



# Genealogy of Thought of the Founder of the Non-Aligned Movement in a Neorealist Perspective

Bedi Budiman

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Pasundan, Indonesia

**Abstract:** For newly independent countries emerging from colonial rule, the post-World War II situation (1945), which then continued with the Cold War (1947-1991), posed new threats to their sovereignty. Facing this dilemma, these countries sought to sustain themselves by organizing within the Non-Aligned Movement as a means to enhance their individual national capacities. The Non-Aligned Movement evolved into a third pole in the international system, successfully influencing the distribution of power on the global political stage. There are at least three major issues consistently advocated by the Non-Aligned Movement: decolonization, détente, and disarmament. This study examines how the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement conceptualized and acted in response to the anarchic world structure, the ideological contradictions between capitalism and communism, while still advocating for their respective national interests.

**Keywords:** Cold War; Foreign Politic; Nationalism; Neorealism; Non-Aligned Movement.

## 1. Introduction

The historical records of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) highlight the significant contributions of five key founders: Sukarno, Nehru, Tito, Nasser, and Nkrumah. These leaders shared a common profile as national and government leaders with strong grassroots support (AKUT, n.d.), (Tandra, 2021). Their backgrounds and visions played crucial roles in shaping the core principles and trajectory of NAM. Sukarno, Indonesia's first president (1945-1967), initiated his fight through nationalism and unity in the 1920s via various media channels (Nugroho, 2022), (Affianty, n.d.). He founded the Indonesian National Party (PNI) in 1927 in Bandung, garnering substantial popular support. His activism and participation in public meetings promoting independence led to multiple imprisonments and exiles by the Dutch colonial government. However, these actions only solidified his resolve and the people's support. During the Japanese occupation, Sukarno collaborated with the Japanese, which culminated in Indonesia's independence proclamation alongside Hatta after Japan's defeat in World War II (Fogg, 2020), (Marpaung, 2019).

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, brought a legal background to his political activities, particularly through the non-cooperation movement. His opposition to British colonial rule resulted in him spending eight out of a total of nine years in prison. As the Secretary General of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1923, his participation in the Anti-Imperialism League congress in Brussels in 1927 broadened his understanding of global imperialism and bolstered his fight for Indian independence (Mujibuddin, 2022).

Josip Broz Tito, as Yugoslavia's President, was instrumental in leading Yugoslav Partisan guerrillas against Nazi forces during World War II. After the war, he navigated

### Correspondence:

Name: Bedi Budiman

Email: [bedi.budiman@unpas.ac.id](mailto:bedi.budiman@unpas.ac.id)

Received: Jul 10, 2024;

Revised: Jul 26 2024;

Accepted: Aug 15, 2024;

Published : Aug 30, 2024;



**Copyright:** © 2024 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons

Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>).

Yugoslavia's emergence as a new state, distancing it from Soviet influence. In 1948, he notably clashed with Joseph Stalin, rejecting Soviet hegemony and was the first to leave Cominform, charting a unique socialist path incorporating market socialism elements (Murtiningtyas, n.d.). Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's second president (1958-1970), actively opposed colonialism from his time in the Military Academy. His tenure was marked by his advocacy for Arab Nationalism and Pan-Arabism (Syahnan, 2019). The nationalization of the Suez Canal under his leadership brought Egypt into conflict with France, England, and Israel, but eventually led to an international resolution that favored Egypt, asserting Egyptian sovereignty over the canal (Astuti, n.d.), (Ivan Yulivan & MM, n.d.).

Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's inaugural president (1957-1966), had a rich history of activism, particularly in Pan-Africanism and advocating for African decolonization. He founded the Convention People's Party (CPP) and led a national strike in 1950, resulting in his imprisonment by British colonial authorities. However, the CPP's victory in the 1951 legislative elections led to his release and eventually to the Gold Coast's full independence in 1957, with Nkrumah becoming the first president of the newly named Ghana. These five leaders' commonalities lie in their anti-colonial struggles, unified visions for national independence, and successful implementation of nationalism (Arif, 2018) (Mahamid, 2021). After achieving national consolidation, they turned their focus to regional and global efforts, aiming to prevent a resurgence of colonialism and imperialism in the international system (Rahman, n.d.), (Firdausi, 2017).

