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## **The Position of the Non-aligned Movement in the Current Foreign Policy of the Republic of Serbia**

### ABSTRACT

In this paper, the authors analyse the position of the Non-Aligned Movement in the current foreign policy of the Republic of Serbia. They firstly present the chronology of relations between the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement, this including the newly created republics in its territory. With the exception of Slovenia and Macedonia, all post-Yugoslav republics enjoy observer status in the Non-Aligned Movement. As the authors point out, apart from the support to maintain its territorial integrity in Kosovo, the Republic of Serbia could also gain economic benefit from establishing co-operation with non-aligned countries.

*Key words:* Serbia, Yugoslavia, Non-Aligned Movement, foreign policy, Third World, Kosovo, economic co-operation.

### **Introduction**

Since the First Summit of Heads of States or Governments of Non-Aligned (NAM) countries that took place in Belgrade from 1–6 September 1961 till the Ninth Summit of the Movement, which also took place in the capital of Yugoslavia from 4–7 September 1989 non-alignment had featured the foreign policy of the

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former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.<sup>2</sup> The focus of the new elites that spurred and started the conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia with the aim to establish nation states also caused a drastic shift in their foreign policy conceptions.<sup>3</sup> Thus, after the end of the Cold War and fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) the Non-Aligned Movement became less significant in the foreign policy conceptions of all states created in the territory of the Yugoslav federation.<sup>4</sup>

With the exception of the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Macedonia all states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia enjoy observer status in the Non-Aligned Movement. However, their basic foreign policy documents do not put emphasis on their more active engagement in its work.<sup>5</sup>

During the Yugoslav crisis (1991–1999), two summits of the Non-Aligned Movement took place — one in Jakarta in 1992 and another in Cartagena in 1995.<sup>6</sup> The final documents adopted at these conferences pointed to the necessity to stop the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as to reach a compromise over a peaceful solution under the auspices of the United Nations.

After the process of democratisation of the post-Yugoslav states commenced (after 2000) their primary foreign policy priorities have been directed towards full membership in the EU, balancing of relations with great powers (above all, with the United States of America and the Russian Federation) and normalisation of relations with the so-called new neighbours.<sup>7</sup> At the present moment, the re-establishment of closer inter-state relations with the so-called Third World is of greatest significance for the Republic of Serbia

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<sup>2</sup> On history of the Non-Aligned Movement see: Leo Mates, *Nonalignment: Theory and Current Policy*, The Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade, Oceana Publications, Inc., Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1972, pp. 74–92.

<sup>3</sup> See: Dragan Đukanović, *Institucionalni modeli i demokratizacija postjugoslovenskih država*, Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beogradu, 2007, pp. 40–56.

<sup>4</sup> Ranko Petković, *Jugoslavija i svet u postbipolarnoj eri*, IP „Međunarodna politika”, NIU „Službeni list”, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Fakultet političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu, Institut ekonomskih nauka, Beograd, 1998, pp. 371–8.

<sup>5</sup> See: „Spoljnopolitički prioriteti Republike Crne Gore“, Vlada Republike Crne Gore, Podgorica, 23. novembar 2007; and „Odrednice vanjske politike Republike Hrvatske“, Internet, <http://rs.mvp.hr/?mh=335&mv=1933,15/02/2009>.

<sup>6</sup> See the integral final documents of those two NAM summits in: Branislav Milinković (ur.), *Nesvrstanost u posthladnoratovskoj eri*, IP „Međunarodna politika“, NIU „Službeni list“, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Fakultet političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu, Institut ekonomskih nauka, Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd, 1996, pp. 9–240.

<sup>7</sup> See: Dragan Đukanović, „Spoljnopolitički prioriteti Republike Srbije u bilateralnim i multilateralnim odnosima sa susedima”, u: Edita Stojić-Karanović i Slobodan Janković (urs.), *Elementi strategije spoljne politike Srbije*, Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd, 2008, pp. 85–104.

in its foreign policy strategies. The support of the Non-Aligned Movement to the Republic of Serbia in maintaining its territorial integrity in Kosovo has directed numerous foreign policy activities towards the intensification of relations with this grouping of countries.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, a breakthrough in the market of non-aligned countries would be very important for the Republic of Serbia.<sup>9</sup>

