Fourth World Nations vs. The States' "Nation-Destroying" Projects From 1946 to 2020

Post-WWII Wars, Armed Conflicts, and Indigenous Military Resistance

By Hiroshi Fukurai

ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to provide empirical analyses of the global armed conflicts between the nation and the state in the post-WWII era from 1946 to 2020. The empirical data comes from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO). Other comparable data on global armed conflicts also exists, including the Correlates of War (WCO) information; the Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) dataset, which is an outgrowth of WCO; the Minority at Risk (MAR) datasets from the Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM) at the University of Maryland; and the Konflict-Simulations-Modell (COSIMO) datasets from the Study Group for the Causes of War (AKUF), among others. The present analysis relies on the UCDP/PRIO dataset because it provides the most updated and regionally-detailed empirical information on armed conflicts, military confrontations, and violent battles that have taken place throughout the world. Specifically, the UCDP contains information on all contested battles situated in the "government and/or territory over the use of armed force between the military forces of two parties," and the violent confrontations that have "resulted in at least 25 battle-related deaths each year."[1]

Empirical examination reveals that most post-WWII military conflicts around the world have been fought between the state, on one side, and Fourth World peoples and nations (89.9%), on the other. Most of these conflicts in Asia and the Middle East (or West Asia) have also involved territorial and land disputes, while most of the intra-state armed struggles in Africa and the Americas have been fought over geo-political control of the government and its bureaucratic authority.

---

[1] Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). "Definitions, Sources and Methods for Uppsala Conflict Data Program Battle-Death Estimates," Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (2006), available at chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/ https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/old/brd/ucdp-brd-conf-41-2006.pdf.

The paper concludes by summarizing the past conflicts between the state and the nation, considering the devastating consequences of the state and state-assisted corporate projects that have facilitated the continuous destruction of biodiversity and the evisceration of the environment, thereby ultimately threatening the future survivability of both human and non-human life on our planet.

Keywords: Fourth World, Post-WWII Global Armed Conflicts, the Nation, the State, Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)

Today's widespread military aggression and the continued violence in various regions across the globe reflect historical tensions between two distinct geopolitical entities: the nation and the state.[2] The nation refers to a community of peoples who share a common culture, language, set of ideological beliefs and/or histories, and who exercise full or limited sovereignty, possessing an inherent right over an ancestral territory or culturally valued space. The state, in contrast, emerged as a consequence of European imperial ventures extended across the world. The state is a "legally" constructed, "artificial" or "imaginary" geopolitical entity, characterized by a self-serving centralized authority, containing borders forcefully imposed upon the territory of the nation. Since both the nation and the state have inhabited a common territorial space within boundaries, various forms of violent conflicts have emerged throughout the last several hundred years.[3] Since Fourth World nations have not been willing to freely surrender their land, identity, history and memory, these conflicts have resulted in tremendous levels of human suffering, characterized by social misery as well as violent death, stemming from attempts by the state to occupy, exploit, and destroy the nation peoples

and their ancestral homelands.[4]

Since the end of World War II, the promotion of the state, with the concomitant rise of globalization and neoliberal policies, has accelerated the destruction of Fourth World territories as well as the disfigurement and radical alteration of the nation's bioregional spheres. The state's armed violence and ecological destruction has been unleashed to propel the forced eviction and displacement of already-marginalized Fourth World peoples, to eradicate biological diversity, and to decimate many self-sustaining cultures rooted in Fourth World knowledge and self-governing principles. The predatory actions of the state in promoting dispossession, ecologically unsustainable projects, and corporate extractive development of the nation's ancestral homeland have also led to the greatly increased level of climate change, rising sea levels, and other

---

[2] Manuel, 1977; Seton, 1999; Ryser, 2013; Fukurai & Krooth, 2021.

[3] For fuller discussion of the clear delineation of the Nation and the State, see Fukurai & Krooth (2021).

[4] In this paper, "nation people" and "indigenous people" are used interchangeably, referring to traditional inhabitants of their ancestral homelands.

35

FOURTH WORLD NATIONS VS. THE STATES' "NATION-DESTROYING" PROJECTS FROM 1946 TO 2020:
POST-WWII WARS, ARMED CONFLICTS, AND INDIGENOUS MILITARY RESISTANCE

ecological catastrophes around the world. In areas where there has been significant resistance, including armed opposition, by Fourth World peoples, the state has dispatched state troopers, private paramilitary forces, and anti-terrorist intelligence campaigns to quash such resistance.[5] During the Cold War era, state-sponsored intelligence operations alone were responsible for the deaths of six million Fourth World resisters. During the same period, the collective resistance of Fourth World peoples and nations against encroachment by the state has come to constitute an integral part of their emancipatory anti-colonial struggles, including sustained opposition to the state-sponsored corporate extraction, as well as Fourth World resilience, aspiration, and dedication in attempts to build a vibrant alternative, sustainable world all across the globe.

Post-WWII Global Conflicts Between the Nation and the State

This paper provides an empirical analysis of the UCDP dataset on the global armed conflicts, violent combat, and military campaigns that took place from 1946 to 2020, including a total of 2,506 such events. Table 1 shows the taxonomy of armed struggles and military conflicts around the globe from 1946 to 2020 (n=2506). Figure 1 also shows the map of the global armed conflicts from 1946 to 2020 and suggests several notable findings, indicating that nearly all areas, regions, and communities around the globe were involved in violent armed conflicts. Figure 2 shows the maps of global armed conflicts for three distinct periods: (1) 1946-1960; (2) 1961-1990; and (3) 1991-2020. The overwhelming majority of armed

conflicts immediately following the Second World War were centered in Asia and northern Africa. Until the end of the Cold War in 1991, the conflict moved to Latin America and spread throughout the African continent and the rest of Asia. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, new armed conflicts appeared in the multiplicity of former Soviet Union republics including Russia and newly-emerged states in the Central and West Asian regions.

