

THIRD WORLD STATES: BUILDING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ON A DIFFERENT GROUND

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Abstract

This study follows two main explicative models regarding Third World states - the one originating with political economy (the modernization and dependency theories) and the one belonging to the political development (especially bound to the comparative politics), attempting at identifying the problems of state edification in third world countries.

Keywords: *Third World, Modernization Theory, Comparative Politics, Political Development, Fragile States.*

Introduction

In this paper I try to explore the main theoretical approaches concerning third world state problems, following the two traditional discourses: one originated in political economy and the other in comparative politics. I argue that both of these theories have limited explanative power, due to several causes. One of those causes is to be found in the assumption that western models (economic, political, historical, etc) are not only superior, but that they must represent a desirable standard to be achieved by third world societies. As a result, by relying on such standards, the analysis of those societies itself becomes biased, by assuming implicitly the existence of a set of goals for the third world countries, thus failing to produce valid explanations to the variety of issues present in the third world. The relevance of such an inquiry is to be found especially in the fact that, although after September 11 2001 the main fronts of the war on terror are in third world countries (as is the case of Afghanistan, Iraq or Pakistan), the western efforts to deepen our knowledge of third world societies in order to improve the political outputs towards (e.g.) democratization of those countries is minimal. In my paper I suggest that knowing more about the history of these societies (especially about certain aspects related to their political history) may provide not only researchers with a better understanding of the political processes taking place in the third world, but also may offer politicians the necessary tools so badly needed in elaborating policies regarding these countries.

My approach is methodologically traditionalist and theoretically critical. I intend to look critically at third world state edification from both theoretical and historical perspective, in order to mark the limits of current theoretical explanation and to identify those characteristics which are seemingly left out. Finally, I try to introduce a new criterion in third world states analysis – a political-historical one.

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I. Defining the problem

The concept of “Third World” appears in 1952, created by the demographer Alfred Sauvy, who was thereby comparing the global situation of the ex-colonies to that of the “third estate” from during the French Revolution: just as the “third estate”, the Third World is nothing but “wants to be something”¹. Sauvy separates the main characteristics specific with the Third World according to three criteria: the demographic, the economical and the civil-political criteria. As such, Sauvy listed a set of ten criteria by which the underdeveloped countries can be identified: high mortality rate, high reproduction rate (without drawbacks during maternity); physiologically insufficient alimentation; rudimentary hygiene; inferior condition of the women; use of children labor; poor development of the education system; preminent assignment of the work able to the agrarian sector; poorly developed middle class; lack of free universal voting². The researcher is faced from the very beginning with a vast field of research, marked by various issues, which only illustrate the huge heterogeneity of the Third World states. In fact, three years later, the political reality has confirmed, with the Bandung Convention, the unsurpassable divergences resulting from the political and cultural diversity and the conflict of interests still characteristic to the Third World states³. In fact, the only point on which all the attendants seemed to agree was the “rejection of any form of colonialism”, phrase that each of the delegates interpreted in his/her own way⁴. In effect, the only heading on which the Third World states seemed to come to terms during this initial period was the desire to safeguard their independence⁵.

As of 1961, after the Cairo and Belgrade Conferences the Third World becomes associated with the concept of *nonalignment*, referring to the political and military positioning of these states outside of the areas of influence of the two blocks of superpowers involved in the Cold War⁶. After the Cairo Conference of the states in the Nonalignment Movement (June, 1961), the purposes of the movement could be traced on four different directions: 1. preserving international peace and security; 2. real and effective international cooperation; 3. peoples’ independence; 4. the peoples of the ex-colonies claim their right to a development able to insure them a happier, better future⁷. In fact, all along this period the Third World represents the actual battleground for the two superpowers, as here are directed the political efforts for the counteracting of the spreading of the

¹ In Veron, Jacques, „L’INED et le Tiers Monde”, in *Population (French Edition)*, 50e Année, No. 6, Cinquante années de „Population” (Nov. – Dec., 1995), p. 1565. The paternity of the concept is also claimed by Dag Hammarskjöld who, consciously drawing inspiration from the antonyms Old World/New World, concocted the notion Third World to designate the poor countries in Africa and South America (See Calvocoressi, Peter, *Politica mondială după 1945, (World Politics after 1945)*, Bucharest: All, Publishing 2000, p. 163).

² *Idem*, p. 1567.

