

# **UNIT 31 THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AGAINST CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF DOMINATION**

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## **31.0 OBJECTIVES**

After reading this Unit, you should be able to learn the following:

that the imperialism which continued even after Second World War, has changed its face

Neo-colonialism is the new name of the game which is now being carried out through economic, political, military and cultural means

Role of NAM in reducing dependence of ex-colonies on their previous colonial masters

Role of UN in providing leadership to bring about true liberation of the newly independent developing countries in conventional as well as non-conventional areas like environment, women's empowerment, information etc.

## **31.1 INTRODUCTION**

Though the wave of decolonization covering many of the colonial territories had set in after the second World War, Imperialism did not actually vanish from the globe. Colonialism, in the sense of acquisition of overseas territories, was only replaced by two forms of imperialist domination. The first form was called, "Social Imperialism"; and it was also known as "Neo-Imperialism". The second form came to be known as "Neo-Colonialism". These two forms were occurring in a period when cold war began to gain momentum between the western countries and the communist countries during the late 1940s and the 1950s. The newly independent countries were caught in the bipolar world where the two major powers - the USA and the USSR hence known as the "Super powers" - competed for their allegiance and support. Rivalry between the West and the East Blocs began.

## **31.2 'SOCIAL IMPERIALISM' OR 'NEO-IMPERIALISM'**

The policy makers of the West described the USSR's dominance, and in particular, its domination of the non-Russian people as 'Russian Imperialism'. They blamed the Russian leaders for dismantling the non-communist independent governments in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus and installing Communist governments. The Communist governments were identified as totalitarian dictatorships. The overall life of the people including their sentiments, culture, language and religious practices were to be controlled besides their indigenous and historical, political and economic institutions and ways of life, under communist governance. Moscow's controlling the former Eastern European and Baltic Republics was criticized also by Mao's Peoples Republic of China after the Sino-Soviet split in the mid-1960s. The split was not only political between the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China. It also caused to the separate the Communist powers in their doctrinal beliefs, thereby creating a wide wedge in the communist movement itself. Moscow's imposition of its own brand of communism and economic programmes on the developing countries was criticized by the Chinese Communists as "Social Imperialism". The Chinese, therefore, prepared themselves to resist the USSR's Imperialism and made alliances with the developing and the former colonized states all over the world. Now, the field of competition was left to three major powers - the West, the Eastern bloc of the USSR and the People's Republic of China (PRC). In course of time, the policies pursued by the PRC towards its Asian neighbours and specifically, its 'occupation' or 'annexation' of Tibet and portions of North-East India and Kashmir, were also criticized as Chinese domination or Imperialism

## **31.3 NEO-COLONIALISM**

A couple of reasons explain why the western powers were described as Neo-colonial. First, as the former colonial powers could not maintain their territories in the aftermath of the Second World War due to economic and political pressures, they had to find alternate means to maintain their control over their former territories. So, one method of colonialism was seen to have been replaced by a different one and form. Second, the name was first used widely by the communist theoreticians to denote any capitalist country investing in the economies of the underdeveloped countries. Therefore, this group of political opinion included the leader of the Western group, the USA, as a neo-colonist power, although the USA had no colonies in the sense that its European

allies - France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal - had and despite, the fact that the present USA was born of territories that were earlier under the British, French and Spanish rules. Since the USA was the leader of the Western countries, that country was also called a "Neo-colonial" country. The term used by the communist parties became common as gradually even the nationalist and non-communist leaders began using the term to describe the western domination through modern means of exercising influence. The nationalist leader of the Gold Coast (now known as Ghana) and the first President of the country which became independent in Africa in (1957), Kwame Nkrumah described Neo-colonialism as a new form of imperialism within which a country may have all the outward trappings of political independence, but such independence has no meaning since it is not backed by economic independence. In 1958, he described the methods of neo-colonialist domination thus:

"... not merely by military means, but by economic penetration, cultural assimilation, ideological domination, psychological infiltration, and subversive activities."

