

Nationalist Movements and Neo-Colonialism in Asia.

Kamal Karunanayake

"Neo-colonialism" the continuation of colonial relationships after formal de-colonisation is a word that entered the world vocabulary in the 1960's. Several analyses by Third World leaders and academics have defined various aspects of the problem. In this article Dr. Karunanayake, whose formal training is political science, analyses aspects of neo-colonialism in the Asian case. Dr. Karunanayake is Registrar of the University of Sri Lanka.

The past and present trends of political and economic developments in many of the Asian countries could probably be better understood from an examination of the Nationalist movements and the Neo-colonialist activities which have proliferated in this region in recent years. As an introduction to such a study it may be useful to begin by defining these terms. A Nationalist Movement can in my view be best described as an organised attempt to foster and promote the common and mutual interest by a group of persons bound by a community of feeling, and understanding based on cultural, geographical, linguistic, religious or political affinities. The threat of domination by a foreign power, and the alienation and discontent arising from the confrontation of a subjugated culture by a dominant foreign culture could generate such movements. Professor Seton-Watson has pointed out in his "Nationalism Old and New" that a nationalist movement could in the first instance emerge as a struggle for independence from foreign rule, then secondly as a movement for unification within an already independent state, and thirdly as an attempt to create a long lasting deep-rooted national consciousness amongst the people after independence.

While it is true that many of these factors have contributed to the growth of nationalist movements in Asian countries, it must also be pointed out that ideas and trends of nationalist development drawn from the West as well as East seem to have influenced them. However, the thoughts and ideals of indigenous leaders and thinkers such as Sunyat Sen, Mao-Tse-

tung, Ho-chi-min, Ram Mohan Roy, Gandhi, Tilak, Swami Vivekanandan, Gokhale, Subhas Chandra Bose, Nehru, Aung Sang, Sukarno, and in Sri Lanka F. R. Senanayake, James Pieris, Piyadasa Sirisena, Anagarika Dharmapala, Rev. S. Mahinda and S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike had a profound influence on the nationalist movements in their countries. Political changes generated by such ideological forces as Marxism in neighbouring Russia, and the emergence of Japan as a serious challenge to the might of the Western powers also appear to have had a significant and sometimes an even greater impact on some of these movements. Even religious ideas connected with Hinduism and Buddhism in their cultural sphere seem to have influenced them.

Neo-colonialism, on the other hand, may be defined as an indirect but even more effective form of domination and control exercised over the political and economic system of a weaker country, by powerful countries or outside economic interests. This point of view is lucidly explained by Nkrumah in his study "Neo-colonialism, the last stage of Imperialism" where he states that "the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subjected to it is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of independent sovereignty. In reality its economic system and its political policy is directed from outside".

In another study, "The Political Economy of Capitalism", edited by Diana Miller, it has been pointed out that "neo-colonialism is a specific union of finance capital and bourgeois

state power into a single machine complex of political hegemony directed towards keeping the Asian, African and Latin American people on the capitalist road of development and of exploiting them economically."

It is important to note that exploitation under neo-colonialism often appears in veiled and disguised forms. Sometimes it can take the form of a continuation of the process that existed during the earlier colonial days. Furthermore, poor countries frequently referred to as the Third World countries may be exploited by economically and politically powerful nations that are not outwardly committed to Imperialism. Usually neo-colonialism flourishes best in economically backward countries where there are ruling elites that have no deep roots in the culture or the people. Neo-colonialism can take numerous forms of operation as shown below.

1. In an extreme case on the pretext of being invited to fulfil a historic mission of preserving peace and democracy or a particular ideology a powerful country can station troops in another country and thereby control the government and the system of political and economic power prevailing there.
2. Control may be exercised over the economy and the development pattern of a country which is subjected to neo-colonialism through monetary and economic measures. This might take the form of foreign private investments through multi-national corporations or state investments. Monetary controls over the banking system and controls exercised through credit policies of international lending agencies such as the International Monetary Fund may serve to further neo-colonialist forms of exploitation by the richer nations.
3. Consortia financing both by the states and firms which bring together a co-ordinated approach towards the control of development and trade relations of the recipient countries.
4. Attempts to split and divide nations and countries and also create international turmoil which act as an impediment to progress, particularly in the areas of economic and social well-being.
5. Overthrow of governments that are not favourable to the neo-colonialists through sinister methods such as conspiracies and coups d'etat.
6. Continuing wars fought on other people's soil in order to pursue and safeguard their economic, commercial and global power as well as sustain their arms industries.
7. Indirectly run governments by financing a large portion of budgeted expenditure, and in this way indirectly run the government of a country.
8. Provide economic aid which indirectly helps some of the neo-colonialist nations to either dump their surplus production or obsolete machinery and technology on poor nations. Loans granted to poor countries as means of expanding exports of the donor country or earning high interest rates.

9. *Military aid which tends to tie up the defence systems of the recipient countries to the armaments manufactured in the donor country.*
10. *Military alliances such as NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the South East Asian Treaty Organisation which limit the freedom of action of member states.*
11. *Regional Trade and Economic alliances designed to strengthen the economies of powerful countries at the expense of former colonies or less developed countries. The European Economic Community and the COMECON are good examples.*
12. *Discriminatory trade policies and the import taxation policies of the developed nations.*
13. *Export and consultancy services which eventually result in benefits accruing to the neo-colonialists. Related to this is the introduction of improved varieties of seeds and plants considered to be high yielding, but in actual fact lead to heavy inputs of fertiliser, pesticides, weedicides for which they will have to depend on developed countries.*
14. *The introduction of diseases and pests to agricultural crops and dairies aimed at disrupting the normal production and thereby create an increased demand for their products and petro-chemical industries.*
15. *The use of lethal gases and foliage destroying chemicals as a means of winning even small scale wars.*
16. *Conspiracies to disrupt peace and friendship between countries of the same region.*
17. *Espionage with the assistance of both internal and external forces.*
18. *Aerial photography and reconnaissance missions.*
19. *Naval bases and ocean power built for the purpose of controlling the regional power balance and internal politics of individual countries.*
20. *Introduction of anti-national practices through such media as books, journals, films, modern fashions, music and drug peddling which eventually lead to a slow and steady erosion of the indigenous culture and values.*
21. *The veiled activities of philanthropic and voluntary organisations sponsored by rich and powerful companies, e.g. Peace Corps, and Foundation Financing.*
22. *Evangelist activities and moral re-armament movements.*
23. *Mental slavery to which most developing countries are subjected, through the domination over thought patterns amongst the educated groups.*

