

Salam aleikum, wa rahmatullah wa barakatuhu
Salamat Siang
Greetings comrades

Im Aziz Salmone Fall, a panafrikanist political scientist, lecturing in international relations
Coordinator of the International campaign Justice for Sankara, grila member and president
of CIRFA

It is an honor to be here and thank you for your warm hospitality.

Im delighted to present some key issues also raised in the closing remarks of our book just
launched yesterday in Jakarta

My topic is *The revival of Bandung spirit for the 21st century and Aligned Trans
Internationalism*;

As my young fellow Livita Sumali just kindly shared with me, today is the youth oath day in
Indonesia or Sumpah Pemuda. I'm dedicating this speech to the Indonesian youth and to
Mehdi Ben Barka secretary of the tricontinental.

ALL MEN ARE INTELLECTUALS: BUT NOT ALL MEN HAVE IN SOCIETY THE FUNCTION OF
INTELLECTUALS." Said **Gramsci**

What are we doing here, we the so called intellectuals of the Global South, symbolically
gathered in Bandung?

What interests me is the relevance of the Bandung spirit for the 21st century, and the
formation and crystallisation of intellectuals, organic to the interests of the masses, the
working class, the victims of imperialism. Intellectuals who may find a role in a revolutionary
moment, not necessarily as farsighted leaders, but alongside those who struggle for
democratic power. The spirit of almost forgotten people like *Ali Sastroamidjojo* to advocate
cooperation of Afro Asian countries is still needed for world peace and south /south
resistance against *Nekolim* (Indonesian word for neocolonialism and colonialism), and in
favor of democratisation of society, social progress, and anti-imperialist position.

Let me be clear, the Bandung legacy is no longer neutrality, its spirit needs now to build an anti-
comprador social bloc, rooted in a tricontinental strategy within the so called Global South. I call
that internationalist constellation, *TransInternationalism*, since change in the 21st century arises
from the South.

The 60 years of non-alignment are an opportunity to start a fresh page, instead of
enduring the unipolar era and its fatal spiral. Most of the non-aligned movement spirit, the
Bandung 10 items platform are still pertinent: resisting the military control of the planet,
advocating national and international policies for a more equitable management of resources
for all peoples, safeguarding the rights of nations to choose their own development, while
ensuring peace and solidarity among them. The demands and the measures that arose from
the Non-Aligned movement of Bandung constituted, in the Cold War era, a middle pathway
of nationalisms defending independent democracy. Amazing historical events, the 1954 Dien

Ben Phu victory that led to the Bandung conference, the Brasil coup d'État of 1954, the Suez nationalisation of 1956, the Republic proclamation in Ghana and Guinea in 1957, and in Bagdad in 1959, the Algerian liberation struggle, liberation struggles and independence processes all over, the Congo crisis, Viet-nam's war South Africa' and Rhodesia anti-apartheid struggle, Palestine occupation, allende's Chili crisis, the isaraelo arab and palestinaian question,

NIEO etc..

Between 1960 to 1970's, India represented itself alone, more than symbolically, the difficult balance of power between the bi-polar world. It has benefited a great deal of help from the Soviet union for it's industry, while harvesting 10 billions of free aid from the United States. Everywhere, in the once called Third world, national development strategies were advancements of national «bourgeois or petty-bourgeois» interests and their essential inputs are still important, though considerably without breath today. The scattering of states of the South and their capitalist competition have unfortunately exhausted the potential of the group of 77. It is indeed the end of the Bandung era.

The era of the West-East bi-polarisation of the world has ended and that of North-South persists, like imperialism, but both in more sophisticated forms. Having survived the cold war, the non-aligned movement changed positively international relations and development issues. Yet it suffers, more than ever, the geopolitical and economic unipolarity of the global market order. National sovereign spaces, have been considerably destabilized by arbitrary, unjust practices of big financial institutions, whether public or private. The oligopolistic globalised capitalism and the supra imperialist order controlling all production and consumption are irreversibly threatening life on earth.

This is why things have to evolve, and neutrality is no longer possible as the core philosophy of the Bandung spirit. It is time, for the new generation, to also take a stand and with audacity distance itself from the so called pragmatic and moderate position which have help the decay of the G77. It is time, before it's too late to revive the core spirit of the tricontinental¹, and the late *Organización de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de África, Asia y América* (OSPAAAL) despite the assassination of it's 3 main leaders : Mehdi Ben Barka, Che Guevara and Amilcar Cabral.

Today, the Bandung spirit should connect more with the recent radical anti-imperialist experiences of Latin and central America. We need a new vision to align on the southern front of the people and update internationalism. The aligned, resolutely anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist, crystallizing in the wake of internationalism of the 20th century, articulate their strategies on defending the Commons and regaining sovereignty of nations towards a People Fifth International. Transinternationalism offers a bolder formula to adapt internationalism to the economic and geopolitical order imposed by the globalized capitalist expansion. By adapting to new internationalist transnational dimensions, we advocate for a global reorganization in a universalist ethical and socio-ecological transition. The re-nationalisation and socialisation of oligopolies could be the bases of a new negotiated solidarity effort in the tricontinental front. The resistance, redeploying mainly from the Global South and gradually

¹See J. Brieux, *La tricontinentale*, Politique étrangère, 1966, Vo 31, No1, pp19-43
http://www.persee.fr/doc/polit_0032-342x_1966_num_31_1_2227

irradiating areas of the North, rediscovers in the ecological emergency, issues of egalitarianism of opportunity, social justice, individual commitment of each human. This personal commitment must be multiplied by the collective strength of the human community.

