CHAPTER - II

THE THIRD WORLD : CONCEPT AND CONFLICTS
The concept of the Third World owes its origin to a French demographer, Alfred Sauvy, who used it in an article of L'observateur on August 14, 1952. Soon after, its use became fashionable with other scholars. And within a decade of its birth, by the beginning of sixties it acquired the acceptability as a widely used concept in international relations. Since then, its use as a synonym for various phrases such as Underdeveloped Countries, Less Developed Countries, Developing Countries, Former Colonies, the South, Group of 77, Agrasia, Have-not Nations, Wretched of the Earth and so on, has been a conspicuous feature of international relations. The concept was advanced to represent those nations which were not part of the Cold War division, either of the First World (Western-industrialised, non-
Communist nations) and the Second World (Socialist nations). Its emergence as an entity heralded a new era in international relations. The dyadic balance of world relations was transformed into triadic balance and today, the Third World is considered an essential part, both for the study and conduct, of international relations.

The concept of the Third World was used to describe a group of excolonial, economically weak, politically fragile, less industrialised and technologically deprived nations of the world, geographically spread on the territories of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Almost all the Third World nations of today were the colonies in their past. They were given the status of independent nation-states in the post-Second World War period. The process of decolonization which was started in the aftermath of the second world war, and which reached to its supposed culmination in the Seventies, resulted in adding a large number of new states, into the community of independent nation states. These independent


nation-states today number about one hundred and thirty\textsuperscript{7} constituting the two-thirds of the entire international community of nations.

These nations, in contrast to the geographic location of the First and the Second Worlds, are situated in the Southern Hemisphere\textsuperscript{8} and in terms of area and population are categorised as mini and macro nations.\textsuperscript{9} At present they consist of all nations from Latin America, Africa except South Africa, and Asia except Japan. All these nations, together, constitute the Third World. And they are called so because almost all of them in their socio-economic development are different from both the First World, consisting of Industrially advanced liberal democracies of the West and Second World, consisting of industrially developed authoritarian socialist democracies of the East. These nations, in contrast to the First and the Second Worlds, exhibit a wide range of diversities in their political, economic, military and social orientations. The developmental problems and priorities of these nations also differ from the two other worlds.

Whereas the decolonization process led to the emergence of the Third World as an entity in international relations, it


also generated transient as well as near permanent differences and intrinsic sources of political discord amongst the nascent nation-states. When the colonial rule expanding over centuries ended, it left behind colonial culture, inadequate political systems, economic weakness, technological scarcity and, above all, artificially created boundaries. The ramifications or all this is that the Third World is full of diverse problems and conflicts.

In fact, "the Third World was not born as a free and autonomous entity."  

Until few decades ago the whole of the Third World was mere an object of international relations rather than the subject of it and their relationship with the imperialist powers of colonialists was of absolute dependence. However, the decay of imperialism forced them to grant independence to the countries of the Third World but their political, economic and other stakes in the region did not allow them to sever their hold upon the Third World. Even today, the relationship between the Third World and the former colonialists (Developed North) is one of dependency. This relationship in economic sphere is of very acute nature.


In other words, the colonialists never give up. They devised political, economic and military strategies to control and dominate the Third World even after the end of colonization. As a matter of fact, a "term neo-colonialism was invented to describe a situation where ex-colonial state continued after independence to be strongly influenced by the policies of its former ruler."\(^\text{13}\) The colonial rule and its reinforcement in the form of neo-colonialism has generated amongst the Third World nations a feeling of overall deprivation in almost every respect. This feeling is further strengthened by the belief that 'major/dominant powers have stakes in fragmenting the Third World as the more fragmented and less viable it becomes, it provides more opportunities for establishing the relationship of dependency.'\(^\text{14}\) The Third world nations, therefore, argue that the conflict prone situations in the Third World have been deliberately created and encouraged by the dominant powers for keeping them divided and thus weak.\(^\text{15}\) Whether the dominant powers

\(^{13}\) T.B. Miller, "Conflict and Intervention" in Mohammed Ayoob, Conflict and Intervention in the Third World, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1980, p-7; The term neo-colonialism is generally thought, in terms of control over technological know-how, weapons supply, economic policies, threats of coercive actions or even covert support to separatist movements, irredentist forces and even physical use of force. The overall purpose is to keep the Third World divided and dependent upon the developed North. Colonialism was a system of domination and control by the application of force, the neo-colonialism is a system of indirect control and domination which is maintained by all means even sometimes by overt resort to armed intervention.


\(^{15}\) Mohammed Ayoob, "The Roots of Conflict" in Mohammed Ayoob (ed.), Conflict and Intervention in the Third World, op. cit. p. 244.
have been deliberately doing so or not but all this appears to be the outcome of colonialism and its reinforcement in the shape of neo-colonialism.

Conflicts and instability have become the essential feature of the Third world. It is rather visualised as a chaotic world, crumbling everywhere and falling apart; a world governed by abrupt sweeping changes and unpredictable behaviour. It is undoubtedly true that conflicts of the Third World create frictions and disagreements amongst constituent members. It is this characteristic of the Third World which distinguishes it from both the First and the Second Worlds. There are some other features of the Third World such as its state of socio-economic development and the vulnerabilities of its socio-economic structures which provide a sense of unity to the Third World nations to act as a collective grouping in international relations.