³ Kumar, Satish, „Nonalignment: International Goals and National Interests”, in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1983), p. 445.

⁴ See Fitzgerald, C.P., „East Asia after Bandung”, in *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 24, No. 8 (Aug., 1955), pp. 113-119;

⁵ Kumar, Satish, quoted article., pp. 446 and the following.

⁶ See *The Declaration by the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned States*, p. 7, document accessed with [http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/01st%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20\(Belgrade_Declaration\).pdf](http://www.namegypt.org/Relevant%20Documents/01st%20Summit%20of%20the%20Non-aligned%20Movement%20-%20Final%20Document%20(Belgrade_Declaration).pdf), on 27.01.10. See also Choucri, Nazli, „The Perceptual Base of Nonalignment”, in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Mar., 1969), p. 57.

⁷ Kumar, Satish, quoted article., p. 446. See also ***, „Cairo Conference of Nonaligned Nations”, in *International Organization*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Autumn, 1965), pp. 1065-1070.

influence of one, or the other of the two blocks⁸, and the “by proxy” wars, a defining element of the Cold War⁹.

At the same time, the UN becomes the main platform and political assertion ground for the Third World countries. As such, in 1960, the General Assembly votes the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*, that, on article 6, condemns any attempt at the partial or total destruction of the national unity and territorial integrity of a Third World state, qualifying such actions as incompatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations¹⁰.

After the end of the Cold War, the concept of Third World was replaced, in the specialized literature, by the phrase “Countries under development”, this area representing, up to the present, the area with the highest conflict risk and instability rate on world level. After 10.11.2001 this characteristic becomes very apparent, the military operation stages of the war against terrorism being located entirely in the Third World¹¹.

The main common characteristics of the third world states: dysfunctional, dependent economies, relying on the production of raw materials for the developed countries and operating as commodity markets for their processed products; traditional societies, mostly rural; a high rate of population growth and generalized poverty; absence or poor development of the democratic political institutions and of a pluralist political culture resulted in the creation of an apparently coherent image, at least with respect to the main problems that the Third World faces. At the same time, the generalizations regarding it suggest a *non-existing unity*: including the majority of the world states and a huge number of different peoples and countries, the third world is characterized by an astounding economical, political, social and cultural diversity that practically defies generalization.

II. State development and building in Third World states- from the economical to the political

Despite their specific diversity, Third World states seem to have as common feature the underdevelopment¹², but also the massive failure in eliminating it. The end of the Cold War generated a massive wave of optimism, which can be summed up by the conviction that, politically, Third World states will be able to solve their problems by adopting a development course towards a liberal-democratic future. This new course was supposed to bring about a set of

⁸ Choucri, Nazli, „The Nonalignment of Afro-Asian States: Policy, Perception and Behaviour”, in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Mar., 1969), p. 2.

⁹ Miroiu, Andrei, Ungureanu, Radu-Sebastian (Coordinators), *Manual de Relații internaționale (Manual of International Relations)*- Iași: Polirom, 2006), p. 34.

¹⁰ McWhinney, Edward, „Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples”, document accessed on http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/pdf/ha/dicc/dicc_e.pdf. On the documentation of the respective meeting see Audiovisual Library of International Law on http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/ha/dicc/dicc_video.html. The document of the Declaration can be accessed on: <http://www.un-documents.net/a15r1514.htm>.

¹¹ I will continue using in this paper the phrase Third World, thereby acknowledging the validity of the arguments supporting the utility and validity of this concept in today’s uni-multipolar world. See Grant, Cedric, „Equity in International Relations: A Third World Perspective”, in *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 71, No. 3, Ethics, The Environment and the Changing International Order (Jul., 1995), pp. 567-587.

