Chile from 1970 until Augusto Pinochet's 1973 coup<sup>29</sup> and with Grenada's New Jewel government from 1979 to 1983.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, Cuba did not abandon its support of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and were close allies with the revolutionary government established there following Somoza's overthrow in 1979.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, Cuba supported the leftist rebels in El Salvador against its brutal right-wing government.<sup>32</sup> What all of this shows is that Cuba was willing to compromise some of its more revolutionary ideology for cooperative or non-antagonistic relationships with its more progressive neighbors. In other words, the short term stability provided by these moves gave Cuba room to pursue its long term goals through constructive rather than confrontational engagement.

Complementarily, then, Cuba's government increased its solidarity and prestige through military and labor-intensive developmental assistance to other countries of the Global South. Examples include

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<sup>26</sup> LeoGrande, "Evolution of the Nonaligned Movement," 40-45.

<sup>27</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's International Relations*, 46.

<sup>28</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's Foreign Policy in a Post-Soviet World*, 91.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>30</sup> Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution*, 162-171.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 176-178.

<sup>32</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's Foreign Policy in a Post-Soviet World*, 87.

Cuban construction teams in Libya and Grenada that built housing and infrastructure; medical missions to a variety of countries;<sup>33</sup> and military support to the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Mengistu Haile Mariam's government of Ethiopia in the Ogaden War, and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada during the 1983 U.S. intervention.<sup>34</sup> Havana pursued all of these actions with a certain level of disinterest, i.e. it did not necessarily expect direct benefits from these actions rather it acted on principle receiving indirect benefits later. This is not to say that factors related to Cuba's national interest were not considered in deciding to act, but that the ideological principles of Third World Solidarity and South-South Cooperation were the primary motivations insofar as they did not disrupt its Soviet bloc economic lifeline.

The different cases of Libya and Angola are perhaps most illustrative. Despite the shouting match that ensued between Fidel Castro and Muammar al-Gaddafi at the 1973 NAM summit in Algiers over the theory of "two imperialisms" headed by each superpower, the two governments were able to pursue a mutually beneficial developmental trade relationship in the later 1970s and 1980s based on an exchange of services (especially medical and construction) from Cuba and hard currency from Libya.<sup>35</sup> Obviously, there were direct benefits for both countries but the relationship grew out of shared principles of solidarity and the ability of both countries to provide mutually agreeable terms by standing as equals within the Global South. Furthermore, their ability to work together and overcome their prior hostility advanced both countries' leadership in the Third World. Alternately, Havana's relationship with the MPLA was deeply rooted in ideology and principle. The MPLA was part of the Angolan delegation to the Tricontinental Congress. When civil war erupted following independence from Portugal in 1975, MPLA leader Agostino Neto personally called Fidel Castro to request Cuban troops to support its fight against the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and especially the South African backed

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<sup>33</sup> Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution*, 171-6

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 152-171.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 171-174 and 210-211.



National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). However, Cuban planes did not have the range to make a non-stop flight so they appealed to Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of Guyana at the advice of Jamaican President Michael Manly for the use of landing strips in the name of solidarity and Burnham granted the request.<sup>36</sup> Once they arrived, Cuban troops successfully repelled the South African forces, compelling their retreat.<sup>37</sup> Although most Cuban forces were withdrawn by 1978, direct Cuban involvement remained until 1991.<sup>38</sup> That said, what is important to take away from this intervention is that Cuba acted based on the fundamental principle of solidarity in spite of the likely direct benefits of normalization with the U.S., a process derailed by the island's African engagements. Still, Cuba benefited tremendously from its successes in Africa in terms of the prestige gained within the Third World, receiving official commendation from the NAM<sup>39</sup> which in turn helped propel Cuba to the NAM chairmanship.

Regardless of all these successes, Cuba's foreign policy also faced decisive setbacks within this period. Specifically damaging was the 1979 Soviet invasion of non-aligned member Afghanistan within months of Cuba's ascension to the movement's chairmanship. As much as he wanted and although the members of the NAM almost universally condemned the action, Castro was unable to condemn the invasion and did not represent the movement's views at the UN General Assembly in 1980.<sup>40</sup> The effects on Cuba's prestige and leadership were devastating. Cuba had compromised its principles and the principles of the NAM because of its resented dependency on the USSR and its need for survival. Moreover, Cuba's reputation was further damaged by the dissident occupation of the Peruvian Embassy

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<sup>36</sup> Saul Landau, interview by author, Washington, DC, 15 February 2012.

<sup>37</sup> Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 339-346.

<sup>38</sup> Schoultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic*, 304-310 and 420-421.

<sup>39</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, V Summit of the Heads of State or Government, "Political Declaration," 19 August 1976, Colombo, Sri Lanka, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/5th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aigned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Sr.pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/5th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aigned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Sr.pdf) (accessed 24 January 2012), paragraph 44.

<sup>40</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's International Relations*, 127-129.

and subsequent migration crisis of 1980. Following this, and facing mounting economic problems, Cuba was unable to fully repair its image in the third world.

### **1985-1992: The Passing of the Cold War**

In retrospect, Cuba's increasing economic woes—especially in regards to its economic relations with COMECON—manifested signs of the more drastic misfortunes that would come with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Two specific and interrelated factors were fundamental to the creation of this situation: the virtually simultaneous implementation of the opposing processes of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the USSR and the so-called “Rectification of Errors and Negative Tendencies” in Cuba combined with the severe trade imbalances between Cuba and the COMECON countries. Whereas *glasnost* and *perestroika* refer to the liberalizing reforms including increased political openness combined with political and economic restructuring that followed the 27<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1986,<sup>41</sup> the Rectification was a program that emerged from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the Cuban Communist Party also in 1986 in which the material incentives (i.e. bonuses, special privileges, etc.) used to stimulate the domestic economy in the prior decade were to be replaced with the moral incentives (i.e. ideology, the socialist work ethic, Che's “New Man”, etc.) through voluntary work brigades.<sup>42</sup>

As was likely from these contradictions, Soviet bloc countries—now more responsive to their populations—began to voice concerns over the large indirect subsidies the Cuba continued to receive through its barter arrangements with COMECON even though these countries faced their own economic troubles, especially shortages. Because of this, these countries negotiated less favorable trade relations, including demands that Cuba pay for goods with hard currency. Havana was thereby put in a difficult position, which further embroiled it in the 1980s debt crisis that wrecked havoc throughout the

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<sup>41</sup> John M. Battle, “Uskorenie, Glasnost and Perestroika: The Pattern of Reform under Gorbachev,” *Soviet Studies* 40, no. 3 (July 1988): 369-378, <http://www.jstor.org.proxyau.wrlc.org/stable/pdfplus/151659.pdf> (accessed 26 April 2012).

<sup>42</sup> Schultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic*, 407-409.

Americas.<sup>43</sup> As a result, the Cuban economy stagnated, demonstrating once again the government's commitment to ideology and principle up to a level of sacrifice of its short-term national interests. That said, once it became evident that the situation would have long-term consequences, and especially following the collapse of COMECON and the Soviet Union itself, Cuba's government drastically revamped its strategy in order to continue to pursue its long-term goals and, indeed, survive in the dramatically changed international environment.

### **1992-2003: Reorientation and Reinsertion**

The collapse of the Soviet Union and COMECON trading bloc caused an economic crisis that shook Cuban society to its core and caused Fidel Castro to declare the "Special Period in Time of Peace." On top of this, the so-called Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 coupled with the Helms-Burton Act of 1996, both passed by the U.S. Congress, intensified the embargo against the island in a failed attempt to cause the collapse of the Cuban government. Havana was forced to reorient and adopt new foreign policy strategies in order to survive in this new more economically hostile world. Domestic changes were introduced that would allow foreign investment in joint projects with the Cuban government, especially in nickel and tourism. Foreign tourism, which had been heavily restricted by the Revolutionary government due to the associated evils rampant on the island before 1959, became the lifeline of the economy and, as such, provoked changes to migration policy to permit a new influx of visitors. Faced with another emigration crisis and a lack of hard currency, Cuba pursued economic partnerships with foreign companies to develop these industries and bring itself back from the brink. Regardless, the situation compelled the government to make severe cuts to all spending. That said, it expressly sought to safeguard certain benefits of the Revolution, specifically free and universal healthcare and education. Here again, it can be seen that deeply principled and ideological motivations guided Cuba's foreign policy; however, the strategies adopted had to focus on the very immediate concerns for survival.

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<sup>43</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post-Soviet World*, 107-115.

The most dramatic strategy change for Cuba, then, was in its economic relations. Right before the Soviet collapse, Cuba's leading trading partners were still in Eastern Europe, but trade with the countries had already dropped from its 1985 levels. Following the collapse, Cuba's Gross Domestic Product dropped 42% between 1989 and 1993 and its external trade decreased by 75%. Its major trading partners shifted to Western Europe, Canada, and China.<sup>44</sup> By 2003, these trading partners included the U.S. as well, although this trade was only in food to the island.<sup>45</sup> This much higher influence of Western capitalist countries shows that Cuba's new strategy for economic survival was less ideological and more pragmatic on its face. Yet, at its base, the Revolutionary government was committed to the preservation of its domestic ideological achievements.

In the political arena, Cuban policy had some successes as well, in spite of the increased economic sanctions by the U.S. In 1992, Havana won a condemnation of the U.S. embargo by a margin of 59 to 2 with 79 abstentions in the UN General Assembly.<sup>46</sup> This vote has become an annual event with increasing levels of condemnation, with a vote of 186 to 2 and 3 abstentions in 2011.<sup>47</sup> In addition, Pope John Paul II visited Cuba in 1998 and added his voice to the chorus of disapproval while also calling for greater political freedom on the island. This visit received mixed reactions but had some clear benefits for Cuba's government, especially in that the Pope highlighted the growing economic disparities between the developed and underdeveloped world.<sup>48</sup> In 1999, Cuba opened the Latin American Medical

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Jesús Cruz Reyes, "El Sector externo," (class lecture, Economía Cubana II at the University of Havana, 5 May 2011).

<sup>46</sup> Frank J. Prial, "U.N. votes to urge U.S. to dismantle embargo on Cuba," *The New York Times*, 25 November 1992, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/25/world/un-votes-to-urge-us-to-dismantle-embargo-on-cuba.html> (accessed 14 March 2012).

<sup>47</sup> Anita Snow, "UN condemns US embargo of Cuba—again," *Associated Press*, 25 October 2011, [http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2011/10/25/un\\_condemns\\_us\\_embargo\\_of\\_cuba\\_\\_\\_\\_again/](http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2011/10/25/un_condemns_us_embargo_of_cuba____again/) (accessed 14 March 2012).

<sup>48</sup> Max Azicri, *Cuba Today and Tomorrow* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 269-274.

School (ELAM) to train doctors from around the world at the sole expense of Cuba's government.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, Cuba's response to the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks in the U.S. illustrates its commitment to certain ideals, even in regards to its ideological enemy. Cuba issued a strong condemnation of events and even offered medical support for victims in an appeal of humanitarian solidarity.<sup>50</sup> Although the international environment had changed, and as such strategy had to change, Cuba's goals remained the same.

### **2003-Present: Re-emerging globalism**

In the run-up to the Pope's visit, political prisoners were released from Cuba's jails, a move hailed as a small success for human rights. However, the events of Spring 2003 would have the opposite effect. During the so-called "Black Spring", internal security forces arrested more than 75 political dissidents and journalists. This move was heavily condemned throughout the world and marred Cuba's expanding relations with Europe and Canada.<sup>51</sup> Although Cuba faced diplomatic pressure because of these events, its economic relations were not significantly affected and its tourism industry continued to grow. Moreover, Cuba benefited from its tourism growth, establishing strong relations with the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) especially in regards to tourism,<sup>52</sup> and from the so-called "Pink Tide" in Latin America, which saw the election of many center-left leaders throughout the region including Hugo Chávez in Venezuela in 1999, Ignacio Lula de Silva in Brazil in 2002, and Mauricio Funes in El Salvador in 2006. Latin American and Caribbean countries have continued to pursue friendlier relations with Cuba as can be seen in the formation of organizations such as ALBA and CELAC and in the threats of

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<sup>49</sup> "Historia del la ELAM,"

[http://www.sld.cu/sitios/elam/verpost.php?blog=http://articulos.sld.cu/elam&post\\_id=22&c=4426&tipo=2&idblog=156&p=1&n=ddn](http://www.sld.cu/sitios/elam/verpost.php?blog=http://articulos.sld.cu/elam&post_id=22&c=4426&tipo=2&idblog=156&p=1&n=ddn) (accessed 12 April 2012).

<sup>50</sup> "Reaction From Around the World," *The New York Times*, 12 September 2011,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/12/us/reaction-from-around-the-world.html> (accessed 12 April 2012).

<sup>51</sup> Hal Klepak, "An Asset Not Fully Exploited or Not Fully Exploitable?: Reflections on Cuba's Relations with Latin America and Its Institutions," in *Redefining Cuban Foreign Policy*, 163.

