UNIT 11 COLONIALISM AND PATTERNS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Structure

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11.0 OBJECTIVES

Decolonisation heralded the independence of the colonies and marks an important phase in world history. After going through the unit, you will be able to :

- trace the cause of decolonisation
- explain the patterns of struggle in winning independence, and
- understand the role of the international organisations in the decolonisation process.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Colonialism appeared on the political horizon of the globe when European nations like Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and Holland build their empires over Asia, Africa and Latin America. The European powers exploited the resources of what came to be known as the third world countries and subjugated their people for about four centuries by their colonial and imperialist policies. The exploitation inevitably provoked its own contradictions in the form of national liberation and democratic movements. During the inter-war period (1919-1939) the colonies questioned the right of the coloniser to colonize and oppress the people of the third world. The process of decolonisation was accelerated with the end of Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations.

Although the general framework of colonial policies was economic exploitation and political subjugation, each colonial power followed specific policies in respect of their colonies. Likewise, while nationalist movements arose in almost all the colonies, the patterns of their struggle varied. Some colonies attained independence through constitutional means, while in some others, nationalism, attained a militant form. While some nationalist movements worked within the liberal democratic framework, yet some others adopted the Marxist ideology as their guiding philosophy. Post colonial political processes also varied according to the ideologies and nature of national liberation movements in the respective countries.

11.2 CAUSES FOR DECOLONISATION

Even before the Second World War, modern nationalism clocked as anti-imperialist movements arose in different colonies. It was a sense of identification with and pride in the nation state, as well as also the quest for power and national self-fulfillment. The birth of national organization in different colonies consolidated the national movements for independence. The psycological origins of nationalism are to be found in the fact that the introduction of European authority and culture disrupted the traditional life and institutions of the colonies. Those natives (as they were called by the white man) who received western education and were alienated from their own traditional milieu were never really treated as equals of the white man. It was among these elements that one finds the first signs of nationalist revolt. The superior economic and social status of the Europeans provoked a sense of revolt among the western educated elites of colonies. It is these 'elites' who first raised the banner of revolt and provided the leadership in the nationalist movements in the colonies.

Christian missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, spreading Christianity under the imperial banner, preached the ideals of universal brotherhood and love. The 'natives' who received missionary education questioned the right of colonisers to treat them as inferiors. The ideals of the French Revolution influenced the minds of the elite who imbibed the values of democracy and freedom.

Another ideology that made a powerful appeal to the oppressed of colonies was Marxism, Communists were influencing the nationalist movements in different colonies and were endeavouring to convert the same into communist movements. Western nations were being dubbed as imperialists and exploiters by the socialist camp. This emboldened the nationalist movements in the colonies and they were progressively veering towards the socialist camp. This emboldened the nationalist movements in the colonies and they were progressively veering towards the socialist block in whom they saw a sympathizer and a saviour.

The profound involvement of the United Nations in the post Second was period compelled the imperialist powers to withdraw from their colonies. The credit for the success of decolonisation and expansion of the world community goes to the UN. The UN has played a significant role by encouraging the aspirations of dependent people and by setting goals and standards which accelerated assistance to attain their freedom.

Apart from these external clauses there were three current of thought, rather ideologies, which expressed the nationalist aspirations of Afro-Asian people. One such current was the rise of Islam. As a non-European religion, Islam had an appeal and a tremendous propaganda value with its simple and democratic creed. In those Muslim countries which were colonised, Islam separated the natives from the Europeans. The pride of Islamic faith and the duty it imposes on Muslims to fight infidels gave a certain militancy to anti-colonial movements in Islamic countries. The contact with the west provoked an intellectual ferment and Islamic fraternity and solidarity.

The second of these currents of thought was Asiatism, centuries of Dutch colonial oppression in Indonesia and British in India, gave rise to nationalist sentiments and a certain sense of unity among the people. The Indian National Congress was formed in the year 1885 to lead the national moment. Other colonies such as Malaya, Indonesia and Burma refused to accept political suppression. Japan became an Asiatic strength and power. Though it was an imperialist power, it raised the slogan of 'Asia for Asians' in order to garb its imperialist ambition and to carry the Asians along with it. In China, Sun-yat-Sen led the nationalist revolt in 1911, which was followed by a long civil war and the final victory of the communist forces.

