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THE THIRD WORLD: NEW REALITIES AND OLD MYTHS

INTRODUCTION

The direct ramifications of the 1973 OPEC oil embargo and subsequent price tripling felt by all oil-importing nations has attracted renewed and vital attention to the intricate position the Third World occupies in U.S. foreign policy and strategic concerns. The proposals contained in a recently released report entitled North-South: A Program for Survival, written by the Independent Commission on International Development Issues chaired by Willy Brandt, have received much attention. This report offers methods to restructure the world order with the intent of alleviating the absolute poverty which plagues much of the Third World. There exists, however, little official consensus on just which nations comprise the "Third World," thus making any formulation and implementation of a sound U.S. policy vis-a-vis the group infeasible. The purpose of this paper is to trace the formation of the concept of the "Third World," examine its current makeup, and ascertain whether or not this phrase describes a viable, unified bloc which can be dealt with either economically or politically on a common front.

During the past decade, the term "Third World" has been widely exploited and used to describe varying sets of countries, changing when necessary to reflect a change in political goals or a shift in the general geo-political climate. The list of synonyms used interchangeably throughout the Seventies by the Western industrialized nations to describe the group indicates more changing political perception than substantive alterations in the group's economic or political status. Thus, labels used loosely and synonymously have included: the developing nations, the lesser developed nations (LDCs), the South, the non-aligned nations (NANs), and the have-nots. But one must ask whether these terms actually denote the same conditions.

Varying levels of economic growth among the nations, as well as differing political aspirations, necessitate a more specific definition and division of this vaguely structured group. Furthermore, in attempting to judge the similarity of these nations one might ask if the Third World countries are more united economically than they are separated politically. Finally, one must squarely face the problem of whether political and social policies of the countries of the Third World vary so widely that they create diametrically opposite development trends.

ORIGINS AND COMMON DEFINITIONS

The origins of the term "Third World" and its meaning are debated among scholars, with dates of its first usage ranging from 1947 when the British recognized the independence of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, to 1955 when the first Asian-African conference of heads of states met in Bandung, Indonesia. The actual phrase Third World has been traced to the French term "tiers monde," used to describe a class order, i.e., third after nobles and clergy, and also the neutralists in the Cold War.¹

Official U.S. adoption of the term in policy statements dates from shortly after the Bandung Conference in 1955. The current Department of State definition of the Third World, as found in their International Relations Dictionary, "refers to those countries with underdeveloped but growing economies, often with colonial pasts, and low per capita incomes." Thus, there is no specific economic or political criterion assigned to this classification; however, the division of countries by per capita income levels (either World Bank or United Nations sources) is generally noted.

Definitions of the Third World vary from a mere listing of nations, to broad economic descriptions of areas, to statistical observations. For instance, one recent definition of the "South," i.e., the Third World, was given as 125 nations in which one half of the world's population resides, where production amounts for 12 percent of the world's total, and total exports (excluding oil) comprise 13 percent of global export commodity trade.² Similarly, Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, offered a broad definition of the Third World in a 1979 speech:

Ours is a kind of "trade union of the poor."
 ...Seventy percent of the world's population - the Third World - commands together no more than 12 percent of the gross world product. Eighty percent of the world's

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1. William Safire, Political Dictionary (New York: Random House, 1979), pp. 723-724.
 2. Loring Allen, "The North-South Standoff," The Wall Street Journal, December 7, 1979, p. 16.

trade and investment, 93 percent of its industry, and almost 100 percent of its research is controlled - by the industrial rich.³

More commonly, reference such as the following is made: "This is the Third World, a group of about 135 developing nations with three-fourths of the earth's inhabitants...a term used to differentiate emerging countries from the main Western and Communist blocs."⁴

Even attempts to attach broad labels to countries considered Third World members becomes confusing as the following illustrates:

Some developing countries are so far advanced in their development that they can be termed threshold countries. Others have discovered in their oil and natural gas resources unimagined sources of income. Others again have seen their development programmes seriously affected by the increases in the price of oil (the so-called MSAC -- most seriously affected countries). Then there are the countries belonging to the group of least developed countries (the so-called LLDC) and, in addition, very poor regions continue to exist even in more advanced developing countries.⁵

Nowhere in the above definitions does one find a concise explanation of unifying ties which create a Third World, nor an actual identification of countries included. Continued acceptance of the Third World as a monolithic entity may prevent clear thinking about both problems of development and programs designed to maximize economic progress.