<sup>52</sup> John Walton Cotman, "Caribbean Convergence: Contemporary Cuba-CARICOM Relations," in *Redefining Cuban Foreign Policy*, 121-142.

many countries to boycott the recent Summit of the Americas in Colombia if Cuba was not invited.<sup>53</sup>

Furthermore, Cuba was again selected to host the NAM summit in 2006 and chaired the movement until 2009.

The most important partner that Cuba has gained in the region is by far Venezuela. The countries have pursued a mutually beneficial relationship whereby Venezuelan goods, namely oil, are exchanged for Cuban technical services, especially medical but also scientific and technical.<sup>54</sup> This began with an October 2000 bilateral agreement which was subsequently updated in 2005 and 2006 to subsidize Venezuelan oil, increase Cuban doctors in Venezuela, revamp the oil refinery in Cienfuegos, and build and staff the 2<sup>nd</sup> Latin American Medical School (ELAM II) in Venezuela.<sup>55</sup> This example shows the many benefits achievable in Cuba's relations with ideologically similar governments.

Other important developments have come in Sino-Cuban relations. Although these relations suffered from the Sino-Soviet schism during the Cold War, trade between the countries began expanding in the 1990s and has continued to expand throughout the 2000s. The majority of this trade has been from China to Cuba, but there have been significant benefits for both countries. Specifically, Cuba has benefited from development deals in the areas of transportation, oil exploration and refining, nickel, and biotechnology. Many of these are joint development ventures giving 51% ownership to Cuban state-owned companies and 49% ownership to Chinese state-owned companies. In addition,

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<sup>53</sup> Ecuador's President, for example, did not attend in protest of Cuba's exclusion. Jackie Calmes and William Neuman, "Americas Meeting Ends With Discord Over Cuba," *The New York Times*, 15 April 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/16/world/americas/summit-of-the-americas-ends-without-consensus-statement.html> (accessed 20 April 2012).

<sup>54</sup> Klepak, "An Asset Not Fully Exploited or Not Fully Exploitable?" 163.

<sup>55</sup> "Cuba, Venezuela Form Joint Refiner Venture," *Octane Week* 21, no. 15 (2006): 6-7, <http://search.proquest.com.proxyau.wrlc.org/docview/236428785> (accessed 25 April 2012); W.T. Whitney, Jr., "Cuba, Venezuela bring medical care to Bolivia," *People's World* 21, no. 2 (2006): 6, <http://peoplesworld.org/cuba-venezuela-bring-medical-care-to-bolivia/> (accessed 25 April 2012).

there is some military support between the two countries and President Hu Jintao visited the island in 2004.<sup>56</sup>

The most telling documents of the current and future direction of the country, however, are those produced by the most recent Congress of the Communist Part in April 2011. The focus of the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress was economic issues and, as such, it produced a document called *Guidelines for the Economic and Social Policy of the Party and the Revolution*, of which the third chapter containing 44 of the total 313 guidelines deals specifically with External Economic Policy. Highlights include:

1. The socialist planning system will continue to be the main route for the direction of the national economy, and should transform itself in aspects of methodology, organization, and control. The planning will take into account the market, influencing over itself and considering its characteristics.<sup>57</sup>
73. Work with the maximum rigor to augment the credibility of the country in its international economic relations, through strict compliance with contracted compromises.
77. Diversify the destinations of exportable goods and services, in addition to maintaining priority and attention to the principle associates of the country, and achieve greater stability in obtaining revenues.
78. Diversify the structure the exportation of goods and services ...
81. Elaborate and implement the strategy that guarantees new markets for the exportation of medical services and products of the medical-pharmaceutical industry.
87. Bring about an accelerated and effective process of import substitution ...
89. Promote international accords of cooperation and complementation in the industrial sector that favors exportations of the greatest aggregate value.
92. Dynamize the process of rescheduling external debt with short, medium, and long-term expirations... Design and apply flexible rescheduling strategies for the payment of the debt and to conclude these processes in the shortest possible time period.
96. Continue to bring about the participation of foreign capital, as complement to the national investment effort, in those activities that are of interest to the country, corresponding with the projection of social and economic development in the short, medium, and long-terms.
101. Favor, in the process of the promotion of investments, diversification in the participation of businesspeople of different countries.

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<sup>56</sup> Jiang Shixue, "Recent Development of Sino-Latin American Relations and its Implications," *Revista de Estudios Internacionales* 38, no. 152 (2006): 26-30, <http://www.revistas.uchile.cl/index.php/REI/article/viewFile/14364/14677> (accessed 20 April 2012).

<sup>57</sup> Communist Party of Cuba, VI Party Congress, *Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social del Partido y la Revolución*, 18 April 2011, Havana, Cuba, <http://www.cubadebate.cu/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/folleto-lineamientos-vi-cong.pdf> (accessed 12 May 2011), 10. Author's translation.

107. Promote, always when justified economically and convenient, the establishment of businesses and alliances abroad, that bring about the best positioning of the interests of Cuba in external markets.
110. Continue developing international solidarity through the collaboration that Cuba offers, and establish economic registers and necessary statistics that permit the required analysis, especially of the costs.
111. Consider, to the extent possible, in Cuba's solidarity collaboration the compensation, at least, of the costs.
114. Give priority to participation in the ALBA, and work ... for the achievement and deepening of the political, social, and economic objectives it promotes.
115. Continue the active participation in the economic integration of Latin America and the Caribbean, as strategic objective, and maintain participation in the regional schemes of commercial integration in which Cuba has been able to articulate itself ... and continue strengthening unity in their members.<sup>58</sup>

From these, it can again be seen that Havana acts and will continue to act pragmatically on top of an ideological basis of socialism and international solidarity.

### ***Final Thoughts***

It appears, then, that Erisman's idea of counterdependency is the most salient conceptualization of Cuba's foreign policy strategy, which is not to say that Cuba desires or even believes that it is possible to be fully independent. Rather Havana has consistently tried, to the extent possible to be able to act independently from any great power and in coordination with countries that treat it as an equal. Cuba's most severe problems have come with the collapse of support from a great power benefactor and so it has sought, as possible, to not be dependent on any one nation or small group of nations.

However, some of Erisman's specific concepts need minor revisions. As Alzugaray and Domínguez argued, the basis of the Revolution government's foreign policy, like that of all nations, is survival. Counterdependency is merely the strategy chosen to achieve this aim. Counterdependency was chosen because it is the only strategy that fits the professed ideological position of Cuba's government: Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, there is no other strategy that is as flexible or applicable to the Cuban situation, that of a small country in the shadow of a superpower. As such, the observation that Cuba is a small country with the foreign policy of a large country is particularly misleading, as is Erisman's

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 16-20.



argument that Cuba had an open desire to be a Third World leader. Rather, Cuba has acted from a worldview that prioritizes the equality of nations and solidarity of developing countries. Havana has had leadership roles not because of an expressed desire to hold those roles but because of the example it has set promoting these values. Cuba has not exercised the foreign policy of a large and powerful country but has been a leading participant in exercising and affirming the collective power of developing nations due to its firm ideological belief in this type of power. Still, what is certain is that the independence of Cuba's foreign policy has allowed it to continue to pursue these goals in a constantly changing and often hostile international environment.

## **The Non-Aligned Movement**

From a historical perspective, the founding of the Western nation-state at Westphalia was the first defining event in international relations; the rise of the Communist countries following the October Revolution was the second; and the rise of anti-colonialism and non-alignment was the third; hence the concepts of the First, Second, and Third Worlds. From this worldview, little more needs to be said as to the importance of the Non-Aligned Movement. Regardless, there are a number of historical events that provide more objective support. Moreover, it is necessary to properly understand the NAM to better understand the Third World, which is the majority of the nations of the world. As such, this chapter will present the ideas and concepts upon which the NAM was founded, the structure of the organization, and a brief history of the organization in order to better identify how one nation can operate within this framework to advance its foreign policy goals.

### ***Key Concepts***

The NAM is predicated on a number of fundamental principles that guide the foreign policies of its member countries, especially when the countries work in concert through the organization. However, because these principles present an interpretation of the complex state of global affairs, they necessarily overlap and so their delineation results somewhat difficult. That said, here I outline the five interrelated and overarching concepts—non-alignment, anti-colonialism and self-determination, equality of states, international solidarity, and peaceful coexistence—that frame my understanding of the movement and trust that the reader is able to identify their intersectionality as well as the other concepts contained therein.

## Non-Alignment

The often debated concept of non-alignment is highly philosophical and somewhat ambiguous, especially since the NAM has never explicitly defined the term.<sup>59</sup> Regardless, the term itself originated from the leaders of newly independent India in the 1950s to describe their own foreign policy in reaction to the prevailing international situation of the Cold War. Although there is some debate, evidence suggests that V.K. Krishna Menon, Indian Ambassador to the UN from 1952 to 1962, first used the term in the early 1950s in response to “ridicule” that India was neutral, stating “[India] is not aligned with either side [in the Cold War], we are non-aligned.”<sup>60</sup> From there, and in spite of his initial dislike of the phrase, Krishna Menon’s intimate friend Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who would become known as the ‘Father of Non-Alignment’, adopted the term in a 1954 speech in Colombo, Sri Lanka<sup>61</sup> to describe the ‘Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence’ codified in India’s agreement with China on “Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India”:

- (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- (2) mutual non-aggression,
- (3) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
- (4) equality and mutual benefit, and
- (5) peaceful co-existence.<sup>62</sup>

Moreover, he added in 1976: “We shall make history of our choice ... We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of problems related to the lack of an agreed-upon definition, see M.S. Rajan, “The Concept of Non-Alignment and the Basis of Membership of the Movement,” in *Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations*, eds. K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1981): 230-251.

<sup>60</sup> Michael Brecher, *India and World Politics: Krishna Menon’s View of the World* (New York: Frederic A. Praeger Publishers, 1968), 3-4.

<sup>61</sup> Richard L. Jackson, *The Non-Aligned, the UN, and the Superpowers* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), 6.

<sup>62</sup> India and the People’s Republic of China, Agreement (with exchange of notes) on trade and intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India, Signed at Peking, 29 April 1954 (No. 4307), *United Nations Treaty Series* 299 (1958): 70, <http://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20299/v299.pdf> (accessed 16 April 2012).

<sup>63</sup> K.P. Misra, “The Conceptual Profile of Non-Alignment,” in *Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations*, 197.

Non-alignment, then, can be understood from its outset as a dynamic and evolving concept, not neutrality but a type of positive neutralism. Its adherents wanted as little as possible to do with the politics of Cold War power blocs, but they would work toward specific goals in spite of power politics. These intertwined goals have evolved over time and through the involvement of diverse members to include, among other things: self-determination; decolonization; retention of the political, cultural, and economic sovereignty of independent states; antipathy to foreign intervention; protection of human rights, especially in the fight against racism; and national and economic liberation and development.<sup>64</sup> In addition, the flexibility of the definition has allowed the movement to survive beyond the Cold War, maintaining a platform opposed to power politics and continuing to pursue its unrealized goals.

### **Anti-Colonialism and Self-Determination**

Of the 25 countries that attended the First Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1961, fifteen<sup>65</sup> had gained independence from European powers following World War II, four had been part of the Ottoman Empire (two<sup>66</sup> of which won independence following World War I, the other two<sup>67</sup> existing as League of Nation mandates under European control until interwar independence), two<sup>68</sup> had long resisted British imperial interests and regained full recognized sovereignty between the World Wars, one<sup>69</sup> had been briefly controlled by Italian fascists, one<sup>70</sup> was an autonomous dominion of the British Commonwealth, the host was created in the name of Pan-Slavism following the collapse of Austria-Hungary, and Cuba had recently emerged from U.S. neocolonialism following Spanish colonialism.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> A.W. Singham and Shirley Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments* (Westport: Lawrence Hill and Co, 1986), 14.

<sup>65</sup> Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Congo, Cyprus, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Mali, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic.

<sup>66</sup> Saudi Arabia and (North) Yemen.

<sup>67</sup> Lebanon and Iraq.

<sup>68</sup> Nepal and Afghanistan.

<sup>69</sup> Ethiopia.

<sup>70</sup> Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka).

<sup>71</sup> A.W. Singham and Tran Van Dinh, eds, *From Bandung to Colombo: Conferences of the Non-Aligned Countries 1955-75* (New York: Third Press Review of Books Company, 1976), 10.

Because of these shared experiences, the countries rejected all “forms of foreign oppression of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.”<sup>72</sup>

Furthermore, in that initial conference they “recommend[ed] the immediate unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism and resolved to make a concerted effort to put an end to all types of new colonialism and imperialist domination in all its forms and manifestations.”<sup>73</sup> As such, they reaffirmed their commitment to the opposing ideals that:

- (a) All nations have the right of unity, self-determination, and independence by virtue of which right they can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance; [and]
- (b) All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means [of] subsistence.<sup>74</sup>

Indeed, these remain central pillars of non-aligned policy to this day.

### **Equality of States**

That sovereign states recognized under international law are equal is in many ways integral to and the logical extension of anti-colonialism and self-determination. However, it merits separate mention because of the rigidity with which it is held by members of the NAM and because it is the fundamental basis of the organizational structure of the movement. The non-aligned countries want to further democratize the international system, especially its main political organization, the UN, the most undemocratic component of which is the Security Council. Moreover, the NAM’s horizontal structure is designed to maintain the equality of states in its functions and to democratize the international system. For example, the 1961 Belgrade the countries advocated “expanding the membership of the [UN] Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council in order to bring [their] composition and work ...

