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Intelligence Memorandum

The Fourth Nonaligned Summit

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
25 August 1973

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

The Fourth Nonaligned Summit

Summary

On 2 September, representatives from more than 60 nations will assemble in Algiers. Their purpose is to remind the great powers that the nonaligned movement is a viable force not to be forgotten in today's changing world. The movement, however, has lost its original purpose and momentum. A crucial issue the delegates will have to face is what, if any, substantive role nonalignment can play in the 1970s.

The Algerian Government has given top priority to the summit for several months and has dispatched numerous special envoys to attract the largest possible attendance. President Boumedienne believes a successful conference will enhance his stature and Algeria's role as a leader among developing nations.

The first two days of the meeting will be devoted to consultation among foreign ministers, at which time questions of seating and most conflicts concerning draft resolutions will be resolved. We expect that Prince Sihanouk's delegation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam will be seated. The heads of state will then meet from 5-8 September.

Comments and queries on the contents of this publication are welcome. They may be directed to [redacted] of the Office of Current Intelligence, [redacted]

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The agenda is broad enough for all participants to accept, and a number of resolutions will be published. They include:

- condemnation of Israel and a statement of support for the Arab cause in the Middle East;
- condemnation of the Portuguese, Rhodesian, and South African governments;
- a denunciation of US policies in Indochina;
- a call for closer economic cooperation among nonaligned states.

Despite the varied and often conflicting interests of the participants, the nonaligned nations will probably succeed in drafting a program to present to the UN General Assembly that opens on 18 September. Although the more radical delegations will initiate many of the resolutions, the final results will reflect some compromise with moderate states as most participants are committed to reaching the widest possible consensus at the conference. Both the US and the USSR can expect a number of resolutions opposing their interests, but extensive efforts to affect the outcome of these issues by either of the major powers would risk exaggerating the conference's limited significance and impact.


Nonalignment at a Crossroad

The Summit Conference of Nonaligned Nations in Algiers is an attempt to remind the great powers that the nonaligned movement is a viable force not to be forgotten in today's changing world. Delegates to the conference will search for a community of interests to give the appearance of solidarity vis-a-vis the major powers. This will be a difficult task given the paucity of issues of a global character on which the nonaligned nations can still agree.

A stepchild of the cold war, the nonaligned movement has lost its original purpose and the momentum it achieved in the early 1960s. It is now floundering in a sea of changing relationships among the major powers. In the three years since the summit conference in Lusaka, the US and the USSR have moved from confrontation to negotiation on a number of important issues, the People's Republic of China has emerged from isolation to occupy a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, the European Common Market has been expanded, and Japan has become the dominant economic power in Asia. The dividing lines between the power blocs also have been blurred by the Soviet Union's continuing quarrel with China and by Washington's improved relationship with Peking. In this increasingly multi-polar world of detente, a central issue the delegates will have to face is clarifying and redefining the role of nonalignment.

The Algiers summit will be the largest gathering of nonaligned nations so far. More than 60 nations have been invited to attend the conference from 2-8 September as full members, and the latest count indicates 62 will be represented (See Appendix). Some 20 observers and guests, representing various liberation movements as well as governments, will also be present. The first two days of the meeting will be devoted to consultation among the foreign ministers, at which time contentious questions of representation and most conflicts on the wording of draft resolutions will be resolved. Prince Sihanouk's delegation (GRUNK) and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam delegation are expected to be seated as full members. The assembled heads of state will then meet from 5-8 September.

Algeria's Role

Algiers began preparing for the summit a year ago when it was chosen as the conference site at a meeting of nonaligned foreign ministers in Guyana. The Algerian Government has given top priority to the summit for several months and has dispatched numerous special envoys to attract the largest possible attendance by heads of state. A large number of ambassadors have been called home for the meeting, and the entire protocol office of the foreign ministry has been reassigned to assist in the preparations. Residents of the Club des Pins resort complex, where the meetings will take place, have been evicted so that their homes can be prepared for the delegates. In the end, Algeria's total expenditures for the conference may run as high as \$25 million. President Boumediene, who has devoted an enormous amount of time to the preparations, believes Algeria's role as a leader among developing nations and his own stature will be greatly enhanced by the summit.