POLITICAL FOUNDING

The first substantive meeting of heads of state of newly independent Asian and African countries was held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. Agreement was reached there on a common general direction for long-term political and economic policy. This group of 29 nations (see Table 1) committed itself to the following goals: national self-determination, economic development, opposition to apartheid, non-involvement in other states' internal affairs, non-participation in multilateral military alliances, worldwide disarmament, and the strengthening of the United Nations. These tenets, supplemented but virtually unchanged, remain the underlying principles of the non-aligned movement today, as recently reiterated at their Havana conference in September 1979.

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3. Julius Nyerere, "A Trade Union for the Poor," from the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, June 1979, as quoted in the Congressional Record, July 17, 1979, p. E 2682.
 4. Donald C. Brown, "Third World - Cockpit of Turmoil," U.S. News and World Report, June 25, 1979, p. 51.
 5. Bulletin 2, Bonn January 17, 1980 (Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, Bonn. Federal Republic of Germany), p. 4.

Several months prior to the first official summit conference of the non-aligned group held in Belgrade in 1961, a planning meeting in Cairo produced a "Communique" outlining the criteria for membership in the movement. These criteria centered around adherence to the principles stated above and additionally required that if a country had a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power or had conceded the use of military bases to a foreign power, these arrangements should not have been concluded in the context of a Great Power conflict.

The leaders of this first non-aligned conference were Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia, Nasser of Egypt, and the host, Sukarno of Indonesia. Each of these men professed a strong belief in the independence of his nation and Sukarno voiced a particularly avid desire to see the participating "new emerging nations" unify where necessary to maximize their economic and political strength. The objectives of this movement, as espoused in Belgrade, consisted of a vague list of noble goals including: freedom for all, justice, worldwide peace, and the liberation of men from the horrors of fear, hunger, backwardness, terrorism, etc. At this initial meeting, the non-aligned group actually emphasized its lack of commitment to either of the Great Powers of their spheres while maintaining the right to follow an active policy of independence. Non-alignment in its earliest stages was never equated with pacifist, isolationist policy. Twenty-five nations sent representatives to participate in the Belgrade Summit and three Latin American nations sent observers. (See Table 3.)

Similar summits were held in Cairo in 1964, Lusaka in 1970, Algiers in 1973, Colombo in 1976, and Havana in 1979. Statements and actions resulting from these conferences are hailed as the Third World's position. However, three additional groups or platforms also represent the supposedly unified Third World ideology: UNCTAD, the Group of 77, and the New International Economic Order.

UNCTAD

The First United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) took place in 1964 in Geneva and quickly emerged as a permanent forum for discussion of trade and economic development issues. To date there have been five UNCTAD meetings, the most recent one being held in Manila in 1979 with 159 nations sending delegates. Industrialized nations, although themselves participating, usually viewed these meetings as a forum for developing nations to assail the existing commercial arrangements as highly discriminatory. UNCTAD is commonly referred to as the "poor man's GATT" (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to which Argentina is the only developing nation yet to sign). Agreements made at the UNCTAD conferences are not legally binding, yet political pressure on issues receiving a consensus normally aids in their implementation or at least further discussion. An

example of the types of topics debated and agreed to was the 1971 UNCTAD proposal that the industrialized nations commit at least 0.7 percent of their GNP in aid to the developing countries.