Third World is an underdeveloped world. Nearly two-thirds of humanity inhabitates it and it has to satisfy itself with hardly twenty percent of the world's total income. It is also estimated that by the end of the


century the present world population of five billion will reach the figure of 6.5 billion and around ninety percent increase will be in the Third World. According to a general estimate, more than half of the Third World population consumes less calories and proteins than necessary. Every year, about twelve million children die as a direct consequence of starvation. About two billion people live in poverty with income less than five hundred dollar per annum, of which 800 million live in condition of abject poverty and malnutrition. Third world is supposed to be least able to provide even elementary requirements of life to its inhabitant. A South Asian scholar, S.D. Muni, discussing the under development in the Third World says:

"The concept of development as it relates to the Third World, together with the practicalities of putting that concept into effect, are still in the process of being determined in academic exercises. There exists a wide consensus that, no matter, which way one looks at the Third World, it emerges as the region which has experienced the 'development of underdevelopment'. There is, however, no uniform pattern or any single identifiable direction of underdevelopment in the Third World; on the contrary,

18. Rasheeduddin Khan, Op. Cit., P-7 and Andras Balogh, "The Crises of the Third World and International Relations", Contemporary Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct-Dec. 1987; The most populous individual countries of the Third World are located in Asia and four of them are in South Asia; India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka.


there are numerous levels and patterns of underdevelopment of the Third World. It does not imply that all the possible indicators of underdevelopment have necessarily registered declining trends. In fact, it is quite easily possible to identify gains in many areas such as the gradually increasing rate of growth, expansion of industrialization and growing modernisation.... relatively better communication.... and so on. However, these gains have been slow and tardy. They fall much short of expectations and requirements and the sustenance of such gains in future is quite uncertain.... All these aspects of the developmental scene in the Third World give it an appearance of being haphazard, unbalanced and chaotic not only in terms of the totality of the Third World but also with respect to every individual country. This in effect is underdevelopment."21

In general, it could be said that where in some respect some of the countries of the Third World have attained development, on the whole it is not only low in its gross national product, per capita income but also in all other recognised indicators of socio-economic development covering the entire spectrum of what may be termed as quality of life.22 The underdevelopment of the Third World creates a

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22. More than 120 countries of the Third World have a combined G.N.P. of about $ 2,700 billion compared with Japan's 1,300 billion and USA's 3,900 billion. The largest G.N.P. of any Third World country, that of China was no more than $ 319,000 million less than 10 per cent of the USA. The discrepancy in average per capita income between the First and Third worlds was roughly 3 to 01 in 1500, it had increased to 5 to 01 by 1850, to 6 to 01 by 1900, 10 to 01 by 1960 and 14 to 01 by 1970. The experience of recent decades dedicated by UN experts to study the development of the Third World nations indicates the gap between the two is widening, at a constantly accelerating pace, rather than narrowing. See L.S. Stavrianos, Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age, William Marrow and Company Inc, New York, 1981.
desire to change the state of underdevelopment. This desire for change brings the countries of the Third World near to each other and help them to act as a collective grouping.

In addition to the underdevelopment of the Third World, its socio-economic structures are vulnerable to international economic settings. Third World nations after independence emerge as a group/bloc. They constitute majority in almost all international forums. Being in majority they are supposed to play a significant role in international politics. But the reality is quite reverse. It is to point out that when the international system was structured by the dominant/major powers, the majority of the Third World nations were under colonial rule. Historian Stavrianos writes that "the underdevelopment of the Third World and the development of the First World are not isolated phenomenon. Rather they are organically and functionally interrelated."23 Gerard Chaliand, after observing the Third World affairs for decades, writes:

"Underdevelopment is not an internal phenomenon due to the set structures of Third World countries but a product of the World Capitalist System and an integral part of it. There can be no way of overcoming it except by putting an end to dependence itself and to the structures of dependent relationships. We can better grasp now the extent to which

development is not an economic problem to be solved by injections of capital, but rather a political problem.

It could be stressed here that, to a considerable extent, the crisis phenomenon in the Third World has its roots in the international system which is exploitative in nature and is based on inequality.

The present day international system is European in origin. It is based on conventional privileges namely, superiority, oppression and exploitation. Its conspicuous paradox is that, on the one hand, there is the deteriorating positions of the Third World nations in economic, military and other spheres and, on the other, the increasing influence of the developed countries enables them to strengthen the autonomy of their domestic and foreign political decisions.

