

**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
KHAZAR UNIVERSITY**

Graduate School of Science, Art and Technology

Department: Political Science and Philosophy

Specialty: International Relations and Diplomacy

Master Thesis

**Non-aligned movement in modern international relations and prospects for
Azerbaijan**

Master: Murad Aghayarov

Supervisor: Dr. Elmar Mustafayev

BAKU - 2022

ABSTRACT

The policies implemented by these newly independent states against the colonial states influenced the formation of the regional policies of the colonial states. The USA and Soviet Russia sought to expand and consolidate their sphere of influence. By establishing NATO and Warsaw Pact, they especially tried to control the Non-Aligned States and wanted to use the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement as a power in the region by not being indifferent to the Bandung Conference. The purpose of the work is to research the role of Non-Aligned Movement in modern international relations and to learn relevance of this movement.

Keywords: Non-Aligned Block, Bandung Conference, Azerbaijan in Non-Aligned Movement, Global South diplomacy, Third World.

Abbreviations

UN	United Nations
USA	United States America
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
Abbreviations	3
INTRODUCTION	5
I CHAPTER. NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT CONCEPT	7
1.1. Non-Aligned Movement: Meaning and Nature	7
1.2. History of the Nonaligned Movement	11
1.3. Mission of the Nonaligned Movement.....	19
II CHAPTER. LITERATURE REVIEW	24
2.1. Non-Aligned Movement and World Politics	24
2.2. NAM’s steadily growing membership	34
2.3. Relevance of NAM.....	37
III CHAPTER. AZERBAIJAN AND NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT	42
3.1. Azerbaijan and NAM: principles and objectives	42
3.2. Azerbaijan and institutional characteristics of NAM.....	46
3.3. NAM and Azerbaijan’s Global South diplomacy	54
CONCLUSION	63
REFERENCES	71

INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the study: The Cold War between the Western capitalist bloc and the Socialist Soviet Union forced other countries to join one or the other group. In such a situation, the newly independent states viewed joining any political bloc as dependent on an independent foreign policy and had to combine their efforts to defend their independence. A movement of non-alignment emerged, the main principles of which were: non-participation in military-political blocs, the protection of peace, freedom, national independence, as well as a decisive struggle against aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, various types of political and economic discrimination in international relations.

In this thesis, its history, nature, principles, areas of struggle and cooperation, its position in the political arena, its economic potential and its place and role in the modern world are examined. The position of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has supported the national liberation struggle and the fight against racism, extremism and discrimination since its establishment, should not be confused with political neutrality. These states, which did not participate in any military alliance, created 3rd World during the Cold War.

Although the organization is expected to lose its relevance and cease to exist after the end of the Cold War and the independence of almost all former colonies, the organization is still active. Considering the increasing number of members, their effective voice in UN resolutions, its savior role for the political independence and freedom of small states, fighting against rapid armament and nuclear threats and global climate change, it can be said that the Non-Aligned Movement maintains its importance.

Research Question. During the Cold War, the Non-Aligned Movement was a successful organization in protecting the territorial integrity of newly independent states, pursuing an independent policy, and being represented in international organizations. All these features are an integral part of the national security policy of

states. The Non-Aligned Movement has played at least as much of a role in national security as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The main research question of the thesis is: Can the Non-Aligned Movement remain relevant in modern times? The role of the Non-Aligned Movement in maintaining national security and restoring territorial integrity without joining military blocs such as the NATO bloc is also being studied on the example of Azerbaijan.

In practice, membership in the Non-Aligned Movement is better than membership in any military bloc. During the Cold War, non-aligned countries were able to maintain their independence and suffered less by avoiding military operations. Ukraine and Georgia, which wanted to join NATO after the Cold War, faced the aggression of Russia, which led to the deterioration of relations and war. As a result, these states whose territorial integrity was violated also suffered serious economic losses. Members of the Non-Aligned Movement cooperate with any state in economic, military and other fields. Non-alignment can be seen as a universal way of demonstrating the absence of military threat and military pressure.

The thesis consists of three chapters, each chapter consists of three parts. 1st Chapter discusses the nature, history and principles of the organization, 2nd Chapter discusses the organization's interest and growing membership in modern times, 3rd Chapter discusses Azerbaijan's membership in the organization, the role of Non-Aligned Movement members in finding a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh war. Finally, results and a reference list are provided.

I CHAPTER. NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT CONCEPT

1.1. Non-Aligned Movement: Meaning and Nature

The Bandung meeting held in Bandung, Indonesia between 18-24 April 1955 was a turning point in modern world history. The meeting, initiated by the Prime Ministers of five Asian-African states, brought together 29 state leaders from many states from both continents of Africa and Asia to discuss common concerns and develop common policies in international relations. The conference sparked worldwide interest. It caught the attention of the great powers and the developments were followed by the US government in cold blood; Soviet Russia sent representatives such as Red China to the conference in order to closely monitor the situation¹. Third World leaders shared common problems of resisting the pressures of the main great powers, maintaining their independence and opposing neo-colonialism. They also sought to benefit from each other's experiences in economic, social development and world affairs. Following the UN Convention, the conference emphasized issues related to economic and cultural cooperation, human rights and the right of nations to self-determination².

The conference condemned the racial discrimination that forms the basis of human relations in most of Asia and Africa and elsewhere in the world. It has been emphasized that racism is not only a violation of human rights but also a denial of the fundamental values of human dignity. It was stated that the rights of the Palestinian people should be defended against the Israeli occupation in the Middle East region and a peaceful solution should be found to the Palestinian problem³. On the occasion of this conference, many political leaders met each other for the first time and both

¹ Babou, Cheikh Anta. 2010. Decolonization or National liberation: debating the end of British Colonial Rule in Africa. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632: 41–54.

² Chhiba, Pratiksha. 2011. South Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement: still relevant or a relic? http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=756:south-africa-and-the-non-aligned-movementnam-still-relevant-or-a-relic&catid=57:africa-watch-discussion-papers&Itemid=263. Accessed 24 Apr 2015.

³ Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. 2009. Reshaping the World Order: how Washington should reform international institutions. *Foreign Affairs* 88(2): 49–63

states and individuals demonstrated their prestige at the conference and were seen as leaders in their regions with this structure.

The Asia-Africa Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 was the first important step towards the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement. Six years after the Bandung Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement was institutionalized at the Summit of 25 Asian and African Heads of State and Government in Belgrade, former Yugoslavia, on September 1-6, 1961.

Goals and principles of the movement:

1. Respect the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, as well as fundamental human rights and freedoms;
2. To respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States;
3. Recognize the equality of all races and peoples, regardless of their size;
4. Refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other states;
5. Respect the right of each State to defend itself, individually or collectively, under the Charter of the United Nations;
6. To refrain from using collective defense measures to serve any special interests of the great powers;
7. To refrain from any action against the territorial integrity and political independence of another State, as well as from the use or threat of use of force;
8. To settle all international disputes peacefully in accordance with the UN Charter;
9. To promote mutual interest and cooperation;
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.⁴

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was a product of the Cold War. Had it not been for the political division of Europe and East Asia between the two superpowers and their smaller allies in the 1950s, the Non-Aligned Movement would not have found its place in international relations. In the context of the increasingly globalized rivalry between Soviet-style communism and Western liberalism, states

⁴ NAM Summit Opens at Tehran”, The Nation, 30 August 2012, available at <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-dailyenglishonline/international/30-Aug-2012/nam-summit-opens-in-tehran>, accessed on 15 September 2012.

that saw themselves as unrelated to each other formed an empty alliance in 1961 to gain a common voice in international relations.

How did this group of countries come together? Their main concern was that they had no say in matters of global concern. In the context of the 1950s nuclear arms race and the global nuclear fire threat, they believed that they should contribute to the solution of the problem, even if they were not the cause or part of it.

Being a potential victim in a future global war was enough to have a say in the debates of that time. Belonging to many different countries was a motivation to create a kind of association. Not surprisingly, in the autumn of 1960, at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, the calls for a conference of neutrals or non-aligned turned into a chorus. Could there be a better platform than the only international organization that unites almost all countries of the world, including neutral and non-aligned countries?

Any discussion of the Non-Aligned Movement and its relationship to the Cold War requires, first and foremost, a clear definition of the terms and conditions and boundaries. When Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito called for the creation of a new international movement at the UN General Assembly in the autumn of 1960, he sought cooperation between "non-aligned" or "neutral" countries. The preparatory conference in Cairo set common goals.: first, "exchange of views on the international situation"; second, decolonization, apartheid, disarmament, nuclear tests, and so on. to take measures to strengthen international peace in the fields; third, the unequal problems of economic development around the world.

The Non-Aligned Movement does not have a permanent headquarters. The Bureau is the main body of the NGO, which operates on a permanent basis and regulates internal coordination. Through the Bureau, the NGO coordinates the unanimity of its members in the UN bodies. The Bureau is headed by the Permanent Representative of the Chairman-in-Office to the United Nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement currently has 120 members, 17 observer states and 10 international observer organizations.

The Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement is the highest meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government. Prior to the Summit, the Coordinating Bureau determines the composition of the Bureau that will chair the Conference. Along with the president, 20 vice presidents are elected on a regional basis (8 in Africa, 7 in Asia, 4 in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 1 in Eastern Europe). A few days before the summit, a meeting of senior officials and a meeting of foreign ministers is being held. Decisions and documents adopted at a meeting of senior officials are considered at a meeting of foreign ministers and, after approval, are submitted to the summit for adoption.

The Mid-term Ministerial Conference is held 18 months after the summit and reviews the implementation of the decisions taken at the summit and prepares for the next summit.

As part of the general debates of the UN General Assembly, ministerial meetings are held in New York in September.

Non-Aligned Movement membership procedure⁵:

A state wishing to become a member of the Security Council must express its commitment to the fundamental principles of the Movement and apply in writing to the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. Membership is decided by consensus.

Although the Bandung Conference, which was a beginning and consisting of member states with different structures, could not immediately form a new thought and philosophy that could stand against the Eastern and Western blocs, it is a fact that it started a new movement. This movement emerged as a Non-Alignment Movement in the international system, rather than just an Asian - African movement⁶. The Non-Aligned Movement is not a movement which does not response to global events, as well as its goal is not to investigate global processes objectively. This movement has its own set of principles, positions, and concepts. The Bandung Conference designed the concept of the Non-Aligned Movement. Because Bandung formally ensured the

⁵ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344783416_The_Non-Aligned_Movement_In_Pursuit_of_Validity_and_Relevance_in_the_Contemporary_Global_Order

⁶ Collins, Alan R. 1998. GRIT, Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War. *Review of International Studies* 24(2): 201–219

cooperation of independent Third World countries and enabled them to adopt a set of universal principles that they adopted as part of their foreign policy in order to play a positive and active role in international relations.

Participants of the Asia - Africa Conference took joint decisions on the states under the control of the colonial states and issued the following statement⁷:

1. The rapid elimination of all forms of colonialism.
2. To ensure the equal rights of nations living under the rule of foreign states.
3. Supporting the freedom and independence cases of the colonized nations.
4. Decisions were made regarding the necessity to apply to the courts to the relevant powers in order to ensure freedom and independence.

At the conference, the subject of atomic energy was emphasized and examined under a separate title. The Asia-Africa Conference, trying to announce to the world that any nuclear war that may arise from the tense atmosphere of the Cold War will result in a terrifying catastrophe for humanity, has called for the ban of atomic weapons and international disarmament to eliminate the possibility of such a war. It was stated at the conference that general disarmament was the only remedy to keep peace in the world. It was also stated that for this, it was stated that all the states concerned should quickly agree to ban the production of weapons of mass destruction⁸.

1.2. History of the Nonaligned Movement

Although the Bandung Conference could not form a full organization, it played an important role in the emergence of a third bloc against the East-West Block. The conference created an idea of solidarity between Asian and African states. The founders of the Non-Aligned Movement were aware that if they created formal structures such as a constitution and internal secretariat, they could be destroyed. A multicultural transnational organization consisting of states with different ideologies and objectives could never create a rational administrative structure to implement

⁷ Mahmood Hasan, "Non-Aligned Movement: Not a dead horse", The Daily Star, 06 September 2012.

⁸ Zakir Hussain, "Tehran NAM Summit and Future Arab Politics", Issue Brief, Indian Council of World Affairs, 05 October 2012

policies acceptable to all. But as a social movement, it was intended to respond to specific issues and concerns⁹. The Movement thus created a unique administrative style. In the Nonaligned Movement, management is non-hierarchical, circular, and inclusive; It provided the opportunity for all member countries, regardless of their size, to participate in global decision-making and world politics.

After the Bandung Conference, relations between Josip Broz Tito, Cemal Abdulnasir and Nehru started to get more frequent, and the three leaders held a meeting on the island of Brioni in July 1956. After this meeting, Tito visited many Latin American states, especially Asia and Africa, and developed his relations with these states. Tito, who went to New York in 1960 for the 15th meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, met with the leaders of Egypt, India, Indonesia and Ghana in order to calm the cold weather between the USA and Soviet Russia. During these meetings, they evaluated the situation and decided to organize a new conference¹⁰. The issue of who will attend the conference, which will be held with the decision they have taken, was discussed, and accordingly, the states that would join the non-aligned movement and participate in the summit had to fulfill the following conditions¹¹:

1. To follow an independent policy in accordance with the policy of peaceful coexistence and non-connection with states with political and social differences
2. To support the independence struggle of the nations.
3. Not participating in bilateral military alliances resulting from rivalry between the Eastern and Western Bloc.
4. Not being a member of regional defense pacts formed by the Eastern or Western Bloc.

⁹ Kouros Ziabari, "The Tehran NAM Summit Undermines US-Israeli War Plans Directed against Iran", Global Research, 26 August 2012, available at <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-tehran-nam-summit-undermines-us-israeli-war-plans-directed-against-iran/>, accessed on 15 September 2012.

¹⁰ Ayesha Zuhair, "The non-aligned summit in Tehran", The Daily Mirror, 23 August 2012, available at <http://www.dailymirror.lk/opinion/172-opinion/21355-the-non-aligned-summit-in-tehran.html>, accessed on 19 October 2012

¹¹ Vladimir Radyuhin, "Russia, U.S. send contrasting reactions to NAM summit", The Hindu, 30 August 2012, available at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/article3840313.ece>, accessed on 19 September 2012.

5. Not to provide military bases to any of the major powers in the country of any non-aligned state.

Non-aligned countries occasionally met in their own regions to discuss shared concerns, form policies and plan joint action. For this purpose, the most important meetings of the Summit Conferences, in which the Non-Aligned People came together on issues such as the analysis of the current international situation and the publication of any statement, were formed. The Summit is a cycle in which the Movement is generally held every three years. After the Bandung Conference of the Non-Aligned, the second Conference of the States of Asia and Africa was held in Cairo on December 26, 1957 with the participation of 35 countries. After the second conference, the First Accra Conference, attended by eight African states on 15 April 1958, followed the Second Accra Conference on December 6-13, 1958. The Belgrade Conference was held on September 1-6, 1961, and the Zambia Conference on September 8, 1970, and later these meetings were held on various dates and places¹². Thus, the "Third Block" or "Non-Aligned States" began to play important roles as a new power in the world balance of power.

The movement also gave small nations the opportunity to strengthen them and to challenge the hegemony of the ruling powers. While some members wanted the movement to achieve greater integration, they quickly realized that developing a strong, hierarchically structured system would cause some countries to dominate the movement's weak members. An important achievement of the movement is that the system of rotational gathering enables small countries to have the status of great power in world politics. For this reason, the Non-Aligned Countries have deliberately attempted to develop structures that would guarantee the democratization of international relations not only in the global system, but most importantly within the Movement. The movement, including ministers and heads of state, soon developed immense expertise in international politics, and this expertise was necessary for the

¹² Arjun Subramaniam (ed.), *Non-Alignment 2.0*, The Times of India, March 27, 2012.

Non-Aligned countries to operate in a global system based on economic, military and political power¹³.

The international situation in the period when the 1961 Belgrade Conference, which was the first official meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement, was very important in terms of understanding the conditions that required the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement. These continued with the tense relations between the blocks after the U-2 Spy Plane Incident, and the negotiations between Khrushchev and Kennedy in Vienna were inconclusive. One of the chronic problems of the Cold War, the Berlin Problem worsened precisely in this period, and one day before the conference began, the United States withdrew from the 1958 agreement it signed with Soviet Russia and Britain and started nuclear tests again. In short, the Cold War has intensified and solidarity has increased within the poles; Foreign policy attitudes towards non-polar countries have sharpened¹⁴.

