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M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE
SECOND YEAR
PAPER – VIII : INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Prepared by :

M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE

SECOND YEAR

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Syllabus

Unit-1 Introduction

Meaning, Nature and Scope of International Politics – Growth and development of International politics as a discipline – Theories of International Politics: Idealist, realist, System Theory and decision making theory.

Unit – II Concepts

National Power – Balance of Power - National Interest - Disarmament – Collective security.

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League of Nations – UNO – NAM – Commonwealth- ASEAN- SAARC-EU.

Unit – IV Foreign Policy.

Determinants of Foreign Policy – India's relation with her neighbours: Pakistan, Bangladesh and SriLanka – India's relation with UK, USA, Russia and China.

Unit V Issues

Causes of world war –I and World War II – Cold War – Collapse of Soviet Union – Post cold War Developments – Terrorism – Human Rights – Environment.

Books Recommended

1. Mahindra Kumar: Theoretical Aspects of International Politics – Shivalal Agarwala & Co. 1978
2. A.Vandhana: Theory of International politics: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1996.
3. Prem Arora, International Politics book Hive New Delhi 1984.
4. V.N.Khanna, Foreign Policy of India, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd. New Delhi 1999.
5. P.B.Rathod, International politics: Concepts and theories, commonwealth New Delhi, 2004
6. Morgenthau H.J. Politics among Nations: The struggle for power and peace. McGraw Hill, Calcutta, 1985.

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PAPER – VIII : INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ANALYSIS

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CHAPTER – 1

MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Structure

1.1 Introduction

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1.1 Introduction

International politics is an important branch of political science dealing with the relations between nations. It as an academic discipline is of a recent origin. This discipline is so new that it can be called as the 'youngest of all the social sciences'. It is dynamic in nature. In the present time, the need to tackle environmental problems, growing international terrorism, violation of Human Rights, Nuclear nonproliferation, unjust economic order, negative impacts of globalization as well as the necessity for reconstructing or reforming UN, IMF, WTO, International power structure etc has been keeping the discipline on a development path

The great Greek Philosopher Aristotle said that man by nature is a social animal. Being a social animal, man can't live in isolation. His basic nature and his basic needs make him to satisfy his numerous needs in association with others. Moreover no man is self sufficient even in his daily needs and therefore, he has to depend upon his fellow man for existences. Just as no individual can live in isolation, no state can afford to live in isolation. Like the individual no state is self-sufficient. Naturally, it has to cultivate relations between states. These relations are the subject matter of International Politics.

1.2 Definition

According to Hartman "International Relations as a field of study is focused upon the process by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states".

Trevor Taylor defines International Relations as "a discipline, which tries to explain political activities across state boundaries".

Padelford and Lincoln define it as the “Interactions of state policies within the changingpatterns of power relationships”.

According to Morgenthau. “It is the strugglefor and use of power among nations.”

According to Ola, Joseph “International relations are the study of all forms of interactions that exist between members of separate entities or nations within the international system”.

Seymon Brown thus defines international relations as “the investigating and study of patterns of action and “reactions among sovereign states as represented by their governing elites.”

Stanley Hoffman writes “the discipline of international relations is concerned with the factors and the activities which affect the external policies and power of the basic units into which the world is divided.”

In the words of Karl Wolfgang Deutsch “An introduction to the study of international relations in our time is an introduction to the art and science of the survival of mankind. If civilization is killed in the nearest future, it will not be killed by famine or plague, but by foreign policy and international relations.”

Itis thus decisively important for the student of international relations to understand that the world of today is marked by two factors. One fact has to do with the nature of power in the age of the atom; the other concerns the interdependence of mankind in an age of the individual.

1.3 Nature of International Politics

International Politics constitute relations and interactions among nations. As inpolitics, so in international politics, there are sovereign states whose interests are notidentical. Those interests of the sovereign states are called national interest. The sovereignstates in order to achieve their interest come into conflict with one another and as a meansto achieve the ends, power is generally used. Thus internationalpolitics is that aspect of interactions andrelations of sovereign states in which the element of conflict or interest is present. It is aprocess in which nations try to protect their incompatible interest by means of power.