The third of these currents of thought was 'pan-Africanism'. By the end of the 19th Century, Africans were questionalist the European domination. The ideals and aspirations of the peoples of Africa was expressed in terms of pan-Africanism. Marcus Garvey was its most celebrated exponent. Du Boix was another champion of pan-Africanism and

made the League of Nations adopt a charter of Human rights for Africans. In later years Nikrumah of Ghana, became the leading ideologue of pan-Africanism.

After the end of First World War, the victorious powers, in a novel way, put the colonial territories under the mandatory system of the League of Nations. Article 22 of the Treaty of Versallies 1919, dealt with the future of these territories. Depending upon the varying degree of evolution, geographic factors, and economic situation these territories were divided into three different categories A, B, C, and placed under the mandate of the Allied Powers. In general the people of these territories were to be led to self-determination. The mandatory council of League of Nations was charged with the responsibility of supervising the administration of these territories. In 1917, A.J. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, made his statement that a national place for the Jewish people would be found in politics without any prejudice to the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. The eventful establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the rise of militant Arab Nationalism have made the middle East one of the most sensitive areas in the East West conflict.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the causes for the rise of national liberation movements?

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2) Explain the ideological framework within which national liberation movements operated.

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11.3 DECOLONISATION PROCESS

The term 'decolonisation' is likely to give the impression that process of gaining independence was a peaceful one. However, this has been so. Colonisation itself was a violent process involving deceit, war and simple annexations by the colonial powers. The independence of the colonies was won by the people strugging in various forms. In some countries the process was relatively peaceful as in some of the French colonies of Africa like Senegal, the Ivory Coast in West Africa and in some British colonies such as Nigeria, Ghana etc. Some of the countries attained independence through the intervention of international organisations — the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Mandated territories under the League of Nations such as Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi, Cameroon, Pacific territories etc. either became independent or were placed under the Trusteeship council of the United Nations. The aims of these organisation was to lead these territories to self determination and eventually to independence. Most of them attained independence except South West Africa (now Namibia) which was under the Trusteeship of South Africa which pursued the policy of apartheid.

In the African colonies of Portugal — Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau — there was a long drawn armed struggle and they could not become independent until 1974 when Portugal herself witnessed a democratic revolution that overthrew the military dictator Salazaar.

The former French colony of Algeria too had to put up an armed struggle for seven long years from 1954 to 1961, while Morocco and Tunisia attained independence with comparative ease. The opposition of the French settlers in Algeria to its independence resulted in a violent struggle under the leadership of Ben Bella and Ferhat Abbas of National Liberation Front of Algeria (FNLA).

11.3.1 Latin America

In Latin America, independence was achieved by the Spanish and Portuguese colonies such before the African and Asian colonies. Revolutionary movements started in the Spanish colonies of Mexico and elsewhere and wars of independence developed in Venezuela, Argentina etc. by the early 19th century. By 1825 Spain lost her vast empire except Cuba and Puerto Rico. Unlike the North American struggle against the English against the English which led to the Thirteen colonies becoming the United States, the Spanish American revolts and wars of independence paved the way for seventeen separate republics.

Cuba and Puerto Rico continued under the corrupt rule of the Spanish until the United States became involved in the Cuban movement against Spain. Cuba not only fought a revolutionary was of independence against Spain, but also against US domination. The US drove Spain out of Cuba in 1898, but US investors then attained a dominant position in the island so that Cuba lost control over her own economic resources. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro, Cuba fought a guerrilla was against the dictatorial regime of Batista and overthrew him in December 1958. Later Castro expropriated US property, sought Soviet support and established a regime inspired by Marxism - Leninism. The ideological conflict between the United States and Cuba continues to this day even in the post Cold War era.

As early as 1823, the United States assumed the role of arbiter of the New World through the famous Munro doctrine, which, while recognizing the existing colonies or dependencies of European powers refused to permit any future colonization by any European power. This was, in fact, a part of British and American monoeuvres to promote their rival interests in Latin America.