The Non-Aligned movement took an organizational form in Belgrade. Non-Alignment, an international organization, stated that it has no specification that expresses its purposes, principles and structure, strictly regulating the decisions and operations of its organs. Nehru, Nasser, Tito and other leaders of the Non-Aligned countries declared in a statement in Belgrade that "the peace and stability of the world is mostly based on mutual relations."¹⁵ The Belgrade Conference was an important event in the history of international relations. It announced the emergence of a new independent state political group that could influence the world balance of power when it comes to resolving major problems.

The establishment of peace in the world and the steady increase of progressive forces have reduced the danger of nuclear war. The great powers also had to correct their relations through negotiations and agreements. In order to ease the international tension and to end the cold war, non-aligned countries made important contributions

¹³ K.P.Mishra: "Conceptual Profile of Non-alignment" in K.P. Mishra and K.R. Narayanan(ed.): Non-alignment in Contemporary International relations, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983,p.201

¹⁴ Abraham, Itty; From Bandung to NAM: Non-alignment and Indian Foreign Policy, 1947–65, Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, University of Texas at Austin, USA, Vol. 46, No. 2, 195–219, April 2008.

¹⁵ Anthony, A. Amakiri; National Liberation Movements And The Non-Aligned: A Study in Anti-Colonialism With Particular Reference To Zimbabwe, A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment Of The Requirements For The Degree Of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Leicester, England, 1984

to the Belgrade Conference, to further expand the coexistence for peace with the realization of such a process¹⁶.

Yugoslavia, Egypt and Ceylon held a preparatory meeting in February 1964 to plan a second Non-Aligned summit meeting. The meeting took place between 23 and 28 March at the Embassy level in Colombo, in the region where the UN Conference on Trade and Development, Group 77 in Geneva was established. In his opening speech, Prime Minister of Ceylon Bandaranaike stated that a second conference was needed to refresh and strengthen the Movement's aims, to respond to changes in the international situation, and especially to improve relations between the US and Soviet Russia¹⁷. The meeting drew attention to the emergence of new nationalist forces, especially in international relations, in search of world peace and security.

The main topic of the meeting was to expand membership at the next summit. The representatives were seen as potential members, alongside many new independent African states, as well as countries that have adopted the general goals of the Non-Alignment since 1961. He shared the preparatory meeting's work among the subcommittees, including the draft agenda, joint communiqué draft, and even the secretariat costs among the invitees and representatives. Most important for the history of the movement is a sub-committee set up to advise on the representation of nationalist movements in non-self-governing territories and in new provisional governments¹⁸.

The second Non-Aligned conference was held in Cairo on October 5-10, 1964. 47 countries and 10 observer countries participated here. Observer countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad, Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela were represented by observers. The Secretary General of the Organization of the African Union and the Secretary of the League of Arab States also attended as observers¹⁹.

¹⁶ Barlas, Cemil Sait; "Bandung Conference" *Son Havadis Newspaper*, 21 April 1955

¹⁷ Batoviç, Ante; "Nonaligned Yugoslavia and the Relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation", *The Non-Aligned Movement in the Mediterranean Project* The European Institute, Columbia University, 2009.

¹⁸ CherrY Lydia, MAITRA Ramtanu; *Non-Aligned nations propose U.N., Third World Debt Reforms At Summit*, *EIR (Executive Intelligence Review)* Journal, Volume 19, Number 37, September 18, Washington, 1992.

¹⁹ Cramer, Hartmut; *The Colombo resolution of the Non-Aligned*, *EIR (Executive Intelligence Review)* Journal, Volume 25, Number 32, August 14, Washington, 1998.

Since the Non-Aligned conference in Belgrade, there has been a significant increase in the membership of Non-Aligned from the African continent. The initiative for the Second Summit of Non-Alignment was made by Yugoslavia, Egypt and Ceylon. Many important events have taken place around the world since the meeting of the Non-Aligned in Belgrade. The world has gone through the Cuban missile crisis. Despite coming to the brink of conflict over Cuba, the superpowers corrected the differences and the process of allegation. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 was signed. Non-Aligned Countries, hoping for economic progress and peace, faced an increasingly dangerous international situation.²⁰

The Third Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned States was held in Lusaka, Zambia from 8 to 10 September 1970. Fifty-five states attended the conference and about half were represented by heads of state or government: Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Palestine, Gibraltar, Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo People's Republic, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Yemen, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Tanzania, Togo, Trinidad Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia. Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, the Organization of Solidarity of the African-Asian Peoples, the Organization of the African Unity, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam participated in the conference in observer status²¹.

The Non-Aligned Movement lost one of its most important defenders, Egyptian President Gamal Abduniasir, after his death during the Third Summit. This gave Tito, the only surviving founding leader, the responsibility of maintaining contacts between the member states. When the colonial problem was largely resolved at the end of 1960, the Non-Aligned began to draw attention to economic issues. The

²⁰ Joseph A.; Security Efforts in the Arab World: A Brief Examination of Four Regional Organizations, Published By RAND's National Defense Research Institute, USA, 1994.

²¹ Mason, Richard; The United States, the Cold War and Indonesia-People's Republic of China Relations 1950–1955, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), *Kemanusiaan The Asian Journal of Humanities*, Malaysia, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2016.

Non-Aligned stated for the first time at the Lusaka Conference that Southern Economic Cooperation was one of the top priorities. At the Summit, India played an active and positive role in highlighting the main political-economic problems faced by developing countries. Long-term goals were set at the conference and programs were developed to create a new world order. Julius Nyerere from Tanzania stated that "each of us inevitably runs the risk of being pulled into the orbit of one or the other of the Great Powers in trying to overcome our poverty, and we must do our actions in world trade through trade and aid issues," said the members at the Lusaka Conference, "Through economic cooperation. He asked them to think how to reinforce disconnection ²²".

Before the Algeria Summit, there were two important factors that dominated the international situation in the early 1970s. The first of these is the end of the alliance of Soviet Russia and China. Tensions between the two countries exploded after the border incident in 1969, and China in particular began to portray Soviet Russia as an imperialist power. This change in China's attitude towards Soviet Russia also reflected changes in domestic law, which helped pave the way for new relations with the United States. Second, the US started to adopt a compromise policy towards the communist world in its foreign policy. During the Nixon years, when Henry Kissinger was his chief advisor, the US pursued a relaxation policy, which was the first significant relief of the conflict strategy involving the expansion of communism since the Second World War²³. When the Algeria summit was held in 1973, the Non-Aligned Countries were increasingly faced with an international situation. This was the collapse of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank system in 1971. Great international currency instability, global inflation, the collapse of world trade, and a global economy that was generally under pressure have put the developing sector under enormous pressure²⁴. The Fourth Summit of the Non-Aligned Conference was held in such an environment.

²² Mates, Leo; *Nonalignment Theory and Current Policy*, Belgrade, 1972

²³ Mital, Aruna R; *Non-aligned movement and its relevance today*, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research*, Volume 2, Issue 7, July 2016.

²⁴ Nugroho, Bantan; *Indonesia's Foreign Policy And ASEAN*, Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For The Degree Of Master Of Arts, Dalhousie University, Canada, 1996

Fifteen years had passed since the First Summit Conference held in Belgrade in 1961, the number of members of the Movement increased to 47 at the Second Summit in Cairo, 53 in Lusaka, 75 in Algeria, and 86 at this Fifth Summit held in Colombo and the members represented not only the political situation but also various economic, social and political systems. Increasing commitment to the Non-Aligned Movement is undoubtedly a growing appreciation of its effectiveness. For the first time in the history of the Non-Aligned Countries Summit Conferences, Portugal and Romania, which are members of the military alliance such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact, attended the Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Colombo on August 16-19, 1976.

The Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement was held in the context of an international situation adopted by the intensification of the political and economic independence of the peoples of the world and the struggle for peace and development²⁵. The conference noted that in line with its principles, the Non-Aligned has had an increasing influence on the developing international situation since the first fifteen years, and that the Non-Aligned has played a constructive and gradually effective role in world affairs.

The Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement was held in Havana, Republic of Cuba, and Between 3 - 9 September 1979.

The seventh session of the Non-Aligned Movement Leaders' Summit was held in New Delhi, the capital of India, on March 7 - 11, 1983 with the participation of 100 member countries, 15 observer countries and 25 guest countries. In addition, the UN Secretary General also attended the conference. This situation has made a great contribution to the size and importance of the Non-Aligned Movement as well as to India. At the Seventh Conference of the Non-Aligned, the essence of the Non-Alignment policy was stated as the struggle against colonialism, racism and Zionism. It was stated that the denial of all forms of dependence, direct, indirect, explicit or covert, all forms of political, diplomatic, economic, military and cultural pressures in

²⁵ Rauch, Carsten; Farewell Non-Alignment? Constancy and change of foreign policy in post-colonial India, PRIF Reports No. 85, (Translation: Katharine Hughes), Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, 2008.

international relations were opposed to the policy of domination, intervention of sovereignty and hegemony, as well as the policy of great power, which tends to continue the division of the world into blocs. Conference members attached great importance to nuclear disarmament and peace movements and reiterated their firm adherence to the principles and objectives in Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algeria, Colombo and Havana²⁶.

1.3. Mission of the Nonaligned Movement

One of the basic principles of the Non-Aligned is peace and disarmament. The Non-Aligned People constantly discussed the issues of world peace and the coexistence of nations at the Summits they held. They met with great concern the tension in the world and the competition that started over nuclear weapons. They insistently stated that atomic and hydrogen weapons endanger peace and that it was necessary to follow the path drawn by the policy of peaceful coexistence²⁷.

Historically, the Movement has tried to reduce tensions between the great powers and, since its establishment, has faced the development of military blocs and attempts by the great powers to divide the world into their spheres of influence. With the onset of the nuclear age and the cold war after the Second World War, the Movement feared that the establishment of military pacts would split into opposing blocs that deny other nations, especially the new states' independence. This has been adopted as one of the criteria for the Movement not to participate in military pacts. Non-aligned countries have tried to establish some basic rules of behavior for nation-states in the international system. They argue that the existence of existing international relations dominated by a few great powers does not reflect the current reality that new small and medium-sized states have joined an increasing number of world communities with relatively little power in determining world politics. In other words, the emergence of two superpowers in order to annihilate the entire global

²⁶ Pretorius, Joelen; Non-Alignment In The Current World Order: The Impact Of The Rise Of China, International Relations Department of Political Studies University of the Western Cape, Republic of South Africa

²⁷ Singh, K. Natwar; The Seventh Non-Aligned Summit New Delhi March 1983, The Round Table The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 72, issue 287, England 1983.

community with the increasing number of nation states and their military capacity since the Second World War necessitated the democratization of international relations.

Apart from the USA and Soviet Russia, states such as Italy, Japan, Sweden, Brazil, Federal Germany, Israel, Libya, Iran, India, Pakistan and South Korea have tried to acquire nuclear weapons since the late 1960s. This situation would both increase the situation of using nuclear weapons as a weapon in wars and reduce the pressure of the two great powers on other countries by countries with nuclear power. At its summit meetings, the Non-Aligned has constantly monitored the international situation to identify areas of crisis that could turn into conflict between the great powers and thus result in a nuclear war and a global extinction. Non-aligned countries have theoretically studied disarmament and peace and distinguished between various types of conflict within the global community. These²⁸:

1. Nuclear conflict between the great powers;
2. Wars of self-determination and independence;
3. Civil wars stemming from political separatist movements;
4. Armed conflicts between member states of the Non-Alignment, which may lead to a conflict between the great powers

Among these types of conflict, the Movement has consistently argued that national liberation wars and wars of independence are justified and therefore should be sanctioned and supported. Moreover, the Non-Aligneds argued that war was often the only method by which national populations could resist the continued colonial rule. This emphasis on the right to use weapons to resist colonialism distinguishes the Movement from the widely accepted world policies of pacifism or neutrality. The movement has been neither pacifist nor neutral since its inception. Instead, it proposes certain normative and ethical criteria by which individuals and nations can demonstrate their support for some fair wars and their opposition to some unjust

²⁸ Sneider, Daniel; The Origins of The Non-Aligned Movement in The American Independence Tradition, EIR (Executive Intelligence Review) Journal, Volume 6, Number 33, August 21, Washington, 1979

wars²⁹. The movement defended the wars of independence and national liberation movements globally, especially the struggles in Algeria, Vietnam, the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and South Africa. At the same time, it has consistently supported the rights of the Palestinian people.

Non-aligned countries stated that the current tensions in the global system have resulted in the development of a world weapon culture, where the purchase, production and support of weapons as a panacea for local, national and international problems has gained momentum from their own countries. The expansion of the arms industry and the evolution of a weapons culture not only threatened world peace but contributed to the possibility of war, but also led large national budgets to purchase weapons that countries do not need³⁰.

The growing dependence of developing countries on the global armament economy and the hard-won arms revenues threatened Third World countries with permanent poverty. Therefore, Non-Aligned countries have begun to claim that if the disarmament issue is handled correctly, it should be evaluated in the context of a world development strategy. During this period, the Non-Aligned States opposed the production of nuclear weapons and insisted that nuclear weapons production be completely banned both at Summit conferences and at UN meetings³¹.

The second fundamental principle of non-alignment is the self-determination of all colonial peoples and the right to equality between all races. Colonialism and racial equality struggles have contributed to the emergence and growth of the Non-Aligned Movement. The existence of a global social movement such as the Non-Aligned Movement greatly helped the independence of most of the former colonies.

The Non-Aligneds have sought to apply the principle of self-determination to all nations. The movement legitimized efforts to liberate the African continent. In addition, most of the African continent, from Algeria in the north to Angola and

²⁹ Verdaasdonk, Willem; US created Multilateral Alliances: Why they succeed in Europe but Failed in South East Asia: Evaluating NATO and SEATO, Bachelor Thesis report International Studies, Netherlands, 2015

³⁰ Wallerstein, Immanuel; What Cold War in Asia? An Interpretative Essay, (Ed. Zheng Yangwen, Hong Liu, Michael Szonyi), Tuta Sub Aegide Pallas Publishing, Boston, 2010

³¹ SELMAOĞLU, Ayfer; USA's Great Middle East Policy and Global Reflections, Atılım University Institute of Social Sciences, Published Master Thesis, Ankara, 2007.

Mozambique in the south, gained independence through international support and armed struggle of the people³². The existence of the Non-Aligned Movement, which enables these small and medium-sized states to participate in global relations, has also contributed to the democratization of international relations.

Another of the main issues raised by non-aligned countries is economic equality. There was great disparity between the races and between the rich West and the poor South. In the 1960s, the Movement emphasized the achievement of political and racial equality, and in the 1970s, a nation should also have economic equality to ensure political and racial equality for the Non-Non-Aligned countries³³.

Non-aligned countries claimed that the current international economic order created colonialism and caused an incorrect distribution of global resources, especially wealth. Colonialism disrupted the traditional economies of Africa, Asia, and the USA. Capitalism has taken over these lands and turned their people and their culture into a large place of production. For the non-aligned countries, the expansion of capitalism has produced a series of market economies dependent on the center³⁴. The majority of the people were directed to produce food for their survival, to produce goods to satisfy the tastes of an external society. The process of creating such an international productive society and the simultaneous creation of commodity states has alienated three quarters of the world from itself. It has also produced a social class system that separates one indigenous people from another and creates a major psychological dilemma for the majority of these populations³⁵.

Colonialism also had a traumatic impact on the cultures of these societies. Traditional peoples have been destroyed in America. Traditional social structures in Africa and Asia were destroyed in some cases, and in others yielded to the new dominant culture of colonial power. In most of the non-aligned countries, capitalism was not a superior advanced social system that caused modernization and change. In

³² "Non-Aligned Movement has not outlives its usefulness, says Colombian Pres[id]ent." *Journal of the Group of 77*. July/August 1997. <http://www.g77.org/nc/journal/julaug97/5.htm>

³³ Rajan, M. S. "Non-Alignment: The Dichotomy between Theory and Practice in Perspective." *India Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (January 1980): 43-63.

³⁴ Rajan, M. S. *Institutionalization of Non-Alignment: Widening Gulf between the Belief and the Prospect*.

³⁵ Sauvart, Karl P. "The Early Days of the Group of 77." *United Nations Chronicle* 51, no. 1 (May 2014): 27-33.

other words, capitalism was not a movement of modernization and liberation as in Europe, where feudalism broke its shackles and created a new market economy³⁶.