The continued dependency of the Third World on international economic system dominated by the capitalist developed countries has created economic disparities between the Third World and the developed world. The varied forms of dependence and economic exploitation are sought to be imposed upon Third World nations by the advanced capitalist countries and by their dominant financial and commercial

institutions like the IMF (International Monetary Fund), World Bank and the Transnational Corporation. 27

The present global economy is dominated by the Transnational Corporations. Investment, technology, trade and decisive investments of capitalist economy are well controlled by them. 28 Transnational corporations possess the capacity/power to overwhelm national sovereignties. Their operations transgress territorial laws and their dominance vitiates and subordinates national economies and

27. In Sri Lankan case, the United States has always opposed its attempts for becoming self reliant through bilateral trade with Asian countries. A classic example was the establishment of its trade relations with China in 1952, despite US opposition. The rubber for rice pact entered into the year, assured a stable market for Sri Lankan rubber at above world prices. By 1975 China emerged as largest trading partner of Sri Lanka. Attempts to coerce Sri Lanka to cease its trade relations with China, through sanctions and withholding aid failed until 1977. When the pro-West United National Party came to power, Sri Lanka was forced by the World Bank and the IMF to switch to multilateralism. Now Sri Lanka, once world major rubber producer has been reduced to even importing rubber erasers and other things from the developed North. Sri Lanka now imports rice at the world market prices. The liberalisation of import policy in 1977 at the behest of the World Bank and the IMF have played havoc with the economy of Sri Lanka. Now the privatization of public sector undertakings such as telecommunications and railways and opening the door for Western investment are likely to aggravate the existing situations. In response to privatization Sri Lanka is to be granted an IMF extended structural adjustment facility of $ 445 million. Sri Lanka is reeling all subsidies on food, fuel, fertilizer and health services. The liberalizations trends in Indian economic policy and the devaluation of its currency is also attributable to a larger extent to the pressure tactics of the World Bank and the IMF.

above all priorities. Their comprehensive economic control negates the very structure of political and economic independence and other things relating to the sovereign existence of the Third World nations. Due to these controlling and penetrative characteristics of the Transnational Corporations, they are recognised as the global leviathans, which are sustained as functioning structures of neocolonialism by the inequitable provisions of the Bretton Woods-GATT regime and the entailing world monetary and financial institutions where functioning has proved detrimental to many of the Third World countries and which are loaded in favour of the developed capitalist countries. 29 Under the harsh realities of contemporary international system, the Third World nations, even after decades of their independence, find themselves under severe restrictions to exercise their sovereignty as a nation-state.

These nations desire to reshape and reform the international system and their efforts, such as New International Economic Order (NIEO), so far have yielded nothing or rather failed. The resultant relationship between the Third World and the developed North, despite all efforts of the Third World to change it, exhibit great disparity and inequality in almost all respects. This relationship

29. Ibid; See also R.S. Bhatt, "Problems of Transnational Corporation", India Quarterly, Vol. 34, No. 1, Jan-March 1978.
has been of an exploiter-exploited, dominant-subservient nature for which the euphemism interdependence has been coined. This relationship of interdependence renders the Third World open to permeation and penetration on the part of the developed North. The long persisting desire to reform international system and to obtain autonomy from the managers of international relations bind the nations of the Third World together, as a group.

The conceptual validity of the Third World has been seriously questioned, specially during the last decade. Writing about the conceptual invalidity of the Third World, Harris argues that "The Third World is disappearing. Not the countries themselves nor the inhabitants, much less the poor who so powerfully coloured the original definition of the concept but the argument.... The rhetoric remains, now toothless, the decoration by squabbles, over the pricing of commodities or flows of capital". It is alleged that the Third World, as a concept describing a group of nations, of comparable economic situation in the international system, is no longer valid.


Harris, talking about the experiences and the development of the newly industrialising countries like Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea together with Brazil and Mexico, negates the theory that coherent and self-reinforcing development and growth is not possible in the Third World. He further says that the increasing differentiation of countries, within the international system renders the terms developed and the developing countries useless. Some Western economists have gone so far as to dismiss the term Third world as representing a coherent or clearly identified grouping.

Recently, an argument has been raised that the Third World can exist only when there are the First and the Second Worlds. And the stunning events of the Eastern Europe, among other developments, have virtually eliminated the Second World. This development, according to the recent argument, renders the Third World terminology obsecure and obsolete.

Some of the critics maintain that the Third World is not a useful political concept. There is no fundamental agreement on political issues. Instead, political differences have come to play an increasing role within the Third World, political organisations have been unable either to resolve or manage the conflicts among the members of the Third

33. For details see: Ibid.
34. Ibid.
World. It is true that there exist economic differentiations within the Third World and it is also full of various kinds of problems and conflicts. And all these factors create hindrances and difficulties in reaching and resolving the conflicts to a general agreement. Now does all this invalidate the concept? Does this lead to derecognition of the Third World as a clearly identifiable group? We can not reach a conclusion without checking the validity of these arguments.