### **Non-aligned countries and the Yugoslav crisis**

Immediately before the outbreak of the armed conflicts that followed the dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the domestic public had first shown a scornful attitude towards the Non-Aligned Movement, what was followed by numerous assessments of expert circles. On one hand, the Non-Aligned Movement was considered a relic of the Cold War that had not any significance after the fall of the Berlin Wall.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, in all foreign policy activities of the newly created states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia the solution of the so-called national question, or actually the creation of ethnic nation states was given a primary priority.<sup>11</sup> In order to achieve such goals, they were to address the leading factors of the international community and not any more the so-called Third World. In that sense, for most of the states that had been created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia it was of primary significance to establish as good as possible relations with the United States of America as well as with the European Union administration in Brussels. It was just in the late previous and early present decade that the establishment of more intensive relations commenced between the post-Yugoslav states and the Russian Federation. The contemporary liberally-oriented politicians continually criticised the Non-Aligned Movement for some of its member states whose political systems could not be regarded as democratic, but on the contrary, authoritarian.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Remarks to the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference Celebrating the Ninth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement – “History and Legacy for the Peaceful World”, Mr Vuk Jeremić, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 7 September 2009, pp. 3–4.

<sup>9</sup> See: „Srbiju za Pokret nesvrstanih vezuje – antiamerikanizam“, *Borba*, Beograd, 15. jul 2009, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> See: Ranko Petković, „Predgovor“, u: Branislav Milinković (ur.), *Nesvrstanost u posthladnoratovskoj eri*, op. cit., pp. 3–4.

<sup>11</sup> Vladimir Pavićević, „Dvadeset godina od pada Berlinskog zida: slučaj Srbija“, *Međunarodna politika*, Vol. LX, broj 1135, Beograd, juli–septembar 2009, pp. 5–20.

<sup>12</sup> Ranko Petković, „Predgovor“, u: Branislav Milinković (ur.), *Nesvrstanost u posthladnoratovskoj eri*, op. cit., p. 3.

The Ninth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place in Belgrade from 4–7 September 1989 was the first summit, which was held at the time when such drastic changes occurred in Europe. However, 102 countries took part in this conference, as well 10 observers and 19 states as guests.<sup>13</sup> The final documents from the summit showed a strategic turn that followed the post-Cold War period. Actually, instead of clearly disassociating from the Western and Eastern block, what had been characteristic for the previous period, it was pointed out to the necessity for non-aligned countries to join the new processes of economic and social development. In that sense, the concept of human rights and environmental protection was emphasised.

However, the bloody break-up of the Yugoslav federation that commenced only two years later in the states that were created in its territory made them give up the foreign policy course that had been characteristic for the previous socialist period. As early as at the Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place in Jakarta from 1–6 September 1992 the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was suspended from membership in this organisation. The state comprised of the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro, and it had been created just a few months before (on 27 April 1992). However, although the newly created Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considered itself a successor of the former SFR Yugoslavia it was suspended from membership in the Non-Aligned Movement as demanded by a large number of Muslim countries for the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as for the previously imposed sanctions by the United Nations Security Council. Moreover, the Final document adopted at the Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement expressed a great concern over the developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>14</sup> Within this context, member states condemned the ethnic cleansing, the deportation of population, the formation of concentration camps, etc. The above mentioned document also pointed out the necessity of respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, supporting all peace efforts to stop the conflict in this country as soon as possible.<sup>15</sup>

At the Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Republic of Croatia gained observer status. Representatives of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina with its headquarters in Sarajevo also participated in the summit but with guest status as also did representatives of the Republic of

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<sup>13</sup> See: Branislav Milinković, „Istorijski razvoj ideje Pokreta nesvrstanosti 1956–1996“, u: Branislav Milinković (ur.), *Nesvrstanost u posthladnoratovskoj eri*, op. cit., pp. 267–81.

<sup>14</sup> „Poruka iz Džakarte: poziv na kolektivnu akciju i demokratizaciju međunarodnih odnosa“, Džakarta, 1–6. septembar 1992. in: Branislav Milinković (ur.), *Nesvrstanost u posthladnoratovskoj eri*, op. cit., pp. 11–128.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, Glava III, Politička pitanja, Politički komitet, Bosna i Hercegovina, p. 40.

Slovenia. All until 1 May 2004 when it acceded the European Union the Republic of Slovenia had participated in the summits of the Non-Aligned Movement as a guest.

At the Eleventh Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place in Cartagena (Columbia) from 18–20 October 1995 when the consolidation of the situation in the Balkans and the end of the armed conflicts was coming in sight the Final Act pointed to the necessity to stop the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>16</sup> It supported the Accord on Fundamental Principles of Peace Agreement adopted in Geneva on 8 September 1995 and in New York on 28 September 1995, respectively. It also invited the United Nations Security Council to fully implement its resolutions concerning the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina that was destroyed by the war.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, it supported numerous conclusions of the Contact Group, which had been made by the USA, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany and Italy with the aim of ending the war conflicts as successfully and rapidly as possible.