## 2. Materials and Methods

This research employs a neorealism approach, noting that the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) perceived their national interests as threatened by the bipolar geopolitical order dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union. Viewing the international system as inherently anarchic, characterized by the absence of a global government as described by Waltz (1979), these leaders aimed to enhance their security capabilities by establishing a third "polar" entity (Djatkiko, 2023), (Mas'ood, 2021). In an anarchic system without a central authority, nations face a security dilemma, seeking to reduce dependencies and maintain security, as articulated by Jervis (1978). This dilemma, rooted in the offensive realism logic, emerges when a state's efforts to increase its security inadvertently decrease the security of others, reflecting the Cold War's military and ideological tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union (Nainggolan, 2021), (Natsir, 2012).

Neorealism's core concepts—*anarchy, structure, capabilities, power distribution, polarity, and national interests*—shape state behavior in the international system. Waltz's neorealism raises questions about the extent of power states should seek, with Mearsheimer's offensive realism advocating for maximum power and defensive realism suggesting a balance of power for security stability (Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Baehaqie, & Rizal, 2021), (Jonni, 2023). From this neorealist perspective, NAM's founders—Sukarno (Indonesia), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Joseph Broz Tito (Yugoslavia), Gamal Abdul Nasser (Egypt), and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana)—strategized to create a third axis to influence the Cold War's bipolar system

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1 Soekarno's Thoughts; Nationalism and the New World Order

Sukarno's foreign policy thinking is encapsulated in three key documents: *Pledoi Indonesia Menggugat* (1930), his speech at the 1955 Asian-African Conference titled "Let A New Asia and New Africa be Born", and his address at the 1960 UN General Assembly, "To Build The World Anew". These works collectively outline his perspective on colonialism and his vision for a new world order. In *Pledoi Indonesia Menggugat*, Sukarno draws on Dutch historian Jan Steffen Bartstra's writings to define imperialism as the relentless expansion of colonial holdings for industrial and financial gain. He describes the evolution of colonialism in Indonesia as starting with economic competition, progressing to political control, and culminating in the erosion of the cultural identity of the colonized.

Sukarno's strategy for Indonesian independence centered on unity and national consciousness, which he cultivated through three methods: (1) highlighting a glorious past, (2) acknowledging a troubled present, and (3) envisioning a bright future. He founded the Indonesian National Party (PNI) in 1927 to organize this nationalist movement. At the 1955 Asian-African Conference, Sukarno warned of modern colonialism's subtler forms, such as economic and intellectual control, which persist even as classical colonialism wanes. He emphasized that colonialism adapts and remains a formidable adversary.

In his 1960 UN General Assembly speech, Sukarno articulated the Asian-African nations' collective stance against colonialism and imperialism. He stressed that the debate had shifted from whether colonies should be free to when they would achieve independence. He also advocated for Pancasila, Indonesia's state philosophy, as a middle path between the conflicting ideologies of the Cold War. Sukarno proposed integrating Pancasila's principles into the UN Charter to address global ideological tensions. Sukarno highlighted the stark differences between the post-World War II peace experienced by Western nations and the ongoing conflicts in Asia and Africa. He called for disarmament negotiations, inclusive of non-aligned countries, and suggested relocating the UN Secretariat from the United States to a neutral location like Asia, Africa, or Geneva. Additionally, he proposed a shift from majority-minority decision-making to a consensus-based approach, citing the 1955 Asian-African Conference as a successful example of this method.

#### 3.2 Jawaharlal Nehru's Thought; Nationalism and the "One World" Concept

For Jawaharlal Nehru, India was a victim of imperialism, born from a mix of industrialization and a limited understanding of nationalism. Influenced by his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru promoted a humanist ideology of nationalism, emphasizing collectivism that neither degrades nor enslaves. Nehru recognized the distinctive features and benefits of nationalism, appreciating its role in the evolution of modern civilization and its vital contribution to India's independence struggle. However, he also understood its limitations and rejected fanatical or religious nationalism, arguing that "civilization

suffered from narrow nationalism" and expressing hope for a free India to welcome global cooperation (Nehru, 1950). Nehru viewed aggressive nationalism as destructive and fostering fear, advocating instead for an Indian nationalism grounded in universal virtues like peace, liberalism, and rationalism.