Right from their independence, the Third World countries have been attempting to evolve a viable approach to their respective social and economic development. The context and process of these nations have been conditioned and arrested by their precolonial evolution as well as colonial trauma. The fragmented nature of the Third World is frequently seen as a weakness because of the problems in achieving unity and agreement. But today the Third World finds its unity in the perception of common external and to

35. At the NAM meeting in Harare in August 1986 and in Nicosia in 1988, the efforts to find a collective rather common positions on conflicts such as those in western Sahara and in Kampuchea proved futile. In case of Iran-Iraq war, NAM, Arab Leage etc.efforts landed the conflict no where. The NAM and the Group of 77 appear more divided in recent times.

a lesser extent in internal conditions. The common perception of fundamental national and international problems does not lack altogether the common negotiating positions are often presented by Third World Countries. The debt problem of the Third World helps to an extent in maintaining cooperation among the Third World nations. Robert A. Mortimer argues that there is a common Third World identity and a common attitude to many problems on the international agenda but little collective mobilization of resources. There exists agreement on some issues, specially economic ones, if not all, amongst the Third World. The under development of the Third World, its problems and the priorities of development differentiate it from both the First and the Second Worlds. S.D. Muni argues that the Third World represents a set of specific characteristics of development that are unique in more than one way in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It represents the broadly similar, although not exactly identical nature of these countries, experiences in the process of development. The processes that were arrested in the past and discouraging and uncertain at present and are likely unprecedented in the future.

It is on the basis of priorities of development and the outcome of development that the Third World is characterised as a distinct concept. The economic differentiations within the Third World such as between Singapore, Hongkong, Taiwan and South Korea and the majority of the Third World nations have no significance.

As a matter of fact, there are very few countries which have witnessed economic growth rate different from rest of the Third World. On the whole, or region wise, the growth rate is very discouraging. Moreover, the differences between the Third World and the developed world have increased with the plight of Africa being most unsettled continent. However, it is true that some countries like South Korea and Taiwan are attempting to leave the Third World by applying for admission to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). But, on the whole, this is of little consequences for the Third World.  

In recent years, some important events have taken place. The changes which took place in the Eastern Europe led to the deformation of the Second World. But the argument, that with the deformation, rather elimination, or incorporation of the Second World in the First World, Third World

ceases to exist or has lost its validity as a concept, carries no logic. As a matter of fact the First and the Second Worlds are terms which are out of fashion today, but the concept of the Third World, which does not imply committing itself to a definition of what the other two might be, is used to refer to countries on the periphery of the international community. An Egyptian economist, Ismail-sabri Abdalla, describes the Third World as "the group of all nations which during the process of establishing the present world order, did not become rich and industrialised ... an historical viewpoint is essential to understand what the Third World is, because it is definitely the periphery of the systems produced by the expansion of world capitalism." Furthermore, Stavrianos also sees the Third World not as a set of countries but rather a set of unequal relationships between controlling metropolitan centers and dependent peripheral regions, whether colonies in the past or neo-colonial independent state as today. The nature and significance of the Third World can only be understood if it is viewed and analysed as a set of unequal relationships. It may be said that the conceptual validity of the Third World is related to the unequal relationship that existed in the past and

exists even today between the developed world and all those countries which share the common fate of marginality and exists at the periphery of international system. However it could be said that in the wake of the collapse of the Second World, it is not proper to divide the world into First and the Third Worlds. It rather seems appropriate that instead of adhering to the use of these concepts, the already available concepts of Developed and Developing worlds may be popularised in international relations and academic circles.

All the international organisations are over-represented by the countries of the Third World. Around 128 countries participate in the work/deliberations of the Group of 77 in the U.N. All of them consider themselves the constituents of the Third World. Moreover Third World has been accepted as a grouping in international organisations. It is correct to say that the Third World has not lost its significance rather it will continue to play a significant role in international affairs as it has ample market opportunities for the developed world. In other words, by whatever terminology the Third World is referred to, it will remain a valid concept.

As far as the Third World conflicts are concerned, it is a highly conflict prone region. In fact this has been the region, specially after the World War Second, which has suffered the largest number of conflicts of varying degrees and consequences, resulting from weak socio-economic and
political systems, ethnic, religious, sectarian and tribal divisions, demands for greater and equal share in developmental resources and process, antagonistic power aspirations etc. This is the region where domestic, regional, continental and global factors interact to produce conflict in diverse forms, ranging from anemic protest to armed conflicts. The conflicts of the Third World, no doubt, have indigenous causes of their occurrence. However, to a greater extent, their roots could be traced back in history particularly in the process of decolonization and neo-colonization.

The decolonization created a crisis of development. In the wake of decolonization, Third World nations came into existence as an internally conflicting and tension ridden society, owing to serious inequalities of ethnic, cultural, political and economic nature. The decolonization was so arbitrary and artificial that not only traditional disparities and divisions were aggravated but it also led to greater number of conflicts and tensions in the Third World.


World. The Third World nations with their arbitrarily and artificially created boundaries, fragile political systems, and sufficient resource potential never reached a point of economic take off. In fact, quite the opposite occurred. Economies stagnated, dependency increased, governments fell and the conflicts became rampant everywhere in the Third World.

The majority of the Third World nations is suffering from the problem of nation-state building. Right from the beginning of their independence, nations of the Third World have attempted to evolve strategies to control their own process of development but their attempts to the larger extent failed to yield fruits for them. The struggle of these nations towards their self-consolidation was buffeted by enormous internal turbulences and traumas. What we see is the least control over the process of development and the increased manifestation of conflicts on ethnic, religious, linguistic as well as territorial lines. Colonialism to a sufficient extent determines the contours of present day problems.