11.3.2 Decolonisation after the Second World War

The process of decolonisation was accelerated after the Second World War. Some of the colonial territories like French, Indo-China, Dutch Indonesia, British Malaya and Italian East Africa were occupied by enemy conquest and were virtually cut off from their colonial governors. The Japanese occupation of South East Asia provided a filip to the nationalist sentiments and movements in the region by driving out the Western colonialists, removing them from strategic positions in the colonial administration and replacing many of these with natives. Finally, though quits authoritarian and oppressive the eventual collapse of the Japanese gave the nationalists an opportunity to seize the arms left by the defeated armies and gave a militant thrust to their struggles. Indonesia and Vietnam proclaimed their independence in this way. The Indonesian nationalists had to fight a long struggle for four years against the Dutch to gain their independence. In both cases, an open war was fought between the colonial power and the nationalist forces. In Vietnam, under the leadership of Viet Minh, after the 1954 cease-fire, the French withdrew from the northern parts of the country. In the South, a non-Communist government was installed. Later the French presence was replaced by the Americans. The long drawn heroic struggle of the Vietnamese against American imperialism is a legend in itself.

The most far-reaching historical outcome of World War II was undoubtedly the precipitate liquidation of nineteenth century empires and the contraction of Europe. The most momentous event was indeed the independence of India in 1947. The various present the independence of India in 1947. The various present and tribal revolts against the British and local land lords in different parts of the country and the rebellion of 1857, contributed to the rise of a nationalist Movement. The establishment of Indian National Congress gave an organisational expression to the movement.

Indian Nationalism was strongly influenced by Gandhi whose tenets were non-violence and non-cooperation. Gandhi's entry turned the movement into a mass movement. The transfer of power in India was facilitated after the labour Government came to power in Britain, though the vivisection of the country into India and Pakistan could not be avoided. The Cabinet Mission attempted to find a constitutional settlement. The partition of British India became investable. Although partition was not peaceful, it paved the way for the establishment of the Constitution.

Among the British African colonies, Gold Coast (Ghana since independence) and Nigeria became the pioneers of independence. In March 1957 the Gold Coast together with the Trust territory of Togo land became the independent state of Ghana with dominion status within the Commonwealth. Nkrumah, its Prime Minister, was a champion of African independence and an exponent of Post Africanism. The federation of Nigeria attained complete independence in 1960.

11.3.3 South Africa

The struggles of the African People in South Africa and Namibia deserve special attention in the history of decolonisation. Historically, the Dutch were the first to settle in South Africa in 1652 on the site of what is today modern Cape Town. The area of White settlement extended more rapidly in the first half of the 19th century with the coming of the British and the establishment of British colonial rule in the Cape Town in 1806, the Dutch settling Africaners were forced to leave the Cape and go north of the Orange river — culminating in the mass exodus, the Great Trek, in 1830s. This resulted in the formation of two independent Africaner republics, Orange Free State and transval, and the new British colony of Natal. In each of these, as in Cape Colony, racially stratified society developed with Whites assuming a position of dominance and the African being reduced to a state of serfdom. Although the declared policy of the British in the Cape and Natal was against discrimination, in practice, however, a property qualification restricted the franchise largely to Whites. In the Dutch Afrikaner republics, Africans were denied franchise, debarred from acquiring ownership of land in the Orange Free State and obliged to carry passes within the White occupied areas of Transval. The discovery of diamonds at Kimberly and large deposits of gold in the Transval after the end of the 19th century led to a scramble for control of these areas between the Dutch and the British, eventually leading to the defeat of the Dutch and the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, bringing together the Afrikaner republics of Orange Free State, Transval, Cape Colony and Natal. The Union of South Africa attained Dominion status and later became a sovereign independent state within the British Empire in 1934. In 1961 it broke its links with Great Britain, and left the Commonwealth to become a Republic.