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<sup>72</sup> Singham and Van Dinh, *From Bandung to Colombo*, 10.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

into harmony with the needs of the Organization and with the expanded membership of the United Nations.”<sup>75</sup>

In addition to political equality, the movement has also called and continues to call for greater economic equality among states, “consider[ing] that efforts should be made to remove economic imbalance [sic] inherited from colonialism and imperialism” and deeming “it necessary to close , through accelerated economic, industrial and agricultural development, the ever-widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and the many economically less-developed countries.”<sup>76</sup> More concretely, they demanded just terms of trade, stability of primary commodities, the end of restrictive financial processes, and application of “the fruits of scientific and technological revolution” to development.<sup>77</sup> This desire for economic equality would later be articulated by the concept of the New International Economic Order (NIEO).<sup>78</sup>

Finally, equality for the NAM extends to culture. This includes both opposition to Western cultural imperialism and monopoly on information systems as well as the desire to restructure the world communication/information system.<sup>79</sup>

### **International Solidarity**

The principle of international solidarity for the NAM rests upon their widely shared economic circumstances and (neo)colonial experiences. International solidarity is the idea that these states can exercise mutually beneficial power through their collective action and should do so in order to improve their shared situations and bring about more equal relations between states. As part of this, the NAM has always supported multilateralism and universalism. Yet, it has believed that the UN, however

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Linus A. Hoskins, *The New International Economic Order: A Bibliographic Handbook* (Washington, DC: University Press of American, 1982).

<sup>79</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 14-15.

flawed, is the most important multilateral body for resolving conflicts and addressing global issues and has not tried to create parallel structures.<sup>80</sup>

An additional aspect of solidarity is the emphasis on South-South cooperation, especially in development but also thru military assistance during the Cold War. The argument is that countries of the Global South can produce more beneficial relationships amongst themselves than with dominant powers because the South produces most of the world's resources. An extension of this can be seen in the tactic that inspired and was promoted by the NIEO. Primary material producing countries, as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries did in 1973, could collectively withhold these products from the highly industrialized countries and demand more fair compensation. But this could only function through solidarity. That said, solidarity in action has not always been applied with equal rigor by participant countries, which can be seen, for example, in UN votes by members that have contradicted declarations of the ministerial summits.

### **Peaceful Coexistence**

Although peace is the final aspect included here, it is one of the most essential non-aligned principles. The First Summit declared:

War has never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today. On the other hand, never before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations. ... [T]he vast majority of people are becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity. This awareness of peoples is becoming a great moral force, capable of exercising a vital influence on the development of international relations. ... [The participant countries] resolutely reject the view that war, including the "Cold War", is inevitable, as this view ... is contrary to the progress of the world.<sup>81</sup>

Moreover, in application to membership eligibility, the concept of non-alignment has often been interpreted most literally as non-alignment with military blocs, employed by the Great Powers. As City University of New York professors A.W. Singham and Shirley Hune write: "the Movement feared that the

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 27-28.

<sup>81</sup> Singham and van Dinh, *From Bandung to Colombo*, 10-11.

creation of military pacts would result in the division of the world into opposing camps, deny other nations, especially new states, the opportunity to make independent policy decisions about world problems.”<sup>82</sup>

The NAM has continuously advocated nuclear disarmament as critical to world peace. Notwithstanding, some member states—India, Pakistan, and North Korea—have nuclear weapons capability. But the Third World was especially preoccupied by the ability of the nuclear superpowers to destroy the world and by the inordinate amount of power this gave those countries to control world affairs. Moreover, the possibility of nuclear war between the superpowers threatened unimaginable suffering or death to the developing, post-colonial nations even though they would neither be participants nor have much, if any, control over the situation.

In theoretical debates, the NAM distinguished four types of wars, generally determining the seriousness of each by its threat to international peace:

- (1) The confrontation between the major nuclear powers;
- (2) Wars of self-determination and independence;
- (3) Internal civil wars resulting from political secessionist movements; and
- (4) Armed conflicts between non-aligned member states that could lead to a confrontation between the major powers.<sup>83</sup>

Singham and Hune noted in 1986 that these categories did not arise *a priori* but from analysis of specific events and, as such, there had been little discussion as to the application of these categories to world politics or by individual states in supporting or opposing specific wars.<sup>84</sup> Yet, because of their derivation from world events, these categories were easily adapted to the post-Cold War world, shifting to focus on foreign, and especially imperialist, intervention.

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<sup>82</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 15.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.



In an article published in 2001 by the International Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, a think tank founded to provide “a platform to voice the viewpoint of billions of people of the Third World”<sup>85</sup>, Indian scholar S.J.R. Bilgrami sounded the alarm on the increase of arbitrary intervention rhetorically justified as ‘invitational’ in the aftermath of the Soviet collapse and as ‘humanitarian’ since then. Bilgrami argues that intervention is only justified by international law under specific circumstances and with the democratic approval of the community of nations; however, “[s]uch system stopped working when a single member was sufficiently powerful to dominate the rest.” Moreover, the author advocates the necessity and legal right of nations, particularly the non-aligned, to resist arbitrary intervention.<sup>86</sup> The accuracy with which these statements foretold the arbitrary U.S. and NATO interventions of the past decade in a number of non-aligned countries—including Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya, and Yemen—is indeed alarming.

### ***Organizational Structure***

With these important founding principles outlined, I now turn to the organizational structure. As mentioned above, the NAM’s structure was designed to embody and promote these principles in order to allow the non-aligned countries to fully participate in global affairs. Because organization is a determinant of hierarchy, the primary principle the movement’s form protects is the equality of its members. That is, in contrast to the U.N., which affirms “the sovereign equality of all its Members” in Section 1 of Article 2 of its charter but gives much more power to the permanent members of the Security Council, the NAM is horizontally organized with one rotating leadership position that has relatively more temporary power than, but also has more obligations, and therefore accountability, to other member states. Although most of the movement’s work is done in open-ended ad-hoc committees, there are four major organizational factors that maintain its horizontalism: the criteria for

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<sup>85</sup> Pramila Srivastava, ed, *Non-Aligned Movement: Extending Frontiers* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001), vii.

<sup>86</sup> S.J.R. Bilgrami, “Resistance to Arbitrary Intervention,” in *Non-Aligned Movement: Extending Frontiers*, 151-157.

membership, the use of consensus processes, the Non-Aligned Coordinating Bureau, and the chairmanship.

### **Membership Criteria**

At its first summit in 1961, the NAM adopted the following five criteria for membership in the body:

1. The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the coexistence of states with different political and social systems and on non-alignment, or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy;
2. The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence;
3. The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance, concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts;
4. If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defense pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately conclude in the context of Great Power conflicts.
5. If it has conceded military bases to a Foreign Power, the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.<sup>87</sup>

However, Indian analyst M.S. Rajan, who critiqued the lack of an explicit definition of non-alignment at the Indo-Yugoslav Symposium in New Delhi in 1980, argued that even then these criteria were problematic for contemporary international relations. It was “not a little surprising,” in his opinion, that the 1979 Havana Summit reaffirmed these criteria as a compromise between the conflicting views of the represented countries,<sup>88</sup> although there was intense debate about them particularly in regard to the possible expulsion of Egypt and the seating of the Kampuchean delegation.<sup>89</sup>

Similar to his analysis of non-alignment, Rajan criticized these criteria as too ambiguous and, because of this, internally contradictory. In addition, he warned against prioritizing the quantity of new members over the quality of members’ commitment to the policy of non-alignment as well as the further obfuscation of the policy in relation to Guest and Observer countries.<sup>90</sup> Conversely, Singham and

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<sup>87</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 39.

<sup>88</sup> M.S. Rajan, “The Concept of Non-Alignment and the Basis of Membership of the Movement,” 241-242.

<sup>89</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 196-201.

<sup>90</sup> M.S. Rajan, “The Concept of Non-Alignment and the Basis of Membership of the Movement,” 242-248.

Hune argue that this flexibility has been beneficial to the movement because it has allowed the members to begin democratizing the international system internally. Moreover, its openness and inclusivity, especially through the existence of Guest and Observer statuses, have facilitated the propagation of the concept of non-alignment throughout the World. They cite Yugoslav analyst Ranko Petković's 1977 defense of the NAM membership system, which states that the movement has avoided exclusiveness, and likely obscurity, by encouraging and accepting 'countries striving to apply the principles and aims of non-alignment even while they are objectively bound to particular bloc structure because of their inability, in the particular moment, to extricate themselves from those circumstances alone and of their own free will.'<sup>91</sup>

That said, due to the end of the Cold War and the expansion of the NAM to the second largest international body besides the UN with 120 members and 16 observers as of 2011, the five membership criteria are more outdated now than ever. As such there have been renewed calls for redefining these requirements. Indian Research Scholar Rajesh Kumar, for example, points out that only the first principle maintains applicability, whereas the second is much less relevant at this point and the other three are defined in Cold War terms. "Therefore, it would be apt," he states, "to reset or modify the existing criteria so as to reflect the members' common approach to the present international atmosphere" in order to rejuvenate the movement and increase its unity and effectiveness.<sup>92</sup> It is easy to see that the references to Great Power struggles could easily be adapted since they now apply mostly to the neo-imperial ambitions of the U.S. and NATO and perhaps to the aspirations of an ascendant China. Yet, notwithstanding this advocacy and what appears to be general support for the idea, the final declaration of the most recent summit at Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt in 2009 again reaffirmed the original criteria but

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<sup>91</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 42.

<sup>92</sup> Rajesh Kumar, "Rejuvenating NAM," in *NAM: Extending Frontiers*, 175.

adopted loose language to “*improve*, as appropriate [the Movement’s] structure and methods of work, including through ... *generating* a more focused and concise documentation.”<sup>93</sup>

### **Consensus Process**

A favorite of anarchists and other non-hierarchical organizers, consensus is the decision making process for the NAM. In other words, member countries do not vote, but rather reach decisions and make declarations with the consent and agreement of all represented members. The major benefit of this is that all members receive full and equal participatory democratic representation with the exception of the chair, which plays a more central and thereby powerful role but also has more obligations to the rest of the membership. Particularly in relation to process, the chair must act as a facilitator or a broker, especially when there are wide disagreements on specific issues. A less abstract benefit of the consensus process is that it has allowed, and indeed encourages, countries with vastly differing ideologies to synthesize and act upon their points of agreement on a host of complex and challenging global issues of consequence to all members of the movement. That is, the process actively builds solidarity and unity.

Section III of Annex I to the Declaration of the VI Summit of the NAM at Havana in 1979 presented the Movement’s own formulation of its consensus process:

Consensus has a certain indefinable quality hard to express in words although we all know instinctively what it means. It presupposes understanding of and respect for different points of view including disagreement and implies mutual accommodation on the basis of which agreement can emerge by a sincere process of adjustment among member nations in the true spirit of Non-Alignment. Consensus is both a process and a final compromise formula, shaped by prior consultations, discussions, and negotiations into a generally agreed position. In other words, consensus is a general convergence and harmonization of views reflecting the broadest consent of the conference or meeting [and] enhancing or at least preserving the unity and strength of the Movement.

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<sup>93</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XV Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Final Document,” 16 July 2009, Sharm el Sheik, Egypt, <http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/01FINAL%20DOCUMENT.DOC> (accessed 24 January 2012), 7: paragraph 16.6.

In addition, ‘reservations on decisions of the Movement, which cannot block or veto a consensus, are allowed, although avoided to the extent possible, because they serve to maintain the NAM’s democratic character and the sovereignty of all its members.’ Finally, the document includes eight methods of promoting consensus as guidelines for helping the chair facilitate the achievement of consensus.<sup>94</sup>

Because of the complexity of consensus processes, especially in its protection of the rights of a minority, decision-making is necessarily more time-consuming in that it must allow sufficient time for discussion and review by all members concerned with each decision. Operationally, Singham and Hune explain that the NAM passes decisions through multiple levels, beginning with working groups of officials and moving, in order, through the ambassadorial and ministerial levels up to the heads of state or government. Participants seek consensus beginning at the lowest level, which makes its achievement easier and more efficient at each subsequent level. To this and the dynamic and evolving nature of the process, they attribute the “remarkable” ability of the Movement to achieve consensus on various difficult problems.<sup>95</sup> However, other scholars have taken less positive views of this process. Career U.S. Foreign Service Officer Richard L. Jackson, for example, asserts that “[t]he idea of consensus ... is at once vital to the movement’s identity and at the root of its organizational problems.” This is because, in his opinion, its less binding nature allows for compromise in the name of movement unity, but members are not accountable via recorded vote in forums such as the UN. Moreover, he holds that there is no exact agreement to what constitutes consensus.<sup>96</sup> Notwithstanding these objections, the use consensus process is clearly an active demonstration of more democratic international relations.