Nehru's idea of "One World" was informed by his understanding of history and India's philosophical and spiritual traditions. He believed the Indian ideals of universal brotherhood and cultural unity could serve as a model for a new world order of free nations living in harmony. Recognizing the impact of rapid technological change and the nuclear age, Nehru called for a collaborative approach to global challenges, seeing India's quest for peace and development as part of a broader global mission. In his 1942 speech at the Indian Congress, Nehru outlined the vision of One World, drawing inspiration from Gandhi's commitment to non-violence and moral alignment of means and ends. Although acknowledging the difficulties of achieving this vision, he argued that articulating it was crucial to break the cycle of hatred and destruction.

Nehru saw the United Nations as a stepping stone toward a world federation, supporting its structure despite concerns over the Security Council's veto power. He believed the UN could serve as a platform for independent countries to discuss global issues and uphold human rights. Nehru emphasized the importance of building consensus and promoting peace and cooperation to overcome the ideological and military divisions of the Cold War era. At the 1947 Asian Relations Conference, Nehru highlighted the need for Asian countries to work together for greater ideals, supporting the UN's efforts while advocating for regional solidarity. He positioned the Non-Aligned Movement as a key aspect of India's foreign policy, aiming to reconcile differences and promote peaceful coexistence among nations. Nehru's influence peaked in 1957 when the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on peaceful coexistence, underscoring the need for all states to strengthen international peace and cooperation.

### ***3.3 Josep Broz Tito's Thoughts; Greater Yugoslavia***

Despite Yugoslavia being a communist country, Tito chose neutrality during the Cold War, fostering good relations with developing countries. His strong belief in self-determination led to a rift with Stalin in 1948. Tito's policy emphasized neutrality and cooperation, provided no external pressure was placed on Yugoslavia to take sides. In 1954, Tito attempted to create a "Balkan bloc" by signing a treaty of alliance with Turkey and Greece, both NATO members. Yugoslavia was seen by the Soviet Union as a threat due to its neutral communist stance. Tito supported anti-colonialist movements in the Third World, including the Algerian National Liberation Front and liberation movements in Portuguese colonies in Africa. He condemned Patrice Lumumba's murder as "the greatest crime in contemporary history." Yugoslavia also hosted activists from SWAPO (Namibia) and the Pan African Congress of Azania (South Africa) in its military schools.

Tito valued the 1955 Bandung Conference, stating the event aligned with Yugoslav ideals. Five years later, Tito, along with leaders like Nehru, Sukarno, Nasser, and

Nkrumah, founded the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) at the UN General Assembly. Yugoslavia hosted NAM's inaugural summit in Belgrade in September 1961, with 25 national delegations primarily from Africa and Asia, marking a significant step in global security governance and the assertion of the "Global South" identity. Tito emphasized Yugoslavia's commitment to assisting distant Asian and African countries through educational scholarships, medical, and technical personnel, strengthening diplomatic relations within NAM. He rejected the idea that humanity had to choose between dominating blocs, advocating for a democratic struggle towards a world where nations are free, equal, and engage in peaceful cooperation based on equality, free from external interference.

### *3.4 Nasser's Thought; Nationalism and Pan Arabism"*

Egypt under Nasser's leadership became the only country that had regional influence in the Middle East, Nasser succeeded in uniting the forces of the Arab nations, his ideas were known as the "Philosophy of Nasserism" which was the embodiment of the Pan-Arabism movement. Egypt was under British protectorate from 1883 until achieving freedom in 1952 when Nasser led the "Free Officers Corps" troops to take over the government, this bloodless coup against King Farouk also marked the end of the British protectorate period.

After coming to power, Nasser's leadership felt the urgent need to unite the Middle Eastern countries and to achieve this, he introduced the ideology of pan-Arabism in the 1950s. Pan-Arabism is very important for countries in the Middle East region; It emerged only under the leadership of Nasser in Egypt. During the 1950s and 1960s, Pan-Arabism ideology flourished throughout the Arab world and Nasser himself was the torchbearer of this ideology. The terminology of "Pan" is very broad and broad in its meaning and can be used to define a wide variety of desperate phenomena. Pan-Arabism is also cited with reference to Arabism or Arab Nationalism; Many terms are used to define and name Nasser's ideology but no prominent scholar has able to call it correctly.