One of the most important principles of the Non-Aligned Movement is to support the UN as a universal and multilateral institution. The movement supported the UN because it shared universal principles similar to the Non-Aligned. According to the non-aligned countries, the UN is the most important global institution in existence. It offered a real future for humanity and remained the most important international organization for resolving conflicts and addressing global issues³⁷. The structure of the UN also provided the opportunity for the Movement to meet regularly outside of its own meetings and to inform each other about issues compatible with the principles and nature of the Movement.

Non-aligned countries have used the UN system to express their responses to a range of global issues, particularly problems that arose between summits. Acting actively in the UN, the Non-Aligneds changed both the formation of the UN and its role in the world. When the UN was founded after the Second World War, it was a predominantly Euro-American White man club representing the interests of the war's winners. The transition of the newly independent small and medium-sized states (of which most of them were former colonies) to the UN achieved a large majority in the organs of the world organization and in voting. As a result, a radical change occurred in the UN method³⁸. The various issues on the agenda were no longer resolved by an agreement signed between the two blocs, as a third independent voting power had emerged and was constantly growing. In the activities of the UN, the Non-Aligned States have tried to serve not only the great powers, but the needs of every country in the world, especially the poor countries³⁹.

³⁶ Sauvart, Karl P. Organizational Infrastructure for Self-Reliance: The Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77." In: *The Principles of Non-Alignment*, edited by Hans Köchler, 186-218. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 1982

³⁷ Savio, Roberto. "The Values of the G-77 Are More Actual than Ever." *United Nations Chronicle* 51, no. 1 (May 2014): 36-38.

³⁸ Sen, Panchali. "Non-Aligned Movement and the New World Order." *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations* 9, no. 1 (2005): 133-150.

³⁹ Singham, A. W. and Shirley Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 33-56. Harare: The College Press, 1986

II CHAPTER. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Non-Aligned Movement and World Politics

At the present stage, there is a situation when the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), due to its size (118 countries), solely by inertia and continues to claim a significant role in world processes with points of view of protecting political interests in developing countries, but in practice I have long been on the sidelines of world politics and in the power of the archaic nature of the instruments used for the implementation of these principles. According to Spröte (2010), today the Movement is an actual and dead union from the point of view of influence on world processes. The reasons are obvious, and there are several of them⁴⁰.

First, the world has become global, and many interstate barriers between countries on a global scale have simply lost their relevance. During the 1990s in the world, several poles have simultaneously formed, uniting around themselves separate states and relatively small groups of comparable geography, population or economic power and countries. Then this multitude was replaced by monopoly leadership of the USA in world affairs. The rapid development of scientific and technological progress and the elimination of ideological barriers have led to the strengthening of interconnection and interdependence and peace. Secondly, the Movement was unable to change priorities and adapt to the new world requirements, according to Srivastava (1992)⁴¹. The Non-Aligned Movement is gradually more and more intersecting in its spheres of activity with the Group of 77, which was originally created to solve the problems of the socio-economic bloc, has experience, clear structures and a budget. and to lobby for economic priorities in developing countries. The problem was formally resolved through the creation of a Joint Coordination Bureau of the Movement and the Group of 77, which, although it meets as needed, does not really define any strategic tasks, concentrating its attention mainly on current operational

⁴⁰ Spröte, Wolfgang. "Non-Aligned Movement and the UN." In: A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, edited by Helmut Volger, 503-505. Leiden: Martinus Nijhof, 2010.

⁴¹ Srivastava, Govind Narain. "The Future of the NAM: How to Make the Movement Effective." In: Non-Aligned Movement: Its Future and Action Programme, edited by Bantarto Bandoro, 38-47. Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1992.

issues. Yes, and logically and transferred from the economic dimension to the NAM was not flawless - almost all members of the Movement were automatically members of the Group of 77⁴².

Third, the nature of conflicts has changed. Let us remember the serious decrease in the degree of the Movement's influence on the peacekeeping processes and the resolution of conflicts in the zone of its influence, and in recent years there has been a serious split between the internal and the NAM regarding other important issues. In particular, the Movement was never able to ensure the internal unity of the bloc on disarmament issues in connection with the claims of its individual members, primarily India, Pakistan, Iran, and others, for a special nuclear status. Within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, I will not reach a consensus on the most urgent problem of our time - the fight against terrorism, since the opinions of the DN member states disagree on the very concept of "terrorism"⁴³: A group of states - first of all, the Arab countries - under the influence of events in the Middle East does not consider actions aimed at the struggle for independence as terrorism.

Fourthly, the weakness of the NAM is caused by its structural lack of formation. Unlike the absolute majority of classical international organizations, including a number of forums in developing countries, the Non-Aligned Movement does not have a clear organizational structure. The Forum exists without financial contributions from member states, does not have its own secretariat, which together would allow and would carry out a minimum number of bureaucratic tasks, coordinate and structure its activities. According to Tarrosy (2005), the number of working bodies of the Movement has been reduced to a minimum, only meetings at the highest and high levels, meetings of the Coordination Bureau and some working groups have been preserved⁴⁴.

⁴² Vieira, Marco. "Understanding Resilience in International Relations: The NonAligned Movement and Ontological Security." *International Studies Review* 18 (2016): 290- 311.

⁴³ The Non-Aligned Movement Iran. "1. General Background." Accessed February 15, 2018. <http://namiran.org/background-general/>.

⁴⁴ Tarrósy, István. "Need for non-alignment in our global world? The Non-Aligned Movement Today and Tomorrow." *Croatian International Relations Review* (July-December 2005): 157-163.

And, finally, the crisis in NAM is facilitated by the absence of a real mechanism of its interaction with large and international organizations, first of all, developed states. Western countries will emphasize their unwillingness to contribute to the development and strengthening of the Non-Aligned Movement. I do not have the authority to officially cease the existence of NAMs, the states of the Eight and the largest industrialized countries are not taking any steps that could demonstrate serious intentions to cooperate with this forum⁴⁵. Why was NAM turned out to be so clumsy and unable to transform? One of the main reasons is the excessive size of the association. Collecting different levels of development, economic, social and cultural characteristics of the country could not and find a common language in the new international conditions. Slender conception and vision of the main directions of reform.

The policy followed by the non-aligned is different from keeping relations with other states at the lowest level in the international system, participating in international affairs at a minimum level, and avoiding military initiatives within the country, as in the isolation policy, according to Willets⁴⁶. Non-non-aligned states were able to stay out of the competition between the blocs during the Cold War period and aimed to provide economic development by taking advantage of this competition. The Non-Aligned Block, which is outside of both blocks, tried to be a balance between East-West Blocks.

Oral Sander for the place of the Non-Aligned in world politics: "Today there are various divisions and even conflicts between non-aligned states. It can even be said that conflicts overshadow cooperation. According to Russet, it is not a wrong assessment that these states are not effective in world politics, or at least not as effective as the blocs⁴⁷. However, when viewed from a long-term perspective, the cooperation and common consciousness between them are developing in such a way as to reduce these differences and conflicts to the second plan in the future. To put it

⁴⁵ Willets, Peter. *The Non-aligned Movement the Origins of a Third World Alliance*. London: Pinter u.a., 1978. Print.

⁴⁶ Singham, Arch W., and Shirley Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*. Westport, CT: Hill U.a., 1986. Print.

⁴⁷ Russett, Bruce. "Discovering Voting Groups in the United Nations." *American Political Science Review* 60.2 (1966): 327-39. JSTOR. Web.

very briefly, almost all the non-aligned states lived under the rule of European imperialism and the white man, struggled for independence, and now waged war against underdevelopment in the second half of the 20th century.

Non-non-aligned states needed military and economically developed countries in terms of foreign aid to resolve their conflicts and complete their military and economic development. However, the fact that almost all the states that gained their independence after 1960, at least "wanted to pursue an unrelated foreign policy" and made an effort in this way reveal that this movement responded to some interests. The "Lusaka Declaration on the Democratization of Independence, Peace, Cooperation and International Relations" issued after the third summit of the Non-Aligned People in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia in September 1970, declared this longing resolutely⁴⁸.

The only role of non-alignment in promoting an international order will depend largely on internal cooperation. Therefore, all member states are obliged to work seriously to promote the solidarity and unity of the movement. In order to increase its role at the international level, at the next Non-Aligned summit meeting, the head of state or head of government must take the necessary initiatives to continue to expand and strengthen the capacity for initiative, representation and negotiation. According to Potter et al., the NAM should support its ethical, political and moral empowerment as a forum that represents the interests and aspirations of the developing world⁴⁹.

Although the Non-Aligned Movement tried to show that it was a whole, the contradictions of the heterogeneous structure and formation within the Movement prevented the non-Aligneds from establishing a strong solidarity, According to Orlov⁵⁰. Despite all these differences, it should be noted that the Non-Aligned Movement still occupied an important place during the Cold War, despite the fact that these differences could not be melted in a single crucible due to the fact that the

⁴⁸ Proc. of the Ninth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1989. Web.

⁴⁹ Potter, William, Patricia Lewis, Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova, and Miles Pomper. "The 2010 NPT Review Conference: Deconstructing Consensus." Monterrey Institute - Center for Nuclear Security (2010).

⁵⁰ Orlov, Alexander. "The Non-Aligned Movement: 40 Years After." *International Affairs*. 2002. 49-56.

states that are members of the Non-Aligned Movement consisted of four different continents.

Security issues have always been the focus of the theory and practice of international relations. Within the framework of political realism, the egoistic nature of the state was emphasized, a high probability of violence and military-political confrontation and conflicts between states, the decisive role of force in their resolution was assumed. The realistic paradigm as a school of political-power thinking has long been dominant in the theory and practice of international relations. Realism justified the phenomena of war, imperialism, confrontation, alliances, state sovereignty as the right to exercise one's own line in internal and external affairs, national interest, balance of power and balance of threats. The most important actors acting in the international arena on the basis of realism were considered sovereign states, which, in conditions of anarchy and the domination of force, are forced to take measures to ensure their own security, protect their national interests, and strengthen their influence in the world. The decisive factor in this struggle is the military-political force. The theory of realism considers force as a fundamental advantage in international relations, national interests as the guiding principles of politicians, the balance of power as a means of realizing these interests without waging war, and states as the only significant actors in international relations.

Within the framework of the realistic paradigm, various concepts were formulated. Among them, researchers distinguish neorealist concepts and neoclassical realistic conceptions. Neorealist concepts analyze options for the development of the international situation in the world, namely the nature and prospects of international cooperation, the possibility of alliances of various states, the likelihood of confrontation and war. Neoclassical realism studies the foreign policy strategies of states

The security dilemma arises when "a State seeking to enhance its security through an arms build-up inadvertently sets in motion a chain of events that ultimately diminish its security", said Taliaferro in his writing (2001). Considering the security dilemma, proponents of "defensive" realism consider it expedient to

strive for relative, rather than absolute, power superiority. The mere existence of a security dilemma, in their view, does not necessarily lead to an increase in confrontation in international relations. In the theory of the balance of threats, it is noted that states often form coalitions not against a strong state that threatens their interests in the long term, but against the state that threatens them today or in the foreseeable future. The perception by the leaders of states of the alignment of forces in the world and the specific situation also affects the level of international conflict.

Within the framework of the same concept, it is noted that the internal political situation in the state has a significant impact on its foreign policy. Prolonged periods of international stability reduce the ability and willingness of national leaders to mobilize resources in dangerous situations. S. Walt points out that in situations where "the provision of protection is simpler than an attack, security is more likely, the incentives to seize new territories fade and there is every reason for cooperation. And if defense policy is more beneficial, then states can acquire defensive weapons without threatening others and thus reduce the negative impact of anarchy "

In other words, it is a matter of establishing the state's power not only with its "military muscles", but also in parallel or at the same time in other areas (economy, culture, law, etc.), and as a result its political, geopolitical and other interests are more favorable. goes from the ability to realize in a way.

It was not known at the time that the term would be widely used in political and diplomatic circles. However, it is already widely used to characterize the actions and policies of states aspiring to world leadership. We are talking primarily about the United States, Russia and China, which is considered the "whale of the East."

Like three of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, these states have been secretly and openly fighting for world hegemony for hundreds of years. Specifically, Russia (USSR) and the United States recently became temporary, forced allies during World War II, but immediately after the war, they returned to their former form and joined the race to rule the world.

The socialist camp created by the former USSR as a military-political bloc against NATO, the Cold War that lasted for almost half a century, the deep

ideological and cultural confrontation with the West, the provision of all political, material and military support to communist (socialist) and anti-communist regimes around the world. - were the most ruthless manifestations of this race.

The era of liberalism begins in modern times, in the era of the heyday of the Enlightenment, the triumph of the ideas of freedom, humanism and equality in Europe, where the medieval order gave way to bourgeois relations. Liberalism emerged as a radical critique of absolutist-feudal and clerical vestiges from the standpoint of freedom and rationality. The historical basis of liberalism is the struggle of the rich but disenfranchised bourgeoisie for political rights and power, as well as the offensive of science and secular morality on the Church and religious dogmas.

Liberalism arose as if on the fusion of two antitheses: 1) the world is not subject to an unconditional divine way of life, politics is secular in nature, which means that the best social order is in the hands of people, not God; 2) man is a value in himself, a person is the highest value (a person is beyond his relationship with higher powers - God and the other world). The recognition of man as the highest value led the doctrine of liberalism to the conclusion that freedom is necessary as the main goal of man. Man, his dignity, is disgusted by all oppression and all tyranny.

Moreover, each point of the liberal doctrine had its own rational justification. Thus, the idea of the steady progress of society was born due to intensive scientific and technological innovations in Europe in the XVIII-XIX centuries. The history of mankind was seen as a way out of the poverty and squalor of the Middle Ages to the modern time of culture and universal wealth. The idea of tolerance and pluralism became leading after a long era of bloody religious wars and strife. The liberal doctrine consolidated the idea of the Peace of Westphalia, the doctrine of religious tolerance, which later began to be reformatted into general tolerance - national, racial, gender, etc. Minimization of the role of the state in society was born as a consequence of the tyranny and lawlessness of monarchical regimes, when the intervention of state institutions was of the nature of the subjective and uncontrollable will of the monarch and the noble-aristocratic elite. The state associated with violence has become the object of criticism. The intellectual community saw as a logical way

out to reduce the role of the state to the most necessary social functions - the functions of the "night watchman".

Based on a similar logic, the concept of the inviolability of private property followed. Its ideological basis does not lie in the plane of ideas of market efficiency of private property. The idea of the inviolability of private property is revealed in the second treatise "On Government" by J. S. Mill. Locke. The basis of this postulate, again, lies in the criticism of absolutist tyranny, when the omnipotence of the monarchy resulted in the practice of uncontrolled confiscation of property from undesirables. Moreover, for the era of pre-industrial society, the deprivation of property is a punishment much more severe than today, which actually put a person on the verge of starvation.

The time of the historical triumph of classical liberalism can be considered the XIX century. By its end, after a whole series of revolutionary changes and the collapse of absolutist-feudal regimes, in most of the states of Europe the regimes of constitutional monarchies with a parliament based on censorship suffrage, and in some places - parliamentary republics with universal suffrage (France after 1875, Switzerland) were established.

Libertarianism arose as a radical continuation of the postulate of personal freedom, elevated to an absolute degree. The ideology of libertarianism requires complete freedom for man, the abolition of any forms of state coercion, any violence. Libertarianism ignores class differences in society, social problems, preferring extreme individualism. As a practice, the libertarian dream remains an unrealized utopia.

Neoliberalism today is the strongest ideological construct, elevating its heritage to classical liberal theory. Ideologically, neoliberalism is associated with Manchesterism, but it represents a much more detailed paradigm of views. The birth of neoliberal theory occurred in the 30s of the XX century on the wave of criticism of socialist views. At the foundations of neoliberalism stood the famous economists F. Hayek and M. Friedman, and later the neoliberal paradigm of views was developed by R. Mundella and M. Fleming. However, the true flowering of neoliberalism

happened later, in the 80s of the XX century. its expression was the "neoconservative revolution" in Western countries, the coming to power of a series of right-liberal governments (Thatcher / Reagan / Kohl), the victory of the principles of deregulation of the market economy on a global scale ("Washington Consensus"), the policy of dismantling the welfare state.

By the end of the twentieth century, neoliberalism had taken dominant ideological positions both in Western countries and in the developing countries of the Third World – primarily in the economy, but also in the sphere of social relations, politics, and public administration. Neoliberalism has become mainstream, a universal fashion. Everything that did not agree with him was declared obsolete and harmful. Even the ideological opponents of neoliberals – social democrats, socialists, moderate leftists – were forced to recognize the hegemony of right-liberal forces, accepting their recipes in economics and public administration as truth.

