Political Science

Theories of International Relations and World History

Lesson: The Emergence of the Third World

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Source;http://www.opinionatedbastard.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/RNGtsNe.jpg accessed on 15 October 2015

The term 'Third World' does not appear on a map. The years since World War II have seen new nation states. The independence movement led to the emergence of a number of countries. As colonies were given their independence by the former colonial powers. These countries shared various features, including common history as had been subjected to European and North American domination, underdevelopment, rapid demographic growth etc., and they were called as the 'Third World'. The term 'Third World' referred to the one-third of the world that was not aligned with the Cold War superpowers i.e., the United States and the Soviet Union. Third World, not a homogenous group, has different political system and level of economic development. The Third World countries are also called developing countries because they are facing the economic, social and political problems like poverty, starvation, illiteracy and ethnic conflicts. Thus, the Third World is primarily defined by poverty. They have opposed imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, foreign intervention and have supported peaceful coexistence, right of self-determination, disarmament and world peace. Since, they have similar problems and aspirations; they call themselves as non-aligned countries. The concept emerged during the period of Cold War and used as an

expression to describe the efforts of countries seeking a 'Third Way' between Soviet Communism and Western Capitalism. They were described as the group of Non-aligned countries. Third World nations are clustered in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific Rim. Their geographical placement mainly in the southern hemisphere has earned them the name the 'Global South'. However, the differences between developed and developing nations are primarily political and economic rather than geographic.

Value addition- Did you know
Origin of the term
The three world's model   In 1952 Alfred Sauvy, a French demographer, wrote an article in L'Observateur which ended by comparing the Third World with the Third Estate: "e Tiers Monde ignoré, exploité, méprisé comme le Tiers État" (this ignored Third World, exploited, scorned like the Third Estate). Other sources claim that Charles de Gaulle coined the term Third World.

The term '**Third World**' was first employed in **1952** by French demographer Alfred Sauvy in an article entitled, '***Three Worlds, One Planet'***. He argued for the fact that the presence of the third world is in fact overlooked due to the overemphasis on the confrontation of the two super powers which in fact should have been credited with the first world title going by the historical facts (Stevens 2006: 756). The term was apparently coined by French intellectual in a conscious reminiscence of the legally underprivileged French 'Third Estate' of 1789 which has provided much of the driving force of the French Revolution. It reflected their exclusion and disregard by the super powers in terms of economic privileges by the developed countries. The expression 'Third World' actually marked important differences between the members of that group in their individual relations with the developed world. By the early 1960s, the term has been used as a "synonym for such phrases as 'underdeveloped world', 'developing countries', 'less developed countries', 'former colonies', 'Afro-Asian and Latin American countries', 'the South' (North-South division) and so on" (Muni 1979: 121). Mark T. Berger suggests the beginning of Third Worldism to the "complex milieu of colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism in the early 20th century, and indicates the overall consolidation of Third Worldism" as grounded in the post-1945 period of national liberation movement (Berger 2004: 11).

Value addition- Did you Know
The First World

The term "**First World**" refers to the developed, capitalist, industrial countries, a bloc of countries aligned with the United States after World War II: North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia.

Throughout this period, the United States has led the great powers in promoting democracy in the newly independent nations. The newly independent countries wanted to have friendly relations with all without joining capitalist or communist blocs.

Value addition- surf and know
To read more about the American perspective in the post cold war era,one may read from: American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Period Richard G. Lugar Presidential Studies Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 1, Domestic Goals and Foreign Policy Objectives (Winter, 1994), pp. 15-27

In this context, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had assimilated the liberal democratic values of the West as well as the automatic industrialization of the Soviet Union. Efforts for forging unity among Asians and Africans started early in 1947. In the decade of 1950, five newly independent countries namely, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia took the initiative to unite the developing countries against colonisation. In Bandung, the first Afro–Asian conference was held by Third-World countries to strengthen their position on 17 April 1955. Caroline Thomas is of the view that Third World states were differentiated by two significant attributes which also served as a meeting point to mobilize. Firstly, "based on their position in the global economy, these states perceive themselves as vulnerable to external factors beyond their control, and to decisions and policies"– predominantly economic – in which they shared no ownership. Secondly, "Third World states were home to the majority of the world's poor who endured every day survival risks associated with grave social problems" (Thomas 1999: 226).

Eradication of colonialism after World War-II brought an upheaval in international relations. Morton Kaplan has called the third world a loose bipolar system because it stands between the world divided into two blocs, one led by America and other by Soviet Union. The former was variously known as capitalists and later as socialist totalitarian bloc. The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa were anxious to preserve their political independence and did not like to join any of these blocs. They were called the third world.