It may be useful at this stage to proceed to a more detailed evaluation of the Nationalist movements of Asia. Many of these movements had their origin in the early years of the twentieth century and passed through at least two phases of development in the course of their growth to maturity. During the first phase which coincided with the pre-second world war period many Asian nationalist movements operated against a background of intense imperialist activity.

During the second phase of their evolution they had to function within

a new political and economic climate created by the collapse of imperialist authority which, however, was not gradually replaced by the growth of neo-colonialism. In some countries these movements were directed along a relatively peaceful and non-violent course of resistance to colonial rule as evidenced by the Indian nationalist movement. An even more significant example of the non-militant and relatively peaceful type of nationalist movement may be found in the Ceylonese nationalist movement. Its main aim was to work out the transfer of power from the colonial rulers to a capitalist and middle-class elite, through a gradual process of constitutional reforms. There were also militant nationalist movements, particularly in countries such as Burma, Indonesia, China and Indo-China. This militancy would have been a result of the fighting spirit engendered by intense patriotic feelings, which were later supplemented and reinforced by Marxist ideological influences.

A description of nationalist movements in a few selected countries of South East Asia will give an idea of the manner in which they operated and influenced the course of history in their respective countries.

India

India was roused to a spirit of nationalist awakening and fervour from the early days of foreign rule. However, this nationalist movement was led by an elite exposed mainly to Western education and liberal ideas. Yet, this elite did not divorce itself from the indigenous cultural and historical traditions or keep out the traditional rural leadership or the active support of the masses. Among some of the noteworthy factors and incidents that helped the growth of the Indian nationalist movement, were the Moslem anger over the attempts of the Western powers to divide Turkey, the Jallian Vallah Bagh massacre, and the non-co-operation movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. The last of these is of particular importance and was carried out in three stages.

During the second stage between 1929 and 1934, mass protests were organised. Large numbers of people participated in these non-violent activities through which they registered their moral protest before the bar of world opinion against the unjust laws and regulations enacted by the foreign rulers. The third phase which began in 1934 saw the commencement of the "Quit India" movement. Though this type of resistance did not lead to a major direct confrontation, such movements accelerated the process of liquidation of British authority in India with the winning of Independence in 1947.

It would be clear from this description that in spite of the non-militant character of the Indian Nationalist movement, it nevertheless succeeded in involving a large cross-section of the people in the struggle against foreign rule. A widespread national consciousness created in this manner might have been effectively utilised for the urgent purpose of buttressing the newly won political freedom with an equally strongly based economic independence. But the swift growth of neo-colonialist tendencies as a continuation of former economic exploitation by the colonising powers stood in the way of achieving such an objective. It need not be reiterated here that during the phase of open exploitation by the Western imperial powers India became a developing country dependent on richer Western countries. Consequently neo-colonialist activities started from where the former imperialists had left off. This aspect will be examined in further detail in the section dealing with the neo-colonialist phase of activities in Asia.

China

In China the nationalist movement had its origin in the struggle against the increasing threat of Japanese domination in Asia. The Kuomintang created by Sun-yat-sen brought into being the first nationalist movement of some significance in China. Though he had been subjected to Western influence, like most other nationalist leaders of Asia, he was also greatly influenced by the Chinese historical tradition based on patriotism and strong nationalist feelings. During the early stages Sun-yat-sen in fact was moved by the patriotic zeal and devotion of the Japanese and their industriousness and inventiveness. When later he turned towards Russian thought this was chiefly prompted by the realisation that after the revolution in 1917 in Russia, Lenin had declared that Russia will be an ally in the struggle for freedom from foreign domination in all countries. In fact he issued, in 1923, a joint manifesto with the Russians and sent Chiang-kai-shek to study Red Army training. Yet, the internecine warfare amongst the Chinese sharpened the struggle against foreign imperialism both from the West and East. Hence, the task of uniting China became the most important issue facing the Chinese leaders. During this period the Chinese Communist Party based on Marxist thinking, but influenced by the issues and environment of the time, also came into being. Like most other indigenous groups it was also concerned with national liberation and unity.

In 1924, the first national congress of the Kuomintang Party decided to take the Communists into the party. In consequence the greater part of China became united. Nationalist fervour was further intensified by the Japanese threat of keeping Asian nations under its imperial hegemony. At this time the Versailles Conference decision to hand over the German rights in Shantung to Japanese, prompted nation-wide protests and strengthened the nationalist movement. Consequently, at the Washington Conference on naval limitation, China succeeded in getting a decision in its favour giving China the possession of the Port on payment of compensation. It should however be noted that this decision was prompted mainly by the desire of the Western powers to con-