Pan-Arabism is the idea that Arab people are linked by special ties of religion, history and language and their political organization should reflect this reality in some way. (Rashid Kalidi: 1991). It can be said that Pan-Arabism is, to some extent, an ideological form of nationalism that is somehow familiar to European Nationalism.

Nasser constantly revived the idea of Pan-Arabism, he instilled in the minds of the Arab people that unity and cooperation were necessary for defense against the West and also for the well-being of the Arab people. Nasser delivered a speech in July 1957 in which he said that Arab nationalism was a weapon for Middle Eastern countries; Arab nationalism is a weapon against foreign intervention. He further said that it was important for the invader to have the knowledge that, if he attacked any Arab country, he would be threatening his own motives.

This is how Egypt and Nasser were able to form and utilize the wave of Pan-Arabism by spreading the ideology in the Middle East region and influencing other

countries. Iraq, Turkey and other Western countries signed a defense pact in 1955 which was referred to as the "Baghdad Pact. This pact also paved the way for Nasser and Egypt to enter and control local politics in the Middle East region. Even before the Baghdad Pact was signed, Nasser was aware discussions behind them and considering them as a risk to Egypt and the environment Nasser motivated the members of the Arab League to strengthen the Arab Collective Security Pact to counter Western hegemony, Nasser succeeded in uniting the Arabs.

On February 21, 1958, Syria's Gamal Abdal Nasser and Shukri al Quwatli declared that Egypt and Syria would become one country, one army and one party. On the same day, a majority of Egyptian and Syrian voters recognized the unification clause that created the United Arab Republic. On February 22, 1958, the United Arab Republic finally emerged under Nasser's leadership. As a consequence, Syria had to dissolve all political parties and the Egyptian and Syrian parliaments adopted a new system. On 8 March 1958, Nasser and Yemeni Prince Muhammad al Badr signed a pact on Syria; Where Yemen and the United Arab Republic are connected as a federated state. Yemen's union with the United Arab Republic in 1958 was federal and not a union on the Syrian model.

Egypt, under Nasser, played a pioneering role in the creation of the NAM and even today continues to be an important member of the NAM. Egypt has played a key role not only in establishing the NAM at its first summit in the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade in 1961, but its role began even before the birth of the movement as well, when Egypt played a major role in developing its founding ideas, and then turning these ideas into the entity that it is. significant in the field since its inception at the 1955 Bandung Conference.

In this, Nasser's vision of Afro-Asian solidarity played an important role. Nasser and his Arab supporters had articulated neutralism as a positive doctrine that gave the Arabs a major voice among the non-aligned states in Asia and in Africa. Revolutionary Arab governments, along with other non-aligned or neutralist governments in Asia and Africa have become influential political factors in international affairs by virtue of their non-aligned policies.

KAA and NAM are Nasser's deep beliefs that cooperation between Asian - African countries can play a dominant role in reducing current international tensions and promoting world peace and prosperity. This conference bears a special responsibility, namely to restore to the peoples of the world by practical measures the reality of international justice and the capacity for international cooperation throughout the world, there is a growing sense of insecurity, the fear of war has been exacerbated by mass destructive developments. a weapon capable of effective annihilation. Nasser's vision of Non-Alignment was a collective gathering of the developing South where they could secure complete freedom either in reviewing problems, in analyzing details or in finding logical solutions to them. In other words, Nasser advocated at least the intervention of the power bloc in the foreign policy making of the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa.