The racist Government — the Apartheid regime — of South Africa denied even the most basic human rights to the Africans. The regime received support from many Western Governments which had strategic and economic interest in South Africa. As the African people had no legal rights nor freedom, opposition to the regime had to be clandestine. As the apartheid regime became increasingly brutal, African opposition to it also gained militancy. African resistance which began as cultural resistance to the White, eventually took the form of African National Congress in 1923 and Nelson Mandela emerged as its legendary leader. He was sentenced to life imprisonment following the Rivonia trail in 1963. Third world countries and the Non Aligned Movement supported the South African cause in international fora. In the eighties and early nineties the increasing international pressure both within the UN and from the Third World forced the Western nations to concede some of the demands of African countries. This forced the apartheid regime to agree to negotiate with African opposition. In 1993 Nelson Mandela was released from jail. After prolonged negotiations, elections were held in 1994. Thus, with the parliamentary elections, power was transferred to the black majority.

The former German colony of South West Africa (Namibia) came under the Mandate of South Africa. When the UN succeeded the League of Nations, South Africa claimed the Trusteeship over South West Africa, thus extending apartheid to the territory. The UN declared South African occupation as illegal and in 1967 the UN established the

Council for Namibia to administer the territory. After a long drawn struggle put by the South Western African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) and the implementation of UN resolutions, South West Africa attained independence to become Namibia.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Distinguish between the various national movements in the Third World.

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2) Write note on the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa.

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11.4 IMPACT OF DECOLONIZATION

As a sequel to decolonization and expansion of international community, international relations assumed a truly international character. After decolonization new and sovereign nations emerged in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These states became the battlefield of ideological competition and cold war. Their international importance was certainly heightened by this competition during the cold war. Naturally they opted for a foreign policy of neutralism in this period. They followed nonalignment as a symbol of new national prestige and dignity. They had articulated a new identity through their foreign policy orientation. Another important outcome is that the operation and working of UNO has undergone a sea-change owing to the presence of Afro-Asian nations. The United Nations has also reiterated their importance by openly aligning itself with the cause of their rising expectations. These countries have used the forum of the UN for pressing their demands on economic issues.

11.5 LET US SUM UP

The rise of colonialism marks an important chapter in the history of the world as it changed the relations between different parts of the world. Decolonisation as well as anti-imperialist struggles of the colonies gave rise to what is referred to as the Third World. These nationalist, anti-imperialist movements varied from country to country in their specifics. This was due to the patterns of colonial policies and their impact on colonial societies. There were those colonies which became independent through constitutional procedures and reforms; there were some which achieved independence through armed liberation struggles. Some attained independence due to international pressures and the intervention of organisations such as the League of Nations. However, these differences should not be over-emphasized. Practically all clones experienced violent oppression by the colonial powers. Even for those countries which attained independence through constitutional reforms it would be false to say that these struggles were always peaceful. Armed struggles became inevitable in some colonies due to the intransigence of colonial powers. However, there were ideological frameworks which differed depending upon the nature of the elite, national leaders and the participation of the people.

11.6 KEY WORDS

Apartheid : Policy of the racial segration. It had been practised in South African white people towards the black people.

Colonialism : A policy of acquiring and maintaining foreign country as colony and of exploiting it for the interest of the colonial power.

11.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

A. Vandana 1995 : **Theory of International Politics;** Vikas Publishing Co, New Delhi.

Hari Sharan Chabra: **UN and Decolonisation World Focus** No. 149, May 1992.

Henri Grimal, 1965 : **Decolonisation, the British, French, Dutch and Belgian Empires 1919-1963;** London.

Immanuel Wallertein 1961 : **Africa : the Politics of Independence,** Vintage Body, New York, Ny.

Rama S. Melkote 1992 : **International Relations;** Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1. Exploitative character of foreign rule competed with the progressive developments in the international arena which are basically responsible for the rise of national liberation.
2. Ideologies like liberation, Marxism and many other progressive ideologies provided the framework.

Check Your Progress 2

1. There had not been an uniform national movement throughout the world. National movements emerged in different countries in the context of the ground realities of the country concerned.
2. It is basically a non-violent movement backed by the progressive world.