Thus, neo-colonialism is an invisible system of domination over the former colonies and the developing countries. The basic effect of neo-colonialist imperialism is to impose capitalist economic and political systems on the developing countries. It also includes retaining for the independent political system, the framework devised by capitalism. Such a method become essential for preserving and promoting the economic and strategic interests of the dominating country/countries.

The system of neo-colonialism operates through big trading firms, state agencies, cultural media and educational organisations, in addition to military bases, military interventions and intelligence agencies. This form of domination operates both through formal structures as well as informal links and psychological propaganda methods.

### **31.3.1 Economic Means**

Neo-Colonialism has essentially four forms: Economic, political, cultural and military. The economic form of neo-colonialism is directed to assist the profit-making function of big monopolies; to ensure to neo-colonial powers the uninterrupted supply of cheap raw materials; to control the industrial and technological growth of the third world countries; to enable, the neo-colonial powers to wield political influence over the governments through economic means.

One of the main aims of economic neo-colonialism is to retain essentially the same economic relationships between imperialism and developing countries as had existed until independence. During the colonial era, the big business houses or trading companies of the metropolis invested in mining on plantations in Asia and Africa; and reaped high profits by exploiting the cheap wage labour and national resources. These trading companies, such as the United Africa Company, bought cheap raw materials produced by local producers and made huge profits by selling them at high rates.

The metropolitan manufacturing firms made substantial profits by selling their goods in the colonies. After independence these big trading and manufacturing firms did not withdraw. Instead, they strengthened their economic relations. Since these bodies operated in more than one country, they are called Multinational Corporations (MNCs). Some of these MNCs are not identifiable with any particular state because their investments come from many states. The MNCs have become vehicles of neo-colonial relations. They have almost complete control over the economics of countries. They produce or mine the product, provide technology and experts,

process, transport and market the products. Even where the cash crop is grown by small holders, as coffee is in Kenya or palm is Nigeria or Cocoa in Ghana, the control of the market and prices remain with the MNCs. In the process they make lucrative profits and transfer them to their country where the Headquarters' are located. This way, they underdevelop the country of their operation by draining the wealth.

The fixation of prices of raw materials exported by the third world countries are so manipulated that they benefit the MNCs or the metropolitan country. This is followed by repatriation of profits to the former colonial countries. This leads to an unequal relationship, and the foreign exchange reserves of raw material exporting countries go down. They face crisis and approach the international financial organizations, like World Bank, International Development Bank, Western commercial Banks and International Monetary Fund (IMF), for funds.

These banks, before granting loans, dictate terms and lay down certain conditions, e.g., devaluation of the currency, reduction in expenditure on social services, or cutting down government subsidies, and insist on opening of the economy for private foreign investments. These conditions, influence political, social and economic policies of the recipient countries. Debt burden continues to increase as the recipient countries are not in a position to pay even service charge and interest. This to greater dependence. In most countries of Africa per-capita income has been stagnant or declining since 1970.

### **31.3.2 Political Means**

Politically, the neo-colonial forces create internal conditions in the developing countries, which assist in the retention of political power in the hands of those social strata which are prepared to collaborate with them to subserve their interests. Operationally, political power can be said to have been retained when the citizens of an independent political system are not involved in various decision-making. The ground rules, established institutions, the social and political notions are retained with only cosmetic change as if only the 'persons in rule' have changed and not the spirit and letter of 'rule'. The members of these strata benefit by getting commission agencies or jobs in the MNCs by such a collaboration.

The purposes of creating these strata is to ensure that the state power does not fall into the hands of radical nationalists who will vehemently oppose the exploitation by the agencies and practices of the neo-colonialist powers. The most pliable sections of the people are sought after. The western countries who claim to practice liberal democratic philosophy of government do not hesitate to back dictators, military rulers, monarchs or unpopular leaders when their own interests have to be protected and expanded. For instance, the deposed Emperors, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the Shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi and the military rulers of South Korea were supported.