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<sup>94</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, VI Summit of Heads of State or Government, “Decision regarding Methods of Strengthening Unity, Solidarity and Co-operation among Non-aligned Countries,” 9 September 1979, Havana, Cuba, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/06th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Ha.pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/06th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Ha.pdf) (accessed 24 January 2012), 221-222.

<sup>95</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 43-44.

<sup>96</sup> Richard L. Jackson, *The Non-Aligned, the UN, and the Superpowers*, 39-40.

## **Non-Aligned Coordinating Bureau**

The Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement (NACB) handles all business of the NAM between its triennial summits of heads of state or government. The creation of this body was fundamental in the institutionalization of the Movement. The NACB grew out of the ad-hoc preparatory committees of the initial summits. At the Fourth NAM Summit in Algiers, member countries recognized the need to have more formally organized the movement due to the tripling of the membership and decided to maintain the standing preparatory committee as a 15-member Coordinating Bureau. They were charged with coordinating movement activities primarily at the UN, planning meetings and summits, and helping implement the economic Action Program.<sup>97</sup> At the subsequent Colombo Summit in 1976, participants agreed to maintain the NACB permanently, expanding its rotating membership to 25 filled with regional quotas based on regional consensus. It also recommended regular meetings, especially at the level of permanent representatives to the UN in New York. In addition, they outlined that meetings would be open to all members for participation and input, but final decision-making would rest with the bureau.<sup>98</sup> The 1979 Havana Declaration expanded the Bureau again to 36 members, reaffirmed and further delineated its purposes—including to “review and facilitate the harmonization of the work of the growing number of organs, Economic Co-ordinator Groups, Working Groups, etc.”—, and mandated that “all full members of the Movement could participate on an equal footing at Bureau meetings in the consideration and decision of questions in which, in the opinion of the Bureau, there is no doubt they are directly and specifically involved.”<sup>99</sup>

The structure of the Bureau, and of all of committees it facilitates, continued to follow this trend toward greater openness. At the 1983 New Delhi Summit, members agreed to expand the NACB to 74 of

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<sup>97</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 131.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 162-163.

<sup>99</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, VI Summit of Heads of State or Government, “Decision regarding Methods of Strengthening Unity, Solidarity and Co-operation among Non-aligned Countries,” 218-220.

101 members.<sup>100</sup> In 1988, at the Ministerial Meeting in Nicosia, Cyprus, the Movement established a Ministerial Committee “to critically examine, inter alia, the preparation and organization of meetings of the NAM, the content and format of the documentation, forms and methods of action as well as the effectiveness of its instrumentalities.”<sup>101</sup> After the permanent adoption of this committee at the 1989 Belgrade Summit,<sup>102</sup> it became the Ministerial Committee for Methodology, whose subsequent 1996 report from Cartagena de Indias, Colombia insisted that “all NAM members are to be members of the Coordinating Bureau” and recommended the establishment of NACB offices in centers of international organizations outside of New York.<sup>103</sup> This document was adopted at the 1998 Durban, South Africa Summit.<sup>104</sup>

Finally, in order to give some perspective as to the depth of activities the NACB coordinates, one must take note of the number of ad-hoc and permanent working groups overseen by the bureau. Most important among these are the Joint Coordinating Committee, established in 1994 to facilitate, improve, and ease the cooperation of the NAM and the Group of 77 economic caucus.<sup>105</sup> As of the 2008 Report of the Chair of the NAM to the XV Ministerial Conference, important mechanisms included: working groups on disarmament, peacekeeping operations, human rights, the revitalization of the UN General Assembly, legal matter, mandates review, Security Council reform, and information; the NAM Caucus in the

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<sup>100</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 335.

<sup>101</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, IX Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Report and Recommendations of the Ministerial Committee,” 7 September 1989, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/09th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Be.pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/09th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Be.pdf) (accessed 24 January 2012), 131.

<sup>102</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, IX Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Report of the Rapporteur-General,” 148.

<sup>103</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XIV Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Document on the Methodology of the Non-Aligned Movement,” 16 September 2006, Havana, Cuba, <http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/methodology.doc> (accessed 24 January 2012), Annex 1, Section 1(i) and Section 4(f).

<sup>104</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XII Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Final Document,” 3 September 1998, Durban, South Africa, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/12th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Du.pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/12th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Du.pdf) (accessed 24 January 2012), 12.

<sup>105</sup> Jacqueline Anne Braveboy-Wagner, *Institutions of the Global South* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 23.

Security Council; the NAM Caucus in the Peacebuilding Commission, and the NAM Troika.<sup>106</sup> The Working Group on Palestine is also highly active.<sup>107</sup>

### **Chairmanship**

The last important organizational characteristic is the role of the chair. The chair takes the lead on organizational and logistical issues from the summit its hosts until the following summit, acting as the main facilitator of the summit and the NACB. Because of this, each chair has relatively more influence during its tenure to shape the declarations and course of the movement. Conversely, the chair also has a higher responsibility to the rest of the membership due to its integral role in making the consensus process function. As Singham and Hune put it: “The chair’s skill lies precisely in recognizing the moment when a consensus becomes possible, and moving the body quickly to a decision.”<sup>108</sup> In other words, an effective chair must be able to easily identify points of concurrence and of contention over specific issues and find a compromise to maintain the coalition. In addition, the chair also holds the role of representative of the non-aligned countries and positions at the UN and other international bodies.

It can be seen, then, that the evolution of its mandate has followed a similar trajectory as that of the NACB. It was given more specific direction at Colombo in 1976, had that role reaffirmed at Havana in 1979 with suggestions made as to methods to find consensus, and has constantly been reviewed and discussed in the movement’s methodological debates. Member states have generally feared the abuse of the position and sought to limit the ability of a strong chair to impose its will on the NAM as a whole. As such, it has long been suggested by some members that a secretariat be formed to replace the chairmanship. Following the end of the Cold War, the idea seemed to gain popularity and some

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<sup>106</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XV Ministerial Conference, “Report of Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement: September 17, 2006 – July 5, 2008,” 30 July 2008, Tehran, Iran, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/Report\\_of\\_the\\_Chair\\_of\\_the\\_Non-Aligned\\_Movement.pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/Report_of_the_Chair_of_the_Non-Aligned_Movement.pdf) (accessed 24 January 2012), 1.

<sup>107</sup> “Structures and Procedures,”

<http://www.namegypt.org/en/AboutName/StructureAndProcedures/Pages/default.aspx> (accessed 24 January 2012).

<sup>108</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 44.



countries even presented specific proposals as to what this mechanism would look like. However, to date the role of the chair remains largely unchanged from that of facilitator. That said, in 1997, the Ministerial Committee created the Troika of the Non-Aligned Movement,<sup>109</sup> a discussion group of the past, current, and future chairs,<sup>110</sup> to ostensibly provide more consistency and oversight to the position.

### ***Brief History***

As I have already presented a large part of the history of the organizational development of the NAM, I will conclude this chapter by briefly outlining the history of the movement's focus and actions. Moreover, because the subsequent chapters focus specifically on the two chairmanships held by Cuba, here they will only receive cursory reference. That said, this history can be conceptualized through four basic periods: formation and growth; economic activism, internal turbulence, and institutionalization; confronting the post-Cold War world; and non-alignment in the new millennium.

#### **Formation and Growth: Bandung to Lusaka**

The NAM itself grew out of the 1955 Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia to identify common problems and develop shared international policies. The mostly post-colonial countries developed ten guiding principles for their international relations<sup>111</sup> and highlighted five general areas of

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<sup>109</sup> Braveboy-Wagner, *Institutions of the Global South*, 23.

<sup>110</sup> For example, the current Troika is composed of Cuba (chair from 2006-2009), Egypt (current chair since 2009), and Iran (to assume the chair at the 2012 Summit).

<sup>111</sup> These, which follow, would become known as the Bandung Principles:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. a. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers. b. Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

concern: the economic cooperation; the need for cultural cooperation as opposed to cultural imperialism; human rights and self-determination; the problems of dependency; and the promotion of world peace, especially because of tension in the Middle East and the advent of nuclear weapons.<sup>112</sup> Following the turbulent year of 1960—which included the failure of the Paris Summit to reduce Cold War tensions, civil war in newly independent Congo, and the admission of sixteen new African states to the UN—and the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the leaders of Yugoslavia, Egypt, and Indonesia, with India’s implied approval, called a preparatory meeting for a Conference of Uncommitted Countries,<sup>113</sup> which would become the First Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement by the time it met in Belgrade later that year. This conference along with the next two summits, at Cairo in 1964 and Lusaka, Zambia in 1970, would set the tone for the future direction of the NAM, but failed to develop a strong identity beyond the widely interpretable idea non-alignment.<sup>114</sup> At this time, member countries largely viewed themselves as part of a ‘social movement of nations’ rather than a new international organization.<sup>115</sup>

### **Economic Activism, Internal Turbulence, and Institutionalization: Algiers to Belgrade**

The IV Non-Aligned Summit at Algiers in 1973, attended by 75 member countries, marked the beginning of the consolidation and radicalization of the Movement. It was here, for example, that the conference formally called for the establishment of a New International Economic Order, a radical restructuring of the international system away from that dominated by industrialized powers, and laid out an Action Program to achieve it. Moreover, the countries firmly committed themselves to support

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8. Settlement of all international dispute by peaceful means such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties’ own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United nations.
  9. Promotion of mutual interest and cooperation.
  10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

Singham and van Dinh, *From Bandung to Colombo*, 9.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 7-9.

<sup>113</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 70-71.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 79-116.

<sup>115</sup> N. Krishnan, “Non-alignment—Movement or Organisation? Criteria of Membership,” in *Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations*, 252-265.

national liberation movements.<sup>116</sup> In 1976 at Colombo, the call for the NIEO expanded with the “incontestable” declaration of the “integral connection between politics and economics”<sup>117</sup> and the accompanying demand for a New International Monetary Order to address ballooning debt problems.<sup>118</sup> The onset of global economic crisis further deepened members resolve to advance the NIEO at the UN and the subsequent conferences in Havana (1979), New Delhi (1983), Harare, Zimbabwe (1986), and Belgrade (1989).

On the other hand, a few political and organizational issues caused heated debate that threatened the movement’s unity. Institutional issues, generally manifestations of the fears of more moderate and conservative members about Cuba’s potential to abuse the chairmanship, were generally resolved by the Havana Summit’s reaffirmation of the Colombo decisions on organization and by the compromises and work done to achieve consensus by Fidel Castro. More explicitly, the adoption of the Ministerial Committee on Methodology in Belgrade created a mechanism to better solve procedural disputes. In addition, the evolution of the NACB during this period shows the NAM’s increasing institutionalization.

On the political front, the first issue of contention was the idea of “two imperialisms” versus the “natural ally” thesis. The first argument, led by Yugoslavia and Singapore, held that the non-aligned should reject the imperialism of both East and West and maintain equal distance from them while the second, led by Cuba, held that the Communist countries were the natural allies of the Third World.<sup>119</sup> Ultimately, compromises for unity were also made at Havana and greater support of the equidistance idea manifested itself following the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR.

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<sup>116</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 128-131.

<sup>117</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, V Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Political Declaration,” paragraph 156.

<sup>118</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, V Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Economic Action Programme,” Section I, Part C.

<sup>119</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 180-186.

Another import issue was external intervention. Although intervention by dominant power blocs has always been condemned, difficulty arose around disputes between member states. Specifically, external deployments were held to be justified if the host country legitimately requested the service. So Cuba's deployments in Angola were commended at Colombo for helping stop the spread of South African apartheid and its deployments in Ethiopia were acceptable due to its legitimate claim to defending the Ogaden.<sup>120</sup> Additionally, the Iran-Iraq conflict, which caused the VII Summit to be moved from Baghdad to New Delhi, raised the issue of conflict resolution between members. At a NACB Ministerial Meeting in Havana in 1982, an open-ended working group was created to address the issue and subsequent summits called for the continuation of its work and an end to these hostilities.<sup>121</sup> The Belgrade Declaration commended the final realization of a cease-fire and the efforts of the UN Secretary General to fully resolve the crisis.<sup>122</sup>

### **Confronting the Post-Cold War World: Jakarta to Durban**

The Jakarta Declaration in 1992 opened with a renewed call for collective action and democratization of the international system and noted in its review of the international system "that the East-West conflict and its global corollaries ... no longer dominate the international landscape as in the past. ... It is therefore incumbent on the Movement to ensure its full participation in the building of the new world order."<sup>123</sup> Moreover, it argued that "the end of the cold war and the East-West bipolarity reinforced the Movement's continuing advocacy of global goodwill and cooperation for a world free of

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 186-187; Non-Aligned Movement, V Summit of the Heads of State or Government, "Political Declaration," paragraph 44.

<sup>121</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, VII Summit of the Heads of State or Government, "Political Declaration," 12 March 1983, New Dehli, India, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/07th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Ne.pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/07th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Ne.pdf) (accessed 24 January 2012), paragraph 170; Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 237-246.

<sup>122</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, IX Summit of the Heads of State or Government, "Iran-Iraq," 35.