Value addition- Did you know
The Second World
"**Second World**" refers to the former **communist-socialist**, industrial states, the Eastern bloc, the territory and sphere of influence of the Union of Soviet Socialists Republic, today: Russia, Eastern Europe (e.g., Poland) and some of the Turk States (e.g., Kazakhstan) as well as China.

Emergence of the Third World: Historical Reflection

"Third World is a commonly used term to refer to the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America, considered as an entity with common characteristics, such as poverty, high birth rates, and economic dependence on the advanced countries" (Mazrui, 1977). During World War II, Japan drove the European powers out of Asia and seized the Philippines from the Americans, Indonesia from the Dutch and Burma, Singapore, Malaya and other colonies from the British. After Japan surrendered to end World War II in August 1945, local nationalist movements in the Asian colonies demanded independence. Rid of the Japanese, the people of liberated Asian territories had no desire to restore colonial rule. Both the United States and the Soviet Union competed for influence over the new nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Struggle for independence in afro-Asian countries

Source:https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/fb/Marsigli_Filippo_-_The_Death_of_Markos_Botsaris_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg/800px-Marsigli_Filippo_-

_The_Death_of_Markos_Botsaris_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg ,accessed on 28 October 2015

Most Third World nations are former colonies of industrialized European countries and were dependent on the North for governance and economic assistance. In the mid to late nineteenth century, the European powers colonized much of Africa and Southeast Asia. Although Great Britain was the largest colonial power, it was not the only one. At the onset of World War II, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Italy all had colonies, and even the United States had possessions, the largest of which was in the Philippine Islands.During the period of imperialism, the European powers viewed the African and Asian continents as reservoirs of raw materials, manpower and territory. The colonies were exploited for natural and labor resources. In addition, the introduction of colonial rule drew arbitrary natural boundaries, dividing ethnic and linguistic groups, and laying the foundation for the creation of numerous states lacking geographic, linguistic, ethnic, or political affinity. World War II dealt a serious blow to the colonial powers, depriving them of their former power and prestige. The widespread uprisings of native people in the British empire gave encouragement to those in other colonies. The effects of World War II and growing demands for independence in Europe's remaining colonies led to significant changes in the world map by 1950.

Value addition- Did you know
Third World today
The term "Third World" today mostly refers to underdeveloped or better developing countries. The less-developed or least-developed regions (the United Nations designation) stand in contrast to "more-developed regions" which comprise North America, Japan, Europe and Australia-New Zealand. Less-developed regions comprise almost all regions of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, and the Pacific Islands of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. Least developed countries" for example are Afghanistan, Chad, Ethiopia, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and Zambia

Decolonization and Third World

The process of decolonization and nation building followed **three broad patterns:**

1. Civil war

2. Negotiated independence

3. Incomplete decolonization

Nothing remained of the huge empires carved out by conquest by Germany in Europe, North Africa, and the USSR and by Japan in China, Southeast Asia and the pacific. France was clinging to its colonies in Africa and Southeast Asia. Other European colonial empires were shrinking. The Netherlands surrendered control of most of its Southeast Asian empires. When these colonies were given independence in the 19th and 20th centuries, they had poor infrastructures, little technology, and few trained leaders. Thus, they maintained close ties with the former rulers, bargaining resources for manufactured goods. Eventually they failed behind the developed world.

The United States and the Soviet Union encouraged the colonies to make a bid for independence. Decolonization unfolded in **two phases.**

(A) The first lasted from 1945 to 1955, mainly affecting countries in the Near and Middle East, and South-East Asia. While the capitalist and communist blocs embarked on a cold war, in the Third World the conflicts got very hot. In Asia and Africa, anti-colonial leaders capitalized on European weakness and Japanese defeat to intensify their campaigns for independence

(B) The second phase started in 1955 and mainly concerned North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Whether their transition to independence had been peaceful or violent, Europe's former territories faced formidable difficulties. This may be because both the Soviet Union and the US saw them as pawns in the Cold War struggle. The major battlegrounds between the communist and capitalist ideologies were the former French colony of Vietnam and Portugal's major African possessions: Angola and Mozambique. As its consequence, countries such as Vietnam and Angola became focus of global conflict. Several newly independent states soon found themselves engaged in disastrous wars. The frontiers of many states in Africa, were created and imposed by their colonial rulers. The Congo and Nigeria, were both wracked by vicious civil wars in which dominant ethnic groups tried to suppress challenges by smaller tribal peoples. Overall, the result was the emergence of the Third World.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Cold War was increasingly fought ideologically. It was increasingly conceived in America in terms not so much of "American

power versus Russian or Soviet power," but in such new terms as "the Free World of democratic nations" versus "**the Communist dictatorship and its captive nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain**" (Hodges 2013). By the late 1950s, Russia saw the Cold War with the West in ideological terms: the Cold War was not about territory or riches; it was about gaining the loyalty or support of people and nations of the world. It was "a battle for the minds of men and women everywhere" (Hodges 2013). The main reason for this shift in conceptualization of the Cold War, was the political emergence of a number of countries.

