

# **The Third Side of the Cold War: Movement of the Non-aligned States, Yugoslavia and the World**

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# Havana 1979: Lončar, Badurina, Vrhovec – Žarković, Tito, Minić



**Tvrtko Jakovina**

# TREĆA STRANA

**HLADNOG**

**RATA**

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Jugoslavenska  
borba s Kubom za  
Nesvrstane

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sovjetska intervencija  
u Afganistanu

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Iračko-iranski rat

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borba za neovisnost Zimbabvea,  
Namibije i Zapadne Sahare

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Egipat i supersile 1970' i 1980'

**FRAKTURA**



# Non-aligned Countries Movement in the near future:

- In 11 days we will find out who will be presiding over NAM from 2015 to 2018: Nicolas Maduro or Henrique Capriles Radonski



# NAM in 2013: Ahmadinejad Primus inter pares



- 16th Summit of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement

(Teheran, Islamic Republic of Iran, 26-31 August 2012)

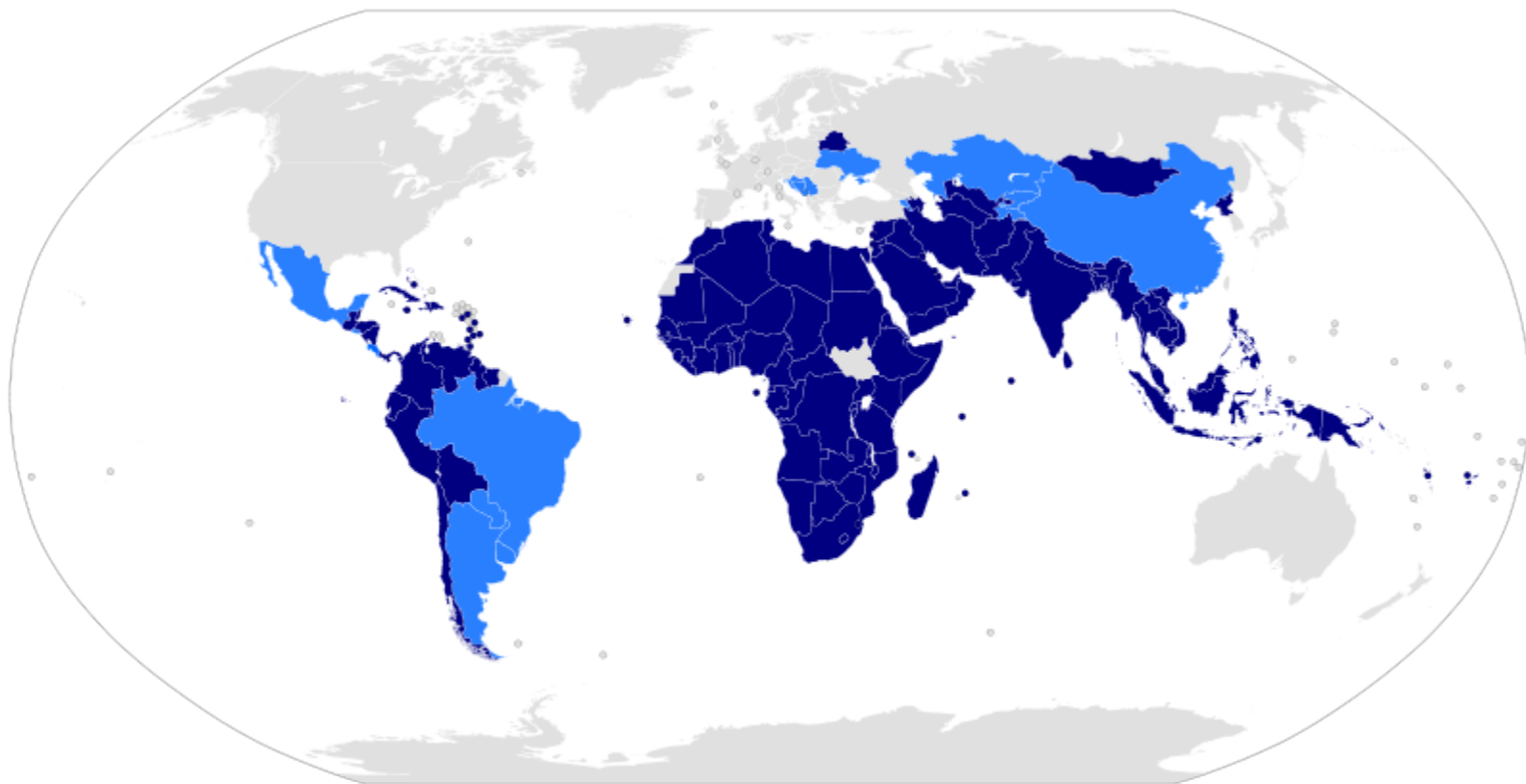
- Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the UN
- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small
- Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country
- Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the UN
- Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers and abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
- Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
- Settlement of all international disputes 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 UN
- Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation
- Respect for justice and international obligations