Table1 shows that nearly three quarters of global armed conflicts have been intra-state, or within-state, battles (74.4%), in which one of the conflicting parties is the state, and the other is the group or groups of domestic, anti-state rebels, (i.e., from 65.4% in Africa, to 87.2% in the Americas). Another one-sixth of global armed struggles (15.5%) represents the same intra-state conflicts but with an additional dimension, in which one side is supported by a third-party, i.e., foreign state(s) (from 8.4% in Asia to 24.3% in Africa). Thus, nearly all (89.9%) of the global conflicts in the post-WWII period have involved internal, "within-state" armed combat and military conflicts between two parties: the state vs. the anti-state rebel group(s).

A second notable element concerns location: the largest number of all of these conflicts took place in Asia (40.2%), followed by Africa (31.6%), the Middle East (14.2%), and the Americas (7.8%). Europe experienced little in terms of military conflicts in the post-WWII era (5.6%,

---

[5] Blum, 2014.

n=142). Prior to 1945, most major armed conflicts in the world were concentrated in and around Europe, the most prominent among them being the two world wars, with WWI lasting from 1914 to 1918, and WWII from the late 1930s to the mid-1940s. In the post-WWII era, significant armed conflicts have extended beyond Europe, and in some cases, with the assistance of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the battlegrounds moved into Africa, Asia, the Middle East, the Americas, and the Pacific.

A third element relates to the complex factors involved in these conflicts. While only a handful of post-WWII armed conflicts took place in Europe, three-quarters of those involved intra-state conflicts between the states and anti-state domestic rebels (n=106, 74.6%); with one-fifth of intra-state conflicts involving rebel organizations that had been assisted by foreign, "third-party" state(s) (n=29, 20.4%). For instance, intra-state conflicts (n=22) in the United Kingdom (UK) featured no foreign or external assistance, but involved rebel groups that were "internally hatched" , two of whom were based in Northern Ireland: the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) (n=21) and Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA) (n=1). Both groups demanded the territorial severance of Northern Ireland from the UK in order to attain greater regional autonomy, sovereignty, and political independence. Similarly, the state government of Spain fought the Basque separatist rebels in Northern Spain (n=9), who demanded sovereignty and independence from the Kingdom of Spanish.

The government of Russia (the major political inheritor of the former Soviet Union, n=44) also fought such domestic rebels as Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, the Forces of the Caucasus Emirate, and the Islamic State, among other internal "rebel" groups. All of Europe's internal armed conflicts assisted by foreign state forces (n=29) involved the struggles of newly created states born out of the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, such as Azerbaijan (13), Ukraine (9), and Georgia (1), as well as the former Yugoslavia (6), including Bosnia-Herzegovina (3), Croatia (2), and Serbia (1).[6]

Lastly, armed conflicts between and among sovereign states occurred twice in Europe when the U.K. "trespassed" in Albania's Corfu channel in 1946 and the Soviet Union invaded Hungary in 1956. The other five extra-systemic conflicts among the state and non-state groups occurred in Cyprus, where the UK and Greece were involved in attempts to gain control over Cyprus in the late 1950s. In other words, excluding seven instances of direct and extra-territorial conflicts among states in Europe (n=7), all armed conflicts in Europe have involved intra-state conflicts, in which the state governments fought against domestically "hatched" separatist groups and/or groups seeking exercise their sovereignty.

---

[6] Europe's extra-systemic conflicts took place in Cyprus (n=5). Europe's inter-state conflicts (n=2) took place between the UK and Albania over the Corfu Channel incidents in 1946, and the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956.

37

FOURTH WORLD NATIONS VS. THE STATES' "NATION-DESTROYING" PROJECTS FROM 1946 TO 2020:
POST-WWII WARS, ARMED CONFLICTS, AND INDIGENOUS MILITARY RESISTANCE

Table 1
Types of Regional Conflicts: 1946-2020

Types of Conflict	Europe	Asia	Middle East	Africa	Americas	Europe & Other Regions	Total
1. Intra-State (Domestic)	106 (74.6%)	807 (80.1%)	263 (73.7%)	518 (65.3%)	170 (87.2%)	0 (0.0%)	1864 (74.4%)
2. Intra-State (International)	29 (20.4)	85 (8.4)	63 (17.6)	193 (24.3)	19 (9.7)	0 (0.0)	389 (15.5)
3. Inter-State	2 (1.4)	75 (7.4)	26 (7.3)	16 (2.0)	5 (2.6)	12 (100.0)	136 (5.4)
4. Extra-systemic	5 (3.5%)	40 (4.0%)	5 (1.4%)	66 (8.4%)	1 (0.5%)	0 (0.0%)	117 (4.7%)
Total	142 (5. 6)	1007 (40.2)	357 (14.2)	793 (31.6)	195 (7.8)	12 (0.4)	2506 (100.0)

1. Intra-State, Domestic Conflict (side A is a government; side B is one or more rebel groups: there is no involvement of foreign governments with troops).

2. Intra-State, International Conflict (side A is a government; side B is one or more rebel groups; there is involvement of foreign governments with troops, i.e., there is at least one side A or side B).