Subsequent Spread of Independence in Asia and Africa, 1945-1960

As decolonization spread, thirty six states achieved independence in Asia and Africa between 1945 and 1960.

South African prime minister Hendrick Verwoerd, designer of the *apartheid* ('separateness') policy- -He designed *apartheid* to keep white South Africa from being overrun by Black Africans flocking from the homelands

Source:https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/61/HF_Verwoerd_Transvaler.jpg/215px-HF_Verwoerd_Transvaler.jpg accessed on 21 October 2015

The process of decolonization and nation-building followed different patterns. In some places there was civil war, while others had negotiated independence; in some areas it was achieved after revolution, at the other, there was incomplete decolonization. Some nations acquired stable governments while others were ruled by military juntas for decades. Although decolonization in most of Asia and Africa occurred through peaceful transfers of power, there were some exceptions. During the Cold War, both the Super powers avoided hot conflict. Soviet Union blamed capitalist imperialism and proposed that spread of communism would end social injustice. On the other hand, the US argued that democracy

and free enterprise would overcome oppression. These ideological differences embroiled many developing countries in the superpower rivalry.

The colonized peoples of **South-East Asia** were the first to demand independence. The partition of Korea by the US and USSR in 1945 into a Soviet-backed communist North and US backed capitalist South sowed the seeds of the first major Cold War confrontation in Southeast Asia. The age of British empire was coming to an end. In February 1947 the British decided to leave **India** but not without violent clashes between the Hindu and Muslim communities. On 15 August 1947 this situation led to the partition of the subcontinent into two separate states: Hindustan and Pakistan. However, the disaster of partition could not prevent Britain's withdrawal having an enormous impact elsewhere. Every year saw at least one or four to five former colonies granted independence. In 1948 the United Kingdom also granted independence **to Burma and Ceylon**, but Malaya had to wait till 1957 to gain the independence.

Kwame Nkrumah - outspoken anti-colonialist - lead Ghana from its status as the British colony of the Gold Coast

Source:http://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/624/media/images/73096000/jpg/_73096387_kwame_getty.jpg Accessed on 21 October 2015

On 6 March **1957 Ghana**, a former British colony, became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to proclaim its independence. Zanzibar and Tanganyika merged to form Tanzania. Bechuanaland became Botswana. Northern Rhodesia became Zambia. By the mid-1960s, the British empire had effectively been wound up. The transition from British rule after 1950 was orderly and peaceful. Other European powers surrendered less willingly.

Transjordan independence was agreed by Britain. In the Americas, **British Guiana** became independent Guyana in 1966 after 330 years of British rule. Jamaica, the Bahamas, and a host of other islands became nations. In 1964 Malta joined Cyprus in independence, and Britain was out of Mediterranean. In Asia,

North Borneo, and Sarawak joined Malaya in 1963 to become Malaysia. Papua New Guinea became independent in 1975, and the British Solomon Islands became independent three years later.

In **China,** civil war broke between nationalists and communists in 1946 and continued until 1949. On 1 October 1949, China emerged as the world's most populous communist state, the People's Republic of China. Mao's victory, coming so soon after the British evacuation of India, added to the feeling in the colonies everywhere that imperialism could be beaten.

Events followed a similar pattern in nearby **French colonies** and France had to cope with demands for independence from its colonies. Stalemates developed as France faced the humiliating challenges of a French empire everywhere.and in 1960 some 15 new independent states emerged: Guinea (1958), Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Gabon, Upper Volta, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Central African Republic, Senegal, Chad and Togo. On 30 June 1960 Congo also proclaimed itself independent. In 1946, France launched armed campaign against nationalists under Ho Chi Minh in Indo-China. Syrian independence was agreed to by France. Facing nationalist protest, France pulled out of Tunisia and Morocco in 1956. France was engulfed in two futile wars to maintain its colonial rule in Indo-China and Algeria. By 1958, its increasingly vicious war against separatists in Algeria had provoked its most serious political crisis since 1930s.