In case radical leaders took over power, the neo-colonial powers attempted to overthrow them, through even murders or coups. The overthrow of Mossadeq of Iran (1953), the Arbenz government of Guatemala (1954), President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (1966), Allende of Chile (1973) and the murders of Patrice Lumumba of Congo [Leopold Ville (1960)] and Maurice Bishop of Grenada (1983) are a few instances. Efforts had also been made to destabilize the governments of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea, Nicaragua under Sandinistas and Cuba under Fidel Castro.

### **31.3.3 Military Means**

The neo colonialist powers use their military to maintain their dominance over the third world countries. Their greatest fear is spread of communism in their erstwhile colonies. Following World War II, they entered into agreements and alliances for setting up military bases all over the world, particularly around USSR and China. Western powers signed military cooperation pacts with the Third world countries and some of were coerced to join the military blocs. Military bases in Asia, Pacific and Caribbean Africa were set up. The US Central Command (CENTCOM) alone uses 2,22,000 military personnel from the Rapid Deployment Force and its area of operations include 19 nations bordering South-West Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Horn of Africa. Due to indirect impact of bases, the military budget of most of the newly liberated countries has risen to as many as fifty per cent of the total national budget. New military equipment and arms are sold or dumped in these countries as large armament producers have developed interests in armed conflicts in these regions, as military-industrial-complexes benefit from the sale of arms.

Very often the military bases have been used to threaten the sovereignty of the third world countries and interfere in their politics, e.g., Diego Garcia and arming of Pakistan.

There are numerous instances of US, British and French interventions in local affairs of the third world countries. In 1960 Belgian troops with US backing were sent to Congo (Zaire) to assist pro-western leaders. In 1978 French and Belgian troops were again sent to Zaire in US Air Force planes to suppress Katanga uprising. The French intervened in 1985 in Chad, France's former African colony.

Even without interventions, military bases have their impact. They provide foundations for political intervention during normal times. They function as centres of prestige, power and importance of their owners. They enable the owners to exert pressure, establish and enforce their interests in the surrounding regions.

### **31.3.4 Cultural Means**

The ex-colonial powers imposed their own languages as the main language for conducting administration and education in their colonies. During the final years of colonial rule, they encouraged the Asians and Africans to pursue higher education in the colonial metropolitan cities by way of giving scholarships. This step was to instill a feeling of greatness for the colonising powers' civilisation and to convince the colonised population about the goodness of the colonial powers, intentions. By this way, a separate group of natives was cultivated who became elites in their respective countries after decolonisation. The 'new elites' in the post independence countries in their turn, imposed their own cultural preferences and tastes in their country's educational policies. Indigenous languages and dialects were neglected as a result of this assimilation into the colonial country's culture and language. Many independent countries did not even try to promote their own languages and cultures as they preferred to retain the languages of their erstwhile colonial countries. The love for knowing the languages and cultures of the erstwhile colonial masters came to be associated with preference for purchasing of goods and depending on the services of the former metropolis. Thus, cultural methods became tools for advancement of economic and political power of the ex-colonial powers and influence the policy decisions of the independent countries.

Not only was this method confined to the erstwhile colonial powers, but after the advent of the cold war, the USA, the leader of Western Imperialism, also used several means of culturally imperialistic policies vis-a-vis the developing world.

The methods of cultural imperialism include, opening of cultural centres especially in former colonies, offering scholarships for students in the developing world to pursue their education either in the former colonial metropolis or neo-imperialist capitals and teaching of the language and culture of the erstwhile colonial powers to the citizens of their former colonies.

Two examples are: the French government's opening branches of Alliance Francaise all over the world; and the USA's Centres of American Studies and Civilization and the alternative scholarship programmes. These are intended mainly to create an appreciation of their country's culture, politics, society and business among the people they operate in.

## Check Your Progress 1

- 1) What is Neo-Colonialism? What methods are used by Neo-Colonialist powers to expand their influence?

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- 2) Read the following carefully and tick (&) the correct answer.