¹² By development I understand “the process [...] by which the resources (natural, technological, capital and labor related etc.) are employed in such a manner as for certain optimality criteria to be met: individual and collective prosperity, social participation, institutional performances etc. (Vlasceanu Lazăr, *Politică și dezvoltare. România încotro?- Politics and development. Romania, where to?* – Bucharest: Trei Publishing, 2001), p.21.

reforms for the adoption of the market economy, the dispensing with the socialists views, which were typical until then to this area (and mostly ideologically inspired by the Chinese model), the creation of some effective representative political institutions¹³. However, this special situation at the end of the Cold War, as it was subsequently proven, did not save the Third World from all the avatars entailed by their dependency state (not only economical¹⁴, but political as well; more than once did the ex-colony states, on international level, appeal to the military support by the former imperial metropolises.) One could say that the contemporary times, fundamentally dominated by the globalization phenomenon and its effects¹⁵, seems to only have sharpened the inequalities on international level, thereby adding new dimensions to the economical, political and cultural subordination¹⁶. In this context, the theoretical answers the states of the Third World must provide to the challenges they face are multiple, but mostly addressing the same two old dimensions-economical and political. More precisely, a development gap between the Third World countries and the great economical powers of the world is found and then explanations and solutions for the surpassing of this development gap are sought.

The most employed and therefore widespread explanations with respect to the development issues, originate with the liberal and the Marxist theories, the latter being seen as a reaction to the former.¹⁷

Perhaps the most influential liberal theory is the one formulated by Walt Whitman Rostow at the beginning of the 60's (20th century) in his work, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, proposing solutions based on the economic growth founded on the principles of the 19th century economic liberalism, solutions that subsequently reflected in international institutions, such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. In Rostow's Europe-centered perspective the only real way of overcoming the development problems of the Third World states consisted in them repeating, on another level, the Western history, which would insure the passing from the traditional (agrarian, non-scientific and economically unproductive) society to the modern (industrial, scientific, consumerism bound) one, while the main strategy consisted in a mobilization of the internal and international economies for economical growth investment¹⁸. Rostow's theory generated an entire wave of contributions with respect to the Third World, reunited under the phrase "modernization theories"¹⁹. For them, *both the model and the sources for the development are exterior to the countries under development: external help and reproducing the already proven model would generate internal transformation by way of development*²⁰.

Although the tradition of the development theories has represented an apparently successful path- generating the appearance of the "Asian tigers"- the structural crises, the sharpening of the underdevelopment, as poverty grew, together with the inability by the local political class to lead to the formation and development of solid internal infrastructure tend to infirm the supremacy of this approach. At the same time, especially in the African countries, the problems of

¹³ Duffield, Mark, *Global Governance and the New Wars*, (London&New York: Zed Books, 2001), p. 161.

¹⁴ See Galtung, Johan, „A Structural Theory of Imperialism”, in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1971), pp. 81-117.

¹⁵ Miroiu, Andrei, Ungureanu, Radu-Sebastian, quoted work, pp. 304-306

¹⁶ Little, Richard; Smith, Michael (Ed.), *Perspectives on World Politics*, 3rd Edition (London&New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 255.

¹⁷ Jackson, Robert; Sørensen, Georg, *Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford&New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 198.

¹⁸ Rostow, W.W., *Les Étapes de la croissance économique*, (Paris: Éd. Du Seuil, 1963), pp. 16-31.

¹⁹ Jackson, Robert; Sørensen, Georg, idem. Vezi și Craig, David; Porter, Doug, *Development Beyond Neoliberalism? Governance, Poverty Reduction and Political Economy*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), especially pp. 31-62.

²⁰ Vlăsceanu, Lazăr, quoted work., p. 36.

underdevelopment and poverty in their turn, along with the ones already discussed, count among the main instability and conflict factors, even generating the emergence of a new category, entitled “The Fourth World”, mainly made up of quasi-states, or failed states, such as Somalia or Afghanistan.

Though the creation of institutions able to offer an alternative to the modernization theories view was attempted, this was done however by appealing, in the good liberal tradition, to the free market mechanisms and to the structuring of the economic relationships of the Third World States in a system consistent with their interests – the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNACTAD)- all such projects proved essentially dysfunctional, facing the lack of real cooperation by the countries under development²¹. At the same time, the thesis claimed by the liberal modernization theorists by which the international free market would lead to technological gains by the Third World states pursuant to the investments made by the great Western corporations proved wrong as well, the relation between the frail Third World economies and the great corporations producing monopoly situations, generating dependency and underdevelopment²².

Last but not least, the trust granted by various international financial bodies to some of the Third World states proved to be ungrounded as well. The IMF and the World Bank negotiate with state actors, taken as sovereign, in Western terms, and, therefore, capable of independently assuming public projects and policies on the internal level. However, more than once, the aforementioned institutions have to face the pre-westfalian reality²³ of some of the states in this area, especially the African, that prove incapable of implementing the negotiated agreements or, as in the case of Tanzania and Julius Nyerere, regular international funds “black holes”, in their attempt at implementing unrealistic projects, more related to the consolidation of the personal authority²⁴.