The United States granted independence to the **Philippines** in 1946. In 1947, UN partition of Palestine between Jews and Arabs agreed upon. The former Belgian colony of Central Africa became the Democratic Republic of Congo. Meanwhile I**ndonesia** endured four years of military and diplomatic confrontation with the Netherlands, until the Dutch government recognised the independence of the Dutch East Indies in December 1949.

Another wave of decolonisation swept through the **Near and Middle East** .ebanon, Syria) **and North Africa** (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco). Decolonisation in Africa s a slower process, gaining pace in the late 1950s. Only Portugal refused to accept the

vitable, fighting to crush liberation movements until herown armed forces could take no ore and overthrew the government in 1974. Almost all the Europe's African colonies were nted independence in the 15 years after 1951. Libya was the first to be given lependence, from Italy. Portugal African colonies, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea, and the pe Verde Islands, were given up more reluctantly, after years of fighting in the mid-70s. The worst was French Indo-China. In 1946 France became embroiled in a colonial r in Indo-China. Eight years later the conflict ended with the victory of the Viet Minh ague for Independence of Vietnam) over the French forces. French forces were defeated a peasant army of Vietnamese Communists in 1954 and forced to give up their important onial holdings in Asia in 1955. The Geneva Accords of 21 July 1954 ended the fighting, iging France to leave the country**. Vietnam** was divided into two halves: north of the th parallel, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; and to the south, Vietnam. Two countries h the same name (Vietnam) and borders but different leaders have split the world East West and became a new focus of tensions between the US and the Soviet Union. The US recognised Vietnam of emperor Bao Dai. The other Vietnam led by the Nationalist and communist Ho Chi Minh was recognised by the Soviets. After proclaiming their linependence in 1953, Laos and Cambodia gained full recognition.

Algerian Arabs celebrate independence from France after 132 years - March 1962

Source : http://www.kingsacademy.com/mhodges/03_The-World-since-1900/10_The-l-World/pictures/Algerian-independence_1962.jpg,accessed on 21 October 2015

France's retention of Algeria provoked civil war followed by inevitable retreat 1962. The [au]thorities treated **Algeria** as an integral part of French territory and it was only after eight [ye]ars of savage warfare that the country finally achieved independence. Algeria was [con]sidered an integral part of France. The Arab population was much larger, some of it well [as]similated into French culture. But with the successful overthrow of the French presence in [In]do-China, the idea that France might be driven out of North Africa began to grow, [en]couraged especially by Egyptian President Nasser, who was trying to build something of a [ne]w Arab nation around his own personal leadership. Thus a rebellious spirit of Arab [na]tionalism began to grow in Algeria ... especially after Morocco and Tunisia were granted [ind]ependence by the French in 1956. With the further humiliation of the French in the ill-[fat]ed Suez intervention of the French (and British and Israelis) in October of 1956, the [po]litical situation in France grew chaotic. In May of 1958 Algerian French (soldiers and [civ]ilians) seized the government buildings in Algiers, formed a new governing committee. In [Ma]rch of 1962 de Gaulle's decision in favor of Algerian independence was confirmed in the [Evi]an Accords. Algeria was independent. In 1960 France and Belgium gave up all their sub-[Sa]haran colonies. Portugal and Spain were the only European colonial powers to resist [mo]ves to independence. They too withdrew in 1975 after futile wars.

Value addition- surf and know
To read more about the process of decolonization one may read from; Rethinking Decolonization A. G. Hopkins Past & Present, No. 200 (Aug., 2008), pp. 211-24

The completion of decolonization process was a process of epochal importance. However, it was not the end of imperialism. By the middle of the 1960s, many third world countries fell into dictatorship and authoritarian rule. Throughout the former Soviet areas, among the Arab countries of the Middle East, across Africa, in Southeast Asia, the disappearance of the colonial or communist regimes has been followed by great troubles. The third world nations also discovered that after struggling from colonial rule, they now confronted neo-colonial problems.

The Islamic World

In the Middle East, nationalism collided with the economic interests of Western Europe and the US. The legacy of colonialism contributed to strife in the Middle East. In 1979,

Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the US backed government of Iran and imposed Islamic rule. But militant Islam sparked deep conflicts within the Arab world itself – not just between the Sunni and Shi'ite branches of Islam but also between those states committed to a secular and modernizing vision and those determined to assert fundamentalist Muslim values. The Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) was one manifestation of this rivalry and Civil War in Algeria after 1962 was another. After waging war against Iran, Husain invaded oil-rich Kuwait in 1989. In 1990 the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, provoked a massive US led campaign to oust Iraq. In the meantime, Arab-Israeli hostility continued unchecked. Egypt, the largest Arab state made peace with Israel in 1978, but much of the Arab world remained opposed to Israel. Israel's response was an invasion of Lebanon in 1982 in an attempt to root out PLO forces. There was an apparent improvement in Arab-Israel relations in the early 1990s under the Oslo Peace Accords.