Racism can be considered to be:

- a) scientific because it logically gives us an understanding of how man came to be civilized.
- b) a tool of neo-colonialism.
- c) an unscientific ideology because it associates physical characteristics with superior or inferior or inferior human capabilities.
- d) both b and c.

- 3) What are the three main principles on which the Indian anti-apartheid movement is based? Write in ten lines.

[illegible]

## **31.4 REDUCING DEPENDENCE ON FORMER COLONIAL POWERS**

Struggle against the forces and powers of contemporary forms of domination and Imperialism has been found to be tough and complex. The forces ranged against the newly-liberated countries are formidable indeed. First, the countries need to correct the historical distortions introduced by the long colonial rule which involved solving the economic imbalances. Second, the countries had to effectively come out of the web of dependence with which the departing colonial Poere deliberately bound their colonial besides in socio-cultural matters. All these had affected the domestic and foreign policies of the newly independent countries. If they were to progress and find an independent place in the new international set up, then they had to devise their own methods of development programmes. These involved an independent understanding of their indigenous economies and socio-political set ups without getting influenced by their former colonial countries or for that matter, by any outside power. This was important if the hard-won independence were to be consolidated.

The newly-independent countries were fortunately helped in their task of building their new states by the UN and its specialized Agencies. There were also the Socialist Countries that aided them in economic development. Further, there was a few newly liberated countries such as India, Ghana and Nigeria which took aid and assistance from their former colonial country (the UK) or from the USA, and even from the USSR, but devised their own programmes of development came forward to extend assistance.

In fact, the importance of cooperation among the newly-liberated countries was increasing being felt. So, this was given the utmost priority because this method of mutual assistance was identified as effective in crating not only cooperation among the countries sharing similar historical situations, but also in bringing about individual developments. The objectives of the newly-liberated countries then were to: cultivate self-reliance and cooperation with the larger aim of reducing dependence on the former colonial powers and forces of imperial domination.

### **31.4.1 The Role of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)**

The NAM grouping together the newly-independent countries and the other developing countries became an effective forum not only politically, but also in economic, environmental and social matters. This forum, formed in 1961, started with only four member-countries namely India, Indonesia, Egypt and Yugoslavia. But by 1997 it had touched membership of more than one hundred members, all independent countries. This touched membership of more than one hundred members, all independent countries. This growth in the Movement corresponds with the increase in its effectiveness in taking up political and economic issues alike. For the first two decades of its activities, the NAM concentrated its appeals on political maters, such as anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and anti-apartheid effectively playing a part in freeing colonial territories. Its independent stand on foreign policy matters gave it an equidistant position from either of the two blocs - the Western and the Eastern. Thus, securing an honoured place in world affairs, its voice carried a good weight. Having strengthened its own position, the NAM gradually moved its emphasis from political matters and voiced its concerns on the economic, trade and environmental issues that were assuming larger importance from the early 1980s. For instance, the 1995 Cartagena (Colombia) Summit of the NAM condemned the “use of unilateral coercive measures by some states against the others by taking advantage of their dominant position in world economy” and “rejected the unilateral imposition of blockades, embargoes, and asset

freezing as instruments of political pressure". The NAM's "Appeal of Colombia" went on to demand a reform of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and pledged to step up South-South cooperation.

After the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the emergence of a unipolar and a single dominant power, (the USA) in its wake, the NAM's very relevance has been questioned. The movement, however, has become an effective forum for the developing countries to guard their vital interests in this changed world scenario. Thus, the NAM has, in recent years, become a major organisation to focus the world's attention on nuclear and peace issues, the environmental crusades against the developed countries' dumping of nuclear wastes in the environment of the developing countries and the depletion of the Ozone layer of the world. The 1995 Cartagena Summit had also condemned the resumption and continuation of nuclear testing by the Nuclear Powers. The NAM has been constantly encouraging the developing countries to maintain their independent status in foreign policy matters and has alerted them whenever a damage to this position becomes visible. Additionally, the NAM's role has also been to strive to bring about rethinking in the foreign policies of the developed countries towards the developing countries. It has called for periodic meetings and consultations between the two groups to ensure appreciation of each other's socio-economic positions and situations. The North-South Cooperation Summit, as this effort has come to be known as, has thus received a strong backing. Furthermore, NAM's activities have complemented the United Nation's efforts in constructing a peaceful and an equitable world.