tain Japanese commercial interests and expansion. The boycott of Japanese goods and the active confrontation at the conferences as in the case of the Washington meeting, brought to the fore the fiercely anti-imperialist feelings within the Chinese nationalist movement. In spite of this strong sense of nationalism, divisive forces were setting in within China as seen from the differences that arose between the Communist Party and the leaders of the Kuomintang. With the disappearance of the far-sighted leadership of Sun-yat-sen the attitude of Chiang-kai-shek towards the other liberation groups changed in a manner detrimental to the unity of the forces opposed to the foreign powers. As a result the civil war conditions prevalent in China gave the Japanese the opportunity to occupy more and more regions. But in 1937 in view of the serious threat of Japanese occupation, an agreement to form a national front was arrived at by the Communist Party and the Kuomintang which strengthened the nationalist movement again in a significant way. The involvement of the Chinese Communist Party in this front against Japanese imperialist domination gave it a unique opportunity to strengthen its hold over certain areas and even dislodge its political opponents in China and take over the task of national liberation. At the end of the second world war the conflict that was prevalent within the Communist Party and the Kuomintang sections was brought to a head. Unlike in India, the pre-second world war era of the nationalist struggle in China was marked by intense militant activity. It was also different from that of India because of the formation of a broad front against imperialists within which the Marxist Movement led by nationalist leaders like Mao-Tse-Tung and Chou-en-lai gained a firm foothold and edged out from positions of power the Kuomintang leaders who had now grown more sympathetic towards the West. The first phase of the nationalist struggle prior to the second world war almost immediately led to the second stage of national liberation which turned out to be an open struggle between the Communist Party supported by the other liberation forces on the one side and the Kuomintang Party led by Chiang kai shek who had by now been publicly exposed as a local agent of the neo-colonialists. The worst practices of neo-colonialism that were mentioned earlier were adopted in China during this period. But despite the virtually unlimited military and financial aid, much of which was mispent by the recipients, the Communist Party achieved successes which eventually freed the whole of mainland China by 1953. The methods adopted after the second world war in China by the Western powers were a significant pointer to the new techniques and activities whose adoption had been planned by the neo-colonialists to be tried out in various parts of Asia during the next two decades.

Indonesia

Two stages of development can be identified in the Indonesian nationalist movement. During the first stage, it functioned primarily as a movement against Dutch rule and for sometime went underground during Japanese occupation. In 1945 when the Japanese changed their tactics and created a Commission to win over local leaders, the Nationalist leaders like Sukarno declared

that the final goal of the people was to liberate their country. Although Indonesia simultaneously with the defeat of the Japanese, declared her independence the Dutch refused to recognise it, and committed various acts of aggression on the newly formed state. Nevertheless the persistence and tenacity of Indonesian people forced the Dutch to agree to negotiations and recognise the Republic in 1946. In spite of this recognition under the Linggadjati Agreement they did not withdraw immediately. Instead they created puppet states and even after the Renville Agreement continued to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic.

Consequently, in the second stage, the nationalist movement had to directly resist the Dutch. The attempts by the Dutch in the 50s to indirectly control Indonesia through rightist forces, was thwarted by the struggle of the patriotic elements. In 1953 a government headed by left-oriented leader Ali Sasramidjojo was established. Yet, as in most newly independent states, the influence of the former colonialists could not be completely eradicated, and the right-wing elements benefited from this situation. From 1954 to 1956 they made numerous attempts to disrupt the establishment of national authority. Their final bid for power in September, 1965 through a coup d'etat and a counter insurrection of the army led to the emergence of army rule and the removal of President Sukarno. These events clearly show that in spite of nationalist movements and widespread support for national resurgence, the sinister moves by neo-colonialists and local counterparts can thwart and delay (if they cannot actually defeat or subvert) the aspirations of the people to achieve political and economic independence.

Burma

In Burma the nationalist movement was strengthened by the Burmese struggle of resistance to Japanese invaders. In 1944 the formation of the anti-Facist Freedom League heralded the growth of a broad national front with Aung Sang as their leader. This movement with a defence army, was not trusted by the British and had to be disbanded after the war. Yet, the para-military People's Volunteer organisation was set up under Aung Sang. In 1944 it condemned colonialism and demanded a provisional national government, and election of a constituent assembly. Negotiations were started in 1947 on these demands and much progress was made in the direction of transferring power to the Burmese. But unfortunately while AFPFL representatives were away in the United Kingdom, Aung Sang and seven others of the League were shot dead by the reactionary forces. This incident is another example of the initial attempts of the reactionary forces backed by the former colonialists to disrupt the march towards the establishment of nationalist authority. However, in Burma it only served to kindle fires of anti-imperialism leading to the ultimate unilateral declaration of independence in 1948.

Indo-China with particular reference to Vietnam

The nationalist movements and the liberation struggles of the people of Indo-China helped them in a significant way to gain freedom after a long drawn-out confrontation with some of the mightiest imperial and

military powers in the world. At first nationalist ideas emerged due to popular discontent that prevailed during the early days of French Colonial rule. As time went on the ruthlessness of the French strengthened these ideas and prompted the people to join the militant nationalist sections that were gathering forces to fight the imperial authority with greater determination. In the Thirties the Vietnamese made the first attempt to revolt against the French under the Vietnam Quai Dang Movement, but thousands were taken political prisoners while leaders like Ho-chi-min were sent on exile. This period also saw the threat of Japanese imperialism appearing in Asia. By the year 1910 she occupied Korea and Manchuria, and in 1937 invaded Northern China. When France fell to the Nazis, the Japanese took advantage and occupied Indo-China. After replacing the French, they tried to use the Indo-Chinese nationalists against western powers. However, the Vietming forces did not fall prey to this attempt. Instead by 1945 on their own they established their authority in many parts of Vietnam. When the Yalta Agreement was signed in 1945 Ho-chi-ming issued even a declaration of independence and set up a government in Hanoi. This achievement was however short-lived because immediately after the Japanese capitulation, British troops from Southern Asia and Chiang-kai-sheks troops from China in collaboration with the French and the Japanese moved into Indo-China and wrested power from the Vietming. With it ended the first phase of the nationalist struggle, but in the wake of this set back and the attempt of the French to re-establish their authority under Baodai, the second phase of the struggle commenced almost immediately. Baodai lasted only for a short while and the liberation movement got a fine opportunity to forge ahead. However, Americans after their debacle in China were casting hawkish eyes on Vietnam, and it did not take long for them to be directly involved in the conflict.