As host, Algeria will play a major role in drafting resolutions and determining the order in which topics are considered. Boumediene's main objectives include:

- a strong resolution on the Middle East situation condemning Israel and focusing attention on the plight of Palestinians;
- a resolution calling for increased support of the African liberation movements;
- a call for increased economic cooperation and coordination among developing nations to increase their political leverage with the great powers--including the use of oil as a political weapon.

Although he will press hard for approval of strong planks on these and other issues, Boumediene knows he may have to settle for watered-down versions of some resolutions to avoid open splits at the conference.

On the Middle East question, Boumediene has tried to get various Arab leaders to support a unified Arab initiative for a settlement with Israel in time for presentation to the nonaligned summit. These efforts, however, have not generated any real movement. Arab states are seldom able to unite on any action proposal, and the issue of a negotiated settlement with Israel is particularly divisive. Frontline states like Egypt and Syria, moreover, do not consider Algeria an equal party with a major stake in the Middle East dispute.

Algeria will play a leading role in seating Sihanouk's GRUNK and the PRG as full members. The Algerians, supported by Arabs and African militants, hope to use the precedent that these delegations were seated at the ministerial meeting in Georgetown last year to avoid discussion and to head off a major accreditation debate. While Laos, Indonesia, and Malaysia walked out over this issue last year, they are unlikely to do so again. Despite the disgruntlement and reservations of some Asian delegates, there is no evidence that Asians plan a major effort to deny seats to these two delegations. Non-Asian moderates are clearly unwilling to take a strong stand, and most consider this matter a peripheral issue.

Other Participants

The motives of those attending the Algiers gathering are as varied as the participants. For Cairo, the summit will be a forum for expounding and gaining further international support for its established position on how the Middle East conflict should be resolved. Since the US veto of a UN Middle East resolution on 26 July, Cairo has been making an intensive effort to develop a strategy for the conference. President Sadat views the meeting as an opportunity to capitalize on the moral victory he believes he won at the UN by portraying the lone US negative vote as an indication of US-Israeli isolation from a world community which supports Egypt. Accordingly, the Egyptians will probably seek adoption of a resolution modeled on the one vetoed by the US.

The Egyptian approach in Algiers will probably be relatively moderate in order to solicit the widest possible support from nations with some standing outside the Middle East. Cairo used with considerable success just such an approach during the Security Council debate on the Middle East last month. To ensure endorsement of its position on the Middle East, Egypt will probably resist radical Arab attempts to push through a more inflammatory resolution. In this vein, the Egyptians are likely to work with Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf oil states, to head off any resolution requiring a more active Arab policy regarding the use of oil as a political weapon.

For Yugoslavia, the Algiers meeting presents an important opportunity for raising the stock of non-alignment--a keystone of Yugoslav foreign policy--at home and abroad. Tito, who plans to attend, is the only one of the four original supporters of nonalignment still alive; the others were Nehru, Sukarno, and Nasir. Many Yugoslavs, because of the inconstancy of the nonaligned movement in recent years (particularly the Soviet friendship treaties with Egypt, India, and Iraq), have come to doubt whether nonalignment has made a significant contribution to the country's security. With the nation on the verge of the Tito succession, the regime wants to dispose of any ambiguities in general foreign policy guidelines.

Belgrade needs a show of unity and strength in Algiers to revitalize nonalignment and thereby enhance Yugoslavia's stature in the coming deliberations of the European Security Conference. Working behind the scenes, Belgrade may try to dampen support for radical initiatives, call for greater cooperation among developing countries, and attempt to counterbalance inevitable attempts by some delegations to bait the US while taking it easy on the USSR. On a few issues, like the Panama Canal question, Belgrade may risk US displeasure by failing to oppose an anti-US resolution if there is a positive consensus among attending delegates. Similarly, Belgrade will probably restate its strong support for national liberation movements.