<sup>123</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, X Summit of the Heads of State or Government, "Final Document," 6 September 1992, Jakarta, Indonesia, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/10th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Ja.pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/10th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Ja.pdf) (accessed 24 January 2012), 18.

fear, want and all forms of intolerance”<sup>124</sup> rather than abrogated its need for existence as some Western observers argued.<sup>125</sup> Here, too, as well as in Cartagena de Indias in 1995 and in Durban, South Africa in 1998, the NAM reaffirmed and updated its positions to fit the new international situation. Member countries maintained the importance of, among other things, disarmament, establishing the NIEO and increasing South-South cooperation, establishing a New International Information and Communications Order, democratizing international relations, ending international terrorism, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and the condemnation of external intervention.<sup>126</sup> In addition, the Cartagena and Durban Declarations were themselves reorganized to add a social declaration to the already standard economic and political declarations.

Finally, in 1998, the NAM produced its “Durban Declaration for the New Millennium,” announcing:

We must take up the challenge to fundamentally transform international relations, so as to eradicate aggression, racism, the use of force, unilateral coercive measures and unfair economic practices, foreign occupation and xenophobia in order to achieve a world of peace, justice and dignity for all. ... South-South co-operation ... is a central strategy for creating a new global environment and speeding up the eradication of poverty. ... [I]t is poverty that, more than any other of the devastating threats facing the world, must be ended. Eradicating poverty is a practical possibility, and an economic imperative for global well being. ... Let this be the challenge and let the spirit of Durban be our determination to succeed.<sup>127</sup>

This was to set the tone for NAM activism in a new era.

### **Non-Alignment in the New Millennium: Kuala Lumpur to Sharm el Sheikh**

The above quoted declaration sought to bring new life to the NAM and South Africa’s popular and well administered chairmanship when far in this regard. Importantly, the NAM already saw the links between international terrorism and the likelihood of resulting unilateral intervention. Further, South

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>125</sup> See, for example: Martin Evans, “Whatever Happened to the Non-Aligned Movement?” *History Today* 57, no. 12 (December 2007): 49-50, <http://www.ebscohost.com> (accessed 12 September 2011).

<sup>126</sup> Chris Alden, Sally Morphet, and Marco Antonio Vieira, *The South in World Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 100-111.

<sup>127</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XII Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Final Document,” 9-11.

Africa released a strong statement condemning the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and terrorism generally, urging international co-operation “to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations regardless of race, religion or nationality of the victims or perpetrators of terrorism.”<sup>128</sup> Administrative issues, however, caused the XIII Summit to be delayed and ultimately change venues. The conference, originally to be hosted in Dhaka, Bangladesh, was postponed because of the domestic elections and subsequently cancelled by the newly elected right-leaning Bangladesh Nationalist Party government citing “security concerns.”<sup>129</sup> Jordan volunteered to host the summit,<sup>130</sup> but the NACB eventually chose Malaysia instead.<sup>131</sup>

The main issue at Kuala Lumpur in 2003 was security in the Middle East. The Movement supported multilateral efforts to avoid war in Iraq and welcomed Iraq’s decision to allow UN inspectors to return as a step toward ridding the Middle East of weapons of mass destruction. It also continued its call for a just solution in Palestine, emphasizing in this moment the increased colonization by Israeli settlers.<sup>132</sup> In addition, the conference adopted a detailed resolution on “Continuing the Revitalization of the Non-Aligned Movement”.<sup>133</sup> In 2004 at the XIV Ministerial Conference, the NAM issued a Declaration

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<sup>128</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, “Non-Aligned Movement Condemns Terrorist Bombings in the United States,” 14 September 2001, New York, <http://www.nam.gov.za/media/010914us.htm> (accessed 20 April 2012).

<sup>129</sup> “NAM Summit Likely in March or April Next Year: Bangladeshi Official,” *People’s Daily*, 22 May 2001, [http://english.people.com.cn/english/200105/22/eng20010522\\_70653.html](http://english.people.com.cn/english/200105/22/eng20010522_70653.html) (accessed 23 April 2012); Rashed Chowdhury, “Dhaka says unable to host NAM summit,” *Gulf News*, 21 November 2001, <http://gulfnnews.com/news/gulf/uae/general/dhaka-says-unable-to-host-nam-summit-1.430594> (accessed 23 April 2012); Harun ur Rashid, “15th Non-Aligned Conference and Bangladesh,” July 2009, [http://www.sydneymbashi-bangla.com/Articles/Harun\\_Non-Aligned%20Conference.pdf](http://www.sydneymbashi-bangla.com/Articles/Harun_Non-Aligned%20Conference.pdf) (accessed 23 April 2012).

<sup>130</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation during the 56<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, “Final Communiqué,” 14 November 2001, New York, <http://www.nam.gov.za/minmeet/unga56.htm> (accessed 20 April 2012).

<sup>131</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, “Declaration,” 18 September 2002, New York, <http://www.nam.gov.za/media/02925un.htm> (accessed 20 April 2012).

<sup>132</sup> Alden, Morphet, and Vieira, *The South in World Politics*, 118.

<sup>133</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XIII Summit of the Heads of State or Government, “Kuala Lumpur Declaration on Continuing the Revitalisation of the Non-Aligned Movement,” 25 February 2003, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/13th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Ku.doc](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/13th%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-Aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Ku.doc) (accessed 24 January 2012).

on Multilateralism, expressing alarm at increased unilateral interventions and reaffirming the importance of multilateralism in the peaceful resolution of international disputes.<sup>134</sup>

At the 2006 Havana Summit, the Movement again reiterated its positions and the need for continued work on UN reform, terrorism, South-South cooperation, and improved North-South dialogue, raising the issues of international migration, water, energy and the rights of indigenous peoples as well. Members also adopted specific declarations on Palestine, the Iranian nuclear issue, and the purposes, principles, and methodology of the Movement.<sup>135</sup> Finally, in the wake of the global financial crisis in 2009, the NAM renewed its call for reforming the world financial system at the XVI Summit in Sharm el Sheik, Egypt. Additionally, the NAM continues to be most active on the issues of Palestine, UN reform, disarmament, and peacekeeping missions. Specific declarations of the conference called for the end of the U.S. embargo against Cuba, respect of the rights of Palestinians, and support of the declaration of July 18 as Nelson Mandela International Day.<sup>136</sup>

### ***The Future of the NAM: Tehran and Beyond***

The XVI Summit of the NAM is scheduled to be held in July of this year in Tehran, Iran and the events of the last year and a half, the worldwide political upheaval too big to ignore, provide hints as to the possible focus of this conference. Likely topics to be highlighted include: the uprisings and government overthrows in member countries including the current Chair, and especially the role of foreign powers in these; the embargo of Cuba; the situation in the Palestinian territories; continued efforts at restructuring the UN; the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq and the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan; U.S. and Israeli military posturing against Iran and the murder of Iranian scientists;

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<sup>134</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XIV Ministerial Conference, "Durban Declaration on Multilateralism," 19 August 2004, Durban, South Africa, <http://www.nam.gov.za/media/040820.htm> (accessed 23 April 2012).

<sup>135</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XIV Summit of Heads of State or Government, "Final Document," 16 September 2006, Havana, Cuba, [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/final\\_document\[1\].doc](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/final_document[1].doc) (accessed 24 January 2012).

<sup>136</sup> "Relevant Documents," <http://www.namegypt.org/en/RelevantDocuments/Pages/default.aspx> (accessed 24 January 2012).

exponentially rising world food prices; popular protests in Western countries against austerity measures; the inadequate world response to the financial crisis; the escalating situation on the Korean Peninsula; and, perhaps, China's ascendance and increasingly aggressive posturing toward many of its neighbors.

What is certain is that the NAM intends to continue to be a force in international affairs and to extend its reach. At its XVI Ministerial Conference and Commemorative Meeting to plan for the Tehran Summit and celebrate the Movement's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, members declared:

We deeply value the prominent and dynamic role of the Movement over the past 50 years on vital issues of common concern to its Members, assured that the Movement has evolved from a forum garnering solidarity and uniting the visions of its Members to a forum resolutely advancing the causes of justice, peace and prosperity, while staying true to its founding principle of serving as an independent and objective voice amid the tides of international politics. ... We emphasize that the remarkable accomplishments of the Non-Aligned Movement achieved so far should be used as a basis for promoting its objectives and principles in the next 50 years and beyond.<sup>137</sup>

The NAM continues to see itself as the forum through which to develop solutions to global problems and bring about fundamental change within international relations.

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<sup>137</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XVI Ministerial Conference and Commemorative Meeting, "Bali Commemorative Declaration on the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement," 27 May 2011, Bali, Indonesia, [https://89e1bdcf-a-62cb3a1a-s-sites.googlegroups.com/site/clbd12346/lemari/NAMDOC7-Rev1-BaliCommemorativeDeclaration-English-Final.pdf?attachauth=ANoY7crgJTD7tWhsiUaRSp6fJ36kRm2s\\_aQSnZdNxumsYYXrw\\_\\_3il06ORgi46Bw95DLEMM7D5pQW0ftsQRddqkTgjFXZfw4aiML7q8upcGDKjllhSEmYzPF7QyTOIQ\\_9z31UAkcHVCnH8LSbmbWwrUn\\_yXN8dkCs-8smxMlrGY3G4fF-qcP4LsfngwjPhreKCH2rYav97cR6w8UTvxRhCe0Vml01lguVN9rxboY8WtzQq\\_WAoKEwu2X3VWb\\_GI43DXL2uN4c0cQQCjnzfl\\_D4gT2PSg8Jpg%3D%3D&attredirects=0](https://89e1bdcf-a-62cb3a1a-s-sites.googlegroups.com/site/clbd12346/lemari/NAMDOC7-Rev1-BaliCommemorativeDeclaration-English-Final.pdf?attachauth=ANoY7crgJTD7tWhsiUaRSp6fJ36kRm2s_aQSnZdNxumsYYXrw__3il06ORgi46Bw95DLEMM7D5pQW0ftsQRddqkTgjFXZfw4aiML7q8upcGDKjllhSEmYzPF7QyTOIQ_9z31UAkcHVCnH8LSbmbWwrUn_yXN8dkCs-8smxMlrGY3G4fF-qcP4LsfngwjPhreKCH2rYav97cR6w8UTvxRhCe0Vml01lguVN9rxboY8WtzQq_WAoKEwu2X3VWb_GI43DXL2uN4c0cQQCjnzfl_D4gT2PSg8Jpg%3D%3D&attredirects=0) (accessed 20 April 2012), 1-2.



## **Cuba as Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement**

With a firm understanding of both Cuba's foreign policy and the NAM itself, one can now examine Cuba's actions as Chair, a position the island has held twice from 1979 to 1983 and from 2006 to 2009. These chairmanships have had lasting impacts on the Movement and show the importance Cuba attributes it. Although these two experiences occurred in notably different international environments, they demonstrate Cuba's perception of the role of the NAM in world affairs. Furthermore, Cuba's militancy in perpetuating the institution and its goals reflects the convergence of its foreign policy with the concept of non-alignment.

### ***Round One: A Cuban Chair from 1979 to 1983***

Cuba was first selected to lead the NAM at the 1976 Colombo Summit. This, in and of itself, is evidence of the prestige enjoyed by Cuba in the Third World at the time. Indeed, the V Summit explicitly commended Cuba for its assistance to Angola against apartheid South Africa.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, 1979 would mark the peak of Cuba's influence through its globalist foreign policy strategy as external actions by the Soviet Union, which Cuba had little choice but to support, would damage its image and economic problems would limit its ability for developmental cooperation with the Global South. However, Cuba's hosting of the VI Conference did not come without controversy within the NAM. Before the Summit, a group of more moderate and conservative members—later known as the group of 'like-minded countries'—expressed concerns that a Cuban chair would radicalize the Movement, moving it toward the USSR and turning the NACB into some sort of Central Committee.<sup>139</sup> Regardless, Cuba's skillful diplomatic maneuvering would prove its commitment to non-aligned principles and processes as well as strengthen and institutionalize them.

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<sup>138</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, V Summit of the Heads of State or Government, "Political Declaration," paragraph 44.

<sup>139</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 173-175.

## Summit-related Issues

Issues related to Cuba hosting the Summit and becoming chair began with the challenge by the 'like-minded countries' (including at this time, for example, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Oman, Pol Pot's Kampuchea, and Zaire). Singham and Hune state that the campaign against Cuba's chairmanship became evident at the May 1978 NACB Meeting originally scheduled for Kabul but moved to Havana on ten days notice following the coup in Afghanistan. A few countries feared the possible effects of an openly Marxist-Leninist state leading the movement even though the majority viewed a Cuban chair as a matter of rotation. The presiding chair, Sri Lanka, and India took the centrist position that summit sites, by precedent, could only be chosen by the heads of state or government. Nevertheless, the issue intensified the debate over "non-alignment"<sup>140</sup> and led to the challenging of Cuba's non-aligned credentials by Egypt and Somalia at the subsequent Bureau Meeting in Belgrade in July.<sup>141</sup>

The issue of non-alignment centered on the discussion of the "natural ally thesis" versus the "theory of two imperialisms." However, Singham and Hune also outline four ideological tendencies reflected in the debate: the socialist and Marxist tendency, exemplified, albeit differently, by Tito and Castro; the militant social democratic tendency of Nehru; the radical nationalist but separatist tendency of Nasser and Soekarno (Indonesia); and the African socialist and populist tendency of Nkrumah (Ghana). External exploitation of these differences, they argue, exacerbated the issue and led to proposals for the expulsion of Cuba because of its military involvement in Africa,<sup>142</sup> a change of venue and chair of the VI Summit, the postponement of the Summit until consensus could be reached, and a strategy to keep heads of state from attending a summit in Havana.<sup>143</sup> That said, Yugoslavia did not

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 167-194.