The main theoretical reaction to the liberal view of modernization is represented by the radical, or neo-Marxist one, reuniting a manifold of approaches under the generic title of “dependency theories”²⁵. While liberal tradition found free market to be one of the key elements of the Third World states overcoming their underdevelopment, here is where the dependency theorists found the very roots of the evil²⁶. Unlike the actual Marxist view, the dependency theory does not claim that the capitalist production mode will also emerge in the Third World States, as the historical materialism prescribed, they claim that underdevelopment is a state specific only to this part of the world. It does not originate, as claimed by the modernization theories, with the traditional structure in the respective countries, but is in fact the product of a process to which the Third World states were subjected within the global capitalist system: underdevelopment emerges as a marginal and intentional product of the development of the Western states²⁷: “underdevelopment represents a process by which the capitalist forces spread in order to submit and pauperize the Third World”²⁸.

²¹ Chishti, Sumitra, „Globalization, International Economic Relations and the Developing Countries”, in *International Studies*, 39, 3 (2002), p. 231.

²² Jackson, Robert; Sørensen, Georg, p. 200.

²³ Biró, Daniel, „The Unbearable Lightness of...Violence: Organised Violence and Governance building in Westfalian Periphery”, quoted in Miroiu, Andrei, Ungureanu, Radu-Sebastian, mentioned work, p. 317.

²⁴ Schneider, Leander, „Freedom and Unfreedom in Rural Development: Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa Vijijni and Villagization”, in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2, (2004), pp. 344-392.

²⁵ Payne, Anthony (Ed.), *Key Debates in New Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 5.

²⁶ Amir, Samir, „The Crisis, the Third World, and North-South, East-West Relations”, in Resnick, Stephen;

²⁷ Jackson, Robert; Sørensen, Georg, idem.

²⁸ *Idem*. Also see Amin, Samir, *The Liberal Virus. Permanent War and the Americanization of the World* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2004), pp. 87-112.

By this logic, the economical aspect explains, at least partially, the deficiencies of on the political level: the weakness of some of the Third World states are explainable in terms of a dissonance between the interests of the population and those of the ruling class, the latter being much closer, in this respect, to the interests of the great Western capitalists. However, the dependency theory, with its stressing of the underdevelopment originated stagnation, did not manage to provide the answers needed for the overcoming of the problems faced by the Third World states. The emergence of the “Asian Tigers” in the 90s inquired the prediction by which the Third World countries were destined to a future of economic stagnation and poverty²⁹.

III. Overlapping worlds: Western institutional models and local political cultures

Approaching the problem of the Third World states from the economizing perspective of the developmentalist view represents, in my opinion, only one side of the matter, requiring the addition of a complementary approach, implying an examination of the relationship between the political institutional models found in this area and the ‘in situ’ realities of the respective political cultures. As such, this section of the paper has two main concerns: the first related to the problem of the dominant explicative model regarding the problems of the Third World states and the second, setting out from the observation of the existing conflict between the imported institutional models and the realities of the local political cultures, supporting the introduction of a new, historical-political, analysis criterion.

The comparative politics researches inaugurated half a century ago by Almond and Verba proceed, in great extent, from an assumption similar to the one made by Rostow, restricted however to the civil-political dimension: non-European societies, that generally gained their self-determination right after the decolonization process, must necessarily take the steps required for reaching a Western type democracy by an emulation of the historical processes leading to the emergence of this initial political model, in Western Europe and the United States³⁰. Therefore, the political development is subjected to an unidirectional understanding, as an axis if you will, with the parochial political cultures on one end, and the polyarchies on the other, implicitly excluding or neglecting those realities which are contrary to this claim and therefore offering rather recipes than explanations with regard to the political and economical problems of the Third World countries³¹. The key concept in this case is modernization, be it economical, or political, both approaches being tributary to a Western model- more precisely it is set out from the assumption that societies are “in the process of becoming modern rational entities in which efficiency and scientific logic replace traditional values and belief systems”³².