3. Inter-State Conflict (both sides are states in the Gleditsch and Ward membership system).

4. Extra-Systemic Conflict (between a state and a non-state group outside its own territory, where the government side is fighting to retain control of a territory outside the state system).
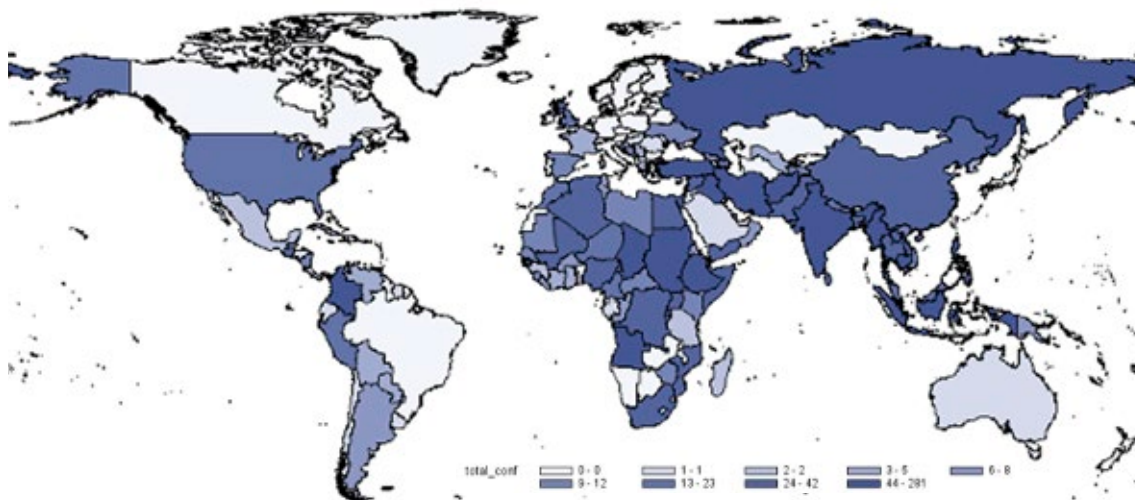

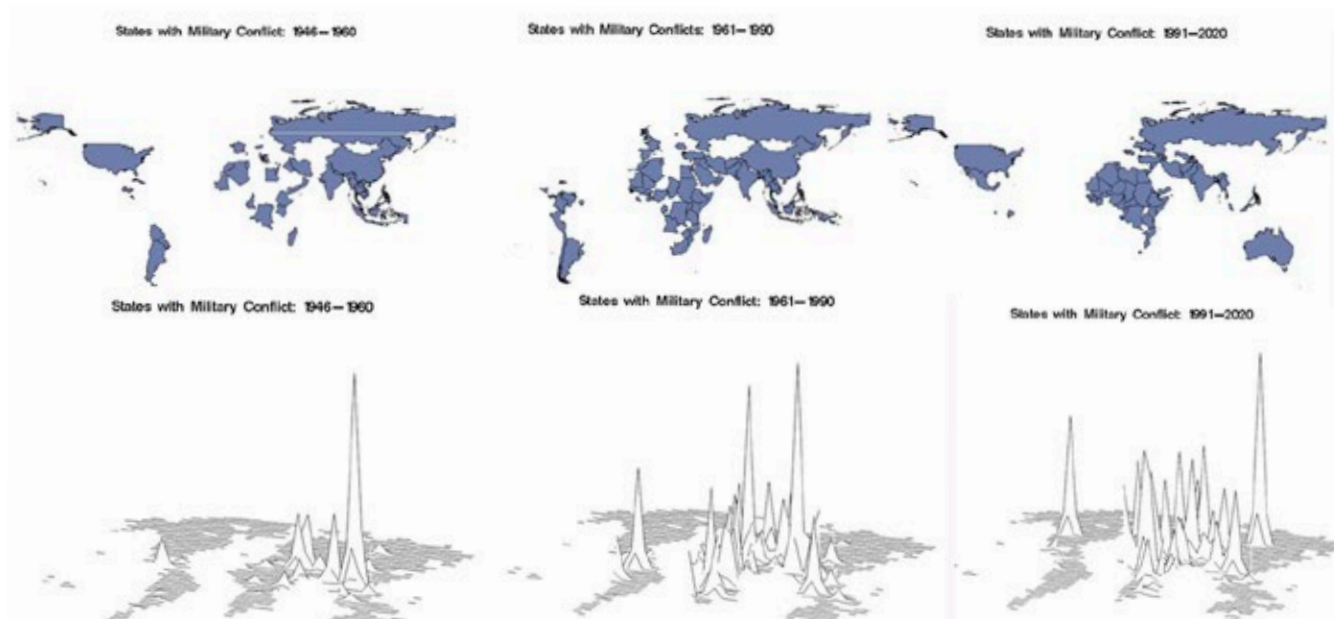
Figure 1. Military Conflicts from 1946 to 2020

Figure 2.Three Military Conflict Time Periods

Root Causes of Armed Conflicts Between the Nation and the State

Table 2 examines the root causes of post-WWII armed conflicts by regions. These causes are subdivided according to the kinds of control being contested: (1) control of the territory; (2) control of the government; and (3) control of both territory and government. The majority of regional conflicts in the world were fought over territory (55.5%), most generally in Europe (88.7%), Asia (68.6%), and the Middle East (59.4%). In contrast, nearly all conflicts in the Americas involved armed struggles for control over the government (97.8%). Most intra-state conflicts involved territorial disputes in Europe (85.8%), Asia (70.4%), and the Middle East (70.7%). In comparison, most or all intra-state conflicts in Africa and the Americas involved control over the government and bureaucratic authority of the state (57.9% and 100.0%, respectively).