The Suez Crisis (November 1956):

The Suez Crisis illustrated the new international power relationships, a military conflict involving British, French, Israeli and Egyptian forces. It was caused by Egypt nationalising the suez canal. In a combined operation, Israel invaded Sinaiand French and British troops occupied the canal area. Under US pressure, invading forces withdrew and were replaced by a UN peace keeping force. In Egypt, on 26 July 1956, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, a champion of pan-Arabism, announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company. The Crisis directly threatened the interests of France, the United Kingdom and Israel, leading to a trial of strength that culminated in a joint military operation by the three countries against the former British protectorate in October 1956. The dogged efforts by France and Britain to safeguard their economic and financial interests at the expense of a developing country prompted the involvement of the international community. When on November 29, 1956, England, France and Israel made a bold move to reassert European control of the Suez Canal recently seized by Egyptian President Nasser, America was quick to denounce the intervention of its friends claiming that it was deeply disappointed that they would undertake such an imperialist move at precisely the same time the West was condemning the Soviets for a similar imperialist intrusion into Hungary. The Suez crisis ended in a diplomatic fiasco and moral defeat for the two former colonial powers — France and the United Kingdom — whilst Colonel Nasser emerged as the champion of the Arab cause and decolonization.

The old imperialism of direct colonial rule finally came to an end in the last quarter

of the 20th century. The leaders of the newly independent nations believed that they could build strong democratic politics and promote rapid economic development. Whether dealing with the West or the Soviet Union, Third World leaders found their options limited. During the Cold War, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union welcomed neutral parties. Détente in the form of summits and SALT accords did not stop the US and the Soviet Union from intervening in the Third World. The two superpowers tried to intervene in the developing countries.

New Hope for the Third World

After the completion of decolonization in Asia and Africa, the newly independent countries emerged as a significant player in the international arena. These nations attended Bandung conference in Indonesia from 17 to 24 April 1955 and reaffirmed their decision to be independent and non-aligned in the bipolar world. These third world nations changed the balance of power within the United Nations as its membership increased every year. In 1946, there were 35 member states in the United Nations and by 1970, the membership had increased up to 127. These countries advocated the independence of colonial states.

The Non-Aligned Nations of Asia and Africa: As the Beginning of a 'Third World'

The Bandung Conference of April 18-24, 1955: Gathering of "Non-Aligned" nations - The "Third World"

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/01/Gedung.Merdeka.jpg   accessed   on 21 October 2015

The term "non- alignment" originated in the post-1945 period. It is commonly used to describe newly independent countries of Asia and Africa which were keen to maintain their independence and protect their separate identities in the era of bipolarization. The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa did not like to join any of the two blocs, one led by

America and other by Soviet Union. They were called the Third World/ non-aligned/ developing countries. The policy of non-alignment was first adopted by countries like India, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt and Indonesia. Jawaharlal Nehru convened a conference in Delhi in January 1949 to support the cause of Indonesian independence which marked "a turning point in history". In his own words, "it means new alignments and a new balance of power if not now, then in the near future." He further said, "We do not want to form a new bloc but inevitably the countries of Asia will come closer together and India will play a leading part in this" (Rao 2009). George Schwarzenberger says Non-alignment is synonymous with "neutrality", "neutralization", "isolationism", "unilateralism", "non-involvement" and "non-commitment" (Sharma and Sharma 2000). All these terms have different meanings.

i) **Neutrality:** It describes the political and legal status of a country at war with respect to the belligerents.

ii) **Neutralization:** It means a political status of a particular state which it cannot give up under any circumstances.

iii) I**solationism**: It stands for policies of aloofness.

iv) **Non-involvement**: It means keeping from the struggles between different Super power ideologies.

v) **Non-commitment**: It refers to politics of detachment for other power in multi polar relationship.

The Western Scholars like Hans. J. Morgenthau, George Liska and Lawrence W. Marton and others referred the term "neutralism" to "non-alignment". Third Worldist interpretation of nonalignment "meant positive action for protecting the interests of the weak and achieving positive aims, which included peace and public regulation of the international regime, on the basis of active alliance and formation of 'trans-border' solidarity" (Cho 2004: 498).