²⁹ *Idem.*

³⁰ See Verba, Sidney; Almond, Gabriel A., *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Sage Publications, 1989, p. 5. Also we can find a similar attitude in Samuel Huntington’s *Political Order in Changing Societies (Ordinea politică a societăților în schimbare-* Iași: Polirom, 1999), pp. 11-15 where he speaks of „reducing the political gap” between the Third World and the western states, implicitly thereby assuming the superiority and also the desirability of the western political model.

³¹ Even in Richard Higgot’s understanding, who notices that, within the general frame of the development theories, ideas were considered to be determinant with respect to the historical direction of the Third World states, the general claim being that the solution to the problems of the Third World resides in “directly applying theoretical constructs derived from the study of the historical evolution of the West.”– in Higgott, Richard, A., *Political Development Theory. The Contemporary Debate*, (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 1.

³² Naomi Chazan, P. Lewis, R. Mortimer, D. Rothschild, and S. J. Stedman, *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 3rd ed., 1999), p. 15.

The U.S. example, in extremis, can be taken as a certain kind of ideal, the perfect example of “good practice” of democratization and institutional consolidation of the state in a post-colonial society. But, just as the conditions specific with the American society (cultural, religious, economical etc.) led to a particular understanding of politics and the relationship between state and individual, similarly the conditions specific with the post-colonial societies of the Third World led to the emergence of some particular forms of state structures. The great problem that such an approach to the Third World political processes and institutions faces is represented by the universalizing tendency with respect to the validity of the conceptual analysis framework, as well as to the direction which the analyzed societies can or should bestow upon their political institutions. In other words, it is an, implicit or explicit, form of conceptual and epistemic hegemony we are dealing here with, with respect to the analyses of the Third World and that, in my opinion, negatively contribute to the production of explanations for the political problems in this area.³³ At the same time, beyond the objections that can be made against the various researches regarding state building and democracy consolidation with the Third World states, the “in situ” reality defies theories: though a relatively recent idea, the quasi-state represents an ever more globally present reality. According to the World Bank, in 2006 no less than 26 states in the world were on the brink of collapse, representing about 10% of all the states in the world, broader estimations showing that the number of states than can be set in the LICUS (Low-Income Countries Under Stress) category or *fragile states* amounts to 39³⁴. An extremely relevant element, to which I will return in the following sections is represented by the fact that, out of the 26 alleged *core* states, respectively *severe* LICUS, 15 of them, i.e. more than half³⁵, are African. Moreover, it is not only the explicative models for the political development of the Third World states that prove to be fallacious, but the very institutional model of the nation state itself, which was important in this area after decolonization³⁶.

However, as mentioned in the first section of this paper, the astounding diversity characteristic to the Third World apparently does not allow for a generalization with respect to the state-society relationship, given the fact that state frailty does not represent an overall characteristic of all the states in this area: India, China and South Africa, for example, do not face the same degree of political instability as Somalia, Sudan, Haiti or Vanuatu. However, the characteristics of the *failed states* phenomenon- the absence of the civil society in its Western meaning; the existence of deep ethno-religious cleavages subjacent to the political life, or of parallel, informal (net like) models for the managing of the political issues, that are ethno-tribally or religiously founded³⁷ - suggest the possibility for the existence of a more profound level on

³³ Despite the warnings made by authors such as Franz Fanon or Léopold Sedar-Senghor ever since the Cold War. Even if the two aforementioned authors resorted to a „tiermondist” socialist discourse, considered as proper (by its critic perspective) to the realities of the post-colonial world, I find them to be relevant especially with respect to the identification of a specific dimension of the indigenous societies as against the colonizing ones, that is also being reflected in the (in)compatibility between the local institutional forms of regulation of the political field and the importations from the imperial metropolis. The most obtrusive is the indigenous organization model presented by Senghor in Senegal and that, among other distinctive features, also states non-territoriality, unlike the similar Western political constructions. For a better clarification see Rabaka, Reiland, *Africana Critical Theory. Reconstructing the Black Radical Tradition, from W.E.B. Du Bois and C.L.R. James to Franz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), especially Chap. 4 și 5; also see wa Muiu, Mueni; Martin, Guy, *A New Paradigm of the African State. Fundi wa Afrika* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), especially chap. 2.

³⁴ World Bank. *Engaging with Fragile States*, (Washington, DC, 2006), pp 83-84

³⁵ *Idem*.