The next summit of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place in Durban from 2–3 September 1998 did not mention the problems in the post-Yugoslav territory although the conflicts in Kosovo already started. In respect of the following NATO military intervention against FRY, it is important to notice that these countries have explicitly rejected the idea that with the intervention any broader precedent was being set.<sup>18</sup> The Western Balkans were neither mentioned in the Final Acts of the summits of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place in Kuala Lumpur from 20–25 February 2003, in Havana from 15–16 September 2006 and the Fifteenth Summit of the Non-Alignment in Sharm-el-Sheikh from 11 to 16 July 2009.

The former Federal Republic Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement with observer status on 14 November 2001, what was almost a year after the power had changed in Belgrade. Since then Serbia's officials have participated in the summits of the

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<sup>16</sup> „Završni dokument XI Konferencije nesvrstanih zemalja u Kartaheni“, Kartahena, 18–20. oktobar 1995. in: Branislav Milinković (ur.), *Nesvrstanost u posthladnoratovskoj eri*, op. cit., pp. 131–263.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, Prvo poglavlje: Opšta pitanja, Bosna i Hercegovina, p. 144.

<sup>18</sup> “Final Document of the NAM XII Summit”, Durban, 2–3 September 1998, Internet, <http://www.nam.gov.za/xiisummit/finaldocument.txt>, 12/09/2009. By consensus, the final communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of the Delegation of the 113/member Non/Aligned Movement, held in New York, on September 23, 1999, stated: “We reject the so/called ‘right of humanitarian intervention’ which has no legal basis in the UN Charte or in the general principles of international law.” (See: Final Communique.par. 171; available at: <http://www.nam.gov.za/minmeet/newyorkcom.htm>)

Non-Aligned Movement. After the Republic of Montenegro had separated from Serbia, it gained similar status and its President Filip Vujanović and Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Roćen took part in the Fifteenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place in Sharm-el-Sheikh.<sup>19</sup>

In the meantime, previously being a guest Bosnia and Herzegovina gained observer status after 2000. Since the break-up of the former Yugoslavia and since it gained sovereignty out of all former Yugoslav republics the Republic of Macedonia has been least interested in the activities of the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>20</sup> As late as at the Fifteenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Sharm-el-Sheikh in 2009 it gained guest status.

### **The non-aligned movement in the foreign policy of Serbia**

Until the change of power in Belgrade in October 2000, the authorities of the Federal Republic Yugoslavia had not show that they were much interested in returning the country to the Non-Aligned Movement as a full member. Moreover, they had gradually neglected the so-called Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement both bilaterally, or actually, the leading states of the Movement as well as multilaterally. The normalisation of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the cessation of the conflicts in this country made, however, establish intensive relations with these countries in the 1996–2000 period, above all in the economic sphere as well as with the intention to alleviate a sort of lack of interest in the activities of the Non-Aligned Movement.

In the statement made at the session of the Federal Assembly on 24 October 2000 Goran Svilanović, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, pointed out that since the country was undoubtedly oriented towards the integration to the European Union it would not be possible for FRY to actively participate in the work of the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>21</sup> For this reason, Yugoslavia requested from South Africa that chaired the Non-Aligned Movement at that time to ensure observer status for the country, Svilanović emphasised. At the same time, Svilanović announced that “this...

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<sup>19</sup> “Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Roćen participated at the Ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Sharm El Sheikh”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Podgorica, 14 July 2009, Internet, <http://www.mip.gov.me/en/index.php/Press-Releases/pressrelease-175313.html>, 15/09/2009.