### 3.5 Nkrumah's Thought; Nationalism and Pan Africanism

Nkrumah was vocal in calling for the liberation of the continent through an egalitarian mass movement. He designed the ideology of Nkrumaism which relied on the principles of black nationalism, pan-Africanism, Marxism, non-violence, and a neutral foreign policy. Nkrumaism calls for the liberation of the continent through mass-based nationalist movements without reference to ethnicity, tribe and religion, calling for newly independent nations to unite under one flag, as well as the development of the continent through a planned economy with a socialistic pattern. In his speech at the African Conference held in Morocco in 1961, Nkrumah stated the following;

*If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we will soon be fighting and war ring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each other's throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa. (Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, 1967:9)*

Nkrumah's statement illustrates the importance of African unity, if this is not done immediately, African nations will be at war with each other, orchestrated by the imperialists and colonialists to achieve their evil goals. Nkrumah's concept of African unity was to encompass the basic needs and characteristics of African civilization and ideology, and at the same time fulfill all the conditions necessary for accelerated economic and technological progress. Such maximum development will ensure the rational utilization of the material resources and human potential of the African continent along integrated economic lines, and in complementary production sectors, eliminating all forms of competition, economic alienation and unnecessary duplication.

During 1961 African countries divided into two large Pan-African groups with different goals. Ghana, Guinea, Egypt, Libya, Mali, Morocco and the Algerian FLN, met in the Moroccan capital from 3 to 7 January 1961. These countries formed the Casablanca Group, which supported the strong political unity promoted by Nkrumah, namely the United States of Africa. . This group wants Africa to form a federation of all African countries. While Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and the remaining former French colonies formed the Monrovia Group, a loose confederation of independent sovereign African states that would promote voluntary participation and cooperation in cultural exchange and economic interaction. Some key concepts are respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country. Some members of this group are suspicious of the personal ambitions of some countries in the Casablanca Group, and of interference in the internal affairs of their nations. (*Stephen Dzirasa, 1962:64*)

Through the efforts of Nkrumah, Sekou Touré (Guinea) and Modibo Keita (Mali), and with the support of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, the Summit Conference of independent African States took place in Addis Abeba in 1963. The aim of this conference was to resolve factionalism, unite leaders and form a common pan-African structure. On May 25, 1963, thirty heads of independent African states and governments signed the Charter of African States and Governments. The African Union founded the

Organization of African Unity (OAU), presenting the African Union. Thirty independent African heads of state and government signed the African Charter of States and Governments. The African Union founded the Organization of African Unity (OAU), presenting the African Union.

Nkrumah proposed a declaration of principles that would unite and bind the members of the OAU together. He suggested they form an all-African Committee of Foreign Ministers. This committee would establish a permanent body of officials and experts – two from every independent African country – to "work out the machinery for the government of the African Union". A capital for the union government must be established. Nkrumah proposed two places, Bangui in the Central African Republic or Leopoldville in the Congo. Two committees will be formed, one will frame a constitution for the union government; others would work out an integrated or general economic and industrial plan for Africa. (Nkrumah 1963).

When Kwame Nkrumah delivered his speech entitled "A Union Government for United Africa" in Addis Abeba on May 24 1963, not all heads of state present were willing to share their ideas. More radical countries such as Guinea, Mali and Ethiopia (which was a member of the Casablanca group) supported his vision of creating a United African State. However, many other leaders were not enthusiastic about his ideas and/or were not ready to support them, such as leaders from Ivory Coast, Liberia, Togo, Benin, Sierra Leone and Nigeria.

Nkrumah's thoughts on the NAM pursued a policy of positive neutralism and nonalignment with respect to Cold War politics. Non-alignment for him meant the absence of an alliance with either of the two blocs involved in the cold war. Positive neutralism is an extension of impartiality, involving "a further commitment to participate in cold war issues, to play a leading role in neutralist conferences, to offer advice to great powers, especially the West, to exert influence, diplomatic, psychological, and especially moral". Nkrumah referred to Ghana's foreign policy in terms of positive neutralism to show that the country was not a passive role player in world politics.

Nkrumah believed that it was impossible for a country in the 1960s to be indifferent to international affairs and refuse to take a position on issues involving the cold war. Because a war between greater powers will bring misery and destruction only to those who take part in the conflict, but also to other countries who distance themselves from it. *"Since war, if it comes, is likely to destroy most of us, whether we are participants or not, whether or not we are the cause of it, negative neutralism is no shield at all. It is completely impotent and even dangerous."* And again, *"For peace is invisible. Disagreement between East and West, for example, over Laos or Berlin, can threaten the security of the entire rest of the world."*

In his relations with other Western countries, Nkrumah strongly opposed France's nuclear tests in the Sahara in February 1960. This demonstrated his strong anti-nuclear position. On this, he stated, The central principles on which the peace and security of this continent depend is the firm insistence that Africa is not an extension of Europe or any other continent. The consequence of this principle was the resolution that Africa



would not become a Cold War cockpit, or a marshalling ground for attacks in the West or East, nor would it become an arena for fighting the East-West Conflict.