Neoliberalism can be called a product of the "mutation" of classical liberal theory. In fact, the secondary principle of the inviolability of private property turned out to be elevated by him to the Absolute, absorbing even the basic principles on which liberalism was based – the principles of freedom and humanism. Neoliberals proclaimed the market economy not just a priority form of economic relations in society, but a universal measure of all life. There can be nothing beyond commercial efficiency: education, culture, social security must prove their right to exist in market competition. Market one is able to rationally organize people's lives, providing them with everything they need. Market distribution is objectively fair. Any interference by state institutions or social forces in the market is flawed. Even the principle of freedom in the spirit of neoliberalism is expressed exclusively in free trade.

Neoliberalism categorically rejects any idea of non-market justice, the class structure of society, the social sector of the economy, as well as popular sovereignty, expressed through the will of the majority. Neoliberalism also proclaims extreme individualism, limited to only a small set of necessary state functions. Unlike libertarianism, the state in society is called upon not only to provide a minimum of

services to the population (national defense, judicial proceedings, law and order), but also to take care of maintaining the market system.

Thus, neoliberals do not deny the need for state intervention in the economy to carry out anti-crisis measures and stimulate business development. Everything that goes from the state to the benefit of the market is interpreted as correct. Under the exception are state social programs, stimulation of the economy through mass demand, provision of services by the state to the population through non-market mechanisms (for example, free education, health care). State intervention in the market through participation in production as an economic agent, direct regulation, active fiscal policy, and social redistribution are regarded as unequivocal evil.

In other words, the competition between the two main poles was not limited to the classical methods - rapid armament, wider exploration of space. Impacts on the world, on other countries, large and small, were also due to the "soft power" factor - a strong economy, advanced culture, unique scientific and technological achievements, and even great sports performance.

In fact, and first of all, there was a war of values. The winner of this war is known - the West, America. The reason is not a secret. Because the USSR, and then Russia as its legal successor, could not maintain its "soft power" effect on the world, the post-socialist camp and the post-Soviet countries until the end.

Russia, however, is now seen as a major power, relying on its military and nuclear capabilities. For "close neighbors", it is not a serious economic, technological, scientific and cultural example. The country's real influence in the world, as seen in the bloody events in Ukraine, stems solely from the fear of military-nuclear power. In the remaining areas, Moscow is not able to pursue an effective policy of "soft power".

It is true that Kremlin ideologues have recently begun to pay attention to the better integration of the Russian language and culture in the post-Soviet space. For some reason, the coexistence of languages also means the coexistence of cultures belonging to this language, a form of cultural influence on the local community, and for Moscow, moreover, the "fifth column", the hearth of separatism. However, world

history shows that the definition of "soft power" is not possible only by the cultural factor. This requires the unity of political, military, economic and cultural forces.

The main thing that distinguishes Russia from the United States, does not allow it to become a global superpower, and irritates it is the lack of such a "bouquet of influence" - although Russia does not want to reconcile with this reality. The United States, on the contrary, has such a "bouquet". That is why America can achieve its foreign policy goals without resorting to military force, without threatening them with military force. Because it is also an economic, cultural, scientific, virtual power. The manipulation of oil prices in order to weaken Russia can be considered the brightest example of this.

China, which has signed an "economic miracle" in recent years, seems to be able to pursue a more authoritative "soft" policy in competition with the United States, unlike Russia. It should be noted that last year, for the first time, the "Whale of the East" surpassed the United States in terms of GDP.

2.2. NAM's steadily growing membership

Since May 2011, it has 120 states, including 1 European Belarus (which, however, is a member of the CSTO military organization), 37 Asian, 53 African, 26 American, 3 oceanic.

In the work of Sedov, 17 countries have observer status: Argentina, Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, China, Costa Rica, Mexico, Paraguay, El Salvador, Serbia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Uruguay, Croatia. 5 international and 2 national liberation organizations have the same status: UN, African Union, League of Arab States, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Kanak Socialist Popular Liberation Front (New Caledonia), New Puerto Rico Independence Movement⁵¹.

Despite the fact that the main idea of the Non-Aligned Movement is a refusal to participate in military blocs, the members of the Movement regularly face the need

⁵¹ Седов Д.А. Новое дыхание Движения неприсоединения [Электронный ресурс]// Электронное издание «Фонд стратегической культуры». 2012. URL: <http://fondsk.ru>

to develop a common position on certain conflicts. In most cases, the Movement lacks unity in approaches to conflicts.

For example, at the 1964 Cairo conference, the stumbling block was the desire to attend the pro-Belgian politician from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Moise Tshombe. Some countries (Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and Togo) were in favor of admitting Tshombe, while other states (such as Yugoslavia) were opposed. Tshombe was denied admission to the conference by a majority vote. Although Tshombe flew to Cairo, he was unable to attend the conference.

The events of the last decade in world geopolitics have caused different attitudes and approaches to the same problems on the part of the countries participating in the Movement, which was not observed in the recent past. There are both countries that are supporters of some kind of revolutionary changes and political processes in the Middle East, and opponents. All this - division and different approaches - is reflected in the work of the summits of the Non-Aligned Movement⁵².

Thus, in 2012, at the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Tehran, an Egyptian-Syrian scandal erupted caused by the speech of Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi, during which the Syrian delegation left the conference room. The Egyptian leader described the Syrian government as "repressive" and called for the peaceful establishment of a democratic regime in that country, and an Iranian diplomat offered his country as a peacekeeper.

Another point of contention was Venezuela's membership in the organization. Venezuela has participated in the work of the forums of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) as an observer since 1964. Venezuela's ideological, historical and cultural ties to the West are one of the indicators that prevent it from joining NAM. In addition, there was an objective reason why membership in the NAM was "contraindicated" for Caracas: the territorial dispute over the Esequibo zone with Guyana, the former British Guiana. This country gained independence in 1966 and became its full participant in 1970 at the III Conference of the NAM in Lusaka, i.e. it could

⁵² Седов Д.А. Новое дыхание Движения неприсоединения [Электронный ресурс]// Электронное издание «Фонд стратегической культуры». 2012. URL: <http://fondsk.ru>

potentially block Venezuela's applications to join the Movement. However, in 1989 Venezuela became a member of the organization.

With the coming to power in 1998 of President Hugo Chavez, Venezuelan diplomacy noticeably intensified in all the most important associations of the South - DN, Group 15, Group 77. In April 2000, the president, perhaps the only one among Latin American leaders, took an active part in the first the meeting of the heads of state and government of the countries - members of the Group of 77 in Havana. He spoke out there for the formation of a new world order based on the principles of multipolarity, the primacy of law in international relations, increasing the role of the UN as a universal instrument for maintaining peace and strategic stability. Hugo Chavez spoke in favor of deepening South-South cooperation, for a more proactive position of developing countries in negotiations with the North on issues of economic development and world trade.

The offensive and initially constructive position of Caracas, the vigor of his diplomatic efforts in the South-South and South-North directions, the charismatic asceticism of President Chavez himself in promoting the interests of the South were recognized by developing countries and their leaders. This is reflected in the fact that in 2001-2003. Venezuela chaired the Group of 15, and during 2002 led the Group of 77. Thus, the Venezuelan President led these two leading associations of the South (1).

Caracas also stepped up its participation in the Non-Aligned Movement, which is regarded there as "one of the most important mechanisms of political cooperation in the South-South format, acquiring special weight and significance in modern conditions, as a bridge to dialogue and mutual understanding, as a factor of balance and influence in the world." Venezuela fully shares the NAM tasks and goals set out in the Final Document of its XIII Summit - the Kuala Lumpur Declaration: strengthening peace and international security, strengthening the UN's role in international relations, disarmament, countering new challenges and threats of our time, promoting sustainable economic development and implementation successful

social and humanitarian policy in the era of globalization, improving the mechanism of NAM activity.

After the end of the Cold War, many thought that this was the end of the organization. An organization whose purpose was not to join any military bloc, to fight against colonialism, to support the national liberation struggle, had already lost its purpose. Germany's problem was solved, the Cold War ended, and Soviet Russia collapsed. However, Non-Aligned Movement membership continued to increase after this period. This proved that the trust of the states in this organization did not decrease, on the contrary, it increased. Azerbaijan, which joined the organization in 2011 with the majority of Asian and African members, is one of the last countries to join the organization.

In modern times, the organization also represents the interests of small states. The fact that all of these states have the right to vote in the UN increases the power of the organization to influence decisions on many issues. This may explain the fact that most countries remain members.

2.3. Relevance of NAM

The Bandung Conference, imbued with the spirit of anti-colonialism, rejected the split of the world into two opposing camps caused by the Cold War. From 1955 until the late 1960s, the economy outside Europe did not develop as dynamically. The struggle to destroy traditional empires became a priority because it set quite feasible goals; she was doomed to success. According to Alimov, NAM implied non-participation in the existing blocs and the search for their own special place in the system of confronting the Cold War, and this meant interaction with a reality that the young independent states could not change and, at best, they hoped to break out of it⁵³.

After Bandung, a significant part of the work was done thanks to representatives of non-Afro-Asian states, the circle of interested countries was

⁵³ Алимов Ю.И. Неприсоединение: история, теория, проблемы. М.: Прогресс, 1990. С. 195

constantly expanding. The leading role was played by famous political figures Nasser, Nehru and Marshal Tito (who, after years of hesitation, finally found a place where Yugoslavia could play an important role in international life). In late December 1957 - early January 1958, a new conference was held in Cairo, in which 44 delegations participated. The tone of the conference could be heard echoes of the 1956 Suez crisis. The Egyptian representative Sadat, who chaired the meetings, very categorically defined the purpose of the conference: "The neutralism that we profess means that we must be outside the international blocs and make efforts to bring them closer together." The first steps towards independence for black Africa meant that the course was right. The Prime Minister of Ghana became the mouthpiece of the independent African countries and in December 1958 convened in Accra the first conference of these African states, and then also a conference with the participation of all the peoples of Africa. In such cases, active neutralism turned into an instrument of anti-colonialism. As Nkrumah said, the conference of the peoples of Africa was supposed to prepare "a general assault on imperialism and colonialism."⁵⁴

In Belgrade on September 1-6, 1961 the creation of a movement of "non-aligned" countries was officially announced. But in Belgrade, the notion of "non-alignment" was still interpreted quite harshly: it meant countries that did not take part in multilateral military alliances and that did not have close military ties with the great powers⁵⁵. This explains why neither People's China, nor Japan, nor Pakistan, nor Turkey were officially represented at the conference in Yugoslavia.

Initially, the Non-Aligned Movement began to function as a political entity, as global political issues dominated its concerns and agenda. Later, in the process, several member states adopted economic issues because they faced severe economic problems such as severe poverty and underdevelopment. The organization called for the creation of a new international economic order, based on the belief that it is the West's policies and practices that are causing serious economic problems in the Third

⁵⁴ Крылов С.А. Движению неприсоединения 40 лет [Электронный ресурс]// Ежемесячный информационно-аналитический журнал «Обозреватель–Observer».2000.№1. URL: http://www.rau.su/observer/N04_01/4_10.HTM

⁵⁵ Костюк Р.В. Движение неприсоединения в эпоху холодной войны [Электронный ресурс] /Р.В. Костюк// Клио. 2011. № 4. URL:[http:// www.intelros.ru/pdf/alternativa/2011/04/10.pdf](http://www.intelros.ru/pdf/alternativa/2011/04/10.pdf)

World region. Thus, the organization became a political and economic institution. This must continue. The reformed and reorganized organization must give equal weight to the political and economic issues facing the Global South⁵⁶.

The Alliance states that the name of the association is not hoc or short-lived; is a relatively long-term commitment. On the other hand, the Non-Aligned Movement, as an organization trying to remain independent, does not want to form an "alliance" with the current Western alliance or any other power center in the future.

While the movement promotes solidarity within the Global South, it must develop mechanisms to engage the West and other power centers in a constructive manner. One of the means to achieve the goal of constructive employment is to focus on selective cooperation. The movement should be able to work with key international actors, including power centers, on selected issues, rather than being a permanent ally or enemy of one or another actor. This approach will allow for better results in terms of movement.

From an economic point of view, the movement should be more introspective than continuing to depend on the West and rich countries for development assistance and investment. There is a need to develop mechanisms to gain control over exploitable natural resources and for the rich and wealthy peoples of the region to invest in member states. Most importantly, the organization should seriously consider creating a bank in line with the ideas of the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank. A similar recommendation was made by the Southern Commission (1990).

The organization now also represents the interests of small states. The fact that all of these states get the ability to vote in the UN strengthens the organization's ability to affect decisions on a broad variety of issues. This could clarify why so many countries proceed to be members.

In Critics of the movement in the post-Cold War era used derogatory terminology to describe it. Terms like "anachronism," "irrelevant," "castrated," and

⁵⁶ <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/the-non-aligned-movement-today/>

"significantly more" were commonly used, especially by Handley⁵⁷. Since the Cold War, the Movement, which began in the 1960s in response to the division of developing countries into global blocs, has been looking for new reasons to exist. With the emergence of a multipolar world, the Non-Aligned Movement has a new lease on life and has the potential to become a major force in the new world order. The West-East conflict came to an end with the demise of the bipolar system. The Non-Aligned Movement is a group that brings together developing countries in the South. However, since the turn of the century, a number of Southern states have prospered economically and proven to be about as competitive as their Northern counterparts. China and India's technological progress could be used as an example⁵⁸.

It is, even so, too early to conclude that this movement will be predicated on the North-South conflict. Cooperation, rather than competition, can become more beneficial to the groups in modern times. Furthermore, in the work of Morphet, we see that the formation of a Southern Union - a transformational organization from of the Non-Aligned to the Southern Union - could end up making it one of the most powerful unions⁵⁹.

The battle against colonialism was elevated as a core ideology by the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, who were previously colonized states. The independence of all states, on the other hand, demonstrates that colonialism isn't any longer a problem. Even so, current issues that the Movement can address include the nuclear threat, international peace, hunger, poverty, and global climate change. The movement has the potential to grow into an institution which will help solve these issues.

Some members of the Connected Movement's involvement in the movement seems to be waning, which poses a threat to the movement's long term. Financial inclusion of states like India, Indonesia, as well as the Republic of South Africa

⁵⁷ Handley, Antoinette. 1998. Non-Aligned against what? South Africa and the future of the Non-Aligned Movement. Johannesburg: The South African Institute of International Affairs.

⁵⁸ Drezner, Daniel W. 2007. The New New World Order. *Foreign Affairs* 86(2): 34–46.

⁵⁹ Morphet, Sally. 2004. Multilateralism and the Non-Aligned Movement: what is the Global South Doing and where is it going? *Global Governance* 10(2004): 517–537

allowed national security interests to take precedence over the organizations and resources to be diverted to other power centers. Even so, unless Southern markets develop and a common union of these markets can be formed, such as the European Union, a union of more than one member state, the majority of whose members are oil and gas exporters, could be the most powerful economic unity. Another of the major flaws is that the majority of the member states seem to be small and impoverished. As a result, establishing relations with developed North as well as attracting investments from such countries seems to be necessary for economic recovery.

In terms of economics, the action should be more inward-looking rather than continuing to rely on the West and wealthy countries for development assistance as well as investment. It's indeed necessary to develop mechanisms for maintaining control over exploitable natural resources, as well as for the region's wealthy and affluent peoples to invest in member states. Above all, this same organization should seriously consider forming a bank based on the World Bank or Asian Development Bank's concepts.

The Non-Aligned Movement, which includes more than 120 countries, is indeed the second largest organization after the United Nations. This is why some political researchers theorize this movement has the potential to grow into a global organization comparable to the United Nations. The absence of a permanent secretary, even so, is by far the most significant stumbling block.

The formation of an organization and more sensitive collaborate just on issues discussed at the summits will result from the establishment of a permanent secretariat, which would be an extremely positive development. Even so, the Secretariat's position, which includes operational issues as well as membership ties, can be viewed as a disadvantage. Additional institutions, like the Council for Economic Advancement as well as a tool to address internal flaws, may well be established later, relying on the importance of these issues.

III CHAPTER. AZERBAIJAN AND NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

3.1. Azerbaijan and NAM: principles and objectives

Azerbaijan follows a foreign policy and a balanced policy aimed at improving cooperation with all countries, without joining any military bloc. Therefore, in 2011, our country has decided to become a full member of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has observer status. He joined the movement at the 16th Ministerial Conference in Bali that year.

In September 2016, at the XVII Summit of Heads of State and Government of the member states, it was unanimously decided to hold the next summit in Baku and to entrust Azerbaijan with the chairmanship in 2019-2022⁶⁰.