<sup>20</sup> See: Vladimir Radenović i Aleksandar Pisarev, „Nesvrstani vraćaju duh Jugoslavije”, *Dan*, Podgorica, 24. avgust 2009, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> See: „Ekspozé saveznog ministra za inostrane poslove Gorana Svilanovića u Saveznoj skupštini Savezne Republike Jugoslavije“, Beograd, 24. oktobar 2001, Internet:// [http://www.mfa.gov.yu/Srpski/spopol/Ministar/Govori/241001\\_s.html](http://www.mfa.gov.yu/Srpski/spopol/Ministar/Govori/241001_s.html), 15/08/2009.

does not mean that we shall break off our co-operation with this important group of countries, taking into consideration our close views and interest in mutual co-operation."<sup>22</sup>

When resolving of the final status of Kosovo was actualised after 2005, the foreign policy activities of the Republic of Serbia have focused on its relationship with the Non-Aligned Movement. This was clearly seen at the Fifteenth Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place in Tehran on 29 July 2008.<sup>23</sup> At this meeting, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia Vuk Jeremić managed to convince non-aligned countries to support Serbia's initiative to address the International Court of Justice that should give its advisory opinion on the unilateral proclamation of Kosovo on 17 February 2008. This was re-affirmed by the decision of the United Nations General Assembly made on 9 October 2008 to support Serbia's initiative. Non-aligned states greatly contributed to adopting of such a decision on the part of the General Assembly. At the conference celebrating the twenty first anniversary of the Ninth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement that took place on 7 September 2008 the Minister of Foreign Affairs pointed out that in spite of striving towards EU membership Serbia "will keep strengthening and deepening our ties with NAM member states".<sup>24</sup> As Minister Jeremić said, it was of great importance to strengthen the relations between the Union and the Non-Aligned Movement with the objective of reaffirming their traditional partnership and friendship.

However, apart from this, presenting Serbia's foreign policy priorities in their statements since the beginning of 2009 President Boris Tadić and Minister of Foreign Affairs Jeremić have never mentioned that possible membership in the Non-Aligned Movement would be a real position in the country's foreign policy conception.<sup>25</sup> However, considering the support to the Republic of Serbia concerning the status of Kosovo and its clear support to the initiative to be submitted to the International Court of Justice to give its opinion on the unilateral proclamation of independence of Kosovo the Non-Aligned

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<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> „Vuk Jeremić na konferenciji nesvrstanih“, Radio Televizija Srbije, Beograd, 29. jul 2009. Internet, <http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Srbija/8245/Vuk+Jeremi%C4%87+na+konferenciji+nesvrstanih.html>, 15/09/2009.

<sup>24</sup> Remarks to the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference Celebrating the Ninth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement – “History and Legacy for the Peaceful World”, Mr Vuk Jeremić, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 7 September 2009, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> See: „Tadić: za Srbiju važni odnosi sa EU, Rusijom i SAD“, BETA, Beograd, 12. januar 2009. and „Tadić: Kina četvrti stub srpske spoljne politike“, TANJUG, Beograd, 20. avgust 2009.

Movement has become a kind of “reservoir” of votes in international organisations and fora that could contribute to a better international standing of the country and regaining of its reputation.

Since the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had been one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement and due to the fact that in the period since its creation (1956) till the break-up of the state (1991)<sup>26</sup> it played a key role in the Movement what had enabled it to be a significant factor in international relations it is necessary to strengthen its co-operation with the Movement as a whole as well as with its leading countries. Thus, future Serbia’s Foreign Policy Strategy, as the document of the highest priority for pursuing international activities, should surely include tactical and operational plans for strengthening of its influence in the so-called Third World, especially taking into consideration a large number of Non-Aligned Movement member states.<sup>27</sup> (See map No. 1). This does not must to imply a strategic shift towards full membership in the Movement that would be incompatible to the European Union membership. But, it should be noted, e.g., that after acceding the European Union Malta and Cyprus had given up on their full membership in the Movement but in the meantime, they gained observer status. In this way, they have kept participating in its work. Map No. 1: Member states and observed countries of the Non-Aligned Movement (2007)



Member states of the Non-Aligned Movement – dark blue. Light blue states have observer status. Source: Internet, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-Aligned\\_Movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-Aligned_Movement), 15/09/2009.

<sup>26</sup> See: Predrag Simić, *Tito i NATO*, Biblioteka „Sedma sila“, Kompanija „Novosti“ AD, Beograd, 2008, pp. 92–3.

<sup>27</sup> See: Dragan Đukanović i Ivona Lađevac, „Prioriteti spoljnopolitičke strategije Republike Srbije“, *Međunarodni problemi*, Vol. LXI, broj 2, Beograd, 2009, pp. 343–64.