# The founding principles of the Non- Aligned Movement:

# SUMMITS OF THE NAM 1961-2012

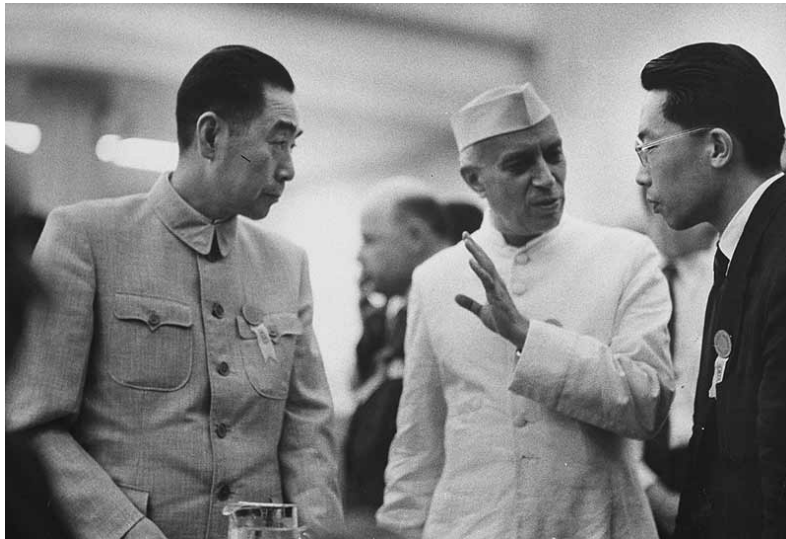
1. Belgrade, Yugoslavia 1961
2. Cairo, Egypt 1964
3. Lusaka, Zambia 1970
4. Algiers 1973
5. Colombo, Sri Lanka 1976
6. Havana, Cuba 1979
7. New Delhi, India 1983
8. Harare, Zimbabwe 1986
9. Belgrade, Yugoslavia 1989
10. Jakarta, Indonesia 1992
11. Cartagena, Colombia 1995
12. Durban, South Africa 1998
13. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia 2003
14. Havana, Cuba 2006
15. Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt 2009
16. Teheran, Iran 2012

# NON-ALIGNED WORLD 2013





# Bandung 1955 or Brijuni 1956?





## Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser, Sukarno, Tito 1960

Yugoslav Mission in NYC, September 29, 1960; meeting of the Big Five of the Non-aligned



## Monument dedicated to the Founding Fathers of the Non-aligned

Monument in Georgetown (Nasser, Nkrumah, Nehru and Tito; Sukarno is missing, Indonesia did not want to fund its part ...)

(Guyana)





„GALEB”, 1961; 72 days long trip around Africa (Ghana, Togo, Liberia, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt)

Tito embarks on a new stage: political activity based on the principles of coexistence and general progress of the humanity against the national and class egoism. Bourgeoisie and the Stalinists are united in their attitude towards Tito's politics. They ignore and belittle it as megalomania. Tito believes that the problems of the modern world can not be solved by use of force and money, but with new ideas and new international relations that demonstrate the interest of the whole world and not only of the great powers. (Dobrica Ćosić).