UNIT 12 FEATURES OF THE THIRD WORLD STATE

Structure

12.0 Objectives
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12.2 Theoretical Frameworks
  12.2.1 Liberal framework
  12.2.2 Marxist framework
  12.2.3 Dependency Theory
12.3 Characteristics of the State
  12.3.1 An Over-developed state
  12.3.2 Autonomy
  12.3.3 Control of the Metropolis
12.4 Let Us Sum Up
12.5 Key Words
12.6 Some Useful Books
12.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

12.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with third world states. After going through the unit you will be able to:

- Understand what is meant by the term third world
- Explain the characteristic features of the States of the third world
- Identify the essential attributes of the states of the third world, and
- Locate the role of third world in world politics.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

There has been a debate on the question of the nature of the State in the Third World, sometimes referred to as the post-colonial societies in political theory and comparative politics. It is important to understand the nature of state in the Third World as it enables us to locate the role of the Third World in international relations.

The term 'Third World' refers to a group of countries with certain common features. According to some writers the developed capitalist countries constitute the first world. The socialist countries are called the second world. The underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia and Latin American that were subjected to colonial domination are called the third world. Some writers categorize the superpowers as the first world. The other developed countries like UK, Germany, Australia and Canda are clubbed together as the second world. The third world consists of underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Both definitions have a few things in common. In both classifications the attributes of the third world are one and the same. The third world is defined in both the classifications in relation to the developed countries. The Third World Countries are economically poor and they have a colonial past.

In the course of identifying the common features of the Third World one should not ignore variations among them. Some third world countries like the Arab countries are very rich while the others like Bangladesh are very poor. There are countries with democratic institutions. On the other hand some third world countries are ruled by military regimes. There are also differences amount the third world countries in terms of social formations ranging from tribal societies to capitalist societies.

In spite of all these differences, the third world is not a meaningless category because it helps us in grouping together countries that came into being by fighting against the colonial domination. They all encounter similar problems because of their background. Hence, it is useful to study the third world keeping in mind both similarities and dissimilarities without exaggerating one to eliminate the other. There are certain general characteristics that the state in the Third World has acquired which may be attributed largely to the fact that they have been colonised and that colonialism has introduced certain fundamental changes in their societies. There are different theoretical frameworks in which the state can be understood.

12.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are several theoretical frameworks for studying the states of the third world. Among them most significant and popular frameworks are the liberal and Marxist frameworks.

12.2.1 Liberal Framework

The liberals argue that the state is a neutral agency and acts as an arbiter between the contending group in the society. In other words no group has a privileged access to state. Different groups in the society make their demands on the political system. The state agencies consider all these demands and take decisions in the general interest of the society. Within the fold of liberalism some writers propose that state agencies are dominated by the elite groups. Elite groups exercise domination by virtue of certain personal attributes not due to the control over economic resources. Liberal theory holds that in a democracy elite groups do not use power in their personal or group interests. Electoral compulsions force them to work for the welfare of all groups. In the third world the westernized elite controls the state and use it as an instrument to transform the traditional agrarian society into a modern industrial society.

The liberal approach has two lapses. In the first instance it refuses to recognize that political capacity of individuals is decided by their economic resources. Secondly it fails to explain how elite groups work for the entire society rising above their narrow economic and social interests.

In other words any explanation of the state in total disregard of the class divisions in the society would be simplistic. State is embedded in the society. Therefore it has to be studied in relation to the society.

12.2.2 Marxist Framework

Marx and English argued that states is neither an impartial agency nor a common trustee. It expresses the interests of the dominant classes to protect their interests. In other words it is an instrument in the hands of the dominant classes. The state follows society but does not precede it.

Hence the nature of the state depends upon the character of the division of labour in the society. Unfortunately, Marx has not written elaborately on the state. He made sketchy remarks. The followers of Marx have written extensively about the state. However most of these writings deal with the developed capitalist countries. These explanations are not valid for the third world which are different from the capitalist countries. The third world countries have a colonial past. Even after securing political independence they are subjected to economic exploitation by the western developed countries. Yet another important attribute of the third world countries is that they are dominated not by one single class but multiple classes.

Due to the above mentioned conditions the third world state has a district nature. It is known by various names such as peripheral state, the post-colonial state, and the over-developed state.

The third world countries were subjected to colonial exploitation, that disturbed the course of development and brought about lopsided development. The domination of the third world by the imperialist powers continued even after decolonization. There is no unanimity amount writers about the nature of relationship between developed western countries and the third world.