When there were foreign, "out of state" troops participating in the intra-state conflict, most involved control over the government in all regions, including Asia (85.9%), the Middle East (84.1%), Africa (75.1%), and the Americas (100.0%). Only 3 out of 190 armed conflicts in the Americas involved territorial disputes between two sovereign states: El Salvador and Honduras in 1957 after the discovery of large oil deposits in the border region; Honduras and Nicaragua in the so-called "Football War" of 1969[7]; and Ecuador and Peru in the *Cenepa* War over the "*Cordillera del Condor*" in 1995.[8] Among 19 intra-state conflicts in the Americas, the U.S. government played the prominent role as a third, "out-of-state" party to facilitate the governmental regime change. For example, the Anti-Cuban organization, the Cuban Revolutionary Council,

---

[7] Football war

[8] Football war

39

FOURTH WORLD NATIONS VS. THE STATES' "NATION-DESTROYING" PROJECTS FROM 1946 TO 2020:
POST-WWII WARS, ARMED CONFLICTS, AND INDIGENOUS MILITARY RESISTANCE

was established by the U.S., with CIA assistance, to help 1,400 Cuban exiles try to overthrow the Cuban government in the so-called "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba in 1961 (n=1). The U.S. and its allied forces also took the role of a third "out-of-state" party in Afghanistan in attempts to eradicate al-Qaida and other insurgent rebels from 2001 to 2019 (n=18).

The sovereign states of Europe fought other independent states outside Europe (see Europe & Others in Table 2). The conflicts among sovereign states accounted for less than 1% of all military conflicts in the post-WWII period, perhaps important lessons learned from two catastrophic world wars fought mainly in Europe in previous decades (n=12; Asia (4), the Middle East (4) and other regions (4)). In Asia, the French government fought the newly established Thai government in 1946; the Netherlands fought the Indonesian government over the territorial dispute in West New Guinea in 1962; the Soviet Union fought China over territorial disputes in 1969; and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan at the end of 1979. In Africa, the UK government fought the Egyptian government twice over the control of the Suez Canal in 1951 and 1952; the UK and Israeli governments fought against Egypt in 1956; and the Turkish government invaded Cyprus in 1974.

Table 2
Main Causes and Types of Regional Conflicts by Regions: 1946-2020

Region	Conflict Issue	Intra-State (Domestic)	Intra-State (International)	Inter-State	Extra-Systemic	Total
Europe	1. Territory	91 (85.8%)	29 (100.0%)	1 (50.0%)	5 (0.0%)	126 (88.7%)
	2. Gov't	15 (14.2)	0 (0.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	16 (11.3)
	3. Both	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0
	Sub-total	106	29	2	5	142
Asia	1. Territory	568 (70.4)	12 (14.1)	71 (94.7)	40 (100.0)	691 (68.6)
	2. Gov't	239 (29.6)	73 (85.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	312 (31.0)
	3. Both	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (5.3)	0 (0.0)	4 (0.4)
	Sub-total	807	85	75	40	1007
Middle East	1. Territory	186 (70.7)	10 (15.9)	11 (42.3)	5 (100.0)	212 (59.4)
	2. Gov't	75 (28.5)	53 (84.1)	3 (11.5)	0 (0.0)	131 (36.7)
	3. Both	2 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	12 (46.2)	0 (0.0)	14 (3.9)
	Sub-total	263	63	26	5	357

Region	Conflict Issue	Intra-State (Domestic)	Intra-State (International)	Inter-State	Extra-Systemic	Total
Africa	1.Territory	218 (42.1)	48 (24.9)	16 (100.0)	66 (100.0)	348 (43.9)
	2. Gov't	300(57.9)	145 (75.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	445 (56.1)
	3. Both	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	Sub-total	518	193	16	66	793
Americas	1.Territory	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (60.0)	1 (100.0)	4 (2.1)
	2. Gov't	170 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	191 (97.9)
	3. Both	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	Sub-total	170	19	5	1	195
Europe & Others	1.Territory	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	9 (75.0)	0 (0.0)	9 (75.0)
	2. Gov't	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (25.0)
	3. Both	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	Sub-total	0	0	12	0	12
Total	1.Territory	1063 (57.0)	99 (25.4)	111 (81.6)	117 (100.0)	1390 (55.5)
	2. Gov't	799 (42.9)	290 (74.6)	9 (6.6)	0 (0.0)	1098 (43.8)
	3. Both	2 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	16 (11.8)	0 (0.0)	18 (0.7)
	Total	1864	389	136	117	2506

Intra-State Conflicts in Asia and the Middle East (West Asia)

A large number of post-war intra, "within-state" armed conflicts took place in Asia and the Middle East. As the region of the Middle East has often been referred to as West Asia, the largest number of intra-state military battles in the world can be said to have taken place in Asia.[9] In Asia, three-quarters of domestic conflicts occurred in four states in South and Southeastern Asia, including Burma (later Myanmar, 34.8% of all Asian conflicts), India (22.2%), Philippines (13.9%) and Indonesia (4.3%), followed by Pakistan (4.5%), Thailand (3.5%), and Sri Lanka (3.3%). In the Middle East, most intra-state conflicts occurred in Israel (21.8%), followed by Iraq (17.9%), Iran (16.5%), Turkey (12.3%), Yemen (North and South Yemen, 9.2%), and Syria (8.1%). Two major territories in which conflicts occurred between the state and domestic rebels included the region of Kurdistan (n=87, 24.4%) and Palestine (n=66, 18.5%), followed by the Islamic State[10] (n=25, 7%) and Southern Lebanon (n=11, 3.1%).