In fact according to Bertrand Russell's "War Crimes in Vietnam", "John Foster Dulles the then Secretary of State had offered Bidualt nuclear weapons to safeguard their authority in Vietnam". The American intervention proceeded a step further when Ngo-din-diem was brought in to replace Baodai. These moves further motivated the anti-imperialist groups of all shades and opinions in Vietnam to resist foreign intervention with greater vigour. Although the establishment of North Vietnam was almost an accomplished fact, the authority of the puppet regimes of the South Vietnam led to the continuation of the struggle for liberation amongst Vietnamese Nationalist sections under the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. This phase of activities in Vietnam showed an increasing propensity of the people belonging to a resolute nation to free themselves from the continued domination of their economic, social and political system by foreign powers. The struggle of the people of Vietnam will be recorded in history as one of the longest and most militant nationalist movements which eventually brought about the downfall of a government that heavily depended on the military and economic backing of one of the major world powers, the United States of America.

A few conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing description of nationalist movements in various countries of Asia. First, they created a fairly widespread national consciousness amongst the people. Secondly, in some of these countries a large cross-section of the people at the grass-root level were brought into the mainstream of political activity. Thirdly, the seeds of socialist ideas were sown in the process of anti-imperialist struggles in many of these countries. Fourthly, some of the nationalist movements indirectly helped the forces that were opposed to feudalism and the growth of capitalism in Asia. Finally, the nationalist fervour and enthusiasm of the people in these countries could have been well mobilised for the tasks of post-independence reconstruction of their economies and social systems ravaged by colonial rule. This was achieved in most of the countries where the political power was not monopolised by a small elite which was out of touch with the immediate and long-term problems facing the common people. In countries where this opportunity was missed, it only led to the perpetuation of the system of exploitation through neo-colonialist methods with the tacit support and connivance of the new ruling elite. This new form of colonialism as explained earlier can take different forms and have a disastrous effect particularly on developing countries that are struggling hard to establish stable economic and social systems.

Neo-colonialism in operation

In the circumstances, it seems appropriate to examine the manner in which neo-colonialism operated in Asia. Almost immediately after the formal decolonisation of Asia or for that matter even before the process was completed, neo-colonialist forces started to appear in many countries of the region. In fact most aspects of neo-colonialism outlined at the beginning may be found in these countries.

(1) The open and indirect intervention by big powers in the internal affairs of many of the South East Asian countries was one of the ways in which they tried to further their economic and military interests. The intervention of the French in Indo-China, the British in Malaya and

Hongkong; the Dutch in Indonesia and the Americans in Korea, Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia may be cited as significant examples. In some of these countries the foreign powers went to the extent of even stationing troops and controlling the political and economic systems. Though they sought to justify such action on grounds of preserving peace and democracy in the region in actual fact it tended to create a new colonial order.

(2) One of the most extreme forms of neo-colonialist activity may be seen in the indirect but most effective control exercised on the economies of these countries through monetary and economic means. The private and state investment activities by powerful industrial nations through the multi-national companies is a noteworthy example. They dominate various areas of production in countries such as India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea and Thailand. The Caltex interests in the oil industry in Indonesia, the Imperial Chemical Industries domination over the field of chemical industry in India and Sri Lanka, the IBM's hold over the computer industry in India, Malaysia, and Singapore, the activities of Unilevers, Liptons, Brooke bonds, Cadburys, Trebor, ABC Manufacturing Company, Fiats, Pepsi Co. General Electric, Singer Sewing Machine Company, BMC, Benz and US Electronic firms, German Toy Manufacturing Companies, Toyotas, Mitsubishis which have links in one or more of the Asian countries are only few well known examples. Such companies dominated not only investment of capital in some of the vital areas of the economies but also drained off the resources by way of repatriation of dividends and capital. There were of course wider dangers as shown by the candid statement of George Ball, a former US Under Secretary of State. As he pointed out, "How can a national government make an economic plan with any confidence if a board of directors meeting 5000 miles away can by altering its pattern of purchasing and production affect in a major way the country's economic life". This new phenomenon of economic domination of the less developed countries by the more developed can disrupt the attempts of individual govern-

ments to give direction to their economic destinies. No wonder that multi-national companies are suspected of being the strongest tentacles of the new economic imperialism that spreads over the less developed world. In fact the economic sovereignty of a country can itself be eroded by the activities of these companies, well brought out by Raymond Aron in his work entitled "The Imperial Republic: the United States and the World, 1945-1973" in which he stated that the multi-national companies are not easily governed by national governments—their spreading influence combined with the Euro-dollar and an unconcerned America, could mean the erosion of economic sovereignties. The expansion of the multi-national companies is no doubt the most noteworthy phenomenon after the economic expansion of imperialist powers in the past. They have, according to a study conducted by the Diebold Institute of New York, "generated business outside their home countries of some 350 thousand million dollars worth of goods and services a year, and have been expanding at about 10 per cent a year, while Gross World Product has been expanding at five per cent a year". The speed and extent of the growth of this new worldwide economic phenomena can thus be gauged.

The intrinsic controls of the new imperial order is further strengthened by the lending policies of the international agencies on monetary and development activities such as the IMF, IBRD, IDA and the ADB. The priorities of lending by these agencies are set in terms of the thinking and requirements of rich Western and Eastern countries that have a controlling hand over them. The extremely stringent conditions for obtaining credit and the high interest rates charged from many of the Asian countries that are struggling to gain economic independence, are another method of exploiting the less developed countries by the richer countries. In this respect the simple rule of the big money lender extracting everything that the peasant possesses and binding him to a vicious circle of indebtedness, operates in another form with these organisations and rich countries playing the role of the international usurious money lender. The monetary controls over the

banking systems of many of these countries also tend to have a crippling effect on their economies. Indirectly these controls over vital areas of the economy help to keep the development fate of less developed countries under the control of rich powerful nations. Yet another way of controlling economies of the countries that receive loans and standby credit such as the SDR, is to lay down conditions which can be favourable to private entrepreneurs but adversely affect a large cross-section of the people. In fact this kind of situation could lead to the control of internal budgetary policies by outside agencies dominated by the richer countries who play a major role in the new economic imperialism that pervades the developing world.