GROUP OF 77

At the conclusion of the first UNCTAD meeting, a group of seventy-seven nations converged and jointly agreed to a declaration on issues of trade and economic development.⁶ Hoping to command stronger representation of their demands within the United Nations, this Group of 77 held its first ministerial meeting in Algiers in 1967. The opening sentence of the Charter of Algiers, the founding doctrine of the Group, states, "The lot of more than a billion people of the developing world continues to deteriorate as⁷ a result of the trends in international economic relations."

Acting as the main caucus for developing nations in the UN forums such as UNCTAD, the tone of the Group's doctrine displays open hostility toward industrialized nations. Developing nations, it implies, must now be compensated for past colonial exploits through the process of transferring wealth and resources. Current membership in the Group totals approximately 120 and the rhetoric strikingly resembles the demands for a new international economic order. President Nyerere has described the Group's origin as follows:

For it was our separate nationalism which caused us to come together, not the ideals of human brotherhood, or human equality, or love for each other. The immediate reason for each nation joining the Group of 77 depended on the point at which it had experienced the economic frustrations of power external to itself.⁸

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

"Needed: A New International Economic Order" was the title of the principal speech by President Boumedienne of Algeria at the Sixth Special Assembly of the United Nations in 1974. The United Nations formally adopted a declaration for the establishment of a NIEO without a vote. However, several delegates expressed reservations, including the United States. Following the content of Boumedienne's speech a list of twenty principles are adopted

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6. United Nations, UNCTAD Second Session, New Delhi, Volume 1, Report and Annexes TD/97, p. 431.
 7. For a list of the original participants in the G-77 and subsequent members, see Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. Congress and the New International Economic Order (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1976), p. 73.
 8. Julius Nyerere, op. cit., p. E 2682.

along with specific guidelines to assist the "most seriously affected" developing nations.

The goals most frequently stressed include the fight of developing countries to control their indigenous resources and to guard against exploitation by multinational corporations, a common fund to guarantee stable prices for raw material exports (tentatively agreed to in 1979), increased foreign aid through multilateral channels, and directed at the poorest, debt relief, and greater access to technology and the markets of the industrialized nations especially for manufactured goods. Generally summarized as a plea to lessen the supposed poverty gap which now exists between the North and the South, and which is exacerbated daily, the idea of a NIEO is to grant the developing nations preferential treatment in all commercial and economic international arrangements in order to catapult them over their obstacles to growth.

Opponents of the concept of a NIEO, hailing primarily from industrialized nations, argue what is being sought is not equality. One line of argument declares:

Were the LDC's actually demanding equal rights and treatment, they would insist on the removal of trade barriers and the operation of unrestricted international markets, and the elimination of international cartels. But instead they call for the institution of new and unequal trade preferences in the form of higher prices coupled with a promise not to substitute. This proposal, though disguised by egalitarian rhetoric, can hardly be considered a demand for equality.

The demands required for this new economic order continue to be uttered at UNCTAD meetings and are found in most rhetorical speeches devoted to North-South relations. Boumedienne ended his speech by asking whether or not the developed countries realize that their future is inseparable from the Third World's and furthermore that the developed countries "must accept the conditions of the economic emancipation of the peoples of the Third World and agree to the transformation which this emancipation entails for the economic order presently established in the world." Nowhere does he explicitly name the countries comprising the Third World whose economic freedom will so severely dominate the changing world order.

THE EMERGENCE OF OPEC

The coincidence of needs shared by the majority of diverse developing nations provided a real semblance of unity in their

9. Feulner, op. cit., p. 64.

claims for restructuring of the international economic order until 1973. Then the rising bargaining power of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and similar valuable export commodity cartels substantially weakened a common bond among developing countries on economic matters. (See Table 2) The current situation has been likened to the difference between two types of banana republics, those having bananas and those which are barren.¹⁰ The American Delegation of the United Nations has referred to the recent division within the Third World as consisting of OPEC versus the "nopecs."