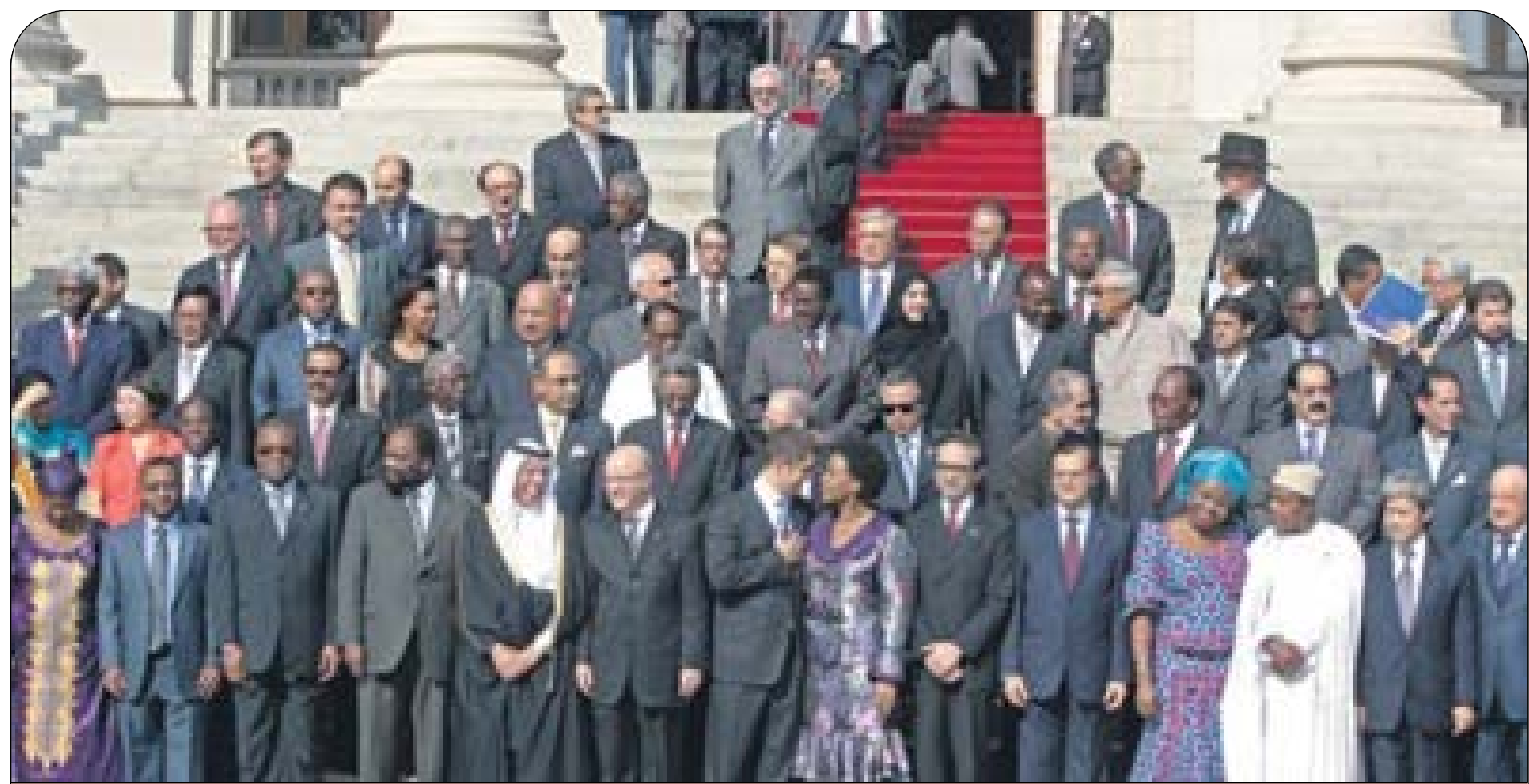
## Belgrade 1961

First Summit of the Non-aligned Countries, September 1961; new building of the Federal Executive Council (SIV; Savezno izvršno vijeće).