The 1955 Bandung Conference: Third World Aversion to Cold War Alignment

The Bandung conference of 1955 led to the emergence of the third world. India played a major role in raising the voice of newly independent countries. As a result of independence movement, the United Nations, was gradually transformed into a third world forum. The Afro-Asian conference co-sponsored by Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka discussed peace, role of the Third World, economic development, and decolonization process. They tried to chart out a diplomatic course as neutrals or 'non-

aligned' to either Russia or America in the Cold War. The Bandung Conference was based on the principles of political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, and equality. Conference paved way for the emergence of third world free from evils of capitalism and communism.

Thus, the concept of the 'Third World' was born. Communist China was one of the countries participating as the Third World Country rather than the Russian Soviet orbit. The 1955 Bandung Conference was the first attempt at the creation and establishment of a third force in global politics. The term Third World was adopted to refer to a self-defining group of non-aligned states. The Bandung Conference played an important role in mobilizing the counter-hegemonic forces to be known as the Third World. There were other priority areas as well such as anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, non-violence and conflict resolution via the United Nation .The conference also emphasis on the issues of increased cultural and technical cooperation between African and Asian governments along with the establishment for an economic development fund .It also raised its voice for the required support for human rights and the self-determinations of peoples and nations by the world community and negotiations to reduce the building and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. With this kind of perspective the international politics marked the emergence of a non-aligned bloc from the two superpowers after the Bandung conference. Hee-Yeon Cho opines that the "Bandung spirit is not 'detachment' from the powerful Western countries, but non-aligned self-helped 'organization against' the powerful countries" (Cho 2004: 498).

The early 1960s were years of optimism in the Third World. Ghanaian prime minister Kwame Nkrumah trumpeted **pan-Africanism**. It was a way for the African continent to place itself on a par with the rest of the world. Egyptian president Nasser boasted that his democratic socialism was neither Western nor Soviet-inspired and that Egypt would retain its neutrality in the cold war struggle. Indian prime minister Nehru blended democratic politics and state planning to promote India's quest for political independence and economic autonomy. The membership and aims of the "Non-Aligned summits of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s" expanded and contracted as time progressed (Tomlinson 2003: 309-310). The 1961 Belgrade Non-Aligned Summit conference established an alternative platform for negotiating the diplomatic solidarity of countries which saw an advantage in advertising their autonomy from the rival superpower blocs. During the early 1960s, primary focus was directed towards mitigating the effects of the Cold War, "as represented by the British and French invasion of the Suez, and the Russian invasion of Hungary in 1956, on states which were not part of any power bloc (Tomlinson 2003: 310)." Towards

the middle of the 1960s, the crucial concern was anti-colonialism, and from that decade to the next, the principle issues centered on "problems of economic development," emerging due to intense uncertainty in the global economy (Tomlinson 2003: 310).

The 1960s and 70s, marked the "**great age of Third World rhetoric of common cause and common action**." A significant event was the 1966 Tri-continental Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and involved delegates from across Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. This conference called for an increasingly "radical anti-imperial agenda" (Berger 2004: 20). During the 1970s, the collective identity of the majority of Latin American, Asian and African countries in "international relations became expressed through demands for reform in the institutional structure of the international economy" (Tomlinson 2003: 312) The main thrust came from the Group of 77 (G77), which had been created at the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) meeting held in 1964.

Waning of the Concept 'The Three-World Order'

The notion of three worlds has been dismissed by critics as inadequate as the multiple worlds are based on regional military or economic power dynamics, culture, religion, and other influences. The Cold War polarized Third World nations, pushing states to choose between alignment with the First or Second world. The United States and the Soviet Union faced discontent within their societies and opposition within their respective blocs. Collaboration among Third World countries was difficult. By the 1960s and early 1970s, tensions were beginning to appear in the three-world order. The United States and the Soviet Union faced discontent within their societies and opposition within their respective blocs. The Third World was never unified by economic, military or political alliances. While some states managed to maintain democratic institutions and promote economic development, many had to face dictatorships and authoritarian regimes. It was in this context that Third World revolutionaries took to radical programmes of social and political transformation. They brought to the surface the considerable tensions in the three-world order. From the 1970s, Third Worldism has been on a path of terminal decline due to a number of factors, such as disproportionate economic development among Third Worldist states, political differences and the failure to establish a "common programme for international economic and political reform**." Détente** in the form of summits and SALT accords did not stop the United States and Soviet Union from intervening in the Third World.

Source:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/c/c8/Leonid_Brezhnev_and_Richard_Nixon_talks_in_1973.png/220px-Leonid_Brezhnev_and_Richard_Nixon_talks_in_1973.png,accessed on 27 0ctober 2015

Brezhnev and Nixon talk while standing on the White House balcony during Brezhnev's 1973 visit to Washington – a high-water mark in détente between the United States and the Soviet Union.