Turmoil among the developing countries has grown simultaneously with the increased revenues received by the oil exporting members. Massive capital inflows to the OPEC nations from oil exports, estimated at approximately \$160 billion in 1979 has not miraculously transformed these nations into functional industrialized economies.¹¹

The new-found wealth of oil exporting countries has further precipitated the disturbance attributed to uneven economic growth within the Third World community. Although OPEC aid to developing nations approximated close to 2 percent of GNP yearly from 1975 to 1977, totaling \$5.5 billion, this assistance has generally been given on harder terms than Western development aid and directed primarily at Moslem countries. More significantly, as OPEC members continue to raise the price of their export commodity, they increasingly threaten the idea of a unified Third World, including the benefits they might reap from a single representative voice in international organizations and, moreover, the solvency of the very economies which underlie it. The amount of aid that filters back to the poorest developing countries does not, and will not ever compensate for the increased cost of energy supplies they must import. Accompanying a rise in their oil-import bill from \$4 billion in 1972 to \$44 billion in 1979 there has been a slowdown in the economic growth in many of the developing nations, especially those advanced developing nations such as South Korea and Taiwan which have scarce indigenous energy supplies and large demand to maintain industrial growth.

LOOSENING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ALLIANCES

The unanimity of the developing Third World nations is weakening both politically within the non-aligned group and economically within the foundation of the Group of 77 and its efforts to adopt joint economic proposals in international forums.

10. Thomas Geoghegan, "The Third World in Middle Ages," New Republic, September 22, 1979, p. 39.

11. "Teaming Up Against OPEC," Time, June 25, 1979, p. 57.

Political Ties

The concept of non-alignment as exemplified by the existing movement which claims to politically "join" the developing nations has evolved into a power struggle between two dominant characters, Castro of Cuba, the current leader of the movement until the next conference in 1982, and Tito of Yugoslavia, perhaps the last vestige of the real philosophy of non-alignment. Elements within the group are blatantly supporting Soviet actions, e.g., the October 1979 exposure of Soviet troops in Cuba, which denigrate the espoused representation of the non-aligned. Strong pressures bordering on alignment by the more radical leaders such as Castro, Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Qaddafi of Libya are alienating the economically weaker members. Many of the poorer, conservative members fear U.S. and Western assistance and future bilateral support will be withheld as a reprisal against actions taken by a few strong leaders.

Recent votes in the United Nations have reflected a sundering of the so-called Third World movement. A September 1979 vote (71-35) seated the Pol Pot representatives for Cambodia and not the Soviet-backed and Hanoi-supported (as well as Cuban-supported) Heng Samrin regime. Some officials hinted that this vote was to protest the forceful tactics of Cuba during the 1979 Havana Conference. Similarly on January 14, 1980, a UN vote (104-18) adopted a resolution calling for the removal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Eighteen nations voted against the resolution including the developing countries of Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, Ethiopia, Grenada, Laos, Mozambique, Southern Yemen, and Vietnam. Although these two votes, viewed favorably by the United States, do not begin to counter the numerous times the Third World has successfully aligned itself against the U.S. in this and other international forums, the votes do perhaps represent a note of discontent and progressive weakening within this somewhat contrived political alliance.

Further jeopardizing political harmony among Third World nations is the severe internal disruption or external pressure and invasion many of these countries have recently suffered or are now suffering. These nations include Iran, Nicaragua, Thailand, Malaysia, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia.

During the past decade, the radical contingency in the group gained the upper hand. The concern of the Arab and African members over liberation movements and the principle of self-determination, as witnessed in the actions of Palestine and in southern Africa, has cast the United States in a bad light. The Soviet Union's unabashed desire to further its global political strategy has been seen in the small-scale economic aid and weapons sent to support many of these movements. Further maligning the West in the eyes of the developing countries is the association of exploitative multinational corporations solely with the industrialized countries of the West. Fidel Castro has been able to use both of these elements to gain strength within the movement.

During the 1979 Havana Conference, one of the major areas of controversy involved the continued seating of Egypt as a Conference member. Many of the radical Arab nations chastised Egypt for signing a peace treaty with Israel, even though Israel is not a Great Power. While Tito's strength postponed the debate until 1981, the radical force seemed eager to deny one of its founding tenets, peaceful coexistence. This illustrates a fundamental weakening on ideological grounds.