[9] UCDP includes Egypt as part of the Middle Eastern states, and regional conflicts in Egypt (n=16) only accounted for 0.6% of the global conflicts between 1946 and 2020, thereby not affecting the overall percentage of armed conflicts in the Middle East.

[10] It refers to territorial space, largely, in West Asia that had been claimed by the Islamic State (IS) prior to 2020.

41

FOURTH WORLD NATIONS VS. THE STATES' "NATION-DESTROYING" PROJECTS FROM 1946 TO 2020:
POST-WWII WARS, ARMED CONFLICTS, AND INDIGENOUS MILITARY RESISTANCE

Table 3 shows the intra-state armed conflicts in Asia and the Middle East, including non-state military organizations, the conflicts' duration, the roots of conflicts, and the specific territory within which the armed battle occurred. The world's most numerous conflicts occurred in the state of Myanmar (previously Burma) (n=281), representing 11.2% of total global conflicts in the post-WWII era. Myanmar's armed battles began when the Burmese government declared its independence from British India in 1948. All were domestically-waged conflicts between the state government and rebel groups of multiple Fourth World nations, including Karen (21.7% of intra-state conflicts), Shan (16.4%), Kachin (15.3%), Arakan (12.8%), Mon (6.0%), Lahu (3.6%) as well as other Fourth World nations and ancient communities that have long lived in Myanmar and its neighboring regions. Four-fifths of these conflicts were fought over territories of Fourth World ancestral homelands (81.9%).

The world's second most numerous intra-state conflicts occurred in India (n=179). India, along with Pakistan, declared independence from Britain in 1947. The state of India fought multiple Fourth World and armed separatist organizations, including the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA, n=18) in the Northeast Indian state of Assam, which is a large Islamic territory; the Naga National Council for their struggles for independence (NNC, n=12); and People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) for the independence of Manipur (n=13). Anti-state government groups also included multiple currents of militant Communist Party of India factions (CPI), such as CPI-Maoist, CPI-Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML), Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCC, MCCI0), Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) and their collaborative alliance with other insurgent groups, such as the United National Liberation Front (UNLF), People's War Group (PWG), which is an underground communist party, and People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), among others. The state government of India also fought against multiple Kashmir "Islamic" insurgents (n=31), which suggests that one in every six intra-state conflicts in India involved Kashmir's "rebel" groups and independent nationalist organizations (17.3%).

Israel, in West Asia, had declared independence in 1948 and had the fifth most numerous armed conflicts, which were also fought against multiple rebel groups (n=76), and were all waged over territorial claims (100.0%).[11] The rebel groups included the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades (AMB), Fatah, Hamas, Hezbollah, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and other Palestinian "insurgent" groups. In contrast, the Philippines' armed intra-state conflicts focused less often on territorial disputes and more often on governmental and bureaucratic control (52.2%). The anti-government rebel groups, predominantly Islamic oppositions, emerged on the Island of Mindanao, the second largest island of the Philippines.

---

[11] Ethiopia had the fourth most numerous armed conflicts in the world (n=123, n=4.9%). The main root cause of the conflicts was over territorial control (85.4%).

Prior to the U.S. decision to withdraw military troops in August 2021, Afghanistan saw 49 intra-state conflicts, 35 of which (71.4%) involved third-party, "foreign" assistance, including the Soviet Union's support of the incumbent communist regime of the Afghanistan government, which fought against the Mujahideen forces. These forces had been trained, supported, and armed by the U.S., Pakistan, the U.K., and others in the 1980s; India, Iran, Russia, Tajikistan and others that supported the Northern Alliance of multiple Fourth World peoples and nations to fight the Taliban. The Taliban took over the state system from 1996 to 2001; and the U.S., the U.K., other European states and "international" allied forces that supported the new Afghan government to fight against the Taliban in the post-9/11 (2001) period. Similarly, 29 of 35 military conflicts (82.8%) in Afghanistan involved government control, while the other six involved territorial issues, including the Islamic State territory after Islamic State Khorasan (IS-K) declared its territorial control over the larger Afghanistan regions in February 2015.[12]

The majority of military conflicts in the post-WWII period took place in Asia and its neighboring regions, including the Middle East or West Asia. Nearly all involved intra-state conflicts between the state government, on one side, and rebel groups representing various regional factions, primarily the armed groups of Fourth World peoples and nations, on the other. The U.S. and its allied forces from Europe and other regions were also seen to provide third-party armed assistance to the incumbent state government in its fight against Fourth World peoples and nationalist-minded insurgent groups. However, in some instances, the U.S. and its allied states provided material and logistical support to Fourth World groups and rebel organizations fighting against the state government, especially in the recent case of Afghanistan.