As the majority of the Third World nations were either colonies or protectorate, the majority of the conflicts have the elements of colonial legacy. The colonialists, in order

to achieve their imperial objectives, gave no due consider-
ration to linguistic, ethnic and religious factors, while
granting independence. As a result, almost all the Third
World nations, to a greater or lesser extent, are ethnically,
religiously and linguistically divided. The British policy
of 'Divide and Rule', if not created them, fuelled these
factors which, later on, resulted into larger number of
autonomist movements, secessionist struggles, rebellions
and other kind of problems, such as problem of integration
and assimilation. These factors are not necessarily con-
fined within the territory of a nation. As a matter of fact,
they very frequently spill over the boundaries assuming
external dimensions.

The boundaries of many of the Third World nations
were created arbitrarily to suit the colonial design without
taking into consideration the inevitable resulting frictions
and long term consequences. The continents of Asia, Africa
and Latin America were artificially divided, cutting across
the ethnic linguistic, religious tribal, cultural bounda-
ries. These ethnic, religious and linguistic factors were, no
doubt, existing in the Third World. The point to be
emphasised here is that those factors were exploited to
develop differences and animosity among the groups to
facilitate the colonial rule. After independence, these
factors provided motivations for self aggrandisement resulting
into conflicting behaviour. These conflicting relations later became the part of East-West conflict. As a consequence, the Third World became full of conflicts which has rather become the permanent feature of it.

The colonial division of state boundaries in Asia gave birth to unnatural and absurd state system. A large number of unresolved territorial disputes are existing amongst the countries of Asia even today, such as India-China, India-Pakistan, India-Bangladesh, China-Vietnam, Thailand-Cambodia, Malaysia-Indonesia, Philippines-Malaysia, Iran-Iraq, Iraq-Kuwait, Israel-Palestine and so on. The Israel-Palestine problem has become a permanent source of conflict between Israel and the rest of Arab world. China, India, Pakistan, all have fought territorial wars. The territorial war between Iran and Iraq continued for a decade. The recent Gulf Crisis (Iraqi intervention in Kuwait and the Allied action to liberate it) has, to some extent, its seeds in colonialism. The territorial claims and counter claims have developed into a vicious circle of violence and conflict which act as obstacles to the realization of peaceful relations.

Colonial rule, extending over centuries, on the majority of the Asian countries, has either fuelled/encouraged the existing problems or has created such problems for the preservation, sustenance and extension of colonial empires. Discussing about the colonial legacy in South Asia, S.D. Muni
points out that "While Hindu Muslim antagonism might have been a fact of Indian political life but prior to British rule intra-elite conflict were not viewed in terms of Hindu-Muslim controversy. British rule extending to almost 200 years encouraged the communally based evolution of Indian political life. History was rewritten to promote such divisions. It was in the interest of Imperial Britain that intra-elite conflicts be depicted in communal terms." British authorities used ethnic identities to play groups against each other. The British policy of divide and rule helped to keep alive the conflicting tendencies. Since their independence, the South Asian nations, specially India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, have been suffering from different kinds of religious and ethnic conflicts. In South-East Asia, East Asia and West Asia the situation has been almost the same.

South-East Asia and East Asia have been unstable for the last few decades. Almost all the countries, with the exception of very few like China, have either faced

or been facing ethnic or religious conflict. Colonial legacy has turned the majority of states in the region into heterogenous societies with a multiplicity of races, languages, religions, and culture. The common pattern in the region is that there are many nations in one nation. As a result a minimum socio-political cohesion has been attained by few states whereas majority of the states face violent challenges to their authority.

In West Asia, however, internal turbulences are not so frequent as in other parts of Asia. Iran, Iraq, and Turkey have been facing a Kurdish secessionist armed struggle. Recently, an armed struggle in the wake of Iraq's

47. Goyan Lindgren, et al (eds), Towards Conflict Resolution in the Third World, Report from the 1988 Advanced International Programme Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden 1988, pp. 224-226. There are various conflicts prevalent in the region. In Burma (Myanmar) there is an armed conflict going on for long between the government and United Front composed of communist and general other ethnic minority groups. The Kampuchean conflict which was continuing for the last eleven years was formally declared ended when a peace Treaty was signed on October 23, 1991. In Thailand and Malaysia the problem is not so severe. Thailand is facing an armed conflict led by Patani United Liberation Organisation (PULO) and the National Revolution Front along with a third group. However, the conflict presently is not so severe. Malaysia being the highly ethnically divided society has been managing its affairs successfully but it has the fine fertility for producing conflicts. The case with Philippines is not different. It has been dealing for long with Moro National Liberation Front, Islamic Liberation Front and Communist Movement Front: Coalition of four opposition groups has been waging a war in Laos to get rid of Vietnamese influence. Indonesia is also not free from internal turbulence. In west Irian and Northern Sumatra, Free Aceh movement is fighting the separatist war with the government of Indonesia. See also Appendix-C.