Another thing one should keep in mind is the fact that Byelorussia is the only European country that is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Apart from Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina it is only Ukraine as a European country that enjoys observer status in the Non-Aligned Movement. On the other hand, the principles that the Non-Aligned Movement has proclaimed since its establishment as are mutual respect of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and sovereignty and security (the term that it has used since its establishment — “peaceful co-existence”)<sup>28</sup> are not becoming less important in the contemporary world. These are the values that the Republic of Serbia takes as its starting point in pursuing of its foreign policy activities. Undoubtedly, the Non-Aligned Movement has been the greatest peace movement in the 20th and 21st centuries that emerged from the constant tensions produced by the Cold War. It was a response to the constant provocations and tensions in the relations between the two opposite blocks and it primarily promoted the principles of peaceful settlement of conflicts and strengthening of co-operation. Even today, the Non-Aligned Movement has not lost its significance within the global scale. On the contrary, its summits and ministerial conferences point to numerous and very topical problems of the contemporary world — human rights, environmental problems, the status of women and children in society, the position of refugees and displaced persons, etc. Thus, the Non-Aligned Movement was created as an emancipatory movement striving to improve the status of persons who are deprived of their rights and are discriminated as well.

Thus, in its future foreign policy conception the Republic of Serbia should strive towards strengthening of economic co-operation with the leading Non-Aligned Movement member states. It should focus attention on strengthening of its relations with India, Indonesia, Iran, South Africa, Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Bolivia, Peru, Columbia, etc. Also, it is possible to establish intensive forms of co-operation in the fields of education (e.g. exchange of students), culture, science (carrying out of joint projects) and environmental protection.

Making attempts not to usurp the legacy of the successful foreign policy the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia pursued in the early 2009 the Republic of Serbia made an initiative to hold a jubilee summit in Belgrade in 2011 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>29</sup> The conference would be jointly organised by all states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia under the chairmanship of Egypt.

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<sup>28</sup> See: Velibor Gavranov i Miomir Stojković, *Međunarodni odnosi i spoljna politika Jugoslavije*, Savremena administracija, Beograd, 1972, pp. 101–16; Vojin Dimitrijević i Radoslav Stojanović, *Osnovi teorije međunarodnih odnosa*, „Službeni list SFRJ“, Beograd, 1977, pp. 329–36.

<sup>29</sup> „Tadić: Jubilej nesvrstanih u Beogradu“, BETA, Beograd, 16. jul 2009.

This manifestation would be significant mostly in a symbolic manner since the states in the region refer to the heritage of once very successful Yugoslav foreign policy. On the other hand, the jubilee Belgrade summit would also show that there are numerous opportunities for all states in the region to individually establish co-operation with Non-Aligned Movement member states. This, actually, implies that the consensual orientation of all states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia towards EU membership does not *a priori* exclude strengthened co-operation with the Third World.

### Conclusion

Considering the fact that together with the end of the Cold War the Non-Aligned Movement has become less significant at the global level the values it upholds have surely not become less important. These are, above all, the promotion of peace, mutual co-operation, human rights and economic development. The mankind keeps on facing numerous risks related to endangering of the above mentioned values in the global geostrategic game that has obviously been continued after the fall of the Berlin wall with other/similar factors. It is just for this that the global role of the Non-Aligned Movement, which gathers around 118 countries from Central and South America, through Africa to East and South Asia will be reaffirmed in the future.

Although the conception of non-alignment had been the leading determinant in the Yugoslav foreign policy since 1956 after the collapse of the idea on the Balkan Alliance<sup>30</sup> relying on the West right before the break-up of Yugoslavia a drastic shift occurred in this field. Today, when all former Yugoslav republics are independent and sovereign states that are distinctly oriented towards the integration to the European Union, it becomes clear that in their foreign policy conceptions they do not wish to neglect the significance of co-operation with the so-called Third World. This is the way one can interpret the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia that has for the time being been supported by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, respectively, to celebrate in Belgrade in 2011 the fiftieth anniversary of the First Conference of Heads of States or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries. Another important fact is that central South Slavic states — Montenegro, Croatia, BH and Serbia are observers in the Non-Aligned Movement, while since 2009 Macedonia has gained guest status.

As for the Republic of Serbia, it does not only see its co-operation with the Non-Aligned Movement as a response to the recognition of independence of

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<sup>30</sup> See: Velibor Gavranov i Miomir Stojković, *Međunarodni odnosi i spoljna politika Jugoslavije*, op. cit., pp. 215–8.

Kosovo, or actually merely as a support to the endeavours to maintain its territorial integrity and sovereignty. In a strategic sense, apart from the future membership in the European Union, the Republic of Serbia together with the other states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia could be a kind of bridge between the Brussels administration and the Third World with their observer status in the Non-Aligned Movement. Moreover, there is a realistic opportunity for the states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia to make individual or common access to the markets of Non-Aligned member states.

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