(3) The method of consortia financing as in the case of Aid Groups comprising rich Western and Eastern countries such as the Aid Consortia of West Germany, America, Britain and Japan in the case of India and Sri Lanka can be considered a joint method of exploiting the valuable markets in developing countries of Asia and breaching their trade and tariff policies. This kind of consortia financing tied particularly to commodity aid can indirectly lead to the type of controls exercised by the former imperialists in a different form. While the former Imperial powers used the colonies as dumping grounds for their finished goods, now the richer donor countries of Aid use the less developed countries as markets for their excess or obsolete products.

(4) Like in the days of imperialist rule when the subtle policy of divide and rule was adopted to continue imperialist control over subjugated nations, the rich countries still continue to maintain their control over various regions by weakening the national authority and indirectly promote the division of countries, nations and social groups. Such divisions could be seen in the case of Vietnam which was split into North and South Vietnam and the creation of ill-will among different racial and ethnic groups in subtle ways by sponsoring the cause of smaller groups in countries such as India and Sri Lanka. Thus neo-colonialism has created impediments to progress in the fields of economic and social welfare.

(5) The overthrow of rulers and governments through conspiracies and coups d'etat is one of the most sinister methods adopted by neo-colonialist nations to have in power their own puppets or regimes that are favourable to them. The changes of governments particularly in countries such as South Vietnam from the time of Bao-dai to that of the final liberation recently, and the conspiracies hatched against governments considered unfavourable to them such as in Sri Lanka is a method extensively used in the Latin American and African countries by the neo-colonialists.

(6) The attempts on the part of the great powers and richer nations to involve themselves indirectly in wars in other people's lands has been clearly seen in the case of the Korean war and the war in Vietnam. It is seen that their involvement in such conflicts has helped them to sustain their arms industry and also caused irreparable damage to the systems of production in such countries in Asia which depended to a very great extent on agricultural production. Although through these methods they gained certain temporary benefits, one could see that this strategy generated forces of its own destruction as illustrated by the adverse impact of American military intervention in Vietnam and the areas of South East Asia on the internal economic and financial stability of America. There is no doubt that the colossal military expenditure of the United States in South East Asia contributed in no small measure to the inflationary trend that set in much prior to the world oil crisis.

(7) Another related aspect of neo-colonialism is the indirect control of governments and through them their economies and social systems, by meeting a large portion of the costs of running such governments. This is seen in the heavy direct and indirect financing of government expenditures by way of loans and private capital investments, particularly in the South East Asian region. Of course this is not exactly the case when you speak of the rest of Asia and the Third World countries. It may be mentioned here that such financing particularly loan financing from whichever quarter could have un-

favourable effects on the political as well as social systems in some degree or another.

(8) A fairly related form of neo-colonialist activity is the latest method of indirect exploitation which takes place through the process commonly and venerably known as economic assistance or aid. Aid can take different forms, such as direct financing of projects, outright grants, commodity aid, project aid, loans and training of persons. Although in a study of this nature a lengthy evaluation of economic aid cannot be made, it should be mentioned here that this became one of the most effective and easier methods of controlling the economies and political systems of the recipient countries. Economic aid given by rich and powerful countries by way of even outright grants could have the indirect effect of wielding some kind of influence on either a policy or a government's attitude towards its international relations or foreign investments of the donor countries. It could also affect a country's image when it is considered as a country that lives on the funds and assistance received from richer countries. Commodity aid and soft loans which are repayable, cannot in fact be called assistance because at one stage or another the recipient country will have to pay back the loan and servicing costs in hard currency earned at a future date. Furthermore, commodity aid examined in the real context may be regarded as another method of dumping surplus production of the donor country as in the case of surplus flour being doled out to the "hungry" nations. The obsolete machinery and factories that are being indirectly dumped in these countries also tend to create a continued demand for such products and their spare part industries. In fact the donor country can gain immense continuing benefits in that they are sure of future markets for their manufacturing industries. The comment that AID's (Agency for International Development) emphasis on US goods and services helps to create several hundred thousand American jobs and open up markets for American business and industry all over the world" clearly proves the point.

Sometimes the tastes and habits created by the consumption and use

of such commodities and machines lead to a continuous demand for such products even after the termination of aid. Extreme dependence on foreign aid can also put developing countries into a vicious circle of dependence on richer nations from which they cannot breakaway. As much as there was a need at the time of imperialist power for sacrifice and foregoing certain benefits in order to free ourselves of foreign domination, the countries of Asia have to go through even difficult and harder times to breakaway from this vicious circle. Otherwise economic emancipation will only become a slogan and political independence a mockery. The cloak of generosity on the part of the donor countries in granting aid can easily be removed to show that it is only a veiled form of domination and exploitation, when we examine the example of assistance granted by rich countries as well as world agencies to provide expert advice on various programmes of development. The experts sent from such countries might probably not agree with the changes that are taking place in the economy or social system and thus provide advice quite contrary to the needs of the country. It has been alleged that such advice often helps perpetuate either an old colonial economic pattern or a capitalist form of economy. In some instances, foreign experts may indirectly sponsor the commercial interests of the richer nations, by recommending particular types of equipment, techniques and goods manufactured in those countries. Training of local personnel involved in administration and departmental activities can further buttress these ill-effects. In most cases individual thinking, attitudes and aspirations get adjusted to the economic framework and standards prevalent in donor countries. Consequently, some of them become misfits to the local situation which demand commitment to the vast economic and social changes that are taking place in the countryside and town, hard work, sacrifice and resilience to hardship caused in the process of re-adjustment to new conditions.