But international relations are not merely state-to-state political relations but it issomething more than this. As Hartmann says “INRS include all intercourse among statesand all movements of peoples, goods and ideas across national frontiers. Thus it is clearthat international Relations cover a wider meaning than mere political relations. Nodoubt political factors dominate over other factors in international Relations namelyeconomic, cultural and religious factors. Therefore it studies it studies the totality of allrelations of all

those factors between, and among the states of the world.

1.4 Scope of International Politics

Some of the major areas where scope of study of international politics applied are as follows:

1. Nation-state System or Nation-states

Nation states are the primary actors in international relations. Naturally, International Politics studies relations and interactions between two or more states. Each state is conditioned by its geography, resources, population, level of industrial and technological development, ideology, diplomacy, national interest etc. Hence the study of inter-state relations necessitates a study of the basic actors and these factors.

2. National Interest

Since national interest is the objective that each nation tries to secure during the course of relations with other nations, it becomes imperative for International Politics to study national interests of various nations.

3. National Power

The concept of national power is the core concept in the study of International Politics. Nations are actors but these always act on the basis of their national powers. Realistically speaking relations among nations are of the nature of struggle for power. Morgenthau holds that International Politics can be understood only if viewed as "Interest defined in terms of power."

National power determines the role and ability of a nation to carry out its foreign policy objectives. It is customary to characterize nations as super powers, major powers, big powers, small powers, or weak powers, and this amply reflects the importance of national power in International Politics, Power is the basis of all inter-state relations and as such it forms an important part of the subject matter of International Politics.

4. Foreign Policy

The behaviour of each state in international relations is always directed and controlled by its foreign policy. Foreign policy is a thought out course of action for securing the objectives of national interest of the nation. The basis of foreign policy is the national power of the nation.

A study of foreign policies of various nations alone can explain the nature of relations and interactions among them. No one can hope to understand the nature of present day international relations without a study of the foreign policies of as many nations as may be possible.

5. Economic Instruments of International Relations

The increased importance, role of economic, and trade relations in International Politics can be hardly overestimated. Economic relations among nations form a very important part of international relations. Today, economic instruments—Foreign Aid, Loan, Trade etc., are the most important means of influencing the course of relations. Political relations are being conditioned and guided by economic relations. Hence the study of economic relations forms an integral part of the scope of International Politics.

6. International Institutions and Regional Organisations

An outstanding feature of the contemporary era has been the rapid growth of international institutions and organisations as the institutionalized means for the conduct of relations among nations. Some of these are truly international/universal in nature like the United Nations, while several other are regional organisations like NATO, OAS, OAU, OPEC, ASEAN, ECO, EU, SAARC, IOR-ARC SCO etc.

Along with them now several trading blocs e.g., (NAFTA and APEC) and groups like G-8 G-77 G-20, G-24 and others have emerged important players. These international and regional organisations and supranational actors are important players in international relations. These have been exercising considerable influence over the course of relations among nations and hence these stand included in the subject matter of International Politics.

7. Non-state Actors

Rise of several active non-state international or supra-national or trans-national actors, NGOs, Human Rights Organisations Peace Movements and other such actors in the international environment has necessitated the inclusion of the study of the role of these actors in international system. The number and role of MNCs and non-state actors has been steadily increasing and it is essential for us to study these.

8. Regulators of International Relations:

There have been in operation several concepts which have guided and are still guiding and controlling the behaviour of nations in the international environment. The concepts of Balance of Power, Regionalism, Functionalism Disarmament and Arms Control, Collective Security, International Law, World Public Opinion, Diplomacy, Integration, Globalization etc., are the important principles, processes and concepts of international relations. These have been continuously influencing the actual operation of the foreign policies of all the nations. A student of International Politics has to study all such regulators and principles.

9. Study Current Global Problems and Issues

The scope of International Politics involves the study of major contemporary issues and problems. For examples International terrorism. Protection of Human Rights, Issue of Climatic Change, Environment Protection Ethnic Conflicts, Sustainable Development and others.

10. Key subjects of Study

Presently, the Scope of International Politics includes the study of all the factors and forces which direct shape and condition the behaviour of nations in international relations. In comparison with the pre-1945 situation, today we find the scope of International Politics very vast and still fast expanding. Currently the study of International Politics includes a study of the behaviour of nations and all the factors and forces which shape and condition their behaviour.