<sup>141</sup> Jackson, *The Non-Aligned, the UN, and the Superpowers*, 30.

<sup>142</sup> Notably, this was put forth by Somalia, which was angry about Soviet-coordinated Cuban support for Ethiopia following its own invasion of Ethiopia's Ogaden Province, and Zaire, which had supported the FNLA and UNITA in the Angolan Civil War whereas Cuba had helped the MPLA achieve victory and which felt threatened by Cuban troops in Angola but hosted French troops.

<sup>143</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 178-179.

argue for a change of venue but accused Cuba of helping establish “new forms of colonial presence of bloc dependence in Africa” and argued against Communist hegemony as well as capitalist imperialism. In addition, India believed Cuba was “bringing in the cold war by the back door.”<sup>144</sup>

Cuba defended itself from these attacks with both action and rhetoric. At the Havana Bureau Meeting, for example, Cuba carefully maintained separation between its procedural duties as meeting chair and its representative delegation, a model it would maintain as movement chair. Moreover, it used its history of fighting aggression from the U.S., supporting national liberation movements, and being an active and founding member of the NAM to support its non-aligned credentials. Finally, Havana defended its military involvement in Africa as lending requested assistance to member countries invoking their right to self-defense. This view was supported by most African countries which viewed support in the fight against South Africa as morally courageous and agreed that Ethiopia was correct in seeking to protect its Ogaden territory. Ultimately, Yugoslavia’s rejection of the need to move the Summit because that would be divisive and contradictory to the accepted heterogeneity of the Movement, accompanied by Cuba’s reassurances as to its recognition of that heterogeneity, effectively settled the issue.<sup>145</sup>

As time would tell, the fears of a subversive Cuban agenda as chair were misled. Cuba’s efforts in hosting the conference and the compromises it made as well as brokered between other members proved its commitment to the Movement. Two specific controversial issues are particularly illustrative. The first of these was the seating of the Kampuchean delegation. This first arose at the Extraordinary Bureau Meeting in Maputo, Mozambique in late January 1979. The Pol Pot government sent a delegation even though it had been ousted earlier that month by a rebellion led by Heng Samrin and backed by Vietnam and the USSR. In order to avoid a time consuming debate since the meeting was to

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<sup>144</sup> LeoGrande, “Evolution of the Non-Aligned Movement,” 44.

<sup>145</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 173-192.

focus on southern Africa, the delegation was allowed to take its seat but not participate.<sup>146</sup> At the final preparatory NACB meeting in Colombo to which both governments sent delegations, the same compromise was temporarily adopted, as consensus could not be reached, and the decision was tabled for discussion at the Summit. Although the Pol Pot's atrocities were universally condemned, the pro-China lobby within the Movement and members of ASEAN supported seating his delegation, whereas Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Afghanistan, and the Arab states except Egypt (i.e. those that agreed with the moral obligation of providing requested support for national liberation movements because of their own histories) supported seating Heng Samrin's delegation, while India favored leaving the seat vacant.

Similarly, the second issue, that of Egypt's participation in the Camp David Agreements and its new relationship with the U.S. and Israel, arose before the Conference at the Colombo meeting and was 'left' to the Summit to decide. Here, Arab governments, especially Algeria, Iraq, Syria, and the PLO, as well as Cuba favored suspension and possibly expulsion of Egypt; the Organization of African Unity supported Egypt and suggested the Movement should focus on Israel's violations; India, Yugoslavia, and Indonesia opposed suspension as a threat to unity; and many members pointed out the lack of a suspension mechanism. The meeting took no action against Egypt, but condemned the Camp David Agreements and reiterated that the rights of the Palestinians were the central issue of the "Middle East problem."<sup>147</sup>

At the VI Summit in Havana, the Kampuchean issue was resolved by referring it back to the NACB and thereby leaving the seat vacant. This was seen by 14 countries that sent a letter of protest to Cuba's foreign ministry as a defeat since those that supported Heng Samrin were satisfied with a vacant seat. Yet, Singham and Hune argue that any chair should have made the same decision as evidenced by a subsequent UN vote on recognizing the Pol Pot government that split equally between support,

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid, 193.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 197-202.

opposition, and abstention.<sup>148</sup> On the Egyptian issue, the NAM condemned the Camp David Agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli Separate Peace Treaty as “partial agreements and separate treaties” necessarily unable to obtain a just peace and referred the proposal for suspension to the NACB as well. It instructed the NACB to examine “the damage caused to the Arab countries, particularly the Palestinian Arab people, by the conduct of the Egyptian Government in signing [these agreements].”<sup>149</sup>

It should be noted, however, that the 1979 Havana Summit, like most NAM summits, highlighted more points of agreement than division. Although I have highlighted points of disagreement on which Cuba itself has taken definitive positions, this is to show, as others have, that Cuba as chair has sought to find a reasonable consensus even when that involves compromises on its own part. That is, as chair, Cuba’s goal was achieving unity through making the Movement’s processes function properly. This can be seen, as well, in the fact that the language of the final declaration used much less radical language than the initial drafts circulated by Cuba.<sup>150</sup>

Additionally, it can be seen in Fidel Castro’s and Josep Tito’s speeches to the Summit. Both men presented their views of non-alignment, but openly allowed for differing views and stressed the need of unity. Castro, for example, took an openly anti-imperialist stance, referencing the U.S. and its “old and new allies”—i.e. China—, but emphasized self-determination and the role of ideological plurality, stating:

No one except the Movement itself can determine what it should do and when and how to do it. ... Our views will not always coincide with those of each and every one of you. We have many close friends at this conference, but we don’t always agree with even the best of them. We hope that everyone will speak out with the greatest respect and consideration. The combined experiences of all of us gathered here can produce tremendous results. Certain topics are controversial, and certain words may seem strong. If anything we say displeases anyone, please understand that we do not mean to hurt or wound. We will work with all member countries—without exception—to achieve our aims and to implement the agreements that are adopted. We will be patient,

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 222.

<sup>149</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, VI Summit of Heads of State or Government, “Resolution No. 2 On the Question of Palestine,” 174-175.

<sup>150</sup> LeoGrande, “Evolution of the Non-Aligned Movement,” 47.

prudent, flexible, calm. Cuba will observe these norms throughout the years in which it presides over the Movement. I declare this categorically.<sup>151</sup>

As is evident, here too he expressed Cuba's commitment to respectably fulfill the role of chair.

Alternately, Tito warned against imperialism (of the West) and hegemony (referencing the Soviet Union):

We have never equated the blocs, either in terms of the time when they were founded or on the basis of any other characteristics. We have from the very outset been consistently opposed to bloc policies and foreign domination, to all forms of political and economic hegemony, and in favour of the right of each and every country to freedom, independence and autonomous development. We have never consented to be anyone's rubber stamp or reserve, as this is incompatible with the essence of the policy of non-alignment.<sup>152</sup>

But he also concluded with a call "to strengthen the solidarity, unity and action capability of the Non-Aligned Movement" based on "the authentic principles of non-aligned policy."<sup>153</sup> Rather than have a debate on a controversial issue devolve into some sort of shouting match, Cuba's conciliatory posturing as chair allowed it to strongly assert its opinion while also respectfully accept Yugoslavia's forceful yet respectful assertion of its differing opinion.

Finally, Cuba explicitly outlined what it believed to be the appropriate role of the chair through a series of recommendations adopted by the Conference and attached as an annex to the Final Declaration. Not only did this document delineate a formula for conducting meetings, the mandate and structure of the Coordinating Bureau, and consensus process by formally conceptualizing the processes already adopted and used by the NAM, it laid out a series of methods to help the chair achieve consensus on issues that are controversial.<sup>154</sup> In addition, these recommendations were openly worded

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<sup>151</sup> Fidel Castro Ruz, "Opening Address," in *Addresses delivered at the Sixth conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1980), 7.

<sup>152</sup> Josip Broz Tito, "Address by Head of Delegation of Yugoslavia," in *Addresses*, 772.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, 778.

<sup>154</sup> The specific methods recommended are as follows:

- (a) Open confrontations between the opposing sides threatening to disrupt the Movement should be avoided, but discussion of issues may be necessary in order to overcome differences;

to allow flexibility for new mechanisms to be developed, as international circumstances required, while protecting the Movement's fundamental principles.

### **Post-Conference Issues**

Following the Summit, the Movement tasked Cuba with representing its positions to the United Nations and leading the coordination of NAM activities until the next summit, scheduled for Baghdad in 1982. As is custom, Fidel Castro as the Head of State of Cuba addressed the October 1979 UN General Assembly on behalf of the NAM. His speech reads largely as a summary of the Havana Declaration that highlights the most important issues of the document. However, although Castro mentioned some specific political issues—including the question of Palestine and the Egypt-Israel agreements, nuclear disarmament and the SALT II treaty, and apartheid and southern Africa—the main focus of his speech was the economic issues raised by the Conference. Particularly, he made an impassioned appeal for more than negligible action toward establishing the New International Economic Order:

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- (b) The Chairman and/or the Bureau of the Conference or Meeting concerned, and the Chairman of the Movement and/or other interested delegations should render assistance whenever such assistance would help resolve differences;
  - (c) Prior informal consultation and negotiations among members should be held on all issues;
  - (d) *Ad hoc* open-ended working groups could be set up to assist in the promotion of consensus;
  - (e) Where there are a number of members who by virtue of their geographical location have a special interest in a particular issues, consultation among these member, open to other delegation, could take place in the effort to find a consensus;
  - (f) The results of the consultations as indicated in (d) and (e) above, should be submitted together with any recommendations to the Plenary of the meeting or conference concerned for discussion and approval;
  - (g) The presence of strong opposing views is an indication that the matter under discussion is highly sensitive and hence a special effort should be made to try to accommodate all views to achieve the broadest possible consent of the Conference/Meeting.
  - (h) When all the above methods, as well as any other efforts at promoting consensus have been exhausted without success, and any further deferment of the decision on a controversial issue is not possible due to the closing of the conference and the delegation/group of delegations continues to express reservations on any decision, it is recommended that the following method be utilised to reflect the reservation: in the body of the text of the communiqué/declaration, an asterisk would be placed at the head of any paragraph/section on which reservations have been expressed, with the corresponding footnotes indicating the delegation expressing the reservation. The full text of the reservation will be reproduced in an annex. If the delegation should so desire it, a reservation may also be made without it being entered in the records.

Non-Aligned Movement, VI Summit of Heads of State or Government, "Decision regarding Methods of Strengthening Unity, Solidarity and Co-operation among Non-aligned Countries," 216-223.

In brief, Mr. Chairman and representatives, unequal exchange is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!  
Inflation, which is being exported to us, is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!  
Protectionism is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!  
The disequilibrium that exists concerning the exploitation of sea resources is abusive; and it should be abolished!  
The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient; and should be increased!  
Arms expenditures are irrational. They should cease, and the funds thus released should be used to finance development.  
The international monetary system that prevails today is bankrupt; and should be replaced!  
The debts of the least developed countries and those in a disadvantageous position are impossible to bear and have no solution. They should be cancelled!  
Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developing countries economically; and it should be relieved!  
The wide economic gap between the developed countries and the countries that seek development is growing rather than diminishing; and it should be closed!<sup>155</sup>

Moreover, he added that it was the moral obligation of developed countries to assist but not control the development of the underdeveloped countries and concluded with a call to action in the name of peace and cooperation.<sup>156</sup>

This speech again demonstrated the Cuban commitment to its role as advocate of non-aligned positions. In addition, Castro's emphasis on economic rather than political issues—i.e. the issues that garnered the widest support within the NAM rather than the more divisive issues—reflected the Cuban's belief that unity through solidarity was tantamount to the success of the Movement in achieving its goals. That said, political issues that arose following the VI Summit proved to have the most impact on Cuba's reputation as chair. The most damaging event was the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, which largely mirrored the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Anti-Soviet sentiment was widespread within the NAM, as Afghanistan was a member country whose territorial

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<sup>155</sup> *Speech given by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, President of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and President of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in the 34<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations: New York, October 12, 1979* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1979), 51-52.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*



sovereignty was violated by the USSR in the opinion of the majority of members. Of the non-aligned countries, 56 of 91 (plus 22 underdeveloped non-member countries) voted in favor of a January 1980 UN resolution condemning the invasion, while Cuba was one of nine to vote against it.