12.2.3 Dependency Theory

Some writers who propounded the dependency theory argue that the third world countries do not enjoy political freedom and continue to be dominated by the imperialist powers. According to these writers the world is integrated into a single capitalist system.

The developed western countries constitute the core of the world system. During the colonial periods, the third world countries were shaped by the imperialist countries to suit their requirements. Due to this process, the third world is structurally integrated with the economies of the developed countries and is dependent on the developed countries. In world capitalism the third world survives as an adjunct of the core also known as metropolis — and lies on the periphery of world capitalism. In this model the third world state is an instrument in the hands of the metropolitan capital.

While agreeing with the notion that the underdeveloped countries are dominated by the developed capitalist countries, critiques of the dependency theory rejected the argument that the third world state has no autonomy. According to these writers, political freedom has enabled the third world countries to use the state to further their interests within the constraints imposed by neocolonial dominations.

Similarly, divergent opinions are expressed about the nature of the dominant classes in the third world. Some argue that the third world is dominated by the native capitalist class. But the predominant view is that there is no well formed dominant class in the third world. A loose alliance of various classes dominates the third world.

The third world state is also analyzed in terms of its relationship with the dominant classes. Most of the writers on the third world argue that the state has autonomy from the ruling classes that is delimited by the social structure.

Due to certain historical personalities, the third world state has acquired another distinct character. The colonial rulers have a created a highly centralized state machinery to maintain their domination over the colonized. The state machinery is thus imposed from above and it has not evolved out of the internal social dynamics. Hence the third world state is not in tune with society, it is either advanced or over developed when compared with society at large.

After taking a look at the third world from various angles one may say that the third world state is an over-developed, post-colonial state, with autonomy from the ruling classes. In other words, it is a product of a complex social formation of the third world.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Write short notes on

a) Liberal framework

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b) Marxist framework

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c) Dependency theory.

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12.3 CHARACTERISTIC OF THE STATE

The State as an institution came into existence as part of a historical process. In the third world, decolonisation shaped the state, giving it specific characteristics. The boundaries existing at the time of colonisation were modified in some cases; in other cases entirely new states were carved out. The territorial boundaries of the state did not always coincide with the Nation; that is, often people belonging to different ethnic groups, nationalities were brought together and the boundaries of the colonies were traced, delimited according to the needs of the colonial powers. African states are the best examples to indicate the artificiality of the state. Nigeria for example was entirely a British creation. The Third World States became states before they became nations. This, is to a large extent, is responsible for territorial conflicts and for problem of national integration. A number of Third World Countries face ethnic and secessionist movements in the post-colonial era. British colonial policies and the dynamics of nationalist movements led to the creation of Pakistan's secessionist movement which is turn led to the creation of Bangladesh. The artificiality of the colonial boundaries, the impact of colonial legacy and the dynamics of decolonisation processes explain the complexity of the Third World State.

The third world state has the following distinct features.

1. It is an over developed state;
2. It enjoys autonomy from the dominant classes;
3. It protects the interests of the metropolitan bourgeoisie also.

12.3.1 An 'Over-developed State'

In the Western capitalist countries the modern nation-state has emerged due to internal dynamics of society. It cam into being in the course of a historical transition to capitalism. The rising capitalist class took the initiative to establish a nation-state.

In the third world the motive force for change in the political institutions came from outside. During the colonial period the third world was dominated by the western capitalist countries. The colonial rulers had created political institutions in their own image to facilitate domination over the native classes and economic exploitation of the colonies.

To perform these functions the colonial rulers have related an elaborated legal-institutional structure to control the colonies. The many and the bureaucracy who manned these institutions played a vital role in managing the affairs of the colonial rulers.

Even after independence the elaborate structure remained in existence. There are two salient features of this state: one, that it is not formed by the local classes nor is it established as a consequence of social change, two, the native ruling classes had no control over the state.

The state is far ahead of the time and space in which it is located. In the third world countries therefore bureaucracy and the army have acquired a central place. In the western capitalist countries the bureaucracy plays an auxiliary role. It is an instrument of the dominant class, whereas in the third world it has a central place and it enjoys autonomy from the dominant classes.