Azerbaijan, the leading country in the South Caucasus, will chair the Non-Aligned Movement in 2019-2022, the world's second largest organization after the United Nations, which unites 137 states and 10 international organizations, including 120 permanent and 17 observers.

The 18th Summit on "Ensuring a Joint and Adequate Response to the Challenges of the Modern World Guided by the Bandung Principles" will be held in Baku on October 21-26 with the participation of heads of state and government of a number of countries will perform. Of course, this historic event should be assessed as another diplomatic success of Azerbaijan.

The Non-Aligned Movement, of which Azerbaijan has been a member since 2011, is a multilateral platform that plays an important role in regulating international relations. The Non-Aligned Movement, which brings together 137 states, is the largest political institution in the world after the United Nations General Assembly.

Today, the movement, whose main goal is to contribute to the preservation of peace, security and progress in the world on the basis of the norms and principles of

⁶⁰ <https://mfa.gov.az/az/content/177/qosulmama-herekati>

international law, is of particular importance in terms of solving global problems and responding to modern challenges.

Membership in the movement has created a favorable opportunity for our country to be more closely involved in the processes of international peace, security and cooperation, and to develop bilateral and multilateral relations with various countries. During its relatively short membership in the Non-Aligned Movement, Azerbaijan has gained great prestige and trust within the institution thanks to its successful foreign policy.

President Ilham Aliyev praised the Non-Aligned Movement's "Promotion of International Peace and Security for Sustainable Development" conference in Baku on April 5-6 last year. The Non-Aligned Movement plays an important role in establishing stability, peace and security in the world. The movement is committed to the norms of international law, the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of all members: "Azerbaijan is a relatively new member of the Non-Aligned Movement. We were admitted to this family in 2011 and immediately began to feel the support of the organization and its members. This support was demonstrated during the procedure of Azerbaijan's election as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. This happened in 2011, the same year that our country joined the organization, and we felt the strong support of our partners. We were elected a non-permanent member with the support of 155 states. The support of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation has played a crucial role in our election to the most prestigious international organization."

The head of state also stated that Azerbaijan is the only member of the Non-Aligned Movement to run for Expo 2025, a step that shows that Azerbaijan is capable of holding such an important global event.

It should be added that the Baku Declaration adopted at the last conference in our capital reflected fundamental issues in terms of the interests of our country. The introductory part of the document states that the Non-Aligned Movement is guided by the principles of sovereignty and sovereign equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of states, effective measures to prevent aggression

and peace, as well as non-military aggression against territorial integrity and political independence.

In general, all documents adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement since 2012 express unequivocal support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Azerbaijan and call for a settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on these principles⁶¹.

During its chairmanship in the Non-Aligned Movement, Azerbaijan will build its priorities and activities on the principles of historic Bandung. The Bandung Principles, which include the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, non-interference in the internal affairs of states and the protection of mutual interests and the promotion of cooperation, coincide with the basic principles of Azerbaijan's foreign policy⁶².

During its chairmanship in the Non-Aligned Movement, Azerbaijan will make efforts to establish and develop a dialogue with other institutions and expand the geography of cooperation. It is especially important to protect the interests of member states through joint efforts within the UN⁶³.

Particular attention should be paid to the threats faced by the least developed, landlocked small island countries. Since 2005, Azerbaijan has provided humanitarian and technical assistance to more than 90 countries. The Agency for International Development of the Republic of Azerbaijan implements projects in various countries in the fields of poverty reduction, science, culture, health, development of information technologies, efficient use of water resources, grant programs and other areas⁶⁴.

From 2018, Azerbaijan will provide full-time scholarships to citizens of Non-Aligned Movement member states to study at universities in our country. Today, 37 young people from 31 member states benefit from this program⁶⁵.

⁶¹ <https://president.az/articles/31821>

⁶² <https://fliphtml5.com/jkle/qkud>

⁶³ <https://edu.gov.az/az/pdf/299/14565>

⁶⁴ https://migration.gov.az/content/pdf/5ec7cfd19c362_949.pdf

⁶⁵ [http://www.anl.az/down/meqale/xalqqazeti/2019/oktyabr/679292\(meqale\).pdf](http://www.anl.az/down/meqale/xalqqazeti/2019/oktyabr/679292(meqale).pdf)

Youth policy has been identified as a priority area in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani youth are brought up in the national spirit, traditional values, patriotism and patriotism. That is why, for the first time in the history of the Non-Aligned Movement, we initiated the Youth Summit. The Youth Summit held on the eve of the current Summit was attended by young people from 40 countries.

At the next ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement Coordinating Bureau in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt on May 9-10, 2012, a clause on the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict was included in the Final Document. It expressed respect for the integrity of the country, non-use of force against its territorial integrity and support for the settlement of its internationally recognized borders on the principles of inviolability.

During the Baku Summit held on October 25-26, 2019, the heads of state and government, despite the relevant UN Security Council resolutions (S / RES / 822, S / RES / 853, S / RES / 874, S / RES / 884), He expressed regret over the unresolved conflict between Azerbaijan and the threat to international and regional peace and security, and called on the parties to continue negotiations to resolve the conflict on the basis of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and inviolability of international borders of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

On April 4, 2020, the Non-Aligned Movement Coordinating Bureau adopted a Communiqué on the so-called "elections" held in the occupied territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Emphasizing that the seizure of territories by force is unacceptable, the document reaffirms that no state considers the situation created as a result of the occupation of the territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan lawful. The communiqué states that the member states of the Movement do not recognize the so-called "presidential and parliamentary elections" held on March 31, 2020 in the occupied Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan and consider this act illegal. Referring to paragraph 662 of the final document of the Baku Summit, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Azerbaijan within its internationally recognized borders, as well as the settlement of the Armenian-

Azerbaijani conflict on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 822, 853, 874 and 884 reiterates its support for⁶⁶.

Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Contact Group on Combating the Jovid-19 Pandemic - May 4, 2020 on the initiative of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the current Chairman of the JV Ilham Aliyev Jovid-19 A video conference of the Contact Group on Combating Pandemics on "Together against COVID-19" was organized in the format of the Summit.

At a time when the world community is testing the effectiveness of international organizations and the future of multilateral diplomacy in the current complex international environment, the current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, in line with the country's priorities to promote multilateralism, It has taken the initiative to assess the impact of 19 global pandemics on member states and to identify their needs⁶⁷.

Today, the reality is that the Republic of Azerbaijan is committed to the spirit and principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. Our country pursues a foreign policy aimed at developing cooperation with all countries and a balanced policy without joining any military bloc⁶⁸.

3.2. Azerbaijan and institutional characteristics of NAM

When the Soviet Union disintegrated at the end of the twentieth century, a number of member states gained independence. Azerbaijan, one of these states, regained its independence on October 18, 1991. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia considers the former Soviet Union to be an important region. Russia has long been interested in the South Caucasus region, which includes Azerbaijan. In such a situation, how a newly independent state avoided entering its sphere of influence was critical. Azerbaijan has pursued a balanced policy while maintaining

⁶⁶ <http://e-kitab.ameanb.nmr.az/QuezetSekilleri/sayt10.01.2019.pdf>

⁶⁷ https://dq.mia.gov.az/upload/esger_21_01.11.2019.pdf

⁶⁸ Azerbaijan Diary: A Rogue Reporter's Adventures in an Oil-Rich, War-Torn, Post-Soviet Republic, by Thomas Goltz. New York, 1998.

close cooperation with neighboring countries and friendly relations with other states and institutions. Although the Warsaw Pact came to an end after the Cold War, the NATO bloc expanded its activities, and the majority of newly independent states either joined or wished to join the bloc. Azerbaijan has a policy of not joining any military alliance. Economic, political, and cultural ties have been established with both the West and Russia, and serious studies in the field of energy have been conducted.

Georgia and Ukraine's attempts to join NATO and pursue pro-Western policies prompted Russia to intervene and violate their territorial integrity. The entry of Russian troops into Georgia in 2008 and the five-day war had dire consequences for Georgia. Russia recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. After coming to power in Ukraine, Parashenko signed an Association Agreement with the European Union. After this incident, clashes took place in the east of the country and in the Crimea. As the conflict escalated, Russia sent troops to Crimea on February 27, 2014 and occupied the region. On March 16, 2014, a referendum was held in Crimea. As a result of the referendum, Crimea joined Russia. Given these events, it is safe to assume that Azerbaijan's reluctance to join NATO was the right political move. In the first years of our independence, 20% of the Azerbaijani lands occupied by Armenia were occupied and our territorial integrity was threatened. However, as a result of a balanced policy and long-term political struggle, Azerbaijan introduced its rightful position to the whole world and re-established its territorial integrity in 2020 with a 44-day war. Azerbaijan, which has not joined any military alliance, has been a member of the Non-Aligned Movement since 2011 and the support of the member states in the last battle for the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the fair struggle are proof that our membership was the right decision.

"The Non-Aligned Movement, which is the second largest political platform after the UN and unites 120 countries, considers the forceful seizure of territories unacceptable, and the situation resulting from the occupation of the territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan will not be legally recognized by any country," the

Movement's Coordination Bureau said in a statement distributed by the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry.

“In this regard, the member states of the Non-Aligned Movement stated that they do not recognize and consider illegal the so-called “elections” held in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan on March 31 this year⁶⁹.

The Coordination Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement also declared its support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan within its internationally recognized borders and the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council⁷⁰.

According to the Chairman of the General Assembly, the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement have common ideals: respect for fundamental human rights, as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. He called on the participants in the movement, which he called an example of reason and moderation, despite difficulties, to work for peace, progress and justice, as stipulated by the UN Charter.

The Non-Aligned Movement unites 120 countries that have refused to participate in military blocs. The last state to join the organization was Azerbaijan.

Taking advantage of his stay in the country, Tijani Muhammad-Bande visited the Khazar Women's Resource Center, which is supported by the government, the United Nations Development Program and UN Women. Women entrepreneurs talked about how they achieved success with the support of the center. The Chairman of the General Assembly stressed that the work of such centers throughout Azerbaijan not only helps women themselves, but also has a beneficial effect on the life of society as a whole⁷¹.

He also noted the success of Azerbaijan in diversifying the economy, providing social services to the population, eliminating poverty and achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. Muhammad Bandé held meetings with President Ilham Aliyev,

⁶⁹<https://un.mfa.gov.az/files/shares/Letters/74session/Letter%20to%20UNSG%20on%20illegal%20elections%20and%20international%20reaction%20A-74-805%20Eng.pdf>

⁷⁰ http://www.lsu.edu/guests/poli/public_html/foreign.html

⁷¹ <http://polisci.nelson.com/introip>

as well as with the Presidents of Pakistan and Venezuela and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba.

The Non-Aligned Movement unites many countries that are located on different continents, and at the moment we, first of all, need cooperation and solidarity. I believe that Azerbaijan will use its mandate as the presiding state to launch new initiatives. It is now possible to position the Movement even better, given that dynamic changes are taking place in the international arena. The Non-Aligned Movement is capable of creating new directions at the international level and acting as a driving force independent of other major powers. If we talk about economic cooperation to resolve the crisis caused by the epidemic, then among the members of the Non-Aligned Movement there are economically strong and influential countries, such as Azerbaijan, the United Arab Emirates, India and others. I believe that these countries should offer new forms of cooperation and new projects in the format of the Non-Aligned Movement. In particular, reformatting economic cooperation is a general trend.

Trifkovic recalled that the Non-Aligned Movement played a very important role on the world stage: "During the Cold War, it was an alternative for countries that did not want to enter into conflict between the two great powers. Since its inception, the Movement has defended the right to sovereignty of independent states. opposed interventionism and foreign intervention, against colonialism, racism and apartheid. All these problems are relevant today, only in a different form. In this sense, the Non-Aligned Movement as an organization based on these principles, of course, has much to offer. Therefore, there should be no doubt about the political potential of the Non-Aligned Movement and the possibility of its influence on world politics. The same applies to the economy."

"This organization had weight and strength at the time of the confrontation between the two political and economic systems (the USSR and the USA). Giving preference to one side or another, she forced her to reckon with her opinion. But after the world socialist system collapsed and only the world capitalist system remained, this organization lost its capabilities and authority in world politics. Nevertheless, this

movement provides an opportunity for countries that do not want to join military blocs to be in solidarity⁷².

Azerbaijan can use the potential of this organization and talk about the problems in our and the region and focus on solutions within the framework of internationally recognized rights and norms. The fact that the issue of Karabakh was brought up in the final document is an important condition to once again receive support in this issue. Therefore, this organization is a good platform for promoting their interests⁷³.

According to Ildrym Mammadov, director of the Center for Military Analytical Research (CVAI), the Non-Aligned Movement is an organization created on the initiative of states that fear confrontation between the two blocs and do not want to take part in this process. "This organization was run by the military-political elite of the USSR. It was no coincidence that among the priorities of the movement was to support the national liberation movements. The goal was to liberate the colonies under Western control and bring them closer to the USSR's orbit".⁷⁴

I. Mammadov believes that the appearance of the problem of choice between Russia and the United States before the military-political leadership of Azerbaijan could become the reason for the desire to become a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. "I regret that in this issue, which is directly related to the fate of the state, preference is given to steps taken without public participation. To make such decisions, it is necessary to conduct wide public discussions. But, unfortunately, this issue was revealed unexpectedly, and the Azerbaijani public's opportunities to respond to these were deliberately limited," Mammadov said, noting that the society does not support the authorities in this process, which means that further prospects for Azerbaijan's membership in this movement are in doubt⁷⁵.

⁷² 1995, XI Summit, Cartagena, 18-20 October Basic Documents, <http://www.nam.gov.za/xisummit>

⁷³ 1996, Ministerial Meeting of the Committee on Methodology, Cartagena, 14-16 May Cartagena Document on Methodology, <http://www.nam.gov.za/background/methodology.htm#METHODOLOGY>

⁷⁴ 2000, XIII Ministerial Conference, Cartagena, 8-9 April Report of the Rapporteur-General, <http://www.nam.gov.za/xiiiinconf>

⁷⁵ 2002, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, Durban, 27-29 April Report of the Rapporteur-General, <http://www.nam.gov.za/minmeet/rapp165a.htm>

President of the Public Association for Security and Defense of Azerbaijan, Yashar Jafarli, believes that against the background of the pro-Russian and pro-American polarization of Azerbaijani society, the decision of official Baku will contribute to deepening this polarization and increasing tension in society: "The presence of serious problems in carrying out reforms in Azerbaijan in various directions is not for anyone secret, European organizations constantly demand the implementation of these reforms, but membership in the Non-Aligned Movement can alienate Azerbaijan from democratic reforms, " he said.

Experts from the Doctrina Center for Military Studies of Journalists believe that the South Caucasus region remains tense, and the international political and military strategy in the region is volatile. "There is a problem of non-return of the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, and the fact that membership in the Non-Aligned Movement will be able to solve this problem raises doubts," the center's experts say⁷⁶.

However, there are those who think differently. According to political scientist Elchin Mirzabeyli, joining the Non-Aligned Movement is the right step: "Some experts call integration into the Euro-Atlantic space as a strategic goal of Azerbaijan and therefore believe that this step will create serious obstacles on this path. However, this approach is wrong. There are countries in Europe who are not NATO members, and for them this position did not create problems for integration into the Euro-Atlantic space. For example, Sweden and Switzerland are not NATO members. However, these countries are not only integrated into the Euro-Atlantic space, but also brought new values into it. From this point of view, joining this movement is fully in the interests of Azerbaijan. We live in a very dangerous region, and at present joining the blocs do not meet our interests"⁷⁷.

E. Mirzabeyli believes that now it is still very difficult to say what will give Azerbaijan joining the movement. "But the main thing is that it won't take anything away. At the moment, not to lose is a great success in itself. Joining the movement

⁷⁶ 2008, XV Ministerial Conference, Tehran, 27-30 July Chair Activities since the Summit (NAM 2008/Doc.6), <http://namiran.org/tehran-2008>

⁷⁷ 2009, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, Havana, 27-30 April Report by Rapporteur-General (NAM 2009/MM/DOC. 7/REV.1), <http://namiran.org/havana-2009>

will not create any problems for Azerbaijan's relations with NATO, because the relations of the bloc with Azerbaijan are regulated by individual agreements. And besides, I am not I understand why this issue is linked with NATO. I think that this step of Azerbaijan should be linked with the CSTO, " he said⁷⁸. The expert believes that membership in the movement will not become a reason for the fading of Azerbaijan's ties with NATO. "Since NATO also needs Azerbaijan from a geopolitical point of view," the expert said.