The current strong voices heard from within the non-alignment movement, i.e., Cuba, Libya, and Algeria, are contributing to the ultimate demise of any political common front. The September 1979 Havana Conference was billed as a sparring match between Castro and Tito for the very soul of the Third World. Although neither competitor was eliminated, the strength of Castro was obvious. The continued deterioration of Tito's health may well lay to rest the ideological foundation of the non-aligned movement.

As leader of the last non-aligned conference, Castro remains the formal spokesman of the group until the 1982 meeting. Looking ahead to the 1982 meeting in Iraq which Saddam Hussein will host and further along to 1985 when Libya's Qaddafi will take charge of the non-aligned meeting and movement for three years henceforth, the politics of the Third World are guaranteed to challenge any remaining unity and meaningful non-alignment.

Economic Ties

The economic term Third World was widely accepted when, in order to encourage uniformity in presenting statistical data and to facilitate the flow of rhetoric in the field of development studies, classifications based on levels of per capita income were adopted to differentiate between the least developed countries, the low-income countries, and the middle-income developing countries by international organizations and the governments of Western industrialized nations. The economic term Third World was widely accepted. This was done without regard for the economic growth potential of individual nations or their political ideology, assuming all were members of the non-aligned group and because of their economic situation required less immediate attention by the political leaders of the world.

With respect to the economic unity of the Third World, in addition to the division apparent with the creation of OPEC, another splinter group referred to as the newly industrialized countries (NICs) further complicates current and future adoption of a single, all-encompassing economic doctrine. While the majority of the economies classified as developing remain agrarian, both in terms of the percentage of the workforce employed and percentage of total GNP earned, the NICs such as Mexico, Singapore, and Taiwan are now gearing their growth through the industrial sector. The economic interests of Mexico, which had a 1977 GNP per capita of \$1,120 and 34 percent of its workforce that year employed in agriculture, are not identical to the economic needs

of its regional neighbor Haiti. Haiti in 1977 had a per capita GNP of \$230 and 70 percent of its workforce employed in the agricultural sector.

This type of uneven growth is inevitable with a large number of countries spanning various geographic regions. Escalating oil import prices, on the other hand, quickly place an economic barrier between the wholly energy dependent countries such as Bangladesh and those with adequate indigenous supplies such as Argentina, Peru, and Malaysia. At the fifth meeting of UNCTAD in Manila in 1979, 159 countries participated in the largest economic conference to date. Oil dependency was on the agenda of important discussion topics, yet the usual solidarity of position broke down and no common energy proposal was adopted. In addition to the frustration rising oil prices cause the developing nations, OPEC members' unwillingness to lend directly to them to finance these oil bills (instead driving these countries to large international banks) is having political repercussions.

International trade agreements receive much Third World criticism for blocking equitable entry of their raw materials and manufactured goods on the world market. As developing nations expand their export capacities, more attention is focused on trade matters. However, greater immediate access to world markets does not receive the same priority in Niger, where the two-way trade merchandise trade volume in 1977 was \$260 million, as in Venezuela where in 1977 the two-way merchandise trade volume totaled \$19,901 million. Although the Group of 77 is continually pressing for preferential trade arrangements through official channels such as UNCTAD, four Third World nations with limited industrial strength (Argentina, Israel, Jamaica, and Singapore) have signed the basic agreement of the recently negotiated Multilateral Trade Agreement, calling for a reduction in tariffs over the next ten years. Where Third World nations see economic advantages available through independent action they are beginning to moonlight. This necessarily weakens the claims of a unified attack against economic exploitation and further invalidates the use of the phrase Third World to describe a solid economic alliance of developing nations.