48. Ibid., p.- 236.
defeat in Gulf War, was launched by Kurdish peoples, which was instigated and encouraged by outside elements. Lebanon since 1975 has never been peaceful, rather reeling under blood.\textsuperscript{49} Above all Palestine - Israel conflict, which has international dimensions at large, is also to a greater extent an ethnic conflict with more religious orientations. These problems are nowhere near a settlement and are serving the cause of conflicts in the region.\textsuperscript{50}

The continent of Asia has experienced a whole range of conflicts ranging from formal or informal diplomatic displeasures to full scale wars and the process seems to be continuing. As mentioned earlier, many of the internal conflicts very often, assume external dimension due to the division of peoples of common language, religion and culture into unnatural and artificial frontiers. The spilling of internal conflict across the borders leads to hostile relations among the neighbouring countries and, even some-

\textsuperscript{49.} Since 1975 Lebanon has been embroiled in an, off an on war with both internal and international dimensions. The roots of the conflict can be traced back to the governmental structure of the state, a legacy of the League of Nations Mandate system. For details see: Deborah J. Garner, One Land Two People, Westview Press, Oxford, 1991, Specially chapter two pp - 49-102.

\textsuperscript{50.} The point here is not that these problems are the sole cause of conflicts in the region. The purpose is to make it clear that these are obvious conflicts having roots in colonialism.

time, results into the involvement of neighbouring country in the conflict. However, conflicts in Asia as compared to other regions of the Third World, Africa and Latin America have not been so rigorous and intensified and even they are less in numbers.

The continent of Africa is not different as far as the conflicts are concerned. This continent is replete more than any other continent, with problems which drive their origin in colonialism. The continent was divided among the European powers during the Berlin conference in 1884-85 which was largely aimed at avoiding war in Europe by giving the main European actors access to a fair share of Africa’s riches. Drawing the map of Africa Bismark said "Here is Russia and Here is France. That is my map of Africa." The

52. This to say that sometimes neighbouring country directly or indirectly get involved with conflicts. However, in some cases the role of neighbouring country could be instigating or encouraging the secessionism as China did in case of India and Pakistan is doing in Indian states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.


Somalis were divided between Kenya and Somalia, the Ewe between Togo and Ghana, the Masai between Kenya and Tanzania and so on. Infact the colonial boundary arrangements cut across the ethnic groups which led, after the decolonization to the disjunction between states and the people (religious, ethnic and tribal groups) resulting into the problems of unification, irredentism and inter-states wars. As in case of Sudan a civil war like situation is continuing for long between the Muslims and the Christians. In Nigeria the situation is not different. The civil war in Chad is an another dimension of similar conflict where ethnicity and religion leads to tussel over the control of the state.

Almost every country of the continent has either suffered or is suffering from the conflicts. Some of the significant conflicts of the region have been the Somalia-Ethiopia

Inhab


57. Sudan is the largest country on the African continent and both ethnically, religiously and regionally divided society. The combination of these factors have given rise to a protracted ethnic conflict. The Northern part of the country is peopled by the dominant Arabs and Arabized Islamic elements. The South is inhabited by Africans who are either christians or believers in traditional African religion. The primary elements of ethnic and political identification based on regional attachments or religious affiliation in Sudan were largely the creation of British colonial rule.

rivalry which has assumed inter-state dimensions and the Apartheid system in South Africa: a worst form of colonialism in the so-called decolonised and independent world.

Heterogeneity in the region is very high. It is so high that national politics in most states have experienced divisive conflicts over the terms of incorporation for ethnic, religious or linguistic groups. Due to heterogenous features of most of the African countries, if one group assumes political power it prompts a reaction by other, some times resulting into violent conflict. The division of tribes or ethnic groups into separate states very often results into the expansion of an internal conflict across international boundaries. Africa, both in terms of internal as well as external conflicts, remains a major region of the Third World. This is also one of the most critically unstable region of world where domestic, regional and extra-regional factor produce different kinds of conflicts.

59. Mohammed Ayoob, "The Horn of Africa" in Mohammed Ayoob (ed.), Conflict and Intervention in the Third World, Op. Cit., p-136. The government in Ethiopia has been fighting for years against the Eritrean secessionist Movement dominated by the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) and since the late 1970's against the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) in neighbouring Tigray region, a variety of other insurgents like the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Afar Liberation Front (ALF) and Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF) seeking either independence or autonomy from Ethiopia.

60. Akhtar Majeed et al, "Third World perspectives on Regional Arms Control", in Goran Lindgren, Peter Wallensteen (eds), Peace Process in the Third World, Report From the 1991 Advanced International Programme: Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden p-78.
The countries of Latin America have been experiencing a large number of problems both internal and external in dimension, for long. The problems of the region, stem from issues that go back to the history, specifically since the declaration of Monroe Doctrine in 1823. Most of the countries of the region, though formally independent, remained colonial outposts for almost two centuries. This region, after the World War Second, has been embedded in conflicts mostly internal but also external. The situation in Central America has been very explosive and critical due to number of ongoing armed conflicts in the region.

There are a number of armed conflicts going on at present. History, ethnicity and presently man-made causes

61. Historically Britain and Spain were involved in the region. The countries like El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Belize (which got independence in 1981 from Great Britain) Panama, Mexico etc. were colonies. The present conflict of the region no doubt, have some contemporary regions for their occurrence but the role of history specially colonialism could not be taken for granted.