India, by virtue of its historical role in the movement, is committed to attend. New Delhi does not like the strident tone and current trend toward extremism. It would like to see the nonaligned movement remain a forum of smaller, less-developed countries that cooperate in self-interest against great power attempts to exert political or economic pressure. The Indians will staunchly oppose any efforts to institutionalize nonalignment; they believe the consultative committee at the UN adequately performs this function.

India will work to preserve conference unity and to restore the principle of consensus, which in its view means the lowest common denominator upon which participants can agree, in formulating final resolutions. India believes the Arab-African majority violated this principle at last year's meeting in Guyana on matters of accreditation and conference venue, and that divisions were produced that have not yet healed. New Delhi is against raising purely regional issues, such as the Middle East and South Africa questions, because it believes they will only further divide the nonaligned nations. If resolutions on zones of peace and economic cooperation are put forth in sufficiently vague language to allow broad interpretation, India will support them.

For Indonesia, Asia's other giant neutral, the Algiers summit offers more pitfalls than opportunities. Jakarta sees little value in the nonaligned sessions unless the tendency toward strident political posturing is curbed, and a serious effort is made to get down to business on substantive matters such as economic cooperation. Indonesia, along with Laos and Malaysia, walked out of the Georgetown meeting last year in protest over the accreditation decisions. President Suharto's concern that the presence of Sihanouk will turn the conference into a widely polarized political forum will result in his staying away, leaving Foreign Minister Malik to be the Indonesian representative.

The Black African states will comprise the largest regional grouping in Algiers. The attitudes of the various countries vary. Economic cooperation will be foremost in the minds of many moderate Africans. Militant

activists like Tanzania will be out in front on some political questions, especially support for Sihanouk and the PRG. All Africans, regardless of political coloration, are in general agreement on the principle of majority rule in southern Africa. They will introduce a resolution censuring the white minority governments and western states that trade with them and calling for increased support for the African liberation movements.

Some ten Latin American countries may be in Algiers. Each has its own reason for attending, but all view their presence as a means of self-expression. As the nations of Latin America move away from the United States politically, nonalignment becomes more attractive. Many of them are leery of both the USSR and the US, and therefore are willing to explore and exploit nonalignment.

Cuba and Chile will be the most active Latin American participants. The Cubans intend to orient the proceedings totally against the US. The Cubans will speak out strongly against "North American imperialism" and probably demand independence for Puerto Rico and the end of US control of the Panama Canal. Although Cuba has had frequent contact in recent months with some of the nonaligned countries to enlist their support, its proclivity for inflammatory tactics and one-sided attacks against the US may prove counterproductive.

Chile will probably focus on big power economic exploitation. President Allende has indicated he is especially interested in measures to combat threats to the sovereignty of states over their own natural resources and to resist economic control by multinational corporations.

Soviet and Chinese Attitudes

The Soviets have always been ambivalent about the nonaligned movement because they do not accept that any country can be truly nonaligned. In the early years of the movement, nonaligned resolutions got considerable Soviet propaganda support because they were mainly anti-Western. Now that most underdeveloped countries tend to view both the US and the USSR with reserve, the Soviets are more wary.

Current Soviet press play on the summit has been sparse; Moscow is unenthusiastic about its probable outcome. The Soviets expect to be lumped together with the West when the delegates get around to discussing economic relations between developing and industrialized countries. Moscow takes a dim view of the prospect that many conference participants will accord Prince Sihanouk and his "government" a prominent role. The Soviets would be displeased if their policy of detente with the US comes under heavy fire. As a result, Soviet propaganda coverage, once the conference gets under way, will be highly selective.