The logic of the market order, destructive of social relations and the environment, is embedded in development, like a trojan horse. Development has gone astray in a economicist acceleration. Globalization, however, a historical reality of many centuries old, has become an euphemism to describe the acceleration of capitalist accumulation and the redeployment of imperialism. This is done under the leadership of oligopolies, plutocracies, and remaining strong pockets of States power that are still geopolitically dominant. The puncture that this conjunction of oligopolies, plutocrats and dominant states still exerts on labor exploitation and surplus value accentuates global polarization. The economic asymmetry is aggravated by a confusion between modernization and westernisation that accentuates tendencies towards homogenization and standardization, without being able to achieve them, despite of the capture of hypnotized masses.

Submitted to structural adjustments policies and harsh conditionalities, in the past three decades, the countries of the periphery seem paralyzed and rank scattered under the brutal dispossession they undergo. The Nation-State has been sorely lacking in the development of public politics. The negative socio-political and ecological consequences of these measures will take decades to stamp out in our countries.

People and societies are not passive, but the depolitisation of the neoliberal era has undermined political organisation. Resistance persist everywhere however, especially with the "emergence" of the BRICS- still less than 15% of world GDP- who manage somehow to have better controlled their accumulation. That threatens the hegemony of the dominant blocs of the imperialist Troika- United- States-Europe-Japan. Having lost in the economic field, the Troika is reduced to co-opt the so called emerging countries, as in the G20, to reinvigorate their own declining growth rate and to maintain in stagnation all the others countries. This is done by strategic and geopolitical interference to reaffirm its supremacy in the south ; dispossession of natural resources, by exploiting conflicts, and instrumentalising various terrorist expressions, that also have in many places their own genuine agenda. The strategy entails summing all countries to align under their safe crusade, or face disruption of international cooperation and direct foreign investment. Comprador bourgeoisie, subaltern allies of the globalised bourgeoisie are benefiting from this globalized consensus. Growth without proper redistribution to the masses being part of the problem !

North-south co-operation solidarity remains a chimera maintained by the global elites. So called development aid, ODA, has never reached 0,7% ; and the famous millenium development goals and poverty reduction strategies that just failed were mainly diversions in the neoliberal agenda. Even the brand new UN's sustainable development goals, to be reached in 2030, which need roughly a yearly 4000 billions \$ investment during 15 years, need so many complicated political will, conditions from the private sector and fiscal imposition, that we can already question it's outcome. Most of all these international co-

operation tricks are objective regulations trends for the active dependant inclusion of the southern countries in the world economy.

However, there is resistance since the failed NIEO. In objecting to capital flight ; in trying to regulate investments ; in defending the agrarian question against land grabbing, with land reforms ensuring food self-sufficiency and protection of their production and peasantry ; in developing antibodies against the neoliberal virus ; in advocating peace against the militaristic crusades, the spirit of Bandung persists in many strata of our societies.

It is important to build on the historical struggles that have been fought and to more boldly work on others, in order to translate the genuine credentials of our people. The substantial gains of the left in Latin America, the breaks that have been placed on the uprisings in North Africa, or recently in small Burkina Faso, should be opposed to the disarray of the Left and the great need for a democratic repoliticization of the masses. A major portion of the masses, so called lumpen-proletariat or reserve army, is rendered superfluous for global capitalism that try to contain their desperate migrations. As Guevara once said, in his speech at the Afro Asian economic forum in Algiers: «In this way an immense underlying force in our continents, miserably exploited but never aided in their development, could be put in motion, and a new stage of an authentic division of labour could be begun, based not on the history of what has been done up to now, but on what can be done in the future»²

United against the oppression of nations, the potential to regain the path of self-reliance and strengthen the Tricontinental front are the only exit possible against the global south crisis. But this radical reform of the Bandung front is eminently political and passes through the rediscovery of internationalism and the defense of the common goods of humanity. Democratic re-politicization of our masses, to resist the tide through the rebuilding of the Tricontinental may counter the military momentum of collective imperialism. Since the regulatory mechanisms whether multilateral or transnational that exist globally, to protect the commons, have become archaic or inoperable; the tricontinental front, within the non aligned movement, should address the issue of the commons, the last non-commodified public spaces and promote the adoption of a Universal Declaration for the common good of humanity. This strategy must reflect viewpoints from progressive forces in the South, but also those in the North who are willing to offer their support.

To do this, we must now pass this phase of indignation, engage more deeply and show even more audacity and organisation towards the development of a tricontinental internationalist political platform of convergence until we reach the transinternationalist phase. That will be a second decisive step of the Bandung spirit towards affirming democratic and popular sovereignty. Here, it will be important to firmly complete the gains of the preceding era and affirm an alignment with Nation-States, popular movements, social groups, associations, individuals, on the basis of internationalism in this specific condition that marks this transnational era.

² Ernesto Che Guevara, Internationalism and Anti-imperialism, Afro asian economic seminar Alger 1965, in Tricontinental, 1967, p25

Beyond Bandung will provide a roadmap for a societal project in a polycentric world where popular forces of the South, fed up with the North-South monologue, are proposing to reorient globalization towards a development that is truly about balance, social justice, protecting Mother Earth, well-being, proper conduct and attitude.

- *Let us built a concerted leadership that supports the content of a Universal Declaration for the Common Good of Humanity*
- *Let us develop a tricontinental transinternationalist political platform of convergence with a special focus on the youth and women*
- *Let us resist against wars and the presence of foreign military bases in our countries*

Youth of Indonesia please join me,
Give me a dozen students we transform the world have said Soekarno
you are the present,
you are the future in action !
Comrads, please stand up in homage of the Indonesian youth day in this Bandung historic room

Please Repeat after us

When the people stand up, Imperialism falls
Jaya Bandung

Diversity in Unity
Bhineka Tunggal Ika

-Trimakassi

Aziz Salmone Fall
Bandung, October 2015