However, Cuba did not come to this decision lightly, but insisted its vote was one against U.S. imperialism. Moreover, Erisman notes that the Cubans had little real choice because of its economic dependence on the USSR.<sup>157</sup> Regardless, the Cubans did express disapproval albeit without publicly criticizing the Soviet Union. Saul Landau argues that this situation encapsulates the difficulty Cuba had in balancing its role in representing Third World interests to the Soviets while acting as a broker for the Soviets toward the Third World.<sup>158</sup> Although Cuba did work in its capacity as chair of the NAM to try without success to negotiate a political solution between Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the USSR, Cuba's relations with both the Second and Third World's suffered. This was especially evident in its abortive bid for the Security Council, which it was forced to concede to Colombia in the wake of this crisis.<sup>159</sup>

Cuba maintained a much lower profile following this and the difficulties in its hemispheric relations due to the 1980 Mariel migration crisis. Still, it did contribute to developing internal non-aligned procedures, largely as a result of the Iran-Iraq conflict that necessitated moving the VII Summit to New Delhi. Here, too, Cuba attempted to mediate between the NAM member countries, but was unable to resolve the crisis. Because of this, Cuba needed to find a consensus on the venue of the VII Summit. Since India was the presumptive selection for host of the VIII Summit, some countries suggested at the 1982 NACB meeting in Havana that the venues of the VII and VIII Summits be switched to allow time for Iran and Iraq to settle their differences. However, India did not want to offend Iraq and expressed concern over prior hosting commitments. It was suggested that the summit be delayed for a

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<sup>157</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's International Relations*, 127-129.

<sup>158</sup> Saul Landau, interview by author, Washington, DC, 15 February 2012.

<sup>159</sup> Erisman, *Cuba's International Relations*, 129.

short period to compensate this, although the 'like-minded countries' expressed opposition to extending Cuba's leadership.

Following this meeting, with no end of hostilities in sight and the customary September conference date approaching, Fidel Castro initiated a process to formally change the location from Baghdad with an August letter to the heads of state of the NAM that expressed the impossibility of holding the conference under a situation of war, suggested that Iraq propose a change of venue, and offered to host a meeting in Havana to decide the issue. The meeting proved unnecessary, however, as Iraq complied and suggested India to replace it as chair. This resulted in the extension of Cuba's chairmanship for six months until March 1983.<sup>160</sup>

### **Legacy**

Although the island's prestige suffered during its first term as chair, Cuba had an important and beneficial impact on the NAM. Procedurally, it reinforced the role of the chair as mediator and consensus builder and demonstrated that ideological plurality would not result in a drastic reorientation of the movement based on the chair's ideological position. In addition, Cuba was able to devise a method to change the venue of a summit without dividing the movement. Perhaps most remarkable in this was the ability to also facilitate a smooth transition to India's chairmanship within a severely limited time-frame and without a secretariat.

In regards to spreading non-aligned values, the Cuban chair expanded the NAM's influence and membership in Latin America and the Caribbean. As a Spanish-speaking Caribbean country and the only founding member from Latin America, Cuba was uniquely positioned to be the NAM's unofficial ambassador to the region and the efforts it had made throughout the prior decade and as chair to mend relations with its neighbors and break the U.S.-imposed hemispheric isolation greatly contributed to its ability and success in doing so. Moreover, the fact that the Conference was hosted in the region in and

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<sup>160</sup> Singham and Hune, *Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 237-238 and 244-246.

of itself facilitated the attendance of Latin American nations. Additionally, Cuba made specific efforts to include and give more emphasis to Latin American issues in the NAM. Particularly, it used the Malvinas/Falkland Islands issue as an opportunity to show the region non-alignment in action by achieving a declaration in favor of Argentina at the 1982 Coordinating Bureau Meeting in Havana. Cuba also convened an Extraordinary Meeting of the NACB in January 1983 in Managua, Nicaragua to specifically discuss regional issues. This meeting gave Latin American countries, especially the Central American ones, the opportunity to share their experiences with neocolonialism and express their position that the political instability in the region was attributable to U.S. interference.<sup>161</sup>

Finally, one of the most important contributions Cuba made to the Movement as chair was its staunch advocacy of the New International Economic Order and South-South cooperation through its statements as well as its actions. Not only did Fidel stress the idea in the strongest terms in his speech to the UN, Cuba expanded its labor intensive developmental aid throughout the 1970s and 1980s in spite of other problems it faced. For example, Cuban developmental aid personnel in sub-Saharan Africa increased 12.5% between 1979 and 1981 and in the 1984-1985 academic year Cuba provided 22,000 scholarships to students from 82 Third World countries.<sup>162</sup> In other words, on economic and especially development issues, Cuba led by example, building solidarity through its actions and embodying the sentiment expressed by Castro at the UN: "Enough of words! We need action. Enough of abstraction! We need concrete action."<sup>163</sup> Cuba made itself an example of concrete action on the principles of non-alignment.

### ***Round Two: A New Cuban Chair from 2006 to 2009***

In contrast to the VI Summit, the XIV Summit of Non-Aligned Countries held in Havana in 2006 marked the highest point of unity for the movement yet. Chinese analyst Ni Yanshuo considered this

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid, 246-248.

<sup>162</sup> Domínguez, *To Make a World Safe for Revolution*, 99-101.

<sup>163</sup> *Speech given by Fidel Castro Ruz, in the 34<sup>th</sup> Session of the UNGA*, 73.

along with the Movement's new found vigor and the positive effect of NAM's suspicion on slowing U.S. hegemony and unilateralism to be the highlights of the conference.<sup>164</sup> Alternately, however, some Western observers mistook this unity as Cuba 'leading the movement in an anti-U.S. direction.'<sup>165</sup> Regardless, Cuba's new leadership was largely responsible for re-injecting the NAM with a renewed sense of purpose and activity.

### **Summit-related Issues**

The XIV Conference itself did not break much new ground. The Final Declaration largely focused on the need to revitalize the NAM to achieve institutional reform of the UN. Other important issues included disarmament, terrorism, development, human rights, and Iran's development of nuclear technology. While there was wide agreement on the majority of issues, many of which strongly condemned the U.S., debate on the final document was extended to allow consensus to be reached on the Iranian nuclear issue, the definition of terrorism, and the situation in the Middle East.<sup>166</sup> On Iran, the Summit eventually approved a document specific to the issue, which affirmed the right of any nation to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and commended Iran for as well as encouraged the continuation of its compliance with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors. As a compromise to the countries that wanted the Movement to demand a clear legal framework for nuclear energy, the document "recognised the need for a comprehensive multilaterally negotiated instrument, prohibiting attacks, or threat of attacks on nuclear facilities devoted to peaceful uses of nuclear energy," and encouraged diplomacy and dialogue to find a long term solution to the issue through the IAEA.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Ni Yanshoo, "Flexing Muscles," *Beijing Review* 40 (14 December 2006), [http://www.bjreview.com/world/txt/2006-12/14/content\\_50753.htm](http://www.bjreview.com/world/txt/2006-12/14/content_50753.htm) (accessed 25 April 2012).

<sup>165</sup> Brittany Bond and Ryann Bresnahan, "Cuba's Leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement: Challenge to U.S. Predominance?" *Washington Report on the Hemisphere* 26, no. 20/21 (November 2006): 2, 10, <http://search.proquest.com.proxyau.wrlc.org/docview/196339198> (accessed 25 April 2012).

<sup>166</sup> Canadian foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), "Chronicle on Cuba", *Research Forum on Cuba* (September 2006), <http://www.cubasource.org/pdf/Chronicle092006.pdf> (accessed 25 April 2012).

<sup>167</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XIV Summit of Heads of State or Government, "Statement on the Islamic Republic of Iran's Nuclear Issue," 16 September 2006, Havana, Cuba, <http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/Iran%20Nuc%20Issue.doc> (accessed 24 January 2012).

On the Middle East, the Conference adopted a stance heavily critical of Israeli and U.S. actions in the region but called for the continuance of good-faith multilateral negotiations to find a permanent two state solution to the Palestinian question and to bring about a peaceful resolution of the larger Middle East conflict.<sup>168</sup> As to terrorism, the Summit declared:

Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for whatever purposes, wherever, by whomever, against whomsoever committed are, in any circumstance, unjustifiable, whatever the considerations or factors that may be invoked to justify them.<sup>169</sup>

As such, the non-aligned countries were able to develop an operational definition of terrorism, which they further differentiated from “the legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for self-determination and national liberation.”<sup>170</sup>

What can be seen here is the movement’s dedication to its own unity. And Cuba’s role in this should not be underestimated. For example, it withdrew a development plan for the Movement because the document was not fully ready<sup>171</sup> and could have generated division in its premature form. Moreover, Raúl Castro, in his closing address, characterized the Summit as incredibly positive and noted that the ability of members to reach consensus on even complex issues demonstrated their decision to focus on unifying issues and so be better able to change the international economic and political situation through shared solidarity.<sup>172</sup>

Finally, the summit under Cuban leadership took decisive steps to revitalize the NAM, seen not only in the final document’s more passionate rhetoric but also in the approval of a Document on the Methodology of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Declaration on the Purposes and Principles and the

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<sup>168</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XIV Summit of Heads of State or Government, “Final document,” paragraphs 177-211.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, paragraph 118.3.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, paragraph 118.4.

<sup>171</sup> FOCAL, “Chronicle on Cuba.”

<sup>172</sup> Raúl Castro, “We will revitalise the Non-Aligned Movement” (Closing Address, XIV Summit of Heads of State or Government of the Non Aligned Movement, Havana, Cuba, 11-16 September 2006), [http://21stcenturysocialism.com/article/raul\\_castro\\_we\\_will\\_revitalise\\_the\\_non-aligned\\_movement\\_01242.html](http://21stcenturysocialism.com/article/raul_castro_we_will_revitalise_the_non-aligned_movement_01242.html) (accessed 25 April 2012).

Role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Present International Juncture. The Declaration of Purposes and Principles expanded on the founding Bandung Principles, updating them to be applicable to the contemporary international environment, and listed ten concrete policies, including above all focusing the Movement on issues that unite rather than divide and working to strengthen the mechanisms of the Movement to give it renewed vitality and efficiency.<sup>173</sup> The document on methodology further spelled

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<sup>173</sup> For comparison with the Bandung Principles, those adopted at Havana are included here:

8. Inspired by the Bandung Principles and the purposes which brought into being the NAM during the Belgrade Summit in 1961, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, meeting in Havana, stated that the Purposes of the Movement in the present international situation are:
  - a. To promote and reinforce multilateralism and, in this regard, strengthen the central role that the United Nations must play.
  - b. To serve as a forum of political coordination of the developing countries to promote and defend their common interests in the system of international relations.
  - c. To promote unity, solidarity and cooperation between developing countries based on shared values and priorities agreed upon by consensus.
  - d. To defend international peace and security and settle all international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles and the purposes of the UN Charter and International Law.
  - e. To encourage relations of friendship and cooperation between all nations based on the principles of International Law, particularly those enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.
  - f. To promote and encourage sustainable development through international cooperation and, to that end, jointly coordinate the implementation of political strategies which strengthen and ensure the full participation of all countries, rich and poor, in the international economic relations, under equal conditions and opportunities but with differentiated responsibilities.
  - g. To encourage the respect, enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, on the basis of the principles of universality, objectivity, impartiality and non-selectivity, avoiding politicization of human rights issues, thus ensuring that all human rights of individuals and peoples, including the right to development, are promoted and protected in a balanced manner.
  - h. To promote peaceful coexistence between nations, regardless of their political, social or economic systems.
  - i. To condemn all manifestations of unilateralism and attempts to exercise hegemonic domination in international relations.
  - j. To coordinate actions and strategies in order to confront jointly the threats to international peace and security, including the threats of use of force and the acts of aggression, colonialism and foreign occupation, and other breaches of peace caused by any country or group of countries.
  - k. To promote the strengthening and democratisation of the UN, giving the General Assembly the role granted to it in accordance with the functions and powers outlined in the Charter and to promote the comprehensive reform of the United Nations Security Council so that it may fulfil the role granted to it by the Charter, in a transparent and

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- equitable manner, as the body primarily responsible for maintaining international peace and security.
- l. To continue pursuing universal and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament, as well as a general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control and in this context, to work towards the objective of arriving at an agreement on a phased program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified framework of time to eliminate nuclear weapons, to prohibit their development, production, acquisition, testing, stockpiling, transfer, use or threat of use and to provide for their destruction.
  - m. To oppose and condemn the categorisation of countries as good or evil based on unilateral and unjustified criteria, and the adoption of a doctrine of pre-emptive attack, including attack by nuclear weapons, which is inconsistent with international law, in particular, the international legally-binding instruments concerning nuclear disarmament and to further condemn and oppose unilateral military actions, or use of force or threat of use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Non-Aligned countries.
  - n. To encourage States to conclude agreements freely arrived at, among the States of the regions concerned, to establish new Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in regions where these do not exist, in accordance with the provisions of the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (SSOD.1) and the principles adopted by the 1999 UN Disarmament Commission, including the establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East. The establishment of Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones is a positive step and important measure towards strengthening global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.
  - o. To promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to facilitate access to nuclear technology, equipment and material for peaceful purposes required by developing countries.
  - p. To promote concrete initiatives of South-South cooperation and strengthen the role of NAM, in coordination with G.77, in the re-launching of North-South cooperation, ensuring the fulfilment of the right to development of our peoples, through the enhancement of international solidarity.
  - q. To respond to the challenges and to take advantage of the opportunities arising from globalization and interdependence with creativity and a sense of identity in order to ensure its benefits to all countries, particularly those most affected by underdevelopment and poverty, with a view to gradually reducing the abysmal gap between the developed and developing countries.
  - r. To enhance the role that civil society, including NGO's, can play at the regional and international levels in order to promote the purposes, principles and objectives of the Movement.
9. In order to realize the aforementioned Purposes, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, equally inspired by the Bandung Principles and the purposes which brought into being the NAM during the First Summit in Belgrade, agreed that the actions of the Movement will be guided by the following Principles:
- a. Respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and International Law.
  - b. Respect for sovereignty, sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States.
  - c. Recognition of the equality of all races, religions, cultures and all nations, both big and small.