He also believes that joining or not joining this movement does not directly influence the resolution of the Karabakh conflict. "In general, the fact that Azerbaijan is not a member of any military bloc, as well as Azerbaijan's intention to solve its problem as a neutral state within the UN, should be taken as a sign," he said.

E. Mirzabeyli also expressed his attitude to the allegations that at one time Russia blessed the Non-Aligned Movement: "Wrong approach. Having created the CSTO, Russia proved that it is not neutral. it is better to pay attention to modern realities".

Answering our question about how Azerbaijan will feel among the countries-members of the movement, most of which are non-democratic, E. Mirzabeyli noted that the whole point is in the approaches to the concept of democracy: "Democracy first of all means ensuring the rule of law ... Sometimes it happens so that democratic and non-democratic states, faced with injustice, unite. For me, democracy is above all justice. And Azerbaijan's place among the countries represented in this organization will determine the reforms that will be carried out during the coming year."⁷⁹

And independent political scientist Ilkin Bagirov believes that in reality the policy that Azerbaijan has been pursuing for many years in itself gives reason to assume that the country will not join any bloc. "I think that this step is the most correct for Azerbaijan from a geopolitical point of view. At least, the experience of the countries that have also taken this step leads to this conclusion. organizations, and

⁷⁸ 2009, XV Summit, Sharm El Sheikh, 11-16 July Report of the Rapporteur General (NAM 2009/RG/Doc.2), <http://namiran.org/15thsummit>

⁷⁹ 2011, XVI Ministerial Conference and Commemorative Meeting, Bali, 23-27 May Final Document (NAM 2011/Doc.1/Rev.1), <http://namiran.org/bali-2011>

therefore it is more expedient to adhere to a neutral position for the time being. However, over time, the countries may change their positions, that is, in the future, depending on the situation, no one will be able to prevent Azerbaijan from changing its position, "he said"⁸⁰.

The Non-Aligned Movement, uniting states that did not join any military-political blocs during the Cold War, transformed into one of the important multilateral mechanisms that managed to maintain the relevance and possibilities of influencing international relations in the historical reality changing after the collapse of the Soviet Union, as well as multilateral diplomacy of the modern period. Today the Non-Aligned Movement is a political platform after the UN, which unites the largest number of states in its ranks. Thus, the movement, which includes 120 full members, unites 17 observer states and 10 observer international organizations⁸¹.

Azerbaijan, actively participating in the work of the movement, effectively used this platform to develop its bilateral and multilateral relations. It is commendable that, with the participation of our country in the Non-Aligned Movement, the members of this structure received more detailed information on the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and, since 2012, in all the final documents adopted as a result of ministerial meetings and summits, an item related to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. It expresses support for the solution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict on the basis of the principles of the inviolability of territorial integrity, sovereignty and the internationally recognized borders of Azerbaijan⁸².

⁸⁰ 2012, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, Sharm El Sheikh, 7-10 May Final Document (NAM 2012/CoB/Doc.1), <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/nam/documents/final%20document%20adopted%20by%20the%20ministerial%20meetings%209-10%20May.pdf>

⁸¹ 2012, XVI Summit, Tehran, 26-31 August Report of the Senior Officials Meeting (NAM 2012/SOM/Doc.3/Corr.1), <http://namiran.org/16th-senior-officials-meeting>

⁸² 2012, XVI Summit, Tehran, 26-31 August Final Document (NAM 2012/Doc.1/Rev.2), <http://namiran.org/16th-summit>

3.3. NAM and Azerbaijan's Global South diplomacy

Despite the fact that Azerbaijan's path leading to the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement lasted only 8 years of membership in the organization, in reality it was a process that required a lot of work and diplomatic efforts. Actively participating in the work of the movement from the first days of its membership in the organization, contributing to ongoing discussions and documents being prepared, Azerbaijan chaired the session of the NAM ministerial meeting held in 2014 in Algeria, as well as the session of the meeting held in 2016 as part of the summit on the island of Margarita. Proposals related to the intention of the Republic of Azerbaijan to chair the NAM in 2019-2022 were first presented to the permanent body functioning in New York - the Coordination Bureau. After agreeing on this proposal with the member countries, at the 17th Summit of the Movement held in September 2016, a decision was made related to Azerbaijan's chairmanship in the structure. One of the important points is that the European Group, which includes our country, after a long time (for the last time in 1989-1992 Yugoslavia chaired the movement from the European Group) for the first time will chair the NAM in the person of Azerbaijan. From this point of view, of course, on Azerbaijan, which is an important component of the Islamic world, developing relations of cooperation with all states of the world, especially with neighboring countries, excluding the aggressor Armenia, sharing mutually beneficial partnership relations with European countries, having an important geographical position - on the junction of West and East, a great responsibility is imposed⁸³.

Thus, according to the Order of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated February 11, 2019, a decision was made to create an Organizing Committee for the holding of the XVIII Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement member countries in Baku in 2019 and the implementation of measures related to the chairmanship of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the movement

⁸³ New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP), Declaration on the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership, Senior Officials' Meeting (SOM), Jakarta, 12-13 October 2009, <http://kemlu.go.id/Documents/NAASP/Hyperlink%201.pdf>

in 2019 -2022 years. This chairmanship, of course, places great responsibility on Azerbaijan, which has won the absolute confidence of the movement. Over the next three years, Azerbaijan, in accordance with certain priority areas, will carry out the formation of a unified position of the NAM member states, as well as coordination work on the grouping of the movement's member states in the UN Security Council (SC). Thus, through the aforementioned grouping, the NAM member states will strive to secure their positions in the UN Security Council, as well as to reflect the decisions made at the organization's summits in Security Council resolutions. To fulfill these important tasks during our chairmanship, the leadership of the NAM Coordination Bureau, which is located at the UN headquarters in New York, will be carried out by the Permanent Representative of our country to the UN.

Azerbaijan's chairmanship in the Non-Aligned Movement, in our opinion, will be useful in terms of both improving and revitalizing coordination work between the Movement's member states and strengthening coordination in other UN headquarters in which the structure operates (for example, Vienna, Geneva, Nairobi), as well as establishing a dialogue with leading international organizations. It is no coincidence that the priorities of our country's chairmanship in the NAM are defined precisely in accordance with these areas: 1. Strengthening unity and solidarity between the member countries of the movement; 2. Strengthening the authority of the movement in the international arena; 3. Promotion of the "Bandung Principles"⁸⁴.

The XVIII Summit of the NAM member states entitled "Providing a joint and adequate response to the challenges of the modern world, guided by the Bandung principles", which will be held on October 25-26 in Baku, will lay the foundation for a very important history - Azerbaijan's chairmanship in this international structure for the next three years ... There is no doubt that during the chairmanship our country will fulfill all the tasks set before it with dignity and at the highest level, because despite the fact that Azerbaijan is a young country, it has already won great success

⁸⁴ Azerbaijan, National Security Concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 23 May 2007, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lang=en&id=154917>

in the international arena⁸⁵. Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement will serve to strengthen the growing authority of Azerbaijan in the international arena, expand the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation of our country, along with strengthening ties with the UN and other international organizations, of course, will help our country gain experience in leadership in such a large political structure as the NAM.

As the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev noted during his speech at the opening ceremony of the Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Baku on April 3-6 last year on the theme “Promoting international peace and security for sustainable development”: “We all want to live our own, independent life. None of us wants someone to demand from us any action, interfere in our affairs, dictate to us. To do this, we must be strong. We can only be strong if we are together.⁸⁶ ” The future and strength of the Non-Aligned Movement lies precisely in unity and demonstration of a unified position. Azerbaijan, in turn, during the upcoming chairmanship of the NAM will mobilize all its efforts to achieve these goals.

Two events can be called the main results of the 18th summit of the International Non-Aligned Movement held in Baku on October 27, in which representatives of 120 countries, including kings, presidents and heads of government, took part⁸⁷.

Azerbaijan becomes the chairman of the movement for 2019-2022, which means that it cannot enter any military bloc during this period. Experts say this primarily means that Azerbaijan will not join the Russian-led CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization) union, although such a prospect has been actively discussed in recent months.

⁸⁵ Azerbaijan, Development Concept “Azerbaijan-2020”, 29 December 2012, http://www.az.undp.org/content/dam/azerbaijan/docs/sustain_development/AZ_Vision2020_government_draft_en.pdf

⁸⁶ Asia-Africa Youth Forum, Reviving Asia-Africa Spirit to Accelerate the Achievement of MDGs. Administrative Arrangements, Bandung, 23-27 August 2010, <http://sman28jkt.sch.id/userfiles/file/Aministrative%20arrangement%20AAYF%20final.rt>

⁸⁷ Rashad Shirinov, “Azerbaijan’s Foreign Policy: Seeking a Balance”, in *Caucasus Analytical Digest*, No. 37 (29 March 2012), p. 2-4, http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/DetailansichtPubDB_EN?rec_id=2117

The final document of the summit declared support for the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and spoke about the occupation of its territories. Obviously, it means that Armenia occupied Karabakh, although none of these names is directly mentioned.

After D. Trump came to power in the United States, the world was in crisis. The imposition by the United States of sanctions not only against its rivals, but also against its allies, has led to a disruption of the world order. However, under the current conditions, Azerbaijan, as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, continues to pursue a balanced policy.

In recent years, the meetings of the presidents of Azerbaijan, Iran and Russia have been regular and traditional. This geopolitical "trio" was founded in Baku. All three states are also the leading countries in the region. Russia is a powerful country with a decisive voice in the world. Iran is a country with a historical tradition of statehood. Azerbaijan's cooperation with these countries speaks of the role of Baku in the region. Today Azerbaijan has become a key player in regional integration. The famous phrase belongs to Napoleon: "The fate of peoples is determined by geography." The geopolitical trio Azerbaijan-Iran-Russia is of key importance in the region. The three neighboring countries discuss a wide range of issues and contribute to the development of relations⁸⁸.

In the trilateral declaration, adopted at the Baku summit of the three states in August 2016, the following areas of regional cooperation were identified⁸⁹:

- Strengthening of interstate relations;
- Settlement of regional conflicts;
- Fight against terrorism, extremism, transnational crime;
- Development of cooperation in the field of economy, energy, transport, infrastructure, culture, tourism, business;
- Support for development projects of the North-South transport corridor.

⁸⁸ Arshad Rasool and Arihal Pulwama, "Non-Aligned Movement in 21st Century: Relevant or Redundant? A Debate", in *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (May-June 2013), p. 64-70, <http://dx.doi.org/10.9790/0837-1146470> Housman

⁸⁹ Elkhan Mekhtiyev, "Armenia-Azerbaijan Prague Process: Road Map to Peace or Stalemate for Uncertainty?", in *CSRC Caucasus Series*, No. 05/23 (May 2005), <http://www.da.mod.uk/Research-Publications/category/67/-0523-1204>

The parties agreed to raise cooperation to a new level in such important areas as economy, culture, energy, transport, tourism and education. A joint fight against terrorism and extremism is being carried out, cooperation in various fields is expanding, new energy projects, the North-South transport corridor are being implemented, and mutually beneficial cooperation in other areas is strengthening. There is no doubt that the leaders of the three countries are ready to take serious steps in this direction⁹⁰.

Against this background, two problems are of particular interest - the resolution of conflicts in the region and the status of the Caspian Sea. The parties recognize that unresolved regional conflicts are a serious obstacle to the development of cooperation, and emphasize the importance of their peaceful settlement through the earliest possible agreement on the principles and norms of international law. Another important issue is the position of the three countries on the status of the Caspian: "The parties consider the Caspian Sea to be the sea of peace, friendship, security and cooperation."⁹¹ If there are unresolved problems in the Caspian, outside forces can use them to create uncertainties. That is why there is great confidence that trilateral cooperation between Azerbaijan, Russia and Iran will have positive geopolitical consequences for the entire Caspian-Caucasian region. The specific content of this cooperation is the agreements reached in the economic, energy, transport and information spheres.

Both Moscow and Tehran were subject to various sanctions from the United States and its Western partners. The US is trying to force Baku to join these sanctions. But such pressure did not produce any results.

One of the key topics of the trilateral dialogue is the development of new transport corridors, the creation of a common energy belt and access to the Silk Road through the North-South project. The expected volume of traffic on the section of the North-South international transport corridor through Azerbaijan is 3 million tons at

⁹⁰ Rovshan Ibrahimov, "U.S.-Azerbaijan Relations: A View from Baku", in Rethink Papers, No. 17 (October 2014), <http://wp.me/p3TIQJ-bJ>

⁹¹ Cedric Grant, "Equity in International Relations: A Third World Perspective", in International Affairs, Vol. 71, No. 3 (July 1995), p.567-587

the first stage, 5-8 million tons at the second stage and 15 million tons at the third stage. This dynamic is in the interests of all three states.

It is obvious that the implementation of such projects requires a stable political situation in the region. The main attention here will be paid to the disclosure of common interests for Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan, the ability to pursue consistent international and regional policies, the geopolitical future of the "trio", its potential to form a regional alliance. It depends on whether Baku will be able to continue balancing not only between Moscow and Tehran, but also between the West. In this context, the key role of Azerbaijan is obvious. The trilateral cooperation format demonstrates the importance of Azerbaijan for the region. The plans to build the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway and the North-South transport corridor prove that Azerbaijan is still successfully playing its unifying role in the region. The main obstacle to the expansion of Azerbaijan's capabilities is the territorial conflict. Russia and Iran can and should play a more active role in solving this problem⁹².

In recent years, there has been a dynamic development of relations within the Azerbaijan-Russia-Turkey triangle. Today the "trio" Azerbaijan-Russia-Turkey has become an important factor in the region. It is a key element in the overall development process in the Caucasus. The Turkish-Russian-Azerbaijani format has a serious impact on the development of regional processes. The Turkic-speaking countries of Central Asia are also actively involved in the processes of regional integration. Moscow needs allies to implement the Eurasian project. In this regard, the Turks can become the best ally. For all these reasons, Moscow regards the Turkish world as a reliable partner. In this sense, the "trio" Azerbaijan-Russia-Turkey can be viewed as a step towards Eurasia. It is obvious that the agreements between Turkey and Russia on Syria also influenced the processes in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Here we see that Russia wants to see all the Turkic republics in the region as its allies⁹³.

⁹² Rick Fawn, "Ideology and National Identity in Post-communist Foreign Policies", in Rick Fawn (ed.), *Ideology and National Identity in Post-communist Foreign Policies*, London and Portland, Frank Cass, 2004, p.1-41

⁹³ Svante E. Cornell, "Azerbaijan: Going It Alone", in S. Frederick Starr and Svante E. Cornell (eds.), *Putin's Grand Strategy. The Eurasian Union and Its Discontents*, Washington, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, 2014, p.145-155, <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/publications/silkroad-papers-and-monographs/item/13053>

Moscow has a historical interest in the Caucasus and Central Asia. At the same time, there are Turkic-speaking republics in the Russian Federation itself. Russia also wants to win the sympathy of the Crimean Tatars. Therefore, cooperation with the Turks is necessary for Moscow. Azerbaijan can play an important role in these processes.

The rapprochement between Turkey and Russia is taking place in difficult geopolitical conditions. The overwhelming majority of experts note that the rapprochement between the two countries is primarily going on in the trade and economic sphere. Turkey and Russia have serious energy projects. One of them is the Russian project, formerly called the South Stream, and now the Turkish Stream. It should not be forgotten that this project is geopolitical for Russia in terms of supplying alternative energy to Europe. But for Turkey, this is just an energy project⁹⁴. For Ankara, it should be viewed as a matter of energy supply and energy security. However, it should be remembered that all energy projects in the region in recent years are simultaneously geopolitical projects.

During Azerbaijan's chairmanship in the Security Council, a number of events were held at the ministerial level. Due to the limitations of the pandemic, these events took place in a virtual format. Thus, the meetings of the Ministers of Health of the member states on May 20, 2020 and May 24, 2021, the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the UN member states on October 9, 2020 (within the next session of the UN General Assembly) and June 4, 2021 Meetings of the Ministers of Labor of the Member States of the Movement were held on

During the presidency of the National Assembly of our country, special attention was paid to the field of work with youth. Thus, on the initiative and organization of the chairmanship of Azerbaijan, on April 16-18, 2020 at the national level and on March 1-5, 2021 at the international level was held QH Model Simulation Workshop. The events were organized for the first time in the history of the Movement and took place in a virtual format due to the restrictions caused by the

⁹⁴ Evgeny Astakhov, "The Non-Aligned Movement Today", in RIAC Multipolar World Analysis, 26 November 2012, http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=1084

pandemic. 60 young people from 39 continents from 4 continents participated in the International Simulation Workshop.