## **31.5      ROLE OF UN'S LEADERSHIP AGAINST CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF DOMINATION**

The attempts of the United Nations in constructing a new and just international environment is noteworthy.

With the increase in the number of independent countries, the UN's membership as it stood in 1996, has also gone up four-fold since the end of the Second World War. The new countries found it advantageous to rely on the UN and its specialised Agencies and Programmes for their development rather than depending on the Developed Countries.

The major agencies of the UN that have assisted the developing countries are the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), the UNICEF (the United Nations International Children's emergency Fund), the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), the WHO (World Health Organisation), the FAO (Food and Agricultural Organisation) and the Economic Commissions for Africa, Latin of children's welfare and health while the UNESCO helps to correct the imbalances between the developed and the developed and the developing Countries in education, and cultural fields besides aiding the developing countries to discover their own, often forgotten indigenous cultures, and in promoting technical, educational and scientific cooperation among the countries.

On the economic front, the UNDP is a major regulator of aid assistance which aims to equitably distribute the aid among the developing countries. By thus encouraging the vital development of their economies, the UNDP's role is fast becoming crucial for the very survival of many developing countries.



The FAO is a specialised agency devoting itself to expand the agricultural potential and productivity of the developing countries. Its encouragement to the national governments of the countries to access expensive farm technologies has resulted in the developing countries to secure a better position in the international commodity markets. The FAO's expertise has also led to the individual national governments to increase and diversify their own agricultural produces.

The Economic Commissions for the individual Continents have become important agencies to promote development and to initiate new economic activities aimed at increasing employment and to realise their potentials to compete with the rich, developed countries.

An important contribution of the UN Agencies to the developing countries is that all the agencies have been working in close coordination with the respective national governments. In so doing, the agencies have helped the governments to develop their respective societies and economies based on the individual country's specific histories and indigenous talents. Thus, borrowing from the programmes of the developed countries, is sought to be discouraged. This effort has resulted in the strengthening of the foundations of the developing countries and to consolidate their political independence. A strong country with solid roots becomes essential to survive in a competitive international environment.

As a consequence of the UN's call for the creation of a New International Economic order at its Sixth Special session in 1974, the UN has taken the lead in helping to create multilateral cooperation among the developing countries themselves. This is besides, the UN's assistance in channelising assistance from the developed countries. The UN's coordination role has also helped in convening several conferences that have had a decisive impact on the survival and future of the developing countries. Thus under the UN's auspices, the Summit meeting between the leaders of the North (the developed countries) took place at Cancun (Mexico) in 1981. Again, the UN sponsored direct talks between the developed and the developing countries to sort out problems related to investments, trading and export of commodities, pricing of raw material exports, import of processed goods, and intellectual property and services. Many rounds of negotiations have been held during the last three decades, for example, the Tokyo restrictions of the developed countries on the produce of the developing nations and have argued for resource transfers to the Less Developed Countries (LDCs)

### **31.5.1 Encouraging Formation of Regional and Sub regional Associates of the Developing countries**

The objectives sought to be attained are promoting self-reliance among the developing countries, for facilitating transfer of resources and technology on easy terms and for building up sufficient economic and commercial strengths to enable these countries to withstand pressures from the agencies of the developed countries.

The following are a few of the organisations formed:

1. The Group of 77 (G-77)
2. The Group of 15 (G-15)
3. The Southern Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)
4. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), formerly known as the Southern African Development Coordination Committee (SADCC).