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- d. Promotion of a dialogue among peoples, civilizations, cultures and religions based on the respect of religions, their symbols and values, the promotion and the consolidation of tolerance and freedom of belief.
  - e. Respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, including the effective implementation of the right of peoples to peace and development.
  - f. Respect for the equality of rights of States, including the inalienable right of each State to determine freely its political, social, economic and cultural system, without any kind of interference whatsoever from any other State.
  - g. Reaffirmation of the validity and relevance of the Movement's principled positions concerning the right to self-determination of peoples under foreign occupation and colonial or alien domination.
  - h. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States. No State or group of States has the right to intervene either directly or indirectly, whatever the motive, in the internal affairs of any other State.
  - i. Rejection of unconstitutional change of Governments.
  - j. Rejection of attempts at regime change.
  - k. Condemnation of the use of mercenaries in all situations, especially in conflict situations.
  - l. Refraining by all countries from exerting pressure or coercion on other countries, including resorting to aggression or other acts involving the use of direct or indirect force, and the application and/or promotion of any coercive unilateral measure that goes against International Law or is in any way incompatible with it, for the purpose of coercing any other State to subordinate its sovereign rights, or to gain any benefit whatsoever.
  - m. Total rejection of aggression as a dangerous and serious breach of International Law, which entails international responsibility for the aggressor.
  - n. Respect for the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
  - o. Condemnation of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and systematic and gross violations of human rights, in accordance with the UN Charter and International Law.
  - p. Rejection of and opposition to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. In this context, terrorism should not be equated with the legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for self-determination and national liberation.
  - q. Promotion of pacific settlement of disputes and abjuring, under any circumstances, from taking part in coalitions, agreements or any other kind of unilateral coercive initiative in violation of the principles of International Law and the Charter of the United Nations.
  - r. Defence and consolidation of democracy, reaffirming that democracy is a universal value based on the freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their life.
  - s. Promotion and defence of multilateralism and multilateral organisations as the appropriate frameworks to resolve, through dialogue and cooperation, the problems affecting humankind.
  - t. Support to efforts by countries suffering internal conflicts to achieve peace, justice, equality and development.
  - u. The duty of each State to fully and in good faith comply with the international treaties to which it is a party, as well as to honour the commitments made in the framework of international organisations, and to live in peace with other States.
  - v. Peaceful settlement of all international conflicts in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.



out the ways in which to modify those mechanisms to achieve these goals, reaffirming and expanding upon the measures decided at the 1996 Ministerial Committee meeting in Cartagena de Indias in 1996.<sup>174</sup> These documents, produced by Cuba as chair with the input and later approval of the other members, represented an initial effort by the Cuban chair to re-inspire the NAM.

### **Post-Conference Issues**

The most notable aspect of Cuba's term as chair following the XIV Summit was undoubtedly the vigor with which it carried out the duties of the chair and advocated non-aligned issues. Unlike its first term, Cuba's prestige and leadership abilities were not hampered by external events beyond its control. In fact, it is likely that the unpopularity of the Bush Administration in the U.S. gave increased credibility to Cuba as an alternative force and allowed it to pursue non-aligned activities with greater energy and support.

One area in which Cuba's enthusiastic fulfillment of the role of chair is most evident is information and communication. Since the beginning of the NAM, the chair has been tasked with publishing official documents, guaranteeing the availability of NAM information to members and the world public, and facilitating the spread of non-aligned principles. With the advent of the internet, an important bellwether of the chair's ability to do this is the maintenance of a website dedicated to the summit it hosted and the actions of the Movement during its chairmanship. In this respect, Cuba far excels other recent chairs. The website devoted to Cuba's chairmanship is the most professional and well-organized of these, especially compared to the site maintained by Egypt about the XV Summit and the non-functional Iranian website for the upcoming XVI Summit. Cuba's website hosts a large amount

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w. Defence and promotion of shared interests, justice and cooperation, regardless of the differences existing in the political, economic and social systems of the States, on the basis of mutual respect and the equality of rights.

x. Solidarity as a fundamental component of relations among nations in all circumstances.

y. Respect for the political, economic, social and cultural diversity of countries and peoples.

Non-Aligned Movement, XIV Summit of Heads of State or Government, "Declaration on the Purposes and Principles and the role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Present International Juncture."

<sup>174</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XIV Summit of Heads of State or Government, "Document on the Methodology of the Non-Aligned Movement."

of detailed information on non-aligned activities and is organized to facilitate easy access to the information, unlike South Africa's website which similarly contains a large amount of content but is difficult to navigate.<sup>175</sup> Moreover, a significant amount of the events included in the detailed chronology of the island's actions as chair refer to the efforts of Cuba to adequately inform member countries of non-aligned activities. This includes circulating movement documents and positions among member countries, submitting drafts for member input, and transmitting the positions of a specific member country on a country-specific issue to the rest of the movement.<sup>176</sup>

Another way in which Cuba has sought to re-energize the movement is through its advocacy on behalf of the movement in a wide variety of international fora. Cuban representatives addressed or sent letters to the following organizations to express the non-aligned position on the many issues these organizations confront: the UN General Assembly and various related committees on debates including the question of Palestine, the UN Charter, the role of the General Assembly, the role of the Security Council, the status of national and international law, the coherence of the UN, peace and security, international terrorism, etc; the UN Security Council, as a guest, on similar issues; the Group of Eight industrialized countries, calling for equitable distribution of the benefits of globalization, technology transfers, concentration on development in international norms, disarmament, and the end of unilateral interventions;<sup>177</sup> the Group of 77 and China, as co-chair of the Joint Coordinating Committee; the African Union; the IAEA; the Arab League; the World Health Organization; the Ibero-American Summit; the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons; the International Labor Organization; the Human Rights Council; the European Union, including meetings between the EU Troika and the NAM Troika; and

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<sup>175</sup> See, for comparison: *Non-Aligned Movement*, <http://espana.cubanoal.cu>; *The Non-Aligned Movement*, <http://www.nam.gov.za>; and *XV Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement*, <http://www.namegypt.org>.

<sup>176</sup> Government of Cuba, "Actividades de la Presidencia del Buró de Coordinación de MNOAL," <http://espana.cubanoal.cu/02/buro/cronologiasaccion/> (accessed 26 April 2012).

<sup>177</sup> Felipe Pérez Roque, "Mensaje enviado por el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Cuba, en nombre del MNOAL, a la 33 Cumbre del Grupo de los Ocho Países industrializados," 6 June 2007, Havana, Cuba, [http://espana.cubanoal.cu/prensa/3raFase/110607\\_1.htm](http://espana.cubanoal.cu/prensa/3raFase/110607_1.htm) (accessed 26 April 2012).

others.<sup>178</sup> The sheer number of these events and speeches shows the activity and importance of the Cuban chair.

Finally, Cuba was also very active in organizing NAM meetings around these events and issues. For example, Cuba diligently held monthly NACB meetings at the ambassadorial level at the UN and convened the NACB to issues statements on timely issues such as nuclear tests, Palestine, unilateral sanctions, and the detention of member countries' representatives at John F. Kennedy Airport in New York.<sup>179</sup> And indeed, this surge in activity by the chair was duly recognized by the XV Ministerial Conference held in Tehran in 2008 where the final document noted that these actions "showed significant progress in the process of strengthening and revitalizing the Non-Aligned Movement."<sup>180</sup>

### **Legacy**

As Havana's second chairmanship came to an end, the global economy went into recession as a result of the 2009 financial crisis. At the final Ministerial Meeting of the NACB in Havana in April 2009, Cuba led the NAM in producing a Special Declaration on the World Economic and Financial Crisis, which read:

The Ministers underscored that the economic and financial crisis with its multifaceted impact is one of the most serious threats facing the world today, in particular developing countries. They expressed their serious concern that the Non Aligned and other developing countries are and will increasingly be the most seriously affected by the crisis, more than industrialized countries, where it originated as a result of the structural imbalances and deficiencies of the prevailing international economic system. Hence, they called for a new international financial architecture, with equal voice and participation of developing countries. Furthermore, they underlined that measures taken to resolve the effects of the crisis should not be geared at preserving the serious flaws of the present international economic architecture, which has demonstrated to be unjust, inequitable and ineffective, nor selective in nature, but aimed at introducing the required structural reforms, and in no case should be at the expense of developing countries.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Government of Cuba, *Non-Aligned Movement*, <http://espana.cubanoal.cu> (accessed 26 April 2012).

<sup>179</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XV Ministerial Conference, "Report of the Chair."

<sup>180</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, XV Ministerial Conference, "Final Document," 3.

<sup>181</sup> Non-Aligned Movement, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, "Special Declaration on the World Economic and Financial Crisis," 30 April 2009, Havana, Cuba,

Not only did this reiterate the importance of the Non-Aligned Movement in world affairs and repeat the call for systemic financial reform, in so doing it again signaled the impact that Cuba's leadership would have on the NAM.

Cuba infused the Movement with a restored sense of purpose and a new level of diligence in its activity. However, as its leadership was ending the NAM began to face one of the greatest difficulties it had yet faced: the economic and financial crisis it had predicted since its inception. Cuba's lead in emphasizing unifying issues and meticulously and enthusiastically fulfilling the role of chair provided an example of how to improve and reinvigorate the Movement. In addition, by updating the founding principles of non-alignment, Cuba helped clarify the mission, goals, and ideology of the NAM, which will serve as important guidelines in determining the future of the organization. That said, it will be interesting to see whether this unity and energy still holds at the XVI Summit in Tehran later this year, especially in light of the recent political upheaval in Northern Africa and the Middle East and the deepening global economic crisis.

## Conclusion

In the end, there are three important lessons to be learned from Cuba's experiences within the Non-Aligned Movement. First, Cuba's foreign policy and NAM policy have a long history of convergence on many key issues, and this has intensified following the collapse of the Soviet Union. At its basis, this convergence is a result of balancing the similar Cuban and non-aligned ideals with the pragmatism demanded of both entities by the reality of the international environment. Cuba's foreign policy is ideologically based on independence, sovereignty, self-determination, international solidarity, anti-imperialism, and the teleological Marxist-Leninist view of history that demands progressive forces seek to accelerate history's progression toward a classless society, but has been limited by pragmatic security concerns and survival mechanisms. Similarly, non-aligned ideology is based on anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, the sovereign equality of nations, the right to self-determination, the right of all states to pursue independent political, economic, and social policies domestically and in the realm of foreign affairs, the desire for more participatory and democratic international relations, and Third World solidarity, but the NAM has been limited by its pragmatic pursuit of its own unity in order to have the greatest possible influence and so has focused on generating pragmatic solutions to the commonly shared problems of its members. In this sense then, both can be considered pragmatically idealistic.

Second, as Saul Landau observed, Cuba did not exploit its Third World and NAM policy to its economic advantage but to its political advantage.<sup>182</sup> In the 1970s, Cuba used this policy to break free from the diplomatic isolation imposed by the U.S. Moreover, it used developmental support to garner the political respect leading to its first chairmanship. That said, its major trading partners through that and the subsequent decade continued to be the Soviet bloc. In the 1990s and 2000s, Cuba's economic recovery was largely due to its allowance of increased foreign investment by industrialized Northern countries. Cuba used its second chairmanship, in this time, to consolidate political support. This can be

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<sup>182</sup> Saul Landau, interview by author, Washington, DC, 15 February 2012.

seen not just in the repeated overwhelming condemnations of the U.S. embargo by the UN General Assembly but also in the respect Cuba now commands in Latin America, which is obvious in the formation of the North America-excluded Community of Latin American and Caribbean States and the threats to boycott the next Summit of the Americas if Cuba is not invited.

Finally, the importance Cuba places in the Non-Aligned Movement is due, in large part, to it being a critical tool for a counterdependent foreign policy strategy. This is because the NAM functions much like a syndicalist union but for resource producing countries rather than members of the working class. In other words, the NAM, like a syndicalist union, is highly democratic and based on collective action through solidarity, but its members are governments instead of workers. As such, the NAM has built a support network to increase the interdependency of its members and decrease their dependency on any singular power. Yet, because the NAM realizes that the equality of states is impossible without the inclusion of the Global North, it does not seek isolation from the North but demands equitable distribution of effort—i.e. labor, financing, resources, etc.—to achieve sustainable world development. Cuba, because of its professed Marxist-Leninist government and exploited history, has had and continues to have a natural predisposition toward this kind of organization on the world stage.

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<sup>183</sup> Organized chronologically by subheading.

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