On August 30-31, 2012, the 16th Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran was held in Tehran, the Islamic Republic of Iran. In Article 391 of the Final Document adopted during the summit, the states expressed their support for the settlement of the conflict "within the territorial integrity, sovereignty and internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Azerbaijan."

On May 28-29, 2014, the 17th Ministerial Meeting of the Security Council was held in Algeria. In Article 421 of the final document of the Ministerial Meeting and in Article 500 of the Summit in Margarita, the member states expressed their regret that the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan remained unresolved despite the relevant UN Security Council resolutions and supported the settlement of the conflict within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

The final document of the Non-Aligned Movement Interim Ministerial Conference held in Baku on April 4-6, 2018 expressed regret over the unresolved conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan despite the relevant UN Security Council resolutions and support for resolving the conflict within the territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The next meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement Coordination Bureau at the Ministerial level was held on July 18-21, 2019 in Caracas, Venezuela. The Caracas Final Document adopted at the end of the meeting reiterated the position of support reflected in previous documents on the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict.

On April 4, 2020, the Non-Aligned Movement Coordinating Bureau adopted a Communiqué on the so-called "elections" held in the occupied territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Emphasizing that the seizure of territories by force is unacceptable, the document reaffirms that no state considers the situation created as a result of the occupation of the territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan lawful. The communiqué states that the member states of the Movement do not recognize the so-called "presidential and parliamentary elections" held on March 31, 2020 in the

occupied Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan and consider this act illegal. Referring to Article 662 of the final document of the Baku Summit, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Azerbaijan within its internationally recognized borders, as well as the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 822, 853, 874 and 884 expresses its support for.

The video conference conference of the Foreign Ministers of the UN member states held within the next session of the UN General Assembly on October 9, 2020 coincided with the next aggression of Armenia against our country, ie the 44-day Patriotic War. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Armenia attacked the positions of the forces and civilian settlements ”and a Special Declaration was adopted under this item. In the Special Declaration, the member states of the Security Council expressed concern over the resumption of clashes between civilians and casualties in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, reiterating their principled support for resolving the conflict on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions and emphasizing Azerbaijan's support for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the Declaration, the member states expressed their solidarity with the Republic of Azerbaijan on the basis of the principled position of the Movement.

The UN Security Council also held closed-door consultations on October 19, 2020 to discuss the situation in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. As a result of the work and negotiations, the adoption of this draft statement, which contradicts the position of our country and does not reflect the reference to the resolutions of the Security Council on the conflict, was prevented.

The principles of the Movement, which is a representative member of all continents and regions inhabited by people, are also fair with its activities adapted to the realities of the new world system. Among the 10 main provisions - respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states; to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other countries; to refrain from the use of collective defense measures to serve any special interests of the great powers; to refrain from any activity directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of other countries, as well

as from the use or threat of use of force; to promote mutual interest and cooperation; Objectives such as justice and respect for international obligations are in fact the points that explain in detail the nature of the Non-Aligned Movement.

CONCLUSION

The Second World War, which is one of the biggest disasters in the history of the world, brought social, psychological, destruction and change with it, and caused millions of people to die, to become homeless and to migrate. The most important change in terms of the international system is that the European great powers, which are leaders in international politics and economy, have been replaced by the USA and Soviet Russia. After the war, most of the states of the world gathered around these two powers. The USA and Soviet Russia tried to adopt their own ideologies on the states that were parties to this cluster, and this situation caused a fierce competition

between the two great powers. This rivalry between the USA and Soviet Russia was called the "Cold War" period.

During the Cold War, these two great powers that tried to adopt their own ideologies on the regions formed blocs and they tried to include the countries from which they adopted their ideologies. The competition to strengthen the blocks has brought both countries against each other in many regions. At this point, the USA knew how to protect its interests with its international "open door" policy and the basis of all military and economic pacts it has made lies in its policy of ensuring its own security and encircling Soviet Russia. The greatest danger for the USA during the Cold War period is the Soviet Russia's efforts to establish communist regimes with its expansionist policies. In the face of this situation, the USA tried to prevent the spread of Soviet Russia, which it saw as a threat, and while doing this, it applied the threat policy, which was the most adopted policy of the Cold War period.

Soviet Russia has established pacts against the containment policy of the USA against it and has managed to attract these countries to its side by establishing good relations with the Third World Countries. Among the Third World Countries, especially Egypt, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia have become their biggest supporters in protecting their independence by providing political support to the newly independent countries by turning the struggle between the blocs into an opportunity. In doing so, they tried not to compromise their independence and disconnection. They fought against the colony by staying out of the two Blocs. For this purpose, they came together and took joint decisions in military, political and economic fields.

The newly independent Asian-African states came together at the Bandung Conference between 18-24 April 1955 to make joint decisions. Having an important place in the Cold War equation, the Conference led to the emergence of a third Block against the East and West Blocks. The conference focused on issues such as mutual respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of nations in the international arena, mutual benefit in economic relations, non-interference in domestic affairs, peaceful coexistence, condemnation of colonialism, rejection of racism, non-

aggression and not being included in any alliance established by the blocs. In the conference, the necessity of staying outside the blocks especially for the continuation of independence was emphasized. But the dire economic conditions of many of them dictated that the Blocs need aid policies. In this case, while Soviet Russia calculated that its anti-colonial attitude would gain strength in attracting these newly independent states to its side, the USA tried to win a party with the military and economic pacts it had established by relying on its success in Europe.

The USA was deeply anxious about this situation, as it was aware that Asian-African countries could get rid of the chains that would tie them to the West and international capitalism with their neutrality policy, that they would be strengthened in determining their own independent policies by establishing good relations with the two blocs, and that they could develop their national revolution more easily with the support of Soviet Russia. For the US, it was not the real danger that these countries were just pro-Soviet Russia or turned towards communism; Moreover, non-connection was perceived as an unacceptable hostility to colonialism, as it meant independence. This situation has forced the USA to make its regional policies optimistic. Thus, the United States has tried to maintain its existence in the third world in line with its friendly appearance.

Soviet Russia followed policies similar to that of the USA. Recognizing the benefits of supporting independence movements in third world countries at the Bandung Conference, Soviet Russia shaped its foreign policy in the Cold War as supporting national independence movements and non-aligned. In this framework, the non-aligned countries have turned to obtain most of their defense and economic needs from the Eastern Bloc. At this point, the aim of Soviet Russia, which provided economic and military support to non-aligned states, was not to intervene in the administration in these countries and to control them, but to seek a defense against the USA and the capitalist world.

Only Yugoslavia and Cyprus from Europe and a limited number of countries in Latin America participated in the Non-Aligned Movement, which included the majority of the developing Asian-African countries, which are always feeling the

influence of the USA and Soviet Russia. However, due to security concerns in many countries like Turkey they were not included in the Non-Aligned Movement. Because disconnection did not provide a security guarantee against a possible external attack. This was also the case for India, which was attacked by the People's Republic of China in 1962, and in the meantime, India had to get military aid from these countries by approaching Soviet Russia on the one hand and the West on the other. In fact, a peace, friendship and cooperation agreement was signed between India and Soviet Russia in 1971, which criticized the extent to which it complied with the non-connection policy. On the other hand, these newly independent countries, mostly Asian and African countries, have largely fallen into the gravity of the socialist camp.

Nasser, Tito and Nehru, the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, have great differences in their understanding and application of non-connection to their countries' foreign policies. For example, Tito Yugoslavia's struggle with Soviet Russia was in shaping its non-connection policy. With this policy, especially after 1948, Tito approached the Western Bloc and received military and economic aid. After the death of Stalin in Soviet Russia, as the Soviet Russian pressure on Tito decreased, Yugoslavia abandoned the Western Bloc and the Balkan Treaty of 1954 and shifted towards non-alignment. On the other hand, anti-Westernism lies in Nasser's non-connection policy. In the first years of his rule, Nasser, who constantly asked for military and economic aid from the Western Bloc, approached the Eastern Bloc when his demands were not met and tried to obtain his demands from there. If the Baghdad Pact, created by the Western Bloc to encircle Soviet Russia, had not hit Nasser's plans for Middle East leadership, Soviet Russia would not have been able to easily ally with Nasser. In this case, unlike Tito's disconnection, the Eastern Bloc prevails in Nasser's disconnection. The contradictory and strange aspect of the Non-Aligned Movement is that communist countries such as China, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba and Cambodia are also members of the non-aligned. However, a pro-US country such as Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf countries have also been included in the non-aligned countries.

Azerbaijan's membership in the organization will also make an important contribution to the organization's modern economic and political cooperation. The impossibility of any strategic initiative and large-scale project without Azerbaijan's participation in the Caucasian space is beyond doubt. The same applies to the Azerbaijani-Turkish-Iranian format. Baku cooperates with Ankara and Iran in the East-West and North-South geostrategic projects, respectively. Strengthening the unity and solidarity of the participants in this trilateral format is based on a broad cultural, religious and historical unity. Deepening cooperation in combating various forms and manifestations of terrorism, separatism and violent extremism, transnational organized crime, crimes against cultural and historical heritage, illegal arms trade, human trafficking, cybercrime and illegal migration is also important. Expanding trilateral cooperation in the fight against violent extremism is of particular importance. The threat posed by various terrorist organizations is growing day by day. Each of the three participating States plays an important role in the fight against international terrorism. Azerbaijan's contribution to this struggle is recognized by everyone. Baku supports anti-terrorist operations, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition, our country, together with other coastal countries, primarily Russia, is preventing the threat of terrorism in the Caspian region. Iran and Turkey, together with Russia, are making every effort to destroy terrorist centers in Syria.

The main topic of the Azerbaijani-Turkish-Iranian dialogue is to support the process of regional integration. Three neighboring countries declare their commitment to the implementation of large-scale international transport projects that are of strategic importance for integration into Eurasia. Both countries are particularly satisfied with the commissioning of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway, as these three countries can use the East-West, South-West and North-South transit routes. From this point of view, Iran's interest in the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway attracts attention. The Iranians intend to use the potential of this railway to transport their goods to Europe. In other words, in the context of international sanctions imposed on Tehran, this is a very important issue for the Iranian economy.

The speech of the President of Azerbaijan, Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement Ilham Aliyev at the High-Level Meeting dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement is important in several respects.

First, comprehensive information about this institution is formed in the broad public opinion. Thus, the Non-Aligned Movement, founded in Belgrade in 1961, is an important institution in the system of international relations; It is the second largest body after the UN General Assembly; It unites 120 countries with different historical, political and cultural affiliations, covering different regions. Relations with Azerbaijan have a 10-year history. The movement plays an important role in the international arena through its efforts for global peace, justice and solidarity. It includes fundamental principles such as respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, refraining from acts of aggression, and non-interference in the internal affairs of others.

Assault on territorial integrity and occupation have always made Azerbaijan's cooperation with this organization relevant, and our country's accession to the Non-Aligned Movement aims to contribute to strengthening peace, security, international law and justice.

The tribune of the Non-Aligned Movement has always allowed Azerbaijan to expose Armenia's aggressive policy and convey the truth to the world community. In addition, the messages he gave as a state suffering from the occupation, the facts he voiced, shed light on the fact that there is no alternative but the dawn for the peaceful coexistence of mankind.

The movement does not accept the violation of the territorial integrity of states by force, considers it unacceptable, acts as a defender of the interests of Azerbaijan in this regard and always unites its efforts with our country in this direction.

The second important aspect of President Ilham Aliyev's speech is the presentation of international confidence in Azerbaijan to public opinion.

The result of the recognition of Azerbaijan's strength and potential by the world community is that our country has gained great respect among the members of the Movement in a short period of time; In 2016, by the unanimous decision of the

leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, he was elected chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement for 2019-2022. In addition, the member states of the Movement unanimously decided to extend the presidency of Azerbaijan for another year - until the end of 2023. What does this mean?

Therefore, Azerbaijan makes a worthy contribution to peace and security in the world; successfully co-chairs the organization and has effective results.

What important international initiatives has Azerbaijan achieved on this platform?

First of all, the fight against the pandemic should be noted. The efforts of Azerbaijan were very necessary. Our country believed that global efforts should be mobilized to combat COVID-19. Because the disease has become a serious threat to everyone, there is a need for strong cooperation in the fight.

In May 2020, Azerbaijan initiated and organized the Non-Aligned Movement's online summit at the level of heads of state and government. As a practical result of the Summit, a database covering the basic humanitarian and medical needs of the Non-Aligned Movement member states was created. The World Health Organization is referring to this database to meet the current needs of the Non-Aligned Movement in the fight against the pandemic.

In addition, during the acute period of the pandemic, Azerbaijan undertook a humanitarian mission. The mission consisted of \$ 10 million in voluntary funding to the WHO, half of which was direct assistance to members of the Non-Aligned Movement. On the other hand, Azerbaijan has provided humanitarian and financial assistance to more than 30 countries, including members of the Movement, to support the fight against coronavirus; 150,000 doses of vaccine were donated to four countries free of charge. This was a manifestation of Azerbaijani humanism and brought leadership to our country.

Azerbaijan has played a role in strengthening the international prestige of the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as strengthening its prestige within this organization. Thanks to this authority, international support for the Patriotic War was established. The support provided to Azerbaijan by the seven countries of the Non-

Aligned Movement, a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, was a significant event. They did not allow the adoption of a unilateral press release without reference to UN Security Council resolutions adopted in 1993. At the same time, these countries have demonstrated a strong commitment to the principled position of the Non-Aligned Movement, which stems from the documents of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Among the members of this organization were countries that supported the right position of Azerbaijan before and after the Second Karabakh War. On October 19, 2020, a draft anti-Azerbaijani resolution was submitted to the UN Security Council. The main reason for the non-adoption of this resolution was the position of non-permanent members of the UN Security Council and members of the Non-Aligned Movement. Azerbaijan is committed to the principles of this structure and defends the territorial integrity of other states.

Many states recognized the correctness of Azerbaijan. During the chairmanship of Azerbaijan, an appeal was sent to hold a special session of the UN in connection with the pandemic. The initiative of our country was supported, a special session was convened. The Non-Aligned Movement plays an important role in terms of conveying Azerbaijani realities to the whole world.

The Non-Aligned Movement has played an important role in disseminating information between countries. Over the past decade, this institution has become quite active. It is gratifying that this happened during the chairmanship of Azerbaijan. Thus, we have a wider opportunity to convey to the world the Karabakh realities, information about the vandalism of Armenians, and we have achieved what we want. It is no coincidence that during the war the Non-Aligned Movement adopted a number of resolutions proposed by our country.

The next extension of Azerbaijan's chairmanship in the Non-Aligned Movement is a sign of confidence. Taking into account our successful chairmanship, the members of the Non-Aligned Movement extended this term, which is important in the context of strengthening the authority of Azerbaijan, strengthening our ties with international organizations and bilateral relations with member countries.