Instead, the Third World increasingly reflects the kind of diversity P. T. Bauer, economist and student of development, describes which contributes to the phrase's current use in a misleading and inappropriate manner. Bauer states:

The truth, however, is that the so-called Third World is a vast and diverse collection of societies differing widely in religion, culture, social institutions, personal characteristics and motivation, political arrangements, economic attitudes, material achievement, rate of progress, and many other respects. It is a travesty and not a useful simplification to lump together Chinese merchants of Southeast Asia, Indonesia peasants, Indian villagers, tribal societies of Africa,

oil-rich Arabs of the Middle East, aborigines and desert peoples, inhabitants of huge cities in India, Africa, and Latin America - to envisage them all as a low-level uniform mass, a collectivity which moreover is regarded as no more than a copy of Western man, only poorer, and with even this difference the result only of Western responsibility.¹²

CONCLUSION

What began in the 1955 Bandung Conference and blossomed through UNCTADs and the Non-Aligned Conferences was a valid attempt on the part of the politically inexperienced and economically impoverished nations of the time to obtain recognition of their future importance in all facets of international order.

In recent years, obvious distinctions have emerged among developing countries which defy the existence of a unified Third World. With each new economic shock, such as a further oil price hike, global economic interdependence tightens. Likewise, as political and military activity flourishes around the world, global anxiety increases. The problems of developing countries now surpass those of the colonial era and center on how to survive and compete in the existing international economic and political arena. If a unified Third World currently exists, the movement of this body, which appears to be splitting into economic and political factions or at least discussing such moves, defies common logic which presumes that in times of crisis likeminded people unite.

There no longer exists a common economic development plan for all these Asian, African, and Latin American countries. Vast discrepancies in their rates of economic growth, first experienced by OPEC members, have obliterated the identical priority of needs list that once encouraged a common front. The severity of energy problems facing the least developed nations and their feelings toward OPEC nations have erupted into a new South-South debate further complicating the existing North-South dialogue.

Political non-alignment or independent survival has never functioned with stability and economic interdependency makes it now all but obsolete. Following the impending death of Yugoslavia's President Tito, there is no obvious force waiting to replace his efforts to rekindle the ideology of non-alignment. Certainly with Gandhi back in power, India, once considered a strong voice in the movement, can no longer be counted upon to lead a courageous struggle for independence. What is likely to emerge is the growth of regional caucuses where the relatively wealthy nations will economically aid their neighbors in return for political

12. P. T. Bauer, "Western Guilt and Third World Poverty," Commentary, January 1976, p. 37.

gains. A new version of colonialism may thus emerge, completely reversing the original intentions of the non-aligned movement.

The Third World has increasingly become an anarchistic analytical concept used to characterize a mythical monolithic collection of nations. Thus, the term has become a counter-productive device tending only to obliterate distinctions between nations that must be recognized if the U.S. government or international sources of assistance are to engage in programs that benefit nations and groups of people. It is imperative, therefore, that the U.S. and other industrialized nations examine how the once united Third World has shifted both politically and economically and re-orient policy towards this group more on a country-by-country basis.

Finally, the term Third World has undoubtedly been abused for political purposes as various nations and their leaders have attempted to achieve international stature all out of proportion to their own strengths by allegedly speaking in behalf of the Third World. But as this paper indicates, these leaders do not necessarily command a sufficient number of followers willing to sacrifice future political and economic security required to implement their self-serving rhetoric.

Susan P. Woodard
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TABLE 1

1955 Bandung Conference - Asian and African Heads of State

5 Sponsors: Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan

24 Participants:

Afghanistan	Liberia
Cambodia	Libya
China - People's Republic of	Nepal
Egypt	Phillipines
Ethiopia	Saudi Arabia
Gold Coast	Sudan
Iran	Syria
Iraq	Thailand
Japan	Turkey
Jordan	Vietnam - Democratic Republic of
Laos	Vietnam - State of
Lebanon	Yemen

TABLE 2

Members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Cartel

Algeria
Ecuador
Gabon
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Kuwait
Libya
Nigeria
Saudi Arabia
United Arab Emirates
Venezuela
Qatar