The G-77 has been a powerful grouping which meets regularly. The G-15 has come into operation in the mid-1970s. This is a smaller grouping with representatives from Asia, South-East Asia and the Pacific, Africa, Central and Southern American regions. Coordination of information and policies on behalf of the developing world has been undertaken. This smaller grouping has become a sort of a permanent standing group of the developing countries regarding development issues. The SAARC group comprises Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. It has been progressing themselves to set up a South Asian Free Trade Association (SAFTA), not later than 2005 AD. Barriers to trade within the region are to be eased and concessions to be increased meanwhile. There are also plans to set up regional Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) to take on the global MNCs, to take advantage of the region's large market and increasing purchasing power of the people. The programme also involves granting of the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to each member-country, and in promoting technology transfer among themselves. The SADC intends to offset the imbalances and underdevelopment of the economies of the member-states caused due to centuries of colonialism, racism and exploitation of their peoples by the colonial powers and settler communities which practised racial discrimination. The Community has requested the UN and other Non-Governmental agencies to channelise more funds in development assistance. The SADC comprising Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia and South Africa is engaged in creating infrastructure for development of the subregion.

### **31.5.2 Environment**

The other measures undertaken under the UN's auspice concerns protection of the environment. This includes organising the conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the Un Summit on Environment and Development of the 'Earth Summit', at Rio-de-Janeiro in 1992 and the conference to ban chemical weapons. The UN's forum became crucial for the developing countries to resist the plans and actions of the developed countries to dump toxic pollutants in their respective countries. The UNCLOS and the Earth Summit virtually protected the sovereignties of the developing countries from being violated by the activities of the developed countries. The UNCLOS's demarcation of the maritime boundaries and preventing of exploitation of deep sea mineral resources within the maritime territorial and economic zones of the developing countries was a great achievement, thanks to the UN. The Earth Summit deliberations made the developed countries yield to the calls of the developing countries to allocate funds from their budgets for the development and conservation of the environment in the developing countries. The UN has also facilitated the developing countries to protect and demand nuclear disarmament and creation of 'Zones of Peace'. For instance, the Indian Ocean Rim States (those bordering the Indian Ocean) have called on the US and UK to disband nuclear facilities from the Diego Garcia base. Similarly, African countries are determined to keep their continent free of nuclear weapons.

### **31.5.3 Social Field**

In the social field, the UN has actively assisted in the convening of World Conference on Women and Population. It has helped the developing countries to implement the resolutions of the International Women's Decade (1975-85) and has guided the developing countries to focus attention on problems of gender discrimination, and issues of Peace and Development. The Fourth World Women's Conference at Beijing September 1995, held under the UN's coordinating role, concentrated on solving the problems of the girl children and demanded empowerment of women in order to solve poverty and developmental imbalances evident

especially in the developing countries. The UN has pledged assistance to the member states to implement the 'Platform for Action' adopted at the Beijing meet.

## **Information**

The UN's call for a New International Information Order (NIIO) is intended to curb the monopoly of the media by the developed countries and to ensure that the developing countries share information that is necessary for policy making. The UN has rightly realised that a free, independent, unbiased and reliable information flow between the developed and the developing countries and vice-versa is essential for safeguarding the independence of the latter countries.

### **31.5.4 UN's Co-Ordination with the Developing Countries**

The UN has definitely helped the developing countries to come closer, to share and understand each other's problems and to construct avenues for greater cooperation. By giving observer status to them, the UN has recognized their importance. The purpose of such a coordination is to ensure unity of purpose to enable the developing countries to progress. Specifically, the UN has undertaken the following:

Encouraging bilateral cooperation between the developing countries.

Promoting good neighbourliness is one of the UN's main objectives. It has encouraged the countries, particularly the Developing ones, to enter into bilateral cooperation agreement within the spirit of greater South-South Cooperation.

The following are some recent instances of successful bilateral agreements between the neighbouring developing countries:

Indo-Bangladesh Ganga Water Sharing agreement December 1996, Indo-Nepal Agreement on Construction of Bridges and Highways (to solve the Mahakali and Tanakpur barrage problems and to share the Western Himalayan River Waters) - 1986

Trade and Transit Agreement between India and Nepal - 1995.