Even in the case of United Nations Aid programmes, sometimes over 50 percent of the aid granted to less developed countries goes back mainly to the developed world by way of

consultancy fees. Similarly when technical assistance and training programmes are sponsored by developed countries, the cost of training is retained in the country that grants such assistance, although it is reflected as an addition to the total financial cost of assistance.

Economic assistance to poor countries tend to make them more complacent and lethargic about their development requirements. In consequence they wish to remain within the vicious circle of foreign aid rather than breaking away from it. With every step of obtaining more and more aid, there sets in a disincentive to savings, hard work, initiative and sacrifice which are essential for the purpose of building a self-reliant and independent economic system. This would in fact be one of the biggest drawbacks in the process of economic and social development of countries such as India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand and Burma which are badly caught in the web of foreign aid given by super powers and other developed countries. In a detailed analysis of foreign aid it may be useful to examine even the role of Big Power politics which tend to curtail the economic freedom of less developed countries. The foregoing discussion is only a minimal attempt to show how foreign aid has been used as an effective means of neo-colonialist activity in Asia.

(9) Another important aspect of neo-colonialism may be seen in defence and military activity. The super powers and rich countries with commercial and political stakes in the region have established military links with many Asian countries. In certain cases they have extended this further and sponsored military alliances such as the now dormant South East Asian Treaty Organisation. Military aid which is usually tied to their military practices and the armaments industry, is used as a means to continue the indirect control of the external activities of these countries. In the case of some of the armaments, the aid receiving country almost becomes a testing ground. Through the supply of arms to various countries in the region the big powers indirectly help promote rivalries between them. A few examples such as the rivalries between Pakistan and India, South and

North Vietnam, South and North Korea and Malaysia and Singapore may be cited here. In other words, arms supplied by these countries may be considered as a means of slowing down the rate of development of these countries and thus keep them under the hegemony of big powers. Related to this is the naval presence of super powers in the Asian Region, which tend to form a cloud of insecurity over the hinterland and littoral states of Asia. To avoid the possible repercussions of a super power naval confrontation in this region, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has put forward the proposals to make the Indian Ocean a Peace Zone.

(10) The discriminatory trade practices adopted by rich countries, have also had a crippling effect on the economies of the Third World countries of Asia. During the last few decades many of them experienced severe balance of payments difficulties mainly due to adverse terms of trade resulting from low prices for their exports as compared to high prices for imports from industrially developed countries. As suppliers of primary products they were not in a powerful position to have any effective influence on the market. The adverse effects of this on their terms of trade was further aggravated by their inability to influence the price levels of manufactured goods and other imports. The share of world trade of developing countries had in fact slumped from 31 per cent in 1950 to 21 per cent in 1960 and 18 per cent in 1968. In relative terms this indicates a significant expansion of exports from developed countries. It is only from around the 1960's that many developing countries of Asia adopted import taxation as a means of curbing the uncontrolled flow of manufactured goods from developed countries. Of course in many of the developed countries this policy had been adopted well in time to safeguard their economies from the financial and economic imbalances that were setting in. Furthermore, the developed countries through Trade Alliances and Economic Unions have adopted trade and tariff policies designed not only to strengthen their economies, but also to perpetuate the commercial exploitation of the less developed countries.

(11) As mentioned under section (14) of the earlier definition, even the introduction of some of the improved varieties of seeds and plants may indirectly help the manufacturing industries of developed countries. The famous Green Revolution in Asia started with the introduction of the Miracle Rice IR 24 on the basis of the research conducted at the IRRI Manila. This Rice requires heavy inputs of modern fertilizers, pesticides and weedicides which are manufactured in developed countries. A proper cost-benefit analysis will show that even the total benefit as compared to the heavy foreign exchange costs to the national economy in importing these vital inputs, is marginal. The spiralling price increases of fertilizers, pesticides and weedicides, further cut down these marginal benefits. Besides, the new agricultural practices tend to favour the big farmers who could meet the increased cost of investments, as against the small farmer. The increasing types of diseases and pests which had become a serious problem to farmers and dairy owners in some instances are thought to have been surreptitiously brought in from outside either to cripple production in a field where they are trying to reduce imports by increasing local production, or create an increased demand for pesticides and weedicides manufactured in the developed countries. This shows the sinister motives in the latest forms of exploitation by some of the developed countries.

(12) Neo-colonialists while posing as great humanitarians have in many instances proved to be much more ruthless than the former imperialists. The use of chemicals for example to destroy foliage as a means of depriving the liberation forces of their hideouts, has brought about a great devastation of flora and fauna in Vietnam. The worst ill-effects of this on a predominantly agricultural country such as Vietnam is yet to be seen. Added to this is the use of napalm and scatter-bombs. All this proves that the neo-colonialists have the least regard for human beings or natural environment, when it comes to a question of achieving their main objective of controlling various parts of the world.

(13) Espionage activities of the powerful nations, which sometimes

go hand in hand with conspiracies, can be considered as one of the most dangerous sources of neo-colonialism. The agencies that are now commonly known to be involved in the activities are the CIA and the KGB, the Intelligence agencies of the USA and the USSR. The countries of Asia that have been worst affected by such activities were those that tried to go off the beaten path of exploitation by the richer countries. As revealed by the US Congressional inquiries into the activities of the CIA it is now well known that it had been involved not only in espionage activities, but also in plots to massacre or assassinate political leaders. Looking back at the array of political leaders of Asian countries, who were either assassinated or against whom conspiracies were hatched, one cannot rule out the possibility of neo-colonialist involvement.