REFERENCES

1. Babou, Cheikh Anta. 2010. Decolonization or National liberation: debating the end of British Colonial Rule in Africa. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632: 41-54.
2. Chhiba, Pratiksha. 2011. South Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement: still relevant or a relic?
http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=756:south-africa-and-the-non-aligned-movementnam-still-relevant-or-a-relic&catid=57:africa-watch-discussion-papers&Itemid=263. Accessed 24 Apr 2015.
3. Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. 2009. Reshaping the World Order: how Washington should reform international institutions. *Foreign Affairs* 88(2): 49-63

4. Collins, Alan R. 1998. GRIT, Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War. *Review of International Studies* 24(2): 201-219
5. "NAM Summit Opens at Tehran", *The Nation*, 30 August 2012, available at <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-dailyenglishonline/international/30-Aug-2012/nam-summit-opens-in-tehran>, accessed on 15 September 2012.
6. Mahmood Hasan, "Non-Aligned Movement: Not a dead horse", *The Daily Star*, 06 September 2012.
7. Zakir Hussain, "Tehran NAM Summit and Future Arab Politics", Issue Brief, Indian Council of World Affairs, 05 October 2012
8. Kouros Ziabari, "The Tehran NAM Summit Undermines US-Israeli War Plans Directed against Iran", *Global Research*, 26 August 2012, available at <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-tehran-nam-summit-undermines-us-israeli-war-plans-directed-against-iran/>, accessed on 15 September 2012.
9. Ayesha Zuhair, "The non-aligned summit in Tehran", *The Daily Mirror*, 23 August 2012, available at <http://www.dailymirror.lk/opinion/172-opinion/21355-the-non-aligned-summit-in-tehran.html>, accessed on 19 October 2012
10. Vladimir Radyuhin, "Russia, U.S. send contrasting reactions to NAM summit", *The Hindu*, 30 August 2012, available at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/article3840313.ece>, accessed on 19 September 2012.
11. Hari Jai Singh: *India and Non-alignment World*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, p.7.
12. Arjun Subramaniyam (ed.), *Non-Alignment 2.0*, *The Times of India*, March 27, 2012.
13. Sunil Khilani, Rajiv Kumar and so-on, *Non-alignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the Twenty First Century*, New Delhi, 2012, p.16.
14. K.P. Mishra: "Conceptual Profile of Non-alignment" in K.P. Mishra and K.R. Narayanan(ed.): *Non-alignment in Contemporary International relations*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, p.201

15. M.K. Narayanan (ed.), Non-alignment to multi-alignment, *The Hindu*, January 5, 2016.
16. Abraham, Itty; *From Bandung to NAM: Non-alignment and Indian Foreign Policy, 1947-65*, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, University of Texas at Austin, USA, Vol. 46, No. 2, 195-219, April 2008.
17. Anthony, A. Amakiri; *National Liberation Movements And The Non-Aligned: A Study in Anti-Colonialism With Particular Reference To Zimbabwe*, A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment Of The Requirements For The Degree Of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Leicester, England, 1984
18. Barlas, Cemil Sait; "Bandung Conference" *Son Havadis Newspaper*, 21 April 1955
19. Batović, Ante; "Nonaligned Yugoslavia and the Relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation", *The Non-Aligned Movement in the Mediterranean Project* The European Institute, Columbia University, 2009.
20. CherrY Lydia, MAÏTRA Ramtanu; Non-Aligned nations propose U.N., *Third World Debt Reforms At Summit*, *EIR (Executive Intelligence Review) Journal*, Volume 19, Number 37, September 18, Washington, 1992.
21. Cramer, Hartmut; *The Colombo resolution of the Non-Aligned*, *EIR (Executive Intelligence Review) Journal*, Volume 25, Number 32, August 14, Washington, 1998.
22. Joseph A.; *Security Efforts in the Arab World: A Brief Examination of Four Regional Organizations*, Published By RAND's National Defense Research Institute, USA, 1994.
23. Mason, Richard; *The United States, the Cold War and Indonesia-People's Republic of China Relations 1950-1955*, *Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS)*, *Kemanusiaan The Asian Journal of Humanities*, Malaysia, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2016.
24. Mates, Leo; *Nonalignment Theory and Current Policy*, Belgrade, 1972

25. Mital, Aruna R; Non-aligned movement and its relevance today, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research, Volume 2, Issue 7, July 2016.

26. Nugroho, Bantan; Indonesia's Foreign Policy And ASEAN, Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For The Degree Of Master Of Arts, Dalhousie University, Canada, 1996

27. Rauch, Carsten; Farewell Non-Alignment? Constancy and change of foreign policy in post-colonial India, PRIF Reports No. 85, (Translation: Katharine Hughes), Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, 2008.

28. Pretorius, Joellen; Non-Alignment In The Current World Order: The Impact Of The Rise Of China, International Relations Department of Political Studies University of the Western Cape, Republic of South Africa

29. Singham, A.W., Hune, Shirley; Non-Alignment In An Age Of Alignments, The College Press, London 1986.

30. Singh, K. Natwar; The Seventh Non-Aligned Summit New Delhi March 1983, The Round Table The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 72, issue 287, England 1983.

31. Sneider, Daniel; The Origins of The Non-Aligned Movement in The American Independence Tradition, EIR (Executive Intelligence Review) Journal, Volume 6, Number 33, August 21, Washington, 1979

32. Verdaasdonk, Willem; US created Multilateral Alliances: Why they succeed in Europe but Failed in South East Asia: Evaluating NATO and SEATO, Bachelor Thesis report International Studies, Netherlands, 2015

33. Wallerstein, Immanuel; What Cold War in Asia? An Interpretative Essay, (Ed. Zheng Yangwen, Hong Liu, Michael Szonyi), Tuta Sub Aegide Pallas Publishing, Boston, 2010

34. SELMAOĞLU, Ayfer; USA's Great Middle East Policy and Global Reflections, Atılım University Institute of Social Sciences, Published Master Thesis, Ankara, 2007.

35. “Non-Aligned Movement has not outlives its usefulness, says Colombian Pres[id]ent.” *Journal of the Group of 77*. July/August 1997. <http://www.g77.org/nc/journal/julaug97/5.htm>
36. Rajan, M. S. “Non-Alignment: The Dichotomy between Theory and Practice in Perspective.” *India Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (January 1980): 43-63.
37. Rajan, M. S. *Institutionalization of Non-Alignment: Widening Gulf between the Belief and the Prospect.*
38. Sauvart, Karl P. “The Early Days of the Group of 77.” *United Nations Chronicle* 51, no. 1 (May 2014): 27-33.
39. Sauvart, Karl P. *Organizational Infrastructure for Self-Reliance: The Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77.* In: *The Principles of Non-Alignment*, edited by Hans Köchler, 186-218. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 1982
40. Savio, Roberto. “The Values of the G-77 Are More Actual than Ever.” *United Nations Chronicle* 51, no. 1 (May 2014): 36-38.
41. Sen, Panchali. “Non-Aligned Movement and the New World Order.” *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations* 9, no. 1 (2005): 133-150.
42. Singham, A. W. and Shirley Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 33-56. Harare: The College Press, 1986
43. Spröte, Wolfgang. “Non-Aligned Movement and the UN.” In: *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, edited by Helmut Volger, 503-505. Leiden: Martinus Nijhof, 2010.
44. Srivastava, Govind Narain. “The Future of the NAM: How to Make the Movement Effective.” In: *Non-Aligned Movement: Its Future and Action Programme*, edited by Bantarto Bandoro, 38-47. Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1992.
45. Vieira, Marco. “Understanding Resilience in International Relations: The NonAligned Movement and Ontological Security.” *International Studies Review* 18 (2016): 290- 311.
46. *The Non-Aligned Movement Iran*. “1. General Background.” Accessed February 15, 2018. <http://namiran.org/background-general/>.

47. Tarrósy, István. "Need for non-alignment in our global world? The Non-Aligned Movement Today and Tomorrow." *Croatian International Relations Review* (July-December 2005): 157-163.
48. Willetts, Peter. *The Non-aligned Movement the Origins of a Third World Alliance*. London: Pinter u.a., 1978. Print.
49. Singham, Arch W., and Shirley Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*. Westport, CT: Hill U.a., 1986. Print.
50. Russett, Bruce. "Discovering Voting Groups in the United Nations." *American Political Science Review* 60.2 (1966): 327-39. JSTOR. Web.
51. Proc. of the Ninth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1989. Web.
52. Potter, William, Patricia Lewis, Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova, and Miles Pomper. "The 2010 NPT Review Conference: Deconstructing Consensus." *Monterrey Institute - Center for Nuclear Security* (2010).
53. Orlov, Alexander. "The Non-Aligned Movement: 40 Years After." *International Affairs*. 2002. 49-56.
54. Седов Д.А. Новое дыхание Движения неприсоединения [Электронный ресурс]// Электронное издание «Фонд стратегической культуры». 2012. URL: <http://fondsk.ru>
55. Седов Д.А. Новое дыхание Движения неприсоединения [Электронный ресурс]// Электронное издание «Фонд стратегической культуры». 2012. URL: <http://fondsk.ru>
56. Алимов Ю.И. *Неприсоединение: история, теория, проблемы*. М.: Прогресс, 1990. С. 195
57. Крылов С.А. Движению неприсоединения 40 лет [Электронный ресурс]// Ежемесячный информационно-аналитический журнал «Обозреватель-Observer». 2000. №1. URL:http://www.rau.su/observer/N04_01/4_10.HTM
58. Костюк Р.В. Движение неприсоединения в эпоху холодной войны [Электронный ресурс] /Р.В. Костюк// Клио. 2011. № 4. URL:<http://www.intelros.ru/pdf/alternativa/2011/04/10.pdf>

59. Крылов С.А. Движение неприсоединения в многополярном мире. Интересы России не только на Севере и Западе, но и на Юге и Востоке. [Электронный ресурс]// Ежемесячный информационно-аналитический журнал «Обозреватель - Observer». 2006. №10 (165). URL:http://www.rau.su/observer/N10_2003/10_05.HTM

60. Крылов С.А. Движение неприсоединения в многополярном мире. Интересы России не только на Севере и Западе, но и на Юге и Востоке. [Электронный ресурс]// Ежемесячный информационно-аналитический журнал «Обозреватель - Observer». 2006. №10 (165). URL:http://www.rau.su/observer/N10_2003/10_05.HTM

61. <https://president.az/articles/31821>

62. <https://mfa.gov.az/az/content/177/qosulmama-herekati>

63. <https://fliphtml5.com/jkle/qkud>

64. <https://edu.gov.az/az/pdf/299/14565>

65. https://migration.gov.az/content/pdf/5ec7cfd19c362_949.pdf

66. [http://www.anl.az/down/meqale/xalqqazeti/2019/oktyabr/679292\(meqale\).pdf](http://www.anl.az/down/meqale/xalqqazeti/2019/oktyabr/679292(meqale).pdf)

pdf

67. <http://www.azerbaijan-news.az/uploads/1571953952.pdf>

68. <http://e-kitab.ameanb.nmr.az/QezetSekilleri/sayt10.01.2019.pdf>

69. https://dq.mia.gov.az/upload/esger_21_01.11.2019.pdf

70. Azerbaijan Diary: A Rogue Reporter's Adventures in an Oil-Rich, War-Torn, Post-Soviet Republic, by Thomas Goltz. New York, 1998.

71. Azerbaijan, Oil and Geopolitics, by Cynthia Croissant. Nova Science Publishers, 1998. Executive Report on Strategies in Azerbaijan (Strategic Planning Series), by The Azerbaijan Research Group, The Azerbaijan Research Group, 2000.

72. http://www.lsu.edu/guests/poli/public_html/foreign.html

73. <http://polisci.nelson.com/introip>

74. <https://www.gunaz.tv/az/xeberler/dunya-ve-iran-6/bakida-qosulmama-herekatinin-nazirler-konfransi-kecirilir-foto-104908>

75. 2012, XVI Summit, Tehran, 26-31 August Report of the Senior Officials Meeting (NAM 2012/SOM/Doc.3/Corr.1), [http:// namiran.org/16th-senior-officials-meeting](http://namiran.org/16th-senior-officials-meeting)

76. 2012, XVI Summit, Tehran, 26-31 August Final Document (NAM 2012/Doc.1/Rev.2), <http://namiran.org/16th-summit>

77. 1995, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, Bandung, 25-27 April Communiqué, <http://undocs.org/A/49/920>

78. 1995, XI Summit, Cartagena, 18-20 October Basic Documents, <http://www.nam.gov.za/xisummit>

79. 1996, Ministerial Meeting of the Committee on Methodology, Cartagena, 14-16 May Cartagena Document on Methodology, <http://www.nam.gov.za/background/methodology.htm#METHODOLOGY>

80. 2000, XIII Ministerial Conference, Cartagena, 8-9 April Report of the Rapporteur-General, <http://www.nam.gov.za/xiiiminconf>

81. 2002, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, Durban, 27-29 April Report of the Rapporteur-General, <http://www.nam.gov.za/minmeet/rapp165a.htm>

82. 2008, XV Ministerial Conference, Tehran, 27-30 July Chair Activities since the Summit (NAM 2008/Doc.6), <http://namiran.org/tehran-2008>

83. 2009, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, Havana, 27-30 April Report by Rapporteur-General (NAM 2009/MM/DOC. 7/REV.1), <http://namiran.org/havana-2009>

84. 2009, XV Summit, Sharm El Sheikh, 11-16 July Report of the Rapporteur General (NAM 2009/RG/Doc.2), <http://namiran.org/15thsummit>

85. 2011, XVI Ministerial Conference and Commemorative Meeting, Bali, 23-27 May Final Document (NAM 2011/Doc.1/Rev.1), <http://namiran.org/bali-2011>

86. 2012, Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, Sharm El Sheikh, 7-10 May Final Document (NAM 2012/CoB/Doc.1), <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/nam/documents/>

final%20document%20adopted%20by%20the%20ministerial%20meetings%20 9-10%20May.pdf

87. 2012, XVI Summit, Tehran, 26-31 August Report of the Senior Officials Meeting (NAM 2012/SOM/Doc.3/Corr.1), [http:// namiran.org/16th-senior-officials-meeting](http://namiran.org/16th-senior-officials-meeting)

88. 2012, XVI Summit, Tehran, 26-31 August Final Document (NAM 2012/Doc.1/Rev.2), <http://namiran.org/16th-summit>

89. New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP), Declaration on the New AsianAfrican Strategic Partnership, Senior Officials' Meeting (SOM), Jakarta, 12-13 October 2009, <http://kemlu.go.id/Documents/NAASP/Hyperlink%201.pdf>

90. Azerbaijan, National Security Concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 23 May 2007, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lang=en&id=154917>

91. Azerbaijan, Development Concept "Azerbaijan-2020", 29 December 2012, [http:// www.az.undp.org/content/dam/azerbaijan/docs/sustain_development/AZ_Vision2020_government_draft_en.pdf](http://www.az.undp.org/content/dam/azerbaijan/docs/sustain_development/AZ_Vision2020_government_draft_en.pdf)

92. Asia-Africa Youth Forum, Reviving Asia-Africa Spirit to Accelerate the Achievement of MDGs. Administrative Arrangements, Bandung, 23-27 August 2010, [http:// sman28jkt.sch.id/userfiles/file/Aministrative%20arrangement%20AAYF%20final.rtf](http://sman28jkt.sch.id/userfiles/file/Aministrative%20arrangement%20AAYF%20final.rtf)

93. Rashad Shirinov, "Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: Seeking a Balance", in *Caucasus Analytical Digest*, No. 37 (29 March 2012), p. 2-4, http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/DetailansichtPubDB_EN?rec_id=2117

94. Arshad Rasool and Arihal Pulwama, "Non-Aligned Movement in 21st Century: Relevant or Redundant? A Debate", in *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (May-June 2013), p. 64-70, <http://dx.doi.org/10.9790/0837-1146470> Houman

95. Elkhan Mekhtiyev, "Armenia-Azerbaijan Prague Process: Road Map to Peace or Stalemate for Uncertainty?", in *CSRC Caucasus Series*, No. 05/23 (May 2005), [http:// www.da.mod.uk/Research-Publications/category/67/-0523-1204](http://www.da.mod.uk/Research-Publications/category/67/-0523-1204)

96. Arifa Kazimova, “Azerbaijan Joins Ranks of Non-Aligned Movement”, in Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 25 May 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/azerbaijan_join_nonaligned_movement/24200776.html
97. Satish Kumar, “Nonalignment: International Goals and National Interests”, in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (April 1983), p. 445-462
98. Rovshan Ibrahimov, “U.S.-Azerbaijan Relations: A View from Baku”, in *Rethink Papers*, No. 17 (October 2014), <http://wp.me/p3TIQJ-bJ>
99. Cedric Grant, “Equity in International Relations: A Third World Perspective”, in *International Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (July 1995), p. 567-587
100. Rick Fawn, “Ideology and National Identity in Post-communist Foreign Policies”, in Rick Fawn (ed.), *Ideology and National Identity in Post-communist Foreign Policies*, London and Portland, Frank Cass, 2004, p. 1-41
101. Svante E. Cornell, “Azerbaijan: Going It Alone”, in S. Frederick Starr and Svante E. Cornell (eds.), *Putin’s Grand Strategy. The Eurasian Union and Its Discontents*, Washington, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, 2014, p. 145-155, <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/publications/silkroad-papers-and-monographs/item/13053>
102. Evgeny Astakhov, “The Non-Aligned Movement Today”, in *RIAC Multipolar World Analysis*, 26 November 2012, http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=1084
103. Heydar Aliyev (interviewed by Betty Blair), “Looking Back on the Century, Personally and Professionally”, in *Azerbaijan International*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Winter 1999), p. 14-20, http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/74_folder/74.articles/74_aliyev3.html
104. Cooperation with the European Union Priorities of Azerbaijan's foreign policy, Presidential Office Of The Office Of The President Of The Republic Of Azerbaijan
105. https://files.preslib.az/projects/azdiplomacy/a5_2.pdf
106. <https://president.az/articles/52430>

107. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344783416_The_Non-Aligned_Movement_In_Pursuit_of_Validity_and_Relevance_in_the_Contemporary_Global_Order