Belgrade summit 1961

Cairo summit 1964

Lusaka summit 1970

Algiers summit 1973

Colombo summit 1978

Togo	Rwanda
Trinidad & Tobago	Sao Tome and Principe
Tunisia	Saudi Arabia
Uganda	Senegal
United Arab Emirates	Seychelles
United Republic of Tanzania	Sierra Leone
Upper Volta	Singapore
Yemen Arab Republic	Somalia
Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of)	Sri Lanka
Yugoslavia	Sudan
Zaire	Swaziland
Zambia	Syrian Arab Republic
	Tanzania (United Republic of)
	Togo
	Trinidad & Tobago
	Tunisia
	Uganda
	United Arab Emirates
	Upper Volta
	Viet-Nam (Socialist Republic of)
	Yemen Arab Republic
	Yemen People's Democratic Republic
	Yugoslavia
	Zaire
	Zambia

TOTAL

25

47

53

75

86

Observers

Bolivia
Brazil
Ecuador

Argentina
Bolivia
Brazil
Chile
Finland
Jamaica
Mexico
Trinidad & Tobago
Uruguay
Venezuela
Organization of African Unity
League of Arab States

Argentina
Barbados
Bolivia
Brazil
Chile
Ecuador
Peru
Republic of South Vietnam (Provisional Revolutionary Government)
Uruguay
Venezuela
Organisation of African Unity
United Nations

Barbados
Bolivia
Brazil
Ecuador
Mexico
Panama
Uruguay
Venezuela
Angola: MPLA (Angola Popular Liberation Movement)
FNLA (Angola National Liberation Movement)
Comores: MOLINACO (Comores Liberation Movement)
Guinea (Bissau): PAIGC (African Front for the Liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde)
Mozambique: FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front)
Namibia: SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization)
Palestine: PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization)
Puerto Rico (Socialist Party of)

Barbados
Bolivia
Brazil
Ecuador
El Salvador
Grenada
Mexico
Uruguay
Venezuela
African National Congress (South Africa)
African National Council of Zimbabwe
Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization
Arab League
Islamic Conference
Organization of African Unity
Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
Socialist Party of Puerto Rico
South West Africa People's Organization
United Nations Organization

Belgrade summit 1961	Cairo summit 1964	Lusaka summit 1970	Algiers summit 1973	Colombo summit 1976
			Principe and Sao Tome: (Liberation Committee for Principe and Sao Tome CLP Sao Tome) Seychelles: SPUP (Seychelles People's Union Party) Somalia: FLCS (Somali Coast Liberation Front) MLD (Djibouti Liberation Movement) South Africa: ANC (African National Congress) PAC (Pan African 1st Congress) Zimbabwe: ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union)	
			United Nations Organization of African Unity (OAU) Arab League Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO)	
TOTAL	3	12	28	19
<u>Guests</u>				
		Austria Finland African National Congress (South Africa) Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation FRELIMO (Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique) Pan-African Congress UNITA (Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Totale de Angola)	Austria Finland Sweden	Austria Finland Philippines Portugal Romania Sweden Switzerland
TOTAL			7	7

Havana Summit 1979 - There were 94 nations and liberation movements represented; 93 members are in the movement but Chad was not represented. In addition to those members of the 1976 summit add - Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Malawi, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Surinam, and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, and the South Africa People's Organization.

STATISTICAL DEFINITIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD

Overseas Development Council, figures are for 1976

Who Belongs to the Third World ...