62. In Nicaragua, Contras with American support has been fighting during the whole last decade against the Sandinista Government which came to power after two decades of fighting with Somaza dictatorship in 1979. Guatemala, most ethnically divided has been facing guerrilla movements since 1960s. In El Salvador guerrilla movements have been two decades old. In Honduras and Costa Rica there have been guerrilla movements but not very intensive. The countries like Haiti, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela etc. have been suffering from different levels of internal armed conflicts. The military coup d'etat in the region has been quite frequent. For details see; Goran Lindgren and Peter Wallensteen (ed.), "Towards Conflict Resolution in the Third World", Op. Cit.; Goran Lindgren and Peter Wallensteen (eds.), Third World Dimensions in Conflict Resolution, Op. Cit.; Goran Lindgren and Peter Wallensteen (eds.), Issues in Third World Conflict Resolution, Report from the 1990 Advanced International Programme: Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden, 1990; Ted contd....
have generated the conflict. Traditional colonial ruling classes in the region were pushed aside by a process of modernization and social transformation. New capitalist classes favoured export and import substitution as an instrument of economic participation in international economy. The occurrence of new capitalist classes led to new internal and social conflicts. Because of the continuing rural reproduction structures which have been penetrated by modern industrial sectors, distribution conflicts concerning economic output came-up. The outside involvement has exacerbated them manifold. Ethnicity, multi-culturism and multi-linguism in this region like other regions also tend to orient the political behaviour of the society on the conflicting lines.

The majority of the Third World conflicts may largely be attributable to its encounter with colonialism and its continuation in the form of neo-colonialism. The economic underdevelopment, unequal distribution of economic resources,

[Contd...62.]


3. Infact what is wrong specially in Central America today stems from man-made causes; regional tradition of economic and political exploitation and the external reinforcement of those patterns, repression of many by the few laid the ground work for turmoil. For details see; John A. Booth and Thomas W. Walker, *Op. Cit.*
political uncertainty, ethnicization of societies lead to dissent secessionism and separatism. Internal conflicts with economic dimensions have become quite prevalent in the Third World. Almost all the Third World nation-states are multi-ethnic societies having many nations in a nation. The states in such societies are seen as not the true representative of all ethnic groups. And this, very often, becomes an intrinsic source of conflicts and instability in the Third World.

The state structures in the Third World do not enjoy unconditional legitimacy and allegiance. They have not yet developed the capacity to ensure the habitual identification of their population with their respective states. This

64. For ethnicity or ethnic groups see; Appendix-B South Asia has number of ethnic groups. India has the largest heterogeneity in south Asia. There are number of ethnic groups based on language, religion, tribes, and also on caste and sect. Pakistan also has number of groups, based on language and religion. Sri Lanka is not behind. Bangladesh and Maldives have relatively negligible ethnicity. In case of Bangladesh there are some ethnic groups. Bhutan also possesses some ethnic groups.


66. Ibid, p-45. In fact the Third World is the region which missed the benefits of the last three or four centuries specially 19th century when democratic institution took shape in the world. Administrative court system developed in France, parliamentary democracy was consolidated in England. All this happened at a time when the Third World was under the colonial rule and its institutions were foreign so a sense of State and Law never took place among the inhabitant of the Third World as it has taken roots in developed countries.
weakness of the state structures leads to disenchantment
dissent and disagreement, and it also manifests itself into
the vulnerability of the regimes. As a result, regimes of
the Third World become repressive and dictatorial making the
elite-mass identification a task virtually impossible to
achieve and correspondingly increases the alienation of
large segment of society both from their elites and quite
often, from the state structures. 67

The leaders of the Third World countries face a number
of problems and threats to their security and regimes. And
to save their regimes, they often choose an area of confronta-
tion with domestic dissent and protest movements. They
became totalitarian and dictators. As a consequence, we see

67. Ibid. p-46.

68. Steven R. David, "Why Third World Matters?"
International security, Vol. 14 No. 01,
Summer 1989, pp-61 and 66. After getting independence,
the government of the respective Third World countries
met with serious economic and political situations,
which their opponents were not slow to exploit. Hence
the governments set out either to break the Opposition
or eliminate it but not necessarily by the use of
force. The breaking of opposition took different forms
in different countries. The breaking of opposition was
largely justified on the ground that the national unity
and integrity was threatened by sectarianism, tribalism
or separatist tendencies which were also present in some countries. This situation continued even today
in some countries.
that the role of military in the countries of the Third World is at large.

The weakness of the state structure and the emerging threats out of it to the Third World regimes provide the opportunity for the increasing role of military. As a result about half of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are ruled by the military whereas some others are under de facto military control. Moreover the most common type of regime change in the Third World has been recognised as coup d'etat. And there are hardly few countries in the Third World where military has not ruled for some time in the last twenty years. Military's involvement does not help to lessen down the conflicts; rather it aggravates them, subordinating the civilian supremacy and subjugating political freedom.