During the early stages of the 1970s, the G77 headed the "**demand for new institutions of global economic management to remove the structural imbalances**" (Tomlinson 2003: 312). These objectives were to be realised in ways that would guarantee the states' economic sovereignty, "including their right to control the exploitation of natural resources, with the right to nationalize them of appropriate" (Tomlnson 2003: 312). The UN resolutions passed in 1974 relating to the **NIEO** signaled the zenith of the diplomatic unity of Third World regimes" (Tomlinson 2003: 312). The changes called for in the NIEO were never implemented. By the start of the 1980s, the US-driven globalization project provided a significant challenge to the importance allocated to the restructuring of the global economy so as to "**address the North-South divide**." The third world received huge impetus from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, along with Reagan administration, Thatcher in the UK, and Chancellor Kohl in the former West Germany, moved them towards the privatization of public sectors, charting the policy of liberalization of the trade and the deregulation of financial sectors .On the other hand the international happenings such as the renewal of hostilities of the Cold War further facilitated the reduced clout of the NAM. The Third World nations discovered that they now confronted a new series of '**neo-colonial'** problems.

Value addition- surf and know

In the 1990s, it was claimed that states were unimportant in the 'new global economy'. The end of the Cold War marked a shift from a world of geo-strategy, to a new international arrangement based on **geo-economy**. The world's wealthiest countries promoted globalization by establishing economic and political relationships that transcended national boundaries. Developing countries struggled to assert their national identity. There are arguments speaking for the redundancy of the third world existence due to the collapse of the Second World, namely the Soviet Union and its satellite states. The world is majorly marked with a complex web of hierarchies in the post 1990 scenario with a glaring absence of any kind of equality among them . In the general discourse the phrase North –south Dichotomy has been getting huge acceptability after the end of cold war reflecting the apathy to the presence of third world and its related dimensions and problems .in fact the development model of states asserts that the development of states such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea, along with other countries such as Mexico and Brazil, have served to disprove the Third Worldist claim that self-reinforcing and coherent development in the Third World is not possible (Holm 1990: 1). The structure of the international system is based on the size of states, the extent of their development and their importance in key economic areas. Both the G77 and the NAM are currently experiencing more division than in the past. A NAM member, Iraq, invaded another member Kuwait. Yugoslavia was also disintegrated. Any form of common action or any "common political platform" is lacking (Holm 1990: 2).

The criticism itself set the stage for the **revival of Third Worldism**, and its continued relevance in the contemporary era.

Relevance of the Concept 'Third World'

Nevertheless, ten years after the end of the World War II, Bandung forced the great powers to recognize that the weak had power if they could mobilize it. The end of the Cold War, has dealt the 'three world order' classification scheme a finishing stroke, and the disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet Union diminished the relevance of the Third World. However, the Third World maintains its relevance in the contemporary period. The developing countries, squeezed by its inability to reduce poverty, on the one hand, and

superpower rivalry on the other, struggled to pursue a 'third way'. According to Arif Dirlik, geopolitically, the Third World is a "**reference point for development in global politics, referred to as global modernity**" (Dirlik 2003). The context of the Third World plays an important role as a category as it is relevant when the emphasis is on geopolitical relationships and processes. "The material inequalities that characterize the contemporary world, such as 23% of the world's population living in the North…enjoyed 85% of its income, while the 77% in the South made do with 15%, do have significant political and social consequences" (Randall 2004: 43).

Value addition- surf and know more
To read more about the relevance of the third world, one may read from: http://www.e-ir.info/2013/03/26/the-continued-relevance-of-the-third-world-concept/

The concept of the Third World is relevant in the post-Cold War era. The ten principles articulated at the Bandung conference especially "the five principles of peaceful coexistence" grounded the "cooperation among newly independent States stressing mutual respect and mutual benefit." The structure of the contemporary international political economy is different from that which prevailed during the Cold War era. "The current international political economy has given rise to a situation in which all three segments are found in both the North and the South, and where their difference lies only in their relative proportion" (Mushakoji 2005: 515). It is as a result thereof that the counter-hegemonic force that was created at the Bandung Conference by Third World states cannot remain confined to Third World countries. This is a new brand of Third Worldism that should aim to include non-state actors in the subaltern and the excluded segments of the Trilateral regions (Mushakoji 2005: 515). Despite the political-economic eradication of the borders dividing the North and the South, the North/South divide is not filled. Thus, there is need for revival of the concept 'Third Worldism'.