(14) The vast advance of technological capabilities of developed countries had helped them to use sophisticated methods such as aerial photography, earth satellites and reconnaissance missions to map out areas and places of major economic and military significance. The adverse effects of these activities may be felt in the future, especially in the event of the major powers making a bid for world supremacy (an intrinsic objective of neo-colonialism). The shift of emphasis from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean as seen from the naval build up of super powers can also help bring about such a situation. Already a US naval base has been built in Diego Garcia; while, on the other hand the Soviet naval fleets are provided with re-fuelling and service facilities in the port of Vishakapatnam in India. All these developments tend to affect the peace and stability of the region which is so essential for the purpose of fighting neo-colonialism.

(15) The inter-woven nature of its operations brings within the web of neo-colonialism almost every aspect of life in the countries where it operates. It does not spare even the culture of a country and tends to eat into the main roots of the tree of culture and destroy it through insidious methods. Anti-national practices which are contrary to the cultural heritage of the countries of Asia are introduced through media such as books, films,

journals, modern fashions, music and drug peddling which eventually destroy the national identity of individuals and the people who form the base of a country's culture. Consequently a spate of new values and attitudes get established amongst an important cross-section of the population. This makes it easier to tie the social changes in these countries indirectly to a pattern that economically benefits the rich and developed countries in a more effective manner than by compulsory proselytisation adopted during the days of Western imperial power.

(16) The other neo-colonialist activities take a more indirect form. For example, philanthropic and voluntary organisations such as the Asia Foundation, the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, Ebert-Stiftung Foundation, the Peace Corps and Voluntary Service overseas, while showing outwardly a keenness to help less developed countries, have in many instances promoted the economic and political interests of rich countries at the expense of less developed countries. In fact some of these agencies have been asked to move out of certain developing countries due to the suspicion that they were getting involved in internal political affairs and even espionage. A significant example is the winding up of the Asia Foundation immediately after the formation of the United Front Government in 1970 in Sri Lanka. Sometimes the Evangelists and the Moral Re-armament Movements have been suspected of providing cover for the activities of neo-colonialists particularly in countries such as India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia.

(17) Finally, the most subtle and indirect controls exercised by the neo-colonialists over the educational and training systems, research activities and the knowledge dissemination media in most developing countries can have many ill-effects on their process of economic and social advancement. Through such controls they have succeeded in bringing a large section of the intelligentsia under a kind of mental slavery. Many of them exposed to a system of education based on models, practices and courses of study (even names of examinations) available in advanced

Western countries, fail to appreciate the problems, requirements and priorities of their changing economic and social systems. (Countries such as Sri Lanka and India have attempted only recently to change their educational structures). In fact changes in curricula and methods of teaching until very recently had been effected only when changes were brought about in the Western world. No wonder that this made us so subservient to Western countries. Even concepts, terms and for that matter, names of courses were borrowed from them. These conditions generated direct exploitation by neo-colonialist nations, by giving the supply of basic requirements for education such as publications, equipment and chemicals to particular manufacturers in the advanced countries. On the other hand, it spells a greater danger in that the responsibility of guiding the destinies of these countries will fall mainly on a group of educated people who unfortunately will possess different attitudes and values from the rest of the population. In this context their aspirations could be alien to the requirements of their own societies and thus become the most effective barriers to social and economic change. They can become the class or group that will lament over the loss of standards in education (which is attributed by them sometimes to the introduction of the national language (swabasha) as the medium of instruction or a change in the curriculum to suit the requirements of a new social order, the loss of opportunities for a comfortable living even at the expense of a large section that lives below the poverty line, the lack of Western oriented cultural activities, the lack of important luxury goods, and the so-called disruption of order and discipline in society due to the rural masses and their genuine representatives asserting their place within the power structure. They are the generation that will usually complain about land reforms, public ownership of vital areas of the economy and the redistribution of wealth and income.

They become the persons who try to find fault with everything that is a product of the new economic or social order which attempts to free itself from the legacies of imperialism and the clutches of neo-colonialism. Hence there is no wonder that the

mental slavery they undergo from their childhood makes them indirectly the local spokesmen for the socio-economic and political values of the Western countries.

Mental slavery whether it comes from capitalist or socialist countries bring the less developed nations under their political and economic hegemony. This is further buttressed by the training of local personnel in advanced countries of both the capitalist and communist blocs. In fact some of them become indirect propaganda agents for the political, economic and commercial interests of donor countries.

The foregoing evaluation of the different ways in which neo-colonialism operates in Asia is relevant in many respects to most other regions of the world, where there are poor and less developed countries. One important factor that emerges from this study is that unlike the previous stage of colonialism which depended greatly on direct political and military control, this neo-colonialism is concentrated more in the economic field and is in a way backed by a veiled threat of the use of force and economic retaliation which might even involve the entire world in nuclear warfare one day. While the early colonialism was gradually liquidated as a result of historical circumstances such as World War II, the neo-colonialist phase which may be called the second stage of imperialism tends to germinate seeds of its own destruction. The scramble for world supremacy which is a basic aim of neo-colonialism, seems to be affected by the presence and emergence of new nuclear powers with the potential not only of becoming strong regional powers as in the case of the People's Republic of China and possibly India. The existence of rival groups of powerful nations having different economic systems could be another limiting factor on its growth. The debilitating cyclical influences on the capitalist economic systems have pushed many advanced countries to the path of depression beginning from the 1960s and thus weakened their economic capabilities. The emergence of oil as an economic weapon against powerful capitalist countries and the resulting shift of international financial power to the OPEC area has further aggravated