The key topics are National Power, National Interest, Ideology, Foreign Policy, Diplomacy, Disarmament, Arms Control Nuclear weapons, Problems of international peace and security, international terrorists, Environment Protection, Ethnic Violence Ethnic Relations, Sustainable Development, Regionalism and Regional Organisations, MNCs, TNCs, Economic Instruments of Policy, Nationalism, Internationalism, major International Movements and trends, International Institutions, WorldPublic Opinion, World Government, Balance of Power, Collective Security, Imperialism, Neo-colonialism, New Imperialism, War & Peace, Conflict-Resolution, International power structure and several more. Thus the scope of international relations has been a very vast and fast expanding scope.

1.5 Growth of International Relations as a Discipline

International Politics has been a fast developing discipline. After the establishment of the first chair of international relations in 1919, it has been registering rapid developments. It has been keeping pace with the highly dynamic and developing nature of relations among nations. Hence its scope has been a fast-expanding scope.

The study of International Politics has become an important academic exercise in, contemporary times. The big increase in the number of sovereign states, their growing interdependence and increasing complexities of international relations have together made the study of relations among nations a highly interesting, necessary and useful field of study. The future of humankind has become largely dependent upon the nature of relations among nations. The linkages between domestic politics and international relations have increased manifold. The role of nation-state and sovereignty in international has been now undergoing a big perceptible change in this era of

globalization.

International Relations can be interpreted by some to be 'actual relations between states' but in the academic field of International Relations, we give it a somewhat different definition. Whilst there has never been a precise definition regarding the discipline of International Relations it can be broadly defined as "A branch of social sciences dealing with policies, developments and interactions, the effects of which cross national boundaries and affect the lives of people in different countries and in several parts of the world."

Though IR as an academic discipline is of recent origin, relations among nations is a phenomena that is as old as history itself. Scholars often trace the origin of International Relations back to 1648. This is due to the fact that although actual relations between states had taken place since the ancient civilizations such as Egypt, Greece, Rome –they were incidental, sporadic and limited in nature. But by the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 International relations assumed a new character. It was from this treaty that the concepts of "territorial sovereignty" and "independent nation state" were born. But it isn't until the period after World War I in the 1920's that International Relations developed as a "distinct discipline". The industrial revolution in the 19th century, brought with it new thought, technology, communication, transportation. Trade, transit and transactions had become the order of the day. All these developments had made international relations more systematic, regular and comprehensive. The trauma of the First World War made people demand a better understanding of foreign relations; War and peace came to the forefront; all these developments drew peoples' attention to the growing importance of international relations as an academic discipline.

International Relations as a field of study, has a long history of growth and development. This is yet another important factor in proving that it has indeed developed into becoming a distinct academic discipline. Between 1900-1939, the study of International Relations was gradually progressing and as an academic discipline it received a wider recognition during the inter-war period (1919-1939). Its development was further aided by the many universities, research bodies, and organizations that showed a great interest in IR at the time. The League of Nations also had a considerable role to play in the development of IR as a distinct discipline, as it encouraged the study by its work as a forum for international discussions and by sponsoring many International Conferences. After the 2nd World War, the concept of war had once again rocked the entire world with the multitude of death and destruction it brought with it and this underlined the compelling need to improve the

techniques of inter-state relations for the survival of the human race.

After its birth in first half of the 20th century, International relations, attained adulthood in the post-second world war era passing through several stages. This development can be divided into a few phases such as the Prenatal, Organizational, Cold War and Scientific Phases.

Kenneth Thompson has summed up the development of international relations as a discipline in the following stages.

1. The first stage –up to the end of the World war I (1919) IR was taught by diplomatic historians who were more interested in history than in politics, their main concern was the description of past events rather than the analysis of present ones.
2. The second stage starting after the end of World War I stressed only on the study of current affairs. This was a reaction to the excessive concentration on the past done during the first stage.
3. The third stage –was during the inter-war years (1919-1939) also known as the 20-year crisis period. Scholars during this time tended to take a more moralistic and legalistic approach towards studying IR. More emphasis was laid on the importance of international Law and International Organizations. Especially the League of Nations which was formed during this time, with the hope of narrowing nationalism by internationalism. The Idealist approach became popular during this time.
4. The fourth stage –was the period following the World War II (1945) During this era people had lost faith in the power and authority of international organizations and international law as a tool of maintaining peace; because of the failure of the League of Nations (its failure to prevent yet another world war). Therefore the emphasis of this period shifted towards a scientific analysis of the developments of international politics. Scientific studies were conducted on what causes war, how to avoid war, what influences the behavior of states, etc.