**3.6 Relations between the Thoughts of the Founders of the Non-Aligned Movement**

From the description of each of the thoughts and political steps of the NAM founders above, it can be seen that there is a relationship regarding the same style of thinking, regarding methods of resistance, and the same interests due to the same domestic conditions. The main thing in common was that the founders of the NAM hated imperialism and colonialism, and saw that the cause of colonialism coming to their respective countries was the encouragement of economic competition in Western Europe. Of course, the situation is a little different with Tito, who comes from the Balkan region of Europe.

Soekarno, Nehru, Tito, Nasser and Nkrumah started by formulating the ideology of nationalism to strengthen domestic consolidation, as well as creating contrasts to facilitate resistance to foreign colonialism. Next, there is a shared awareness that eradicating imperialism-colonialism cannot only be done by each country alone, a global resistance formula is also needed. This can be seen in how the behavior of each country attempts to unite forces regionally first, before arriving at the stage of establishing the NAM to influence the international system. The resistance in question continues to use the UN forum as its battlefield, because in principle the basic values stated in the UN Charter have accommodated the objectives of the founding of the NAM, therefore the NAM is active in promoting peace as stated in the UN Charter.

A reflection of the thoughts of these five figures can be seen in the actions of the five countries which took almost congruent steps, namely having ideational values both domestic and global, then realistically consolidating their movements on a wider, regional scale in an effort to increase the capabilities of their powers in voicing its importance in the UN forum. This is explained in the following picture;



Each country, including Indonesia, India, Egypt and Ghana, had the bitter experience of colonialism, as was the case with Yugoslavia during the Austrian empire and the existing conditions at that time where the Soviet Union wanted Yugoslavia to become its satellite country. Therefore, there is a common national interest, namely ensuring that something similar does not happen again, but each country realizes that it does not yet have the strength to fight for it individually.

The popularity of the leadership of Sukarno, Nehru, Nasser, Nkurumah and Tito made it easier for solidarity campaigns to build ties in the region so that unification at the regional level could be realized where newly independent countries had the same concerns about the return of colonialism and the impact of contestation resulting from the Cold War. The 1955 Asia-Africa Conference was a success in uniting forces, as was Pan Arabism and Pan-Africanism. The joining of Yugoslavia added strength because the presence of a nation from the European region brought influence of support not only in Europe but also from Latin America.

### **3.7 NAM Efforts in Decolonization, Détente and Dismarmament.**

The Non-Aligned Movement has become an important factor in world politics in playing the role of decolonization, easing tensions and reducing the concentration of weapons. Born from the struggle against colonial slavery/non-aligned countries had no choice but to stand together against the colonial system. They were interested in accelerating decolonization throughout the world and becoming a strong international force against existing colonialism in Africa; Asia and elsewhere. The Non-Aligned Movement has played an important role in accelerating the process of decolonization by politically and morally strengthening the freedom struggles of colonized countries and pressuring colonial powers through the UN and other international forums and world public opinion.

The historical process of completing decolonization by supporting the struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America for liberation from colonial oppression, has been the main policy direction pursued by the Non-Aligned Movement since its inception on the world stage. In its declarations and activities, the Non-Aligned Movement has continuously supported the struggle against colonialism in all its forms and in every part of the world. This movement greatly helped many former colonies to become independent. AW Singham and Shirley Hune (1986) state:

*“This movement provided a forum for colonial territories to present their cases internationally. Algeria, Vietnam, Angola and Zimbabwe gained their independence, for example, recognizing their national liberation movements, accepting members of their provisional governments, and welcoming their leaders as heads of state. Therefore, the Movement has provided legitimacy to new states as they entered world politics. This has set a precedent in international relations by treating liberation movements as official representatives of their people before independence.”*

These are some examples of how the incompatible principles of self-determination and racial equality have contributed to the process of decolonization. So it is not surprising to find newly independent countries joining the NAM as a first step in establishing diplomatic relations. The newly liberated countries of Asia/Africa and Latin America accepted their moral duty to provide full support to the countries that had fought for freedom and made the struggle anti-colonial policies.