---

[12] "US Created ISIS, Uses it as Tool: Ex-Afghan President," *ALWAGHT*, May 6, 2017, http://alwaght.net/en/News/96488/AboutUs

Table 3
Intra-State Armed Conflicts in Asia and the Middle East: 1946-2020

State	Non-State Actor	First Year in Conflict	Last Active Year	Number of Conflicts	Main Conflict	Territory
Myanmar	ABSDF, ALAP, ANLP APLP, ARSA, BMA, CPA, CPB, CPB-RF, DKBA 5, God's Army, Kio KNPP, KNU, KNUP, LNUP, MFL-MUF, MNDAA, MPF, MTA, Mujahid Party, NMSP, NSCN-K, NSH, PNDF, PSLF, RCSS, RPF, RSO, SNUF, SSA, SSNLO, SURA, SSIA, SSPP, SSRA, SURA, TRC, ULA, UWSA	1948	2019	281 (11.2%)	Territory (81.9%), Gov't (18.9%)	Arakan (36), Kachin (43), Karen (61), Karenni (5), Kokang (4), Lahu (10), Mon (17), Nagaland (7), Shan (46), Wa (1)

43

FOURTH WORLD NATIONS VS. THE STATES' "NATION-DESTROYING" PROJECTS FROM 1946 TO 2020:
POST-WWII WARS, ARMED CONFLICTS, AND INDIGENOUS MILITARY RESISTANCE

State	Non-State Actor	First Year in Conflict	Last Active Year	Number of Conflicts	Main Conflict	Territory
India	ABSU, ATTF, CPI, CPI-Maoist, CPI-ML, CPI-ML-J, GNLA, Kashmir insurgents, KCP, MCC, MNF, NDFB, NDFB-RD, NDFB-S, NLFT, NLFT-B, NNC, NSCN-IM, PLA, PREPAK, PULF, PWG, Sikh insurgents, TNV, ULFA, UNLF, UNLFW	1948	2018	179 (7.1%)	Territory (79.9%), Gov't (20.1%)	Assam (18), Bodoland (15), Garoland (2) Islamic State (1), Kashmir (31), Manipur (21), Mizoram (3), Nagaland (19), Punjab/Khalistan (11), Tripura (18), Western South East Asia (4)
Philippines	Al-Harakat al-Islamiyah, ASG, BIFM, Maute Group, BIFM-K, MILF, MNLF-NM, MNLF-HM, CPP, Military faction (forces of Honasan, Abenina and Zumel), Huk, IS, MIM	1946	2020	113 (4.3%)	Territory (47.8%) Gov't (52.2%)	Islamic State (5) Mindanao (49)
Israel	AMB, Fatah, Hamas, PIJ, PFLP, PRC, PNA, Hezbollah, IZL [Etzel], Non PLO group, PLO, Palestinian Insurgents, PFLP, PFLP-GC, Rejectionist Front	1939	2019	76 (3.0%)	Territory (100.0%)	Israel (1), Palestine (64), Southern Lebanon (11)

Armed Conflicts Beyond State Boundaries

Table 4 shows the "extra-systemic" territorial conflicts between the state and the non-state group outside their state territories (n=117). The analysis shows that all extra-systemic conflicts dealt with questions of territorial claims to the ancestral homeland of Fourth World peoples and nations around the globe. The analysis also helps to expose the nature of colonial projects, centered mainly in Euro-American, North Atlantic regions, which were, for the most part, military excursions and expeditions conducted by Western states, including the U.S., the U.K., and their European allies, and imposed upon Fourth World peoples, nations, and their resistance movements outside the North Atlantic regions and territories. Table 4 shows the breakdown of conflicts by

their locations; the opposing parties of Fourth World rebels, other nation groups, and political alliances that contested the continuation of the European colonial dominations of the regions and territories; and the duration and intensity of conflicts in the designated regions.

The first column shows the extra-territorial states (Side A countries in the first column) who fought the opposition organizations (Side B parties in the fifth column) by locations, regions, and the duration of conflicts (from the second to fourth column). Since 1946, a total of six states, all from North Atlantic regions, served as extra-territorial military forces against other state entities, including France (n=9), the Netherlands (1), Portugal (3), Spain (1), the U.K. (6) and the U.S. (1). Among nine countries in which France acted as an extra-territorial "hostile" foreign

power, six were in Africa, and three were in Asia. The French troops fought multiple Fourth World groups, including (1) *Front de Liberation Nationale* (FLN) and *Mouvement National Algerien* (MNA) in Algeria from 1954 to 1962; (2) *Union des Populations Camerounaises* (UPC) in Cameroon; (3) *Mouvement Democratique de la Renovation Malgache* (MDRM) in Madagascar; (4) National Liberation Army (NLA) in Mauritania and the periphery of Morocco; (5) *Istiqlal* in Morocco; (6) the National Liberation Army in Tunisia; as well as three Fourth World forces in Asia, including: (1) *Khmer Issarak* in Cambodia (or *Kampuchea*); (2) *Kao Issara* in Laos; and (3) *Viet Minh* in Vietnam (specifically, North Vietnam).

Although France lost all of these battles and claims over former colonial territories, the atrocities that French troops inflicted upon Fourth World peoples and communities in these regions and locations drew widespread attention, particularly in the cases of Algeria and Madagascar in Africa and Laos and North Vietnam. For instance, two indices of conflict intensity, for instance, showed that France's 11 years of armed conflicts in Vietnam led to more than 1,000 battle-related deaths every year from 1946 to 1954. Similarly, France's nine years of conflict in Algeria led to man cumulative casualties, except for the first year of conflict in 1954. While the armed conflict in Madagascar only lasted one year, many battle-related deaths were recorded concerning France's conflicts with the MDRM.