   Kenneth. W. Thompson had formulated these four stages in the 1952 whereas so many new things have happened in the world since then and the study of International relations has accordingly taken several new forms and contents. Therefore the following stages maybe added to understand the development of International relations as a distinct discipline up-to-date.
5. The fifth stage could be described as cold war phase (1945-1989). There was no complete war or peace during this time; hence it was

described as the Cold war period. One of the main characteristics of this era was the intense rivalry between USA and USSR by way of bloc politics. What was most essential during this time was a Balance of Power. In the 1950's and 1960's the Realist approach became the popular approach in IR, they believed that Politics is nothing but a struggle for power. Marxism also raised its head during this time. From the mid 1960's to the 1970's The Behavioural Approach became popular. During the era of "Detente" in the 1970's another approach known as Post-Behaviouralism was adopted. By the mid-1980's Realism had once again emerged in the form of Neo-Realism.

6. The sixth stage is the post-cold war era which scholars used to try and establish what the cold war was all about, why it took place and what it was aimed at and what it ultimately achieved.

The role of MNCs and Non- state actors has been steadily increasing. Possibility of a Third World War, the presence of international terrorism and ethnic violence and wars constitute big dangers to humankind. There is every need to eliminate these. For this a study of international relations, which can help us to understand and handle better the course of relations/politics among nations, becomes imperative. This realization has been making the study of International Politics more and more popular and important.

International Relations consist of many characteristics of a distinct discipline, which are common to all social sciences. It has a distinct field of study, area of focus, separate subject matter, analytical methods, key elements, unique approaches, theories and concepts, and its own vocabulary which sets it apart from being a simple study and proves its distinctive disciplinary nature.

1.6 Objects of the study of International politics

In international relations we deal with nations and human beings. The states are sovereign in nature and sovereign nation states have not yet learned to live in peace. War is the most important problem facing the world community. Today a war cannot be fought with the nuclear weapons, since it would destroy the whole civilization that mankind has built up. The students of international relations should bear in mind this cold reality. Attempts may be made to put an end to this ugly phenomenon of war. Again, no community can live in isolation. What is being witnessed is increasing global inter dependence, both political and economic. A war anywhere or fluctuations in prices of commodities like oil will affect all countries. Under such conditions the study of international relations will help people to know each other and understand the problems which confront them.

Our aim is to create a world state. Every people should have consciousness about the brotherhood of man. A basic knowledge of the cultural, linguistic, or racial peculiarities of the people of the world would help us to create more understanding and tolerance.

The objects can be summed up as follows.

1. To find out ways and means leading to the establishment of peace.
2. To avoid conflict among nations and to seek the areas of co-operation.
3. To give less and less importance to the external sovereignty and to perpetuate the idea of world brotherhood.
4. To help the underdeveloped and undeveloped countries by pooling there sources of economically advanced countries.
5. Liquidation of imperialism and colonialism.
6. To balance the power among nations.
7. To establish collective security for maintaining peace and avoid aggression.
8. To give respect and obey the international law.
9. To respect and strengthen the working of international organization
10. To maintain a high standard of International morality.
11. To assure the proper enjoyment of Human rights and fundaments freedoms.

International Politics and National Politics

In international politics, there are sovereign states whose interest are not identical. These interests of the sovereign states are called the national interest. The sovereign states in order to achieve their interests come into conflict with one another and as a means to achieve the ends power is generally used. Thus, international politics is that aspect of interactions and relations of sovereign states in which the element of conflict or interest is present. National Politics, like international politics, like international politics also involves a sort of adjustment of relationship within and among individuals or groups.

Politics denotes the struggle for power. Whether it is national politics or International politics, politics is a common word. According to Morgenthau "Power man's control over the minds and actions of other men and political power means the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and people at large".

There are groups of divergent interest in national politics too and each aims to further its own interest. This incompatibility of interests generates a conflict. Keeping in mind their own interests the groups tend to strengthen their

position by making temporary alliances. However, the conflict always remains restricted to a certain level as the government checks the struggle with the help of laws. The governmental intervention may frustrate a group or a section of people from taking the process of politics beyond limits. In national politics the individual is the actor. The individual is generally under the impact of a particular culture, ideology and ethical values. This analysis states that there is an area in which the national and international politics are similar and in some respects they are different from one another.