the situation. The numerical strength of the Third World countries and the growth of the Non-Aligned movement with its strong awareness of the dangers of neo-colonialism will in the next two decades make it increasingly difficult for further neo-colonialist expansion. The dominating position of this group of nations in the world organisations and the strong bid for greater concessions in world trade to less developed countries complemented by the formation of producing country agreements in exports and retaliatory trade practices can further spell the doom of economic aspects of neo-colonialism. The historic victory of the Vietnamese after decades of fighting against a regime fully backed by the military strength of one of the world's super powers had a very adverse impact on neo-colonialist activities in South East Asia. The confidence on the value of military assistance from big powers was thoroughly shaken in countries such as Thailand, Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia. The overtures made by some of them to China to establish closer links, might also be a result of this situation. This has given a boost to the internal political forces that are opposed to neo-colonialism in the Asian countries. The spread of education amongst the people of Asia and the Asian pride over the victories in Indo-China coupled with the tendency for greater social and economic reforms in these countries can make it more and more difficult for neo-colonialism to prosper. The startling exposure of the activities of the CIA and the multi-national companies all over the world, add to the difficulties that neo-colonialists had to face in recent times. But one cannot rule out their making a strong bid to maintain their present strength by devising new methods of operation. It may even be possible that neo-colonialists in the last resort join hands with each other in spite of basic political differences to stave off a possible threat to their world supremacy.

Conclusions

A number of conclusions may be drawn from this study. The nationalist movements of Asia, on the whole, had a significant impact on the Asian people's struggles against imperialism. Although they were influenced by Western ideas as well

as other ideological forces and changes in different parts of the world since the First World War, the long heritage of cultural, political and economic achievements of Asian nations going back to the days of the great empires and kingdoms of China, India, Japan, Thailand, Burma and Sri Lanka respectively had a notable influence on such movements. Undoubtedly, in most of these countries, the nationalist movements contributed a great deal to the process of winning political independence. This was particularly the case in countries where such movements assumed a militant character and thereby made a deep imprint on the nationalist fervour of a large section of the population.

In countries such as India, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Indo-China (until recently), the commencement of the neo-colonialist phase immediately after the exit of imperialist authority, tended to act as the biggest obstacle in this respect. They fell easy prey to this new form of exploitation due to reasons such as continuing economic links with the former colonialist nations and the presence of ruling elites which were not concerned with the possible dangers of neo-colonialism. As mentioned earlier, in countries where there were memories of sacrifice and struggle to free themselves of foreign domination as in China and North Vietnam the task of re-construction and development during the period immediately following the liberation was well accomplished. Compared with this, in other countries as for example in Sri Lanka and for that matter to some extent in India, a large majority of people have not been equipped with the same kind of patriotic feelings with the sense of sacrifice and dedication, essential for the building of a self-reliant nation. Consequently it has become difficult to consolidate political independence by achieving economic emancipation during the early phase.

Under these conditions neo-colonialists found easy pastures specially in countries where the political power in the early years of independence was exercised by pro-western elites following right-wing policies. Even in countries where political authority passed from the hands of right wing groups to progressive sections, neo-

colonialism with its vast potential appears to have survived without much disturbance. Its significant achievements can be seen in the expansion of the activities of international investment combines such as multi-national corporations, defence agreements with different South Asian countries, the establishment of bases, the gradual destruction of the indigenous culture with so-called modern influences, the re-orientation of agricultural practices and production processes, development of export systems which indirectly tie them with the economies of developed countries and aid policies that eventually serve neo-colonialist ends. This does not however mean that its authority had not been breached during the past few decades. Actually, due to the inner contradictions of the regimes that gave tacit support to neo-colonialist activities, a new nationalism though less widespread than the earlier, began to emerge and gain roots in countries such as Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh and lately in Thailand, under which effective steps were taken to curtail some of the political and economic activities of neo-colonialists. In this respect the policies and measures adopted under the political leadership of persons such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Sukarno, Indira Gandhi, S. W. R.D. Bandaranaike and Sirimavo Bandaranaike deserve special mention here. Their far reaching programmes of nationalisation of foreign companies and assets in vital fields such as Insurance, Banking and Oil, Land Reforms, Income Redistribution programmes, attempt to establish a socialist system based on local requirements, and above all the adoption of non-aligned foreign policies have in no small measure contributed to the weakening of neo-colonialist activities in these countries. The feelings of resistance to neo-colonialist activities generated through such measures will spread with greater intensity due to the logical progress of the social, economic and political changes that are now taking place in Asia.

Neo-colonialism appears to be weakened even within its own portals. This was seen in the intrinsic weakness of the world capitalist system displayed by the difficulties faced by advanced countries such as the USA, West Germany and Japan during the

hyper-inflationary period of recent years. This indicates that as in the case of capitalism and imperialism, it will also generate forces of its own destruction. The present difficulties faced by neo-colonialists in the face of economic depression which limits investment activities and the grant of foreign aid; the exposure of its indirect activities through CIA; and the growing suspicion about their activities in the developing countries, are an index to the possible path of doom that lies ahead of them. But one cannot forget that imperialism gave way to its offshoot, neo-colonialism when it could not operate in the wake of historical circumstances and national liberation struggles. Similarly neo-colonialism could at the point of its decay, easily give way to a third phase of colonialism from whichever quarter it may emerge. However, the ability of neo-colonialism to survive the dangers of extinction could be easily gauged from the 'detente' between the super powers and the new shift of emphasis on military and defence strategies in the naval build-up of super powers in the Indian Ocean in spite of Asian and world opinion strongly favouring the Indian Ocean Peace Zone. We should not become complacent by merely looking at the present trends. On the contrary every effort should be made to educate and inform all sections of a country's population about the need to complete the process of national liberation both in terms of political and economic advancement on the lines of national thinking, so that all vestiges of neo-colonialism could be eradicated. In this sense the countries of Asia may have to start yet another phase of nationalist struggle for economic emancipation possibly through concerted action. For this purpose it is necessary for countries of Asia to free themselves from the dependence on foreign powers at least in respect of their basic requirements of food and clothing. This is not a difficult task to achieve with the vast land, water and human and other natural resources that are available to most countries of the region if they have honest and dedicated leaders who could instil in the minds of the people a deep national consciousness and a commitment to economic emancipation through hard work, sacrifice, savings and self-reliance.