Conclusion

Emerging in the period of bipolar world dominated by the two superpowers, the concept of the Third World offered different path for the developing countries. At one point of time, it acted as a mobilizing force for the completion of decolonization and on the other hand, offered option for counter hegemonic alliance. The Cold War had enormous impact on the developing countries - politically, socially and economically. However, the end of the Cold War , the disintegration of the USSR and the disappearance of the Second World have led to heated debate on the relevance of the Third World and the NAM. Yet, the Third

World, group of developing countries, enjoys continued relevance in the contemporary era as a reference point for development. The term has now been predominantly effective for the countries that face widespread poverty, population growth, the lack of industrial growth and development. All such countries together constitute more than one-third of the globe. NAM provides a common platform to raise their voice. Third World nations no longer look to their former colonizers but to the World Bank and to the International Monetary Fund. There is no permanent member to speak in Security Council on behalf of the South or the Third World countries. They are asking for the expansion of the number of permanent members by including India, Brazil etc. Whether globalization will solve the third world's problem remains unclear. At the same time:

"To help developing countries help themselves, wealthy nations must begin to lift the burdens they impose on the poor." – Nancy Birdsall, Dani Rodrik, Arvind Subrmanian, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2005

Glossary

Cold war : After World War II, rivalry between the Soviet Union and its allies on one side and the United States and the democratic countries of the Western world on the other.

Decolonization: Political independence received by European colonies in Africa and Asia after   World War II.

Developing Country :A country where the majority lives on less money and that is seeking to Become more advanced economically and socially.

Globalization: The worldwide movement toward economic, financial, trade and communications   integration.

Imperialism: The policy of extending the authority of nation over foreign countries, or of acquiring   and holding colonies and dependencies.

Neo-colonialism: Political control by an outside power of a country that is in theory sovereign and independent especially through the domination of its economy.

Non-alignment: In order to maintain their sovereignty, new states of Asia and Africa adopted this policy which is more than mere abstention from military alliances or involvement in conflict between power blocs.

Third World: Term used after 1950s to describe former colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Soviet Union : (Union of Soviet Socialist Republic): Name adopted by republics of former Russian empire in 1924 and then for Stalinist Empire, dissolved in 1991.

Superpower: ery powerful and influential nation, used with reference to the United States and the former Soviet Union.

Essay Type Questions

Do you think that the term 'Third World'was an invented term from the Cold War phase. Comment.

How useful is the term 'Third World' in today's economic and political system?

What are some of the major problems faced by 'Third World' countries today?

In your opinion, was the Cold War inevitable? If not, was the United States or the USSR more to blame?

Why were Americans so terrified of communist infiltration after World War II?

In what cases and why did decolonization involve large-scale violence?

Why anti-colonial revolts occurred only in a minority of the colonies in Africa, and why these territories were caught up in political violence?

What were the successes and failures of each world order?

What were the major fissures that developed in the Three World Order?

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which of the following are not third-world regions?

a. Latin America.

b. Asia.

c. Africa.

d. Australia.

Ans. d

2. The poorest region of the world is

a. the Middle East.

b. sub-Saharan Africa.

c. Asia.

d. Latin America.

Ans. b

3. Of the world's population, what portion lives in developing countries?

a. approximately 35%.

b. approximately 80%.

c. nearly 10 billion people.

d. less than 1 billion people.

Ans. b

4. Which of the following characteristics are most likely found in developing countries?

a. high population growth rates.

b. large number of people living in poverty.

c. very traditional methods of agricultural production.

d. all of the above

e. none of the above

Ans. d

5. Asian tigers or newly industrializing countries (NICs) of East and Southeast Asia include the following except

a. South Korea.

b. China.

c. Taiwan.

d. Singapore.

Ans. b

6. More than seventy percent of the population of fast growers lives in

a. China.

b. United States.

c. Russia.

d. Europe.

Ans. a

7. Why has modern economic growth mainly been in western countries?

a. a strong Catholic church intervention in the economic decisions.

b. an emphasis on trade restrictions.

c. the use of the medieval economy.

d. the rise of capitalism.

Ans. d

8. Perestroika in the Soviet Union refers to

a. total market reliance for resource allocation.

b. economic restructuring by Gorbachev.

c. intensified central planning.

d. none of the above.

Ans. b

9. Two countries that still rely on the Soviet communist model of development are

a. Ghana and Nigeria.

b. Poland and Germany.

c. Cuba and North Korea.

d. China and Hong Kong.

Ans. c

10. ASEAN refers to the

a. Association of South East Agro Nations.

b. Association of South East Asian Nations.

c. Alliance of South East Asian Neighbors.

d. Alliance of South Eastern African Nations.

Ans. b

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