The word 'Detente' entered the international political vocabulary to signify a foreign policy process primarily related to efforts to reduce tensions between the Soviet

Union and the United States. The definition is still very general, any policy involving economic cooperation or steps towards reducing arms levels will qualify as détente. According to Synder and Paul; Detente can be defined as the reduction of conflict between enemies through the resolution of some disputes and for the creation of cooperative agreements to realize mutual interests. Since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 there has been a marked shift in policy from confrontation to accommodation. understanding of Cuba; Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; were some of the positive steps demonstrated by detente between the Soviet Union and the United States in the early 1960s.

Since the emergence of the NAM, tensions resulting from the contestation of superpower countries have gradually subsided. The NAM's policy of campaigning for neutrality and avoiding any involvement with Cold War conflicts was very helpful in this process. The decision of the non-aligned countries to prevent all types of military pacts and deny their territories to be used as military bases made the continuation of the Cold War difficult and limited. On the other hand, NAM continues to strive to build bridges of understanding between the two great powers that have fortified themselves with a system of military alliance and threatens to divide the world into mutually exclusive blocs.

In reality, NAM not only refrained from being sucked into the bloc, but also took an independent position on Cold War conflict issues. The expansion of the NAM group increasingly makes the spirit of détente effective throughout the world as more and more countries reject the strategic doctrine that is the justification for increasing the nuclear arms race and weapons of mass destruction. The detente process, begun in the late 1960s and continuing throughout the 1970s between West and East, was the best achievement for the NAM.

The resource crisis facing developing countries can be substantially reduced by reducing global military spending, that is, disarmament can create conditions conducive to promoting equitable economic and technological cooperation and pursuing the goals of the New International Economic Order. It was also realized by the non-aligned countries that the continuing arms race had absorbed too large a proportion of the world's limited human, financial, natural and technological resources and was placing a heavy burden on the economies of all countries.

The expansion of the arms industry and the evolution of weapons culture not only threatens world peace and contributes to the possibility of national budgets purchasing weapons that the country does not need. While the arms race has wreaked havoc on the First and Second Worlds by contributing to rising inflation and a slowing of the ability to provide consumer goods in centrally planned economies its impact on developing countries has been disastrous (Yulu, 2019).

#### **4. Conclusions**

The commonality of the thoughts and actions of the NAM founders was to consolidate or unify the nation through the spirit of nationalism, although the styles varied, the goal

was the same, namely the struggle for independence from the confines of colonialism. Soekarno, for example, defined Indonesian nationalism not only as a unification between tribes, races, religions and the bond between humans and their homeland. On the other hand, Soekarno realized that nationalism had its dangers, namely when it turned into narrow nationalism (chauvinism), which felt that one nation had a higher level and thus looked down on other nations. So for Soekarno, Indonesian nationalism was an understanding of equality between nations towards the unity and brotherhood of the nations of the world which he called; "nationalism that lives in the essence of internationalism" (Speech on the Birth of Pancasila: 1945).

The ideological contradiction of liberal-capitalism versus socialism-communism was a fundamental issue that constructed the Cold War. Therefore, NAM also uses an ideological platform as a counter balance value where the "Bandung Dasasila Charter" which is the formulation of the results of the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference meeting is used as the ideational basis. This was also articulated by Soekarno when making a speech before the UN General Assembly (UNGA: 1960), where he promoted the values of Pancasila to be included in the United Nations Charter.

Another similarity is that the founders of the NAM were skeptical of the bipolar international political structure. The biggest concern was that the impact of the conflict between the two superpowers could target their sovereign territory, this would be a security dilemma for each country. So, to ensure the security of their geopolitical space, they continued regional consolidation efforts, namely Nasser with Pan-Arabism, Nkrumah with Pan Africanism, Tito with the Balkan Pact. This is because neorealism sees that international structure and the distribution of power are the main factors that influence state behavior (Waltz: 1979).