China's interest in the Algiers meeting is to secure political influence by portraying itself as a champion of third world economic and political interest, vis-a-vis the two superpowers. Peking will be an active lobbyist in Algiers, though it is unlikely to participate in any formal capacity. China does not characterize itself as nonaligned, even though it classifies itself in economic terms as part of the third world. The Chinese will probably use the same tactics that proved successful last year in Guyana. They will closely monitor the meeting and lobby for their views by using personnel of the Chinese Embassy in Algiers.

Peking can be expected to follow its established line of denouncing alleged Soviet and US efforts to carve out spheres of economic and political influence. The Chinese probably will support nonaligned endorsement of a 200-mile national maritime economic zone, a greater voice for developing countries in international economic and financial affairs, and a resolution supporting the Arab and Palestinian position on the Middle East. As at the meeting in Georgetown, the Chinese will work to ensure the seating of Sihanouk and the PRG.

The Agenda

In an effort to avoid the divisions that marred the Georgetown foreign ministers' meeting, a broad, loosely worded agenda has been drafted for Algiers. The major points are:

- a general review of the international situation and the role of nonalignment;
- the coordination of activities of nonaligned countries to strengthen world peace and security;
- the economic and social development of non-aligned nations;
- measures to promote closer cooperation and coordination among nonaligned states.

More narrowly defined issues will be drafted at the final preparatory meeting in Algiers on 29-31 August. A Middle East resolution will be formulated condemning Israel for acquisition of territory by force and reaffirming support for the rights of Palestinians. Such a resolution also is likely to condemn Israeli aggression against international airlines. Portuguese, Rhodesian, and South African policies toward blacks will come under strong attack in other resolutions. There also may be some movement toward developing a program of closer economic and technical cooperation among the nonaligned states. It is unlikely that there will be sufficient support to establish a permanent body or committee to coordinate economic policies.

A number of other issues will come up and on some of these there will be sufficient unanimity to pass resolutions. The summit is expected to issue a call for strengthening the UN. Coordination of policies for the future conference on Law of the Sea will be discussed, but there is little likelihood that any agreement of substance will be achieved. Similarly, there will be lengthy discussion of measures to combat threats to permanent sovereignty over natural resources, including the activities of multinational corporations.

Under the heading of strengthening international security, there may be calls for the creation of zones of peace in the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf,

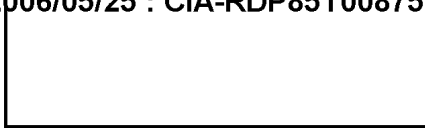
and the Indian Ocean. Measures to intensify efforts for general and complete disarmament will also be discussed. A resolution declaring the peoples of Indochina victims of aggression and condemning US policies in Southeast Asia is inevitable.

Beyond the Summit

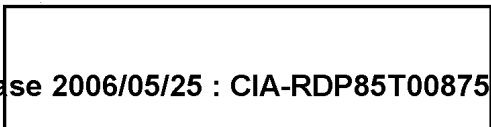
The participants in the end will probably agree on a nonaligned program to present to the UN General Assembly in October. The Algiers summit will be marked more by rhetoric than substantive accomplishment, however, and the concept of nonalignment is not likely to regain any of its lost momentum. Major delegations will have to spend an inordinate amount of time beating down extremist resolutions and negotiating common ground. The militant Arab-African minority that dominated the ministerial meeting in Georgetown last year will be especially difficult to control. Most delegations will agree that what the meeting says should reflect a consensus and this will help to moderate the resolutions. The tone of summit declarations will still depend, however, on how forcefully moderate leaders insist that resolutions reflect their own positions and whether they are well enough organized to deal with constant pressure from radical delegations.

Both the US and the USSR can expect to draw verbal abuse at the summit. At a minimum, the US will be criticized on the Middle East and Indochina and probably the Panama Canal, even if moderate delegations are able to modify some of the more strident language. Extensive efforts by major powers to affect the outcome of the conference, however, would almost certainly be viewed as meddling by Algeria and many other delegations and would risk exaggerating the conference's significance and impact.