Nations, territories and colonies with either a per capita national output of less than \$2,000 or a relatively low "physical quality of life" ranking by the Overseas Development Council:

Albania	Fiji	Malta	São Tomé and
Algeria	French	Martinique	Príncipe
Angola	Polynesia	Mauritania	Saudi Arabia
Argentina	Gabon	Mauritius	Senegal
Bahamas	Ghana	Mexico	Seychelles
Bahrain	Grenada	Mongolia	Singapore
Barbados	Guadeloupe	Morocco	South Africa
Belize	Guam	Namibia	Surinam
Bolivia	Guatemala	Netherlands	Swaziland
Botswana	Guyana	Antilles	Syria
Brazil	Honduras	New Caledonia	Taiwan
Brunei	Hong Kong	Nicaragua	Thailand
Chile	Iran	Nigeria	Tonga
China	Iraq	Oman	Trinidad and
Colombia	Ivory Coast	Pacific Islands	Tobago
Congo	Jamaica	Trust Territory	Tunisia
Costa Rica	Jordan	Panama	Turkey
Cuba	Korea, North	Papua New Guinea	United Arab Emirates
Cyprus	Korea, South	Paraguay	Uruguay
Djibouti	Kuwait	Peru	Venezuela
Dominica	Lebanon	Philippines	Western Samoa
Dominican Republic	Liberia	Portugal	Yugoslavia
Ecuador	Libya	Qatar	Zambia
El Salvador	Macao	Réunion	Zimbabwe
Equatorial Guinea	Malaysia	Rumania	Rhodesia
		St. Lucia	

... And Now, the Fourth World

The poorest of the poor countries are so poverty-stricken, with less than \$300 annual output per person, that they are sometimes put in a special category—the Fourth World:

	Per Capita National Output		Per Capita National Output
Afghanistan	\$160	Malawi	\$140
Bangladesh	\$110	Maldives	\$110
Benin	\$130	Mali	\$100
Bhutan	\$ 70	Mozambique	\$170
Burma	\$120	Nepal	\$120
Burundi	\$120	Niger	\$160
Cambodia	\$ 70	Pakistan	\$170
Cameroon	\$290	Rwanda	\$110
Cape Verde	\$260	Sierra Leone	\$200
Central African Empire	\$230	Solomon Islands	\$250
Chad	\$120	Somalia	\$110
Comoros	\$180	Sri Lanka	\$200
Egypt	\$280	Sudan	\$290
Ethiopia	\$100	Tanzania	\$180
Gambia	\$180	Togo	\$260
Guinea	\$150	Uganda	\$240
Guinea-Bissau	\$140	Upper Volta	\$110
Haiti	\$200	Vietnam	\$160
India	\$150	Yemen, North	\$250
Indonesia	\$240	Yemen, South	\$280
Kenya	\$240	Zaire	\$140
Laos	\$ 90		
Lesotho	\$170		
Madagascar	\$200		

(From U.S. News and World Report, June 25, 1979, p. 53.)

The World Bank, based on 1977 per capita gross national product

Low Income Countries (US \$300 and below)

Bhutan	
Cambodia	
Bangladesh	
Lao PDR	
Ethiopia	
Mali	Guinea
Nepal	Haiti
Somalia	Lesotho
Burundi	Madagascar
Chad	Central African Emp.
Rwanda	Kenya
Upper Volta	Mauritania
Zaire	Uganda
Burma	Sudan
Malawi	Angola
India	Indonesia
Mozambique	Togo
Niger	
Viet Nam	
Afghanistan	
Pakistan	
Sierra Leone	
Tanzania	
Benin	
Sri Lanka	

Middle Income Countries (above U.S. \$300)

Egypt	
Cameroon	
Yemen, PDR	
Ghana	Malaysia
Honduras	Algeria
Liberia	Turkey
Nigeria	Mexico
Thailand	Jamaica
Senegal	Lebanon
Yemen Arab Rep.	Chile
Philippines	China, Rep. of
Zambia	Panama
Congo, People's Rep.	Costa Rica
Papua New Guinea	South Africa
Rhodesia	Brazil
El Salvador	Uruguay
Morocco	Iraq
Bolivia	Argentina
Ivory Coast	Portugal
Jordan	Yugoslavia
Colombia	Iran
Paraguay	Trinidad and Tobago
Ecuador	Hong Kong
Guatemala	Venezuela
Korea, Rep. of	Greece
Nicaragua	Israel
Dominican Rep.	Singapore
Peru	Spain
Tunisia	
Syrian Arab Rep.	