This fact then directed their movement to make NAM a balance of power or *Balance of Power* over the two conflicting poles. In a neorealist perspective, countries form coalitions to balance power and increase their influence on the international stage, Walt in his book *The Origins of Alliances: 1987* discusses how countries form alliances to balance power to avoid domination by great powers. This explains that states seek to maximize their relative power to ensure security in an anarchic international system.

Neorealism also emphasizes survival strategies in an anarchic international system. In this context, the NAM countries seek to minimize their dependence on great powers and maximize their autonomy. Robert Jervis in his article "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma" (1978) explains how countries try to minimize their dependence and maintain security in an anarchic system. The founders of the NAM did not lead to the formation of a military pact but instead encouraged free and active politics. However, the NAM has succeeded in encouraging decolonization, détente and disarmament efforts. They realize that every country is sovereign and does not need a "world government/authority" which has the potential to reduce each of their respective sovereignty. This is characterized by the nature of the NAM organization which is considered equal both as a founding country and as a newly joined country.

## References

- Affianty, D. (n.d.). POLITIK LUAR NEGERI INDONESIA Diktat Mata Kuliah.
- AKUT, I. D. A. N. I. V. P. (n.d.). Cara mengonsumsi sikloferon untuk pencegahan flu. Penggunaan sikloferon untuk pengobatan dan pencegahan influenza dan infeksi virus saluran pernafasan akut. Aturan hidup yang sangat sederhana: bagaimana agar tidak sakit.
- Arif, S. (2018). *Islam, Pancasila dan Deradikalisasi*. Elex Media Komputindo.
- Astuti, M. P. (n.d.). Respon Pemerintah Mesir Terhadap Agresi Israel Ke Jalur Gaza Tahun 2014. FISIP UIN Jakarta.
- Carlsnaes, W., Thomas Risse, B. A. S., Baehaqie, I., & Rizal, M. (2021). *Kerjasama Keamanan: Handbook Hubungan Internasional*. Nusamedia.
- Djarmiko, A. (2023). *SEKURITISASI dalam HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL: Implementasi Teori Sekuritisasi dalam Kasus Narkoba Global*. Penerbit Andi.
- Firdausi, F. A. (2017). *Njoto: Biografi Pemikiran 1951-1965*. Marjin Kiri.
- Fogg, K. W. (2020). *Spirit Islam Pada Masa Revolusi Indonesia*. Noura Books.
- Ivan Yulivan, S. E., & MM, M. (n.d.). *Buku Ajar Proxy War*. Jakad Media Publishing.
- Jonni, M. (2023). Buku dan Prosiding. Unhn Press.
- Mahamid, M. N. L. (2021). KAJIAN POSKOLONIALISME ROBERT JC YOUNG DAN RELEVANSINYA DALAM PENULISAN BUKU SNI JILID 4-6. *Historis: Jurnal Kajian, Penelitian Dan Pengembangan Pendidikan Sejarah*, 6(2), 63–76.
- Marpaung, S. F. (2019). Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Jati Diri Hidup Berbangsa.
- Mas'ood, M. (2021). *Isu dan aktor politik luar negeri*. UGM PRESS.
- Mujibuddin, M. (2022). *Radikalisme, terorisme, dan Islamisme*. IRCiSoD.
- Murtiningtyas, E. W. (n.d.). Kebijakan Amerika Serikat Mengupayakan Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik Israel Dengan Uni Emirat Arab (Uea), Bahrain, Sudan, Dan Maroko Melalui Abraham Accords Tahun 2020. Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu ....
- Nainggolan, P. P. (2021). *Konflik Internal dan Kompleksitas Proxy War di Timur Tengah*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Natsir, N. F. (2012). *The Next Civilization*. Media Maxima.
- Nugroho, R. (2022). *Foreign Policy*. Elex Media Komputindo.
- Rahman, M. A. (n.d.). Pergerakan Nasionalis Maroko Vis A Vis Kolonial Prancis".
- Syahnan, M. (2019). Hukum Islam dalam Bingkai Transdisipliner.
- Tandra, H. (2021). *VIRUS CORONA BARU COVID-19: Kenali, Cegah, Lindungi Diri Sendiri & Orang Lain*. Rapha Publishing.
- Yulu, C. (2019). *Reformasi Ekonomi Tiongkok & Kebangkitan Renminbi*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.