The resolutions passed in Algiers will have little lasting impact. The world press will cover the Algiers proceedings, but it is unlikely that its interest in the resolutions will much outlast



the end of the conference. The resolutions will have no binding force, and those that are not self-fulfilling will never be implemented by the participants acting as a bloc. When the conference ends most of the participants will once again focus on more pressing local and regional problems. Even if resolutions are brought to the UN General Assembly as products of the nonaligned conference, there is no assurance that all nonaligned states will support them at the UN if it appears at the time that the resolutions conflict with their national interests.



APPENDIX

Delegations Expected to Attend the Nonaligned Summit

<u>Country</u>	<u>Heading Delegation</u>
Afghanistan	Ambassador to West Germany Pazhwak
Algeria	President Boumediene
Argentina	Foreign Minister Vignes
Bahrain	Amir Khalifa
Bangladesh	Foreign Minister Hossain
Bhutan	
Botswana	Vice President Masire
Burma	Prime Minister Ne Win
Eurundi	
Cambodia (GRUNK)	Prince Sihanouk
Cameroon	President Ahidjo
Central African Republic	President Bokassa
Chad	President Tombalbaye
Chile	President Allende
Congo	President Ngouabi
Cuba	Prime Minister Fidel Castro
Cyprus	Foreign Minister Khristofidis
Dahomey	

<u>Country</u>	<u>Heading Delegation</u>
Ecuador*	Ambassador Teodoro Bustamante
Egypt	President Sadat
Ethiopia	Emperor Haile Selassie
Gabon	President Bongo
Gambia	
Ghana	Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Baah
Guinea	
Guyana	Prime Minister Burnham
India	Prime Minister Gandhi
Indonesia	Foreign Minister Malik
Iraq	President Bakr
Ivory Coast	President Houphouet-Boigny
Jamaica	Prime Minister Manley
Jordan	Ambassador to Arab League Abd Al-Munim Rifai
Kenya	
Kuwait	Amir Sabah
Laos	
Lebanon	Prime Minister Sulh
Lesotho	Prime Minister Jonathan
Liberia	President Tolbert
Malagasy Republic	Foreign Minister Ratsiraka

<u>Country</u>	<u>Heading Delegation</u>
Malaysia	Prime Minister Razak
Mali	President Traore
Mauritania	President Ould Daddah
Mauritius	Prime Minister Ramgoolam
Mexico*	Foreign Secretary Rabasa
Morocco	King Hassan II
Nepal	King Birendra
Niger	President Diori
Nigeria	General Gowon
Panama*	Foreign Minister Tack
Peru	Prime Minister Mercado
Qatar	Foreign Minister Suhaym Al-Thani
Rwanda	Foreign Minister Nsekaliye
Saudi Arabia	King Faysal
Senegal	President Senghor
Sierra Leone	President Stevens
Somalia	
South Vietnam (PRG)	Chairman of National Liberation Front Nguyen Huu Tho
Singapore	Foreign Minister Rjaratnam
Sri Lanka	Prime Minister Bandaranaike

<u>Country</u>	<u>Heading Delegation</u>
Sudan	President Numayri
Swaziland	Deputy Prime Minister Khumalo
Syria	President Asad
Tanzania	President Nyerere
Togo	President Eyadema
Trinidad and Tobago	UN Rep. Eustace Seignoret
Tunisia	President Bourguiba
Uganda	President Amin
United Arab Emirates	President Zayid
Upper Volta	President Lamizana
Uruguay*	
Venezuela*	Senior Foreign Ministry Official Perez Chiriboga
Yemen Arab Republic	President of the Repub- lican Council Iryani
Yemen, People's Democratic Republic of	
Yugoslavia	President Tito
Zaire	President Mobutu Sese Seko
Zambia	President Banda

*Will attend as observer.