Portugal fought long battles with Fourth World armed groups in the 1960s and 1970s. The significant cumulative impact of these armed conflicts and battle-related deaths was observed in its former African colonies: Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. The U.K. engaged in military conflicts over four regions in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Cyprus, the only European state that experienced the extra-territorial takeover of its sovereignty, had endured five years of armed struggle with the U.K. troops, with EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* or the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) fighting the British troops from 1955 to 1959. The U.S. had fought the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party in 1950 when PNPR (*Partido Nacionalista de Puerto Rico* or the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party) engaged in several coordinated armed protests calling for the independence of Puerto Rico. These armed uprisings included efforts to assassinate U.S. President Harry S. Truman and were violently suppressed by U.S. military forces. Puerto Rico and its diasporic populations have struggled for independence and sovereignty ever since the U.S. invaded and took over the island in 1898.

Nearly all post-WWII state conflicts between the state and the non-state group outside its territory have been initiated by the U.S. or European states against "Fourth World rebels" who have aspired to attain sovereignty and independence in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. No sovereign states outside the North Atlantic states initiated military conflicts against

45

FOURTH WORLD NATIONS VS. THE STATES' "NATION-DESTROYING" PROJECTS FROM 1946 TO 2020:
POST-WWII WARS, ARMED CONFLICTS, AND INDIGENOUS MILITARY RESISTANCE

European states or the U.S.. At the same time, a few instances of intra-state conflicts within the North Atlantic states were initiated by "internally-hatched" Fourth World groups and organizations who also aspired to attain their sovereignty and independence from what they perceived as oppressive state domination over Fourth World peoples and their ancestral lands and territories.

Table 4
Extra-Systemic Territorial Conflicts: Between the State & the Non-State Group Outside Its Own Territory

Extra-Territorial State (Side A)	Conflict Region	Location	Years of Conflict	Opposition Organization (Side B)	Conflict Intensity[1]	Cumulative Conflict Intensity[2]	Start Year	End Year
France (9)	Arica (6)	Algeria	9	FLN (*Front de Liberacion Nationale*), MNA (*Mouvement National Algerien*)[3]	.78	.89	1954	1962
		Cameroon	3	UPC (*Union des Populations du Cameroun*)	.00	.00	1957	1959
		Madagascar (Malagasy)	1	MDRM (*Mouvement democratique de la renovation malgache*)[4]	1.00	1.00	1947	1947[5]
		Mauritania, Morocco	2	NLA (National Liberation Army)	.00	.00	1957	1958[6]
		Morocco	4	Istiqlal	.00	.00	1953	1956
		Tunisia	4	National Liberation Army	.00	.00	1953	1956
	Asia (3)	Cambodia (Kampuchea)	8	Khmer Issarak	.00	.00	1946	1953
		Laos	8	Lao Issara	.00	.50	1946	1953
		Vietnam (North Vietnam)	9	Viet Minh	1.00	1.00	1946	1954
Netherlands (1)	Asia (1)	Indonesia	4	Indonesian People's Army	.00	.00	1945	1949
Portugal (3)	Africa (3)	Angola	14	FNLA (*Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola*), MPLA (*Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola*), UNITA (Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola) [7]	.14	1.00	1961	1974

[1] The intensity level in the conflict per calendar year was coded as: (0) Minor: between 25 and 999 battle-related deaths; and (1) War: at least 1,000 battle-related deaths in a given year.

[2] The cumulative intensity level in the conflict was coded as: (0) as long as the battle-related death has not, over time, resulted in more than 1,000 deaths; and (1) once a conflict reaches the threshold of 1000 deaths.

[3] They were translated as: The National Liberation Front and the Algerian National Movement, respectively.

[4] It was translated into the Democratic Movement for Malagasy Rejuvenation

[5] Conflicts began on January 12, 1947 and ended on December 31, 2047.

[6] Conflicts between the French force and local oppositions in Mauritania and Morocco began on January 12, 1957 and ended on June 30, 1958.

[7] These organizations are translated into: The National Front for the Liberation of Angola; the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola; and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, respectively.

Extra-Territorial State (Side A)	Conflict Region	Location	Years of Conflict	Opposition Organization (Side B)	Conflict Intensity[1]	Cumulative Conflict Intensity[2]	Start Year	End Year
		Guinea-Bissau	11	PAIGC (*Partido Africano para a Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde*)[8]	.00	.82	1963	1973
		Mozambique	11	FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique*)[9]	.18	.82	1964	1974
Spain (1)	Africa (1)	Mauritania, Morocco	2	NLA (National Liberation Army)	.00	.00	1957	1958
United Kingdom (6)	Europe (1)	Cyprus	5	EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston*)[10]	.00	.00	1955	1959
	Africa (1)	Kenya	5	Mau Mau	.80	.80	1952	1956
	Asia (2)	Brunei	1	North Kalimantan Liberation Army	.00	.00	1962	1962[11]
		Malaysia	10	CPM (Communist Party of Malaysia)	.40	.90	1948	1957
	Middle East (2)	Israel	1	IZL (Etzel)	.00	.00	1939	1946
		South Yemen	4	FLOSY (Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen)	.00	.00	1964	1967
United States (1)	North America (1)	USA (Puerto Rico)	1	PNPR (*Partido Nacionalista de Puerto Rico*)[12]	.00	.00	1950	1950[13]

[8] It was translated as: the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde.

[9] It was translated as: The Liberation Front of Mozanbique.

[10] It was translated as: the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters.

[11] Conflicts joined by Spain in Mauritania and Morocco began on November 23, 1957 and ended on June 30, 1958.

[12] It was translated as: the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party.

[13] Conflicts began on October 30, 1950 and ended on November 1, 1950.