Bilateral agreements among the developing countries have increased and have become a regular feature not only in South Asia, more importantly in Africa and the Caribbean ever since the UN encouraged South-South cooperation.

A few developing countries that have been ruled by the same colonial power and which have exchanged people during the colonial period have sought to maintain historical and cultural links with each other. Bilateral agreements between groups of countries in the post-colonial period include matters such as culture, education, science and technical cooperation besides trade. A few instances which fall in this category are the agreements which India concluded with Mauritius (February 1997), Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and South Africa during 1995 and 1996; and the agreements which the former Portuguese African colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome have with each other. Bilateral cooperation also takes place when the newly liberated country wishes to enter into agreements with countries that had helped them during their liberation struggle. This is due to the token of gratitude of the newly-liberated

country to its benefactor countries. The agreements so concluded become token of lasting friendship. Examples under this category are the agreements signed by Namibia with Angola and India; those concluded between Bangladesh and India; those concluded between Bangladesh and India after the former's liberation in 1971; and agreements between Angola and Cuba and those between Mozambique and Zimbabwe after the Zimbabwean independence in 1980.

## **31.6 POSITION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN TODAY'S WORLD**

On the whole, the developing countries are becoming increasingly stronger. After the establishment of the NAM and the different regional and sub-regional Associations, their weight and voice count the most. The Big Powers and the former colonial powers have also realised the power of the developing and the ex-colonized countries. However, there are opinion groups within the developed countries that question the role of the UN in helping the developing countries. The US administration, ever since Ronald Reagan's Presidency, has been defaulting on annual payment of dues to the UN and reducing the amount of assistance to the developing countries. The USA has made it a condition that full payment of all its accumulated dues is conditional on the UN agreeing to meet its demands of curtailment of staff and grants. Further, the US wishes to save money for undertaking domestic programmes.

The developing countries thus face daunting challenges. They have been fighting against the move of the developed countries to create trade barriers in international commerce and to undervalue their exports. They have joined together in calling for expansion of the permanent membership of the UN Security Council and are fighting against the present monopoly of the Council's Five Permanent members - the USA, UK, France, Russia and Peoples' Republic of China- in the UN's decision making. They have been taking adequate steps to put the ideals of South-South cooperation into practical action. The developing countries have also been mobilizing liberal opinion in the west to their cause of building a just, equitable and peaceful new world order.

### **31.6.1 An Appraisal**

Although the struggle against colonialism has been resoundingly successful, the fight against the effects of colonialism appears arduous and challenging. Thus, for instance, inspite of dismantling of the Apartheid system in South Africa and Namibia, there have been difficulties in the political integration of the long alienated communities. Likewise, there are difficulties in the redistribution of these two countries' wealth among the people. The new government of President Nelson Mandela's African Congress and its allies also face problems about solving the intra-societal imbalances and tensions caused due to historical reasons. Having Africa's most democratic institutions, both the South Africa and Namibia, are in the midst of tensions associated with the building of new states.

In brief, it is becoming evident that the developing countries are preparing themselves to protect their own group interests by strengthening their mutual bonds, and by forming new result-oriented groupings. Plans to form Regional Multi-National Corporations that will be region-friendly to challenge the global MNCs testify to the resolve of this group of countries. Serious efforts are underway to resolve bilateral and multilateral problems among themselves give enough indication that the developing countries are readying themselves to enter the Twenty First

century with a record of success against colonialism, racism and imperialism of all brands. The determination to be internationally equal partners with the developed countries drives them on. India, as one of the foremost leaders of the developing countries, has been playing its notable part. But it has to modify and improvise its methods in the context of new developments, if it is to maintain its leadership position in the world, especially among the developing countries.

## Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

- 1) Name the methods being adopted by the developing and former colonized countries to face the challenges of the developed countries.
- 2) What are the challenges the developing countries face in the present international order?
- 3) Tick Mark (&) the correct response:  
The UNICEF is a UN Specialised Agency and is concerned with:
  - a) Environment
  - b) Education and Culture
  - c) Trade
  - d) None of the above

## 31.7 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit we discussed:

how the new forms of domination emerged replacing the earlier method, viz., colonialism.  
how and in what way the new methods of domination influenced political, economic, military and cultural systems of the newly independent and other developing countries.  
how colonialist imperialism used racism to subjugate and segregate people and how racist separation and discrimination was used by the Neo-colonialist powers to strengthen themselves.  
the methods being used by the developing countries to resist domination by the developed countries, and  
the challenges being face by the developing countries in their present struggle.

## 31.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) 'Neo-colonialism' is a policy the ex-colonial and the dominant Super Powers adopt to exercise their power and influence on the developing countries. Colonialism of acquiring and controlling colonies has been replaced by dominance through different means, some overt and others indirect. Political, military, economic and complete details, please refer to Sub-sections 31.6.2 to 31.6.6.
- 2) d
- 3) See Sub-sub-section 31.5.4  
The three main principles that made India to participate in the anti-apartheid movement are:

- a) Racism was considered to be degrading the colonized people. Since Mahatma Gandhi was himself ill-treated by the racists, Indians understood how cruel racism was.
- b) Racism was contrary to the religious beliefs and tradition of India. All the people were urged to be treated as belonging to one large family.
- c) Independent India's strong adherence to the principles of the UN Charter.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Membership of the United Nations, formation of regional, sub-regional groupings, by the MNCs; environmental pollution including depletion of the ozone layer of atmosphere and nuclear weapon increase.
- 2) Unequal
- 3) Education and culture.

## 31.9 KEY WORDS

**‘Companion Movements’:** When two or more liberation movements are engaged in fighting against the same colonial or imperialist Power, the movements often coordinate their activities. They usually share a similar ideological belief or programmes of action.

**Diplomatic recognition:** The act of acknowledging mutual ties between two governments. Very often it entails establishing of embassies in the respective countries.

**Economic and Military Sanctions:** Measures intended to prohibit economic and military help for a regime that had violated human rights or provisions of international law.

**‘Frontline’ States:** Countries that are geographically located on the borders of a colonized territory or a state where liberation struggle is in progress. For instance, when there was struggle in South Africa and Namibia, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana were called the Frontline countries.

**‘Hot Pursuit’ Raids:** Armed attacks by a country's defence forces on a neighbouring independent country violating the latter's boundaries. This action is a violation of international law. The declared intention of the attackers is to punish the forces of liberation demanding a change in the government of the attacking country. The motive is to force the independent neighbouring country to desist from offering help or asylum to the attackers' opponents.

**Internal Colonisation:** Domination and occupation of a territory by an independent neighbouring country, after the territory has been duly decolonized by a colonial power, external to the continent. In this type of colonisation, the exploiter also belongs to the same religion or ethnicity or region as the exploited people.

**Metropolitan Power(s):** The former colonial country or countries of Europe such as the UK, France, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Spain and Portugal.

**‘Mother’ Country:** The country from which a particular group of people has migrated and has settled down in another land.

**Multi-National Corporations:** Private firms with international economic operations. Very often in collusion with Western governments, these firms play a decisive role in the internal policies of various national governments.

**Observer Status:** An honoured position or an invitation to an important conference given by the organiser to a group or country because the invitee also shares the same feelings or believes in similar ideology or supports the same principle as the host. This invitation is given by the organiser even though the invitee does not belong to the same group. An expression of showing solidarity.

**Referendum:** A method of knowing the opinion of the people on issues of public importance. People are usually asked to vote whether or not they approve or support a policy or a legislation.

**Settlers:** Citizens of the colonial country encouraged and sponsored by their government to emigrate and settle down in the colonies conquered or acquired by their governments.

**Totalitarianism:** An ideology of domination whereby the ruling party or power controls all activities of citizens such as politics, economics, culture, media and social life.