

*Military alignment obstructs membership*

because the non-aligned grouping still reflects much of its Cold War origin in such matters as the criteria for membership. The non-aligned, furthermore, as is suggested by its name, has a particular political role and orientation which sets it apart from both the Third World and the Group of 77.

Pakistan and certain other Third World countries have never been members of the non-aligned grouping, and their membership in the West's military pacts or the presence of foreign military bases on their soil continue to be obstacles to admission. Even if the political requirements were altered (and the non-aligned seem more indulgent towards Eastward leanings than Westward ones), it would still be difficult to provide satisfactory Third World criteria. In economic terms, as much as in politics or ideology, there are wide disparities between members. Yugoslavia, for example, is by the standards of most other members of the grouping a rich industrialized country, and oil-rich Kuwait can scarcely be equated with potentially bankrupt Chad.

#### **First use**

The actual term "non-alignment" was first used in a communique resulting from a meeting between Tito and Nasser that followed immediately after the 1956 Brioni meeting of Tito, Nasser and Nehru. Non-alignment became known as an expression of a state's desire to remain outside of any formal military alliance with either the United States or the Soviet Union. Consequently, it was decided that countries such as the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey and Pakistan, on the one hand, and China, on the other, were to be excluded. After Bandung, because non-alignment was defined in broad political terms and included states from almost every continent, it was thought that the possibility of a series of well-designed political platforms permitted by division of the world into regional organization would be cast aside in favour of an unwieldy but more inclusive world movement.

The members of the movement became deeply involved in economic and social concerns in the early 1960s. In fact, it was at this time that five influential leaders of the non-aligned states (Nehru, Sukarno, Nasser, Nkrumah and Tito) met to discuss joint action that might be taken in the United Nations. A year later, the first formal conference of the non-aligned was held in Belgrade and produced specific proposals.

During the first 15 years of its existence, the movement had, by and large, of

perceived necessity, to concern itself with immediate and pressing political issues of freedom, equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is evident even to the casual observer that these endeavours in the political sphere, just as the problems they are intended to combat, will continue into the foreseeable future. However, with the third "summit" at Lusaka in 1970 and, more emphatically since the fourth "summit" at Algiers in 1973, economic issues have also attracted the increasing attention of the movement.

It was readily apparent that, although there were often similarities of approach amongst Third World states on economic and political questions, nations would naturally to group in different ways according to specific issues, depending on their specific national interests. On certain questions individual interests in the realms either of international politics or economics would need to be sacrificed to the other or to the cause of movement solidarity. The internicine difficulties in this regard were no more exacerbated by the political/economic "mix" than they were by the simple growth factor in the non-aligned movement. At the outset there were 25 members; at the conclusion of Colombo, the movement numbered 60, representing nearly two-thirds the membership of the United Nations, a body which owes much of its recent evolution to the "Spirit of Algiers" emanating from the 1973 summit meeting.

#### **New dynamism**

The shape and direction of the movement derived a new dynamism and emphasis at the Algiers meeting, the results of which were embodied in a political declaration of a general character, a "Declaration on the struggle for national liberation", an economic declaration and the "action program for economic cooperation", together with a number of supplementary resolutions on specific subjects. These documents presented for the first time comprehensive and interrelated political and economic objectives, which have since inspired the policies of the non-aligned and developing countries. They foreshadowed the proposals on economic development advanced at the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the General Assembly, the regular sessions in 1974 and 1975, and, in part, those advanced at UNCTAD IV and the CIEC this year. The documents also formed the basis upon which solidarity was forged on political issues, particularly on the Middle East and southern Africa. The proposals that emerged from the Algiers conference,