Conclusions

Through this empirical examination of global military conflicts from 1946 to 2020, we can see that nearly all such conflicts (89.9%) have occurred between the state and the nation. The state has battled multitudes of Fourth World insurgents, nationalist rebels, and domestic "terrorists" operating within state-delimited territorial boundaries globally. In some instances, those rebel groups fighting the state troops were trained, armed, and financed by a "third party" state, most of which were from the North Atlantic countries and their allies. For example, in the case of military conflicts in Afghanistan in the post-9/11 (2001) period, nearly all external military support for armed training, military materiel, intelligence logistics, and finances came from the U.S., the U.K., other Western European states, and their allies.

Among the rationale and motivations for the state's involvement in intra-state conflicts, there is often the self-portrayal of "victimhood", with the professed need for the state to defend itself against domestic "terrorists" and internal "insurgents," thus justifying the use of armed violence against Fourth World peoples and communities within the state-delimited borders.[13] In the founding era of the U.S., for example, early Euro-American settlers, including the

[13] Chomsky (2015).

47

FOURTH WORLD NATIONS VS. THE STATES' "NATION-DESTROYING" PROJECTS FROM 1946 TO 2020:
POST-WWII WARS, ARMED CONFLICTS, AND INDIGENOUS MILITARY RESISTANCE

so-called "Founding Fathers," rationalized the extermination of Fourth World peoples by characterizing them as "enemies" who posed internal "threats." The U.S. Declaration of Independence portrayed Fourth World peoples as "merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."[14] The state's argument for the necessity of "self-defense" would later be extended to "African savages," "uncivilized" Mexicans, as well as the "primitives" of Fourth World populations in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, Samoa, Polynesia, the Mariana Islands and other Pacific islands, where Fourth World peoples and nations were to be militarily occupied and incorporated into the U.S. jurisdiction.[15]

Nowhere in these scenarios is the state depicted as a recent invention, one whose authority and legitimacy derived from military power, settler colonialism, and state projects supported by the hegemonic propaganda system, indoctrination, and necessary persuasion and illusion. Despite this, it is recognized that the occupation and destruction of Fourth World homelands by the state has led to the emerging anthropogenic changes and environmental disasters now evident around the world. Future research is needed to explore possible paths toward more reconciliatory future relations between the nation and the state. Given the fact that nearly 80% of the remaining biodiversity around the globe is found in the ancestral homelands of Fourth World peoples and communities, the states' continuous "state-making" and "nation-destroying" projects must be successfully contested if humanity is to survive into the coming years and decades.

---

[14] U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776).

[15] Fukurai & Krooth (2021)

REFERENCES

Blum, William (2001) *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower* (London: Zed Books).

Chomsky, Noam (2015). "Oppression is Not a Law of Nature: An Interview with Noam Chomsky," *Commonweal Magazine*, April 9, available at https://chomsky.info/20150409/.

Fukurai, Hiroshi & Richard Krooth (2021) Original Nation Approaches to Inter-National Law: The Quest for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Nature in the Age of Anthropocene (NY: Palgrave Macmillan).

Kapuscinski, Ryszard (1992) The Soccer War (NY: Vintage).

Manuel, George (1977) The Fourth World: An Indian Reality (MN: University of Minnesota Press)

Ryser, Rudolph (2013) Indigenous Nations and Modern States: The Political Emergence of Nations Challenging State Power (NY: Routledge).

Seton, Kathy (1999) "Fourth World Nations in the Era of Globalization: An Introduction to Contemporary Theorizing Posed by Indigenous Nations," a research paper published by the Center for World Indigenous Studies (CWIS).

Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) (2021) "Definitions, Sources and Methods for Uppsala Conflict Data Program Battle-Death Estimates," Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (2006), available at chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/old/brd/ucdp-brd-conf-41-2006.pdf.

"US Created ISIS, Uses it as Tool: Ex-Afghan President," ALWAGHT, May 6, 2017, available at http://alwaght.net/en/News/96488/AboutUs

U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776) National Archive, available at https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript.

This Article may be cited as:

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Hiroshi Fukurai

Professor of Sociology & Legal Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz & Former President of the Asian Law & Society Association (ALSA). He is specialized in lay adjudication, indigenous approaches to international law, and Asian law and politics. His recent articles include "The Prevention of the Sixth Mass Extinction: Socio-Legal Responses to Mitigate the Anthropogenic Crises in Asia and Beyond" (2022); "President's Farewell Message: The Anthropocene, Earth Jurisprudence and the Rights of Nature" (2020) ; "The Decoupling of the Nation and the State: Constitutionalizing Transnational Nationhood, Cross Border Connectivity, Diaspora and 'Nation' Identity-Affiliations in Asia and Beyond" (2020), all of which appeared in the Asian Journal of Law and Society (Cambridge Univ. Press). His books include: Original Nation Approaches to Inter-National Law: The Quest for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Nature in the Age of Anthropocene (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); East Asia's Renewed Respect for the Rule of Law in the 21st Century (Brill, 2015); Japan and Civil Jury Trials: The Convergence of Forces (Edward Elgar, 2015); Nuclear Tsunami: The Japanese Government and America's Role in the Fukushima Disaster (Lexington Book, 2015); Race in the Jury Box: Affirmative Action in Jury Selection (SUNY Press, 2003); Anatomy of the McMartin Child Molestation Case (Univ. Press of America, 2001); Race and the Jury: Racial Disenfranchisement and the Search for Justice (Plenum Press, 1993, Gustavus Meyers Human Rights Award); and Common Destiny: Japan and the U.S. in the Global Age (MacFarland, 1990).