Belgrade 1961; two best friends, Tito and Nasser and Jovanka Broz



Belgrade 2011 (105 delegations)



## Afghanistan, important member of NAM

Prince Daud killed in April 1978 – Saur revolution; visit to Kupari, Dubrovnik, in February 1978

May 15-20, 1978, meeting of the Foreign Ministers, Cuba

# DETENTE, CUBA AND NON-ALIGNED

- Krešimir Fijačko napao je kritiku egipatskog lista „Roz El Jusef” na račun „oportunizma jugoslavenske nesvrstane politike”. Jugoslavija doručkuje, ruča i večera za stolom nesvrstanosti, koja je za nju budućnost, život, ekonomski razvitak i sigurnost. Stoga je nesvrstanost u središtu jugoslavenske unutrašnje i vanjske politike. No bez obzira na sve to, YU možda namjerno ugrožava nesvrstanost kolebanjem u odnosu na pitanja koja zadiru u srž načela nesvrstanosti.”
- Jugoslavija je bila protiv Camp Davida, pa su Egipćani pristajanje Beograda uz Palestince objasnili „jugoslavenskom ekonomskom ovisnosti o Iraku i Siriji”. YU politika je licemjerna, spremna žrtvovati prijateljstva zbog ekonomskih interesa. (Krešimir Fijačko u “Vjesniku”; July 28,1979)















# Afghanistan 79'



# Zimbabwe 86'





# Ninth Conference, Belgrade

## September 4-7, 1989

Aware that the present stage of mankind's development is distinctive for its technological, economic and political changes, making overall progress possible, but at the same time also for its many obstacles, old and new to the building of a more peaceful, secure, just, equitable, democratic and humane world.



## Belgrade 1989

9th summit of NAM, Belgrade, Yugoslavia

Janez Drnovšek, Borislav Jović, Stipe Mesić... Dobrica Ćosić?

# Budimir Lončar, Belgrade 1989

- Suffice it then to recall what the world was like... 28 years ago: sharp divisions, Cold War, arms threats, and threats to independence. But let us also recall how firm in spite of all, was our belief in the capability of that same world for shaping its life in a different way. There were only 25 countries then, at the First Conference. Their strength was not to be measured by the megatons of destructive power or extent of influence and actual command.
- Their strength was in a new and comprehensive philosophy; in the faith they put in the power of reason, equitable dialogue and peaceful coexistence; in their confidence that a life in peace, security and progress for all men, for all countries and nations of the world was an attainable goal.
- Today, there are 102 member countries of the Movement. The vision of its founders was not an illusive idea only. Would any utopian scheme attract two thirds of mankind?

## Budimir Lončar, speech in Belgrade 1989

- True, the attitudes are still not being changed in full; still not or not sufficiently so in the social and economic spheres. An equilibrium is under construction, but not an ample balance. However, the groundwork has been laid. Now, persistence and patience, wisdom and hard work may forward the evolution in attitudes. What the world needs is an all sided equilibrium.
- We must catch up; even go ahead of the time, anticipate the changes, chances and challenges, dangers and risks it might bring...

# Non-alignment? Is it relevant at all?

- Emerging markets in the „Third World”, BRIC
- Ideas still strong
- Possibility to influence non-democratic states?
- Croatia in the UN Security Council, 2008
- Non-recognition of Kosova?

**(Kroz aktivnost Pokreta na svjetskoj sceni možemo valorizirati i nastojati realizirati vlastite nacionalne prioritete, kako neposredne, tako i dugoročne.**

*SSVP, Osnovni pravci djelovanja PNZ i aktivnosti Jugoslavije kao predsjedavajućeg; December 6, 1989)*

Pragmatic reasons?