An over developed state weakens democratic institutions. Even in those third world countries where democratic institutions exist and the elected representatives control the state agencies, bureaucracy retains its domination over the state. However it exercises control in league with politicians.

In countries having democratic control politicians occupy central place. Politicians articulate the demands of the people to cultivate support. They formulate policies to fulfill the demands of the people. In this process politicians provide legitimacy to the political institutions. However, the power is hemmed in by bureaucratic procedures and controls. Politicians are converted into brokers between the state and the people.

12.3.2 Autonomy

The western countries are dominated by a single well-formed dominant class. In all the western countries the capitalist class is the dominant class. The third world is marked by the existence of multiple dominant classes. The landlord class, i.e. local bourgeoisie of the metropolis control the third world. An alliance consisting of all these classes dominates the state. The alliance is called historic bloc. The historic bloc arises because the social formation in third world consists of elements from both capitalist as well as precapitalist social relations. The capitalist class is weak and incapable of fighting against the pre-capitalist relations in society.

The capitalist class is weak because it exercises limited control over the economic activity. A large part of the economic production is controlled either by the metropolitan bourgeoisie or by the local landed gentry. No class is enough strong to exercise control over the state.

Since there is no single dominant class, the state acquires the autonomy to regulate the relationship between different classes of the historic bloc. The third world state, by deploying vast economic resources to reproduce capitalist production process in the interest of local dominant classes and the bourgeoisie of the metropolis, sustains its Autonomy.

12.3.3 Control of the Metropolis

The third world state is subjected to control by extraneous forces. The under-developed nature of the economy and the nature of the ruling elite/classes renders the state dependent on foreign aid and capital. The ruling elite by acting as mediators between the state and the external capital amass profits. This process does not help development. The gap between the ruled and the rulers and between the rich and the poor widens. It is far-fetched to argue that the third world state is completely under the control of imperialist rulers. Independence from colonial domination has eliminated the scope for the bourgeoisie of the imperialist powers to exercise direct control over the third world state. However it influences the third world state indirectly. The over-developed third world state by dissolving the national boundaries, creates favourable conditions for the world market to penetrate into the third world. The state by facilitating the induction of technology and investment brings about the integration of the third world into the global market. The state, the ruling elite, negotiate with the external world with diminishing power and ability to do so.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the characteristics of the third world?

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2) Write a note on the continuing control of the ex-colonial powers on their former colonies.

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12.4 LET US SUM UP

The Third World state/states are to a large extent colonial creations in the sense that their boundaries, the nature of their regimes have been deeply influenced by colonial policies. The nature of the Third World state is analysed in liberal democratic, Marxist and new Marxist frameworks. The Third World economies are integrated into the World economy, which is guided by the principles of free market, and represent the interests of the dominant sections of the society. While they are dependent on the former colonial power, they also exercise a certain independence and mediate between the state and the metropolis. The Third World state is desired as 'over developed', as one with 'relative autonomy', as 'dependent' state.

12.5 KEY WORDS

Capitalist Class : The class of people who own the means of production, exploit the wage labour and appropriate the surplus value produced by the wage labour.

Latin America : The areas of central and South America where Spanish or Portuguese is the principal language.

12.6 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shamin (Ed.) **Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies** — Longman

Harry Galbowrne : (1979) : **Politics and the State in the Third World,** Macmillan.

James Manor: 1991 : **Returning Third World Politics,** Longman.

Pool and Tardoff : 1981 : **Third World Politics : A Comparative Introduction** Gammoch — Macmillan.

12.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

a) Liberals believe in democracy and rule of law. They do not subscribe to the view that the individuals are guided by their economic interests.

b) Consciousness is a product of matter, it is the reflections of the external world. As per Marxist theory of state, the state is neither an impartial agency nor a common trustee. It is an instrument in the hands of the dominant class.

c) As per the dependency theory the post colonial states are not in the real sense independent; they are still dependent upon their ex-colonial masters.

Check Your Progress 2

1. The chief characteristic of the third world countries is the economic backwardness.
2. The former colonial countries and other western developed states have been continuing their control over the states of the third world through unequal trade terms and through tied economic aid.

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