³⁶ Rothmund, Dietmar *The Routledge Companion to Decolonization*, (London&New York: p. 243.Routledge, 2006),

³⁷ also see Boadi-Gymah, E., „Societatea civilă in Africa” (“The Civil Society in Africa”), in Larry Diamond, Yun-han Chu, Marc F. Plattner, Hung-mao Tien (Editori), *Cum se consolidează democrația (How to Consolidate Democracy)* (Iași: Polirom, 2004), pp. 291-303

which the reality of the Third World state could be researched, which I would call politico-historical. It originates with the observation of the fact that all the political characteristics comprised with the definition of the frail or failed states amount to one, which is considered to be fundamental: the lack, with the societies in cause, of an agreement with respect to the fundamental rules of solving and regulating the socio-political conflicts³⁸ that thereby transform the respective states in mere institutional structures void of content. Such a state of facts is conducive to civil war (and not to dialogue or civic-political participation), as main means of solving political problems in the frail states of the Third World³⁹. The existence or non-existence of such a formal case is not and cannot be the result of the short colonial history, but must represent a historical feature of the respective political communities, prior to the European presence, and thereby noticeable by an independent researcher. At the same time, this feature must not necessarily follow a pre-established, European model, thereby being of a possible religious or bureaucratic nature, specific with every particular society. The existence of this agreement is reflected, on the observable level, upon the formation of several state-like entities prior to the colonial period- such as the Mughal Empire in India or the Chinese Empire in the Far East, structures upon which the colonial domination imposed itself⁴⁰ and that, once the colonial presence driven away, constitute the layer the European state model, assumed after decolonization⁴¹, overlaps.

Conclusions

The examination of the economical dimension of the problems facing the Third World leads to the conclusion that the approach presented by the political economics offers only partial explanations, which are limited by the very original assumption, namely that economical realities could offer pertinent explanations for the political problems. The economical aspect can provide explanations of the huge problems faced by the Third World only up to a certain point, but the causes for the underdevelopment reside, at many times, on another level, the political one. With the third section of the paper I attempt at providing a complementary approach, from a political perspective, of the same issues, seeking to trace the limits of the explicative discourses as against the realities on site.

The specialized literature has correctly identified the political features that define the general problems facing the Third World, but fails at correctly identifying their causes, adopting the aforementioned position of the “political development gap”, by this implicit valorization of the European model pushing the Third World states to a form of neo-barbarism, outside the “civilized world”. On the other side, the explanations originating with the researchers in the Third World, though rather coherent with the Gramscian reaction to the Western hegemony, they are flawed, as

³⁸ An extended discussion over the relevance of this criterion with respect to any political society in general and to the European society in particular, presents us Giovanni Sartori in his work, *Pluralism, Multiculturalism and Foreigners: an Essay on Multiethnic Society (Ce facem cu străinii? Pluralism vs multiculturalism. Eseu despre societatea multiethnică*, Bucharest: Humanitas, 2007), especially pp. 13-48;

³⁹ I must underline here the fact that that I do not attempt here to reduce all causes for civil conflict to this single criterion, on the contrary I try to introduce it in the analyses of the complex and particular frame that defines any society of the type discussed so far. At the same time, I also must underline the fact that many of the civil conflicts of the Third World originate with the inheritance, by the ex-colony states of the borders from the imperial period, that did not follow the national or ethnical boundaries, but the administrative ones.

⁴¹ Rothmund, Dietmar, mentioned work p 243.

⁴¹ However, the mere existence of a prior political structure is not sufficient- it has to be constant in time, thereby insuring the continuation of the respective institutional model. Therefore, political structures such as the Khmer Empire in Cambodia, the existence of which between the 9th and the 13th centuries A.D. has not been passed on by other political state structures are to be excluded, as its influence on the contemporary Cambodian society is null.

they are subjective, or assume certain ideological positions deriving from the same Western source. Therefore, the quality of the analytic instrument must be carefully reexamined, a first step being the introduction of a new analysis criterion, originating with the historical experience of the non-European societies in the Third World.

First and foremost, I find that the importance of using a politico-historical criterion for state continuity in the analysis of the Third World, resides in the fact that it causes the researcher to direct attention to the understanding of the actual conditions not by appealing to a theoretical model with which these conditions should be consistent, but on the basis of the realities specific with the respective societies. Secondly, this criterion is relevant not only with the research of the frail or failed states, but also with the ones not having to cope with such problems, thereby offering a new perspective on the adaptation of non-European societies to the realities of the European institutional model.

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