After the World War Second, Asia, Africa and Latin America have been suffering from different kinds of violence

69 T.T. Poulose, Op. Cit., p-187, Also see John J. Johnson, The Military and Society in Latin America, Standfast University Press, California, 1964, p-4. In South Asia, Pakistan has had five bloodless attempts at military coups in 1951, 1958, 1969, 1973 and 1977, of which three succeeded. Bangladesh has witnessed a military coup and counter coup during August and November 1975. The last coup in Bangladesh was led by General Ershad in the beginning of 1980's. There were attempts in Sri Lanka in 1962 and 1966. In Maldives, Nepal and Bhutan there are totalitarian regimes. India is the only exception in the region which has neither witnessed any attempt by military to overtake the power, nor military interference in the affairs of the state.

ranging from small armed skirmishes to full scale wars. Armed conflicts in the Third World became so common that warfare is regarded as exclusively a Third World phenomenon. It is said that in the first three decades after 1945, there have been about 119 wars, most of which were fought on the territories of the Third World countries. Considering the period 1945 to 1982; the interval from the World War Second to the end of Falklands War, according to Ist Van Kende, there have been 148 wars, both inter-and intra-state wars, of which only ten were fought on the territories of Developed World. The characteristic of these wars is that they have generally, been conflicts within the societies of the Third World and not among the Third World countries. During the period between 1945 and 1989, there have been over three times as many internal conflicts as international or inter-state conflicts. The trend is that inter-state conflicts are declining while internal conflicts are increasing. During the period 1960's and 1970's most of the conflicts were primarily decolonization wars. And two conflicts

72. Local Wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Centre for Afro-Asian Research in Developing Countries, No. 60, p-11.
belonging to the same category are going on in Western Sahara and East Timore. The number of conflicts starting was very high during late 1970's and the beginning of 1980's. During the late 1980's the number of both minor and major armed conflicts was very high. In the year 1988, there were around one hundred and eleven armed conflicts in the world. But in the year 1989 this number came down to one hundred and ten. Of these conflicts the major share goes to Asia about 39 followed by Central and South America 24, Africa 20, the Middle East 15, Europe 12 with no conflict in North America. The statistics here show that majority of the conflicts took place on the territories of the Third World. These conflicts have, no doubt local causes but their roots mainly lie in colonialism and neocolonialism as evident from the preceding discussion.

It is no wonder, to conclude, that majority of the third World conflicts are by-product of colonialism and neocolonialism. This conclusion is nearer to truth but not absolute. The conflicts of the Third World also have local causes.

75. Ibid, p-17 and for the current state of colonialism in Caribbean region, see: Aaron Segal, "The Caribbean Small is Scary" Current History, vol. 90, No. 564, March 91. Other than Western Sahara and East Timore, there are about five million people who live in non-independent United States, Britain, French, and Dutch territories - the legacy of 456 years of colonialism in the Caribbean region.

76. See: Peter Wallensteen (ed), States in Armed Conflicts 1988, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden, 1989.

77. Appendix - C.
as many of conflicts arise from inability of ruling class to pay due respects to the demands of individuals, social, religious and ethnic groups, unequal distribution of resources and providing equal opportunities to all individuals, groups and communities which comprise the state. Minorities in most cases rise up against the governments of countries in which they are living largely due to their dissatisfaction with their respective governments, leading to political struggle and internal instability. This situation is most often exploited by hostile neighbouring or extra regional countries. In some cases the hostile neighbouring country incites the minorities to rise up against the governments of their respective countries such as Pakistan's involvement, specially in putting the Sikh community of India to confront with the government. The conflicts of the Third World, have their roots to a greater extent in their encounter with colonialism and its reinforcement in the form of indirect means: neo-colonialism. These factors along with local ones produce conflicts every where in the Third world ranging from internal disturbances to inter-state wars.

These conflicts of the Third World whatever their causes have also been exacerbated by the great powers interventionism. The rivalry that developed between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union after the Second World War, for global influence and hegemony was, in fact the struggle for establishing and maintaining their respective control over the entire world. In
doing so whatever they perceive detrimental to their policy interests, they used all the means available to them to effect changes in their favours. Many of the conflicts have been the direct result of this rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The picture that emerges out from the above discussion is that the Third World consists of all nations from Asia except Japan, Africa except South Africa and Latin America. Almost all these nations were colonies in their past. And today, they exist as economically and technologically dependent nations, suffering from various kinds of conflicts. All of them have experienced conflicts at one time or the other since they became independent sovereign nation-states. Some of them are still facing different kinds of conflicts. However, the majority of the conflict manifest themselves in the form of internal disturbances. And almost every Third World country is ethnically divided, some of them cutting across national boundaries, which most often leads to the situation where they either aspire for unification or for their separate homeland. Ethnic groups in their quest for power and a greater share of resources allocation question the status quo of the existing state systems. If the system is not accommodative, their struggle acquire an anti-systemic character and, often, results in
the violent movements. A concomitant of such situations, is that ethnic groups for the sustenance of their movements seek external support. And the affected state consequently, if it is weak, look for external help to deal with the violent situations. Sometimes it also happens that hostile regional or extra-regional powers incite and encourage ethnic groups to rise up in rebellion against their respective governments.

The whole of the Third World has been suffering from different kinds of problems. Majority of them were born with problems which have been manifesting themselves into different kinds of conflicting situations. Colonialism and its end generated some intrinsic sources of instability amongst the Third World countries. The involvement of major powers after the decolonization exacerbated the conflicting situations in the Third World manifold.