Similarities

1. International politics as well as national politics cluster around the interests. Conflict is the result of incompatible interests.
2. In both seeking of power is important as it is the means through which the desires and wants can be fulfilled.
3. Both adopt psychological methods to seek power.
4. In both alliances generally appear from the desire of men states to strengthen themselves against the adversary.

Dissimilarities

1. In international politics only interests are permanent and so the states may use direct means to achieve their goals. The use of cunningness, treachery, and sabotage is the part and parcel of international politics. In national politics some ethical norms have to be observed. The state regulates the conduct of it citizen and punishes them if they jump over the limits.
2. In national politics the individuals are under the coercive authority of the state. The laws are universally binding upon them and the municipal courts have a complete jurisdiction over them. On the other hand, the sovereign states are governed by a weak law called international law and the International Court of Justice too cannot exercise its jurisdiction as freely as the municipal courts do in regard to individuals.
3. In international politics the sovereign states generally resort to wars if their interests are jeopardized and there is apparently no other alternative. National politics is a field which does not interest the ordinary man. The issues involved in international politics to an ordinary man are in comprehensible.

International Relations and International Politics

Many writers have shown their inability in drawing a line of demarcation between international Relations and international Politics. Kenneth Thompson and Morgenthau consider international politics as an inalienable part of

international relations. This resemblance does not make international politics the core of international relations /-Both are different from each other as shown below.

1. International Relations include all sorts of relations i.e. political, economic, cultural, geographical, legal and non-official. So it embraces the totality of relations among people. But International Politics includes only the political aspects of the overall relations. In other words only those relations which arouse actions and reactions are the subjects of IP. Thus it can be said that international politics is the political aspects of international Relations.
2. International Relations is a wider concept whereas international politics is an arrower concept.
3. The methodology of the study of international relations is descriptive while that of international politics is purely analytical. In international relations the factors are studied chronologically while in international politics the basis of study is what, when and how of the present with a relationship between the past and future.

It is established beyond doubt that international politics derives its strength from international relations. The former uses the latter as the basis and subject matter of study and hence both are one and the same thing. Modern international politics aims at the establishment of peace through the international organization and international relations too are based on this very principle. Thus, concern for peace is the common denominator between international politics and international relations.

Model Questions

1. Define international relations and discuss the nature and scope of international politics.
2. Analyse the relation between National Politics and International Politics.

CHAPTER – 2
THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Structure

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Idealism

2.3 Realism

2.4 Liberalism

2.5 Systems Theory

2.6 Decision Making Theory

2.7 The Game Theory

2.8 Communications Theory.

2.1 Introduction

The study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches. Some emerge from within the discipline itself; others have been imported, in whole or in part, from disciplines such as economics or sociology. Indeed, few social scientific theories have not been applied to the study of relations amongst nations. Many theories of international relations are internally and externally contested, and few scholars believe only in one or another. Realism and idealism are the two main competitors for recognitions as the sound approach to the study of international politics. One believes that a rational and moral political order derived from universally valid abstract principles achieved. It assumes the essential goodness and changeability of human nature. It trusts in education, reform and the periodic use of force to remedy these defects. This is the idealistic school. The basic assumption underlying realist approach is rivalry and strife among nations in some former other. It is contest for power or influence always goes on in international society, and this contest cannot be controlled by International law or Government. Therefore, the prime function of Diplomacy and Statesmanship is to check the contest for power and the means to be adopted, for its new balance of power.

2.2 Idealism

Idealistic approach to the study of international politics is the result of liberal idealism which influenced American politics between two world wars. Idealism stands for improving the course of international relations by eliminating war, hunger, inequality, tyranny, force, suppression and violence

from international relations. To remove these evils is the objective before humankind. Idealism accepts the possibility of creating a world free from these evils by depending upon reason, science and education.

"Political idealism in international relations represents a set of ideas which together oppose war and advocate the reform of international community through dependence upon moral values and the development of international institutions and international law."

"A world full of human happiness is not beyond human power to achieve." —Bertrand Russell

Idealist approach derives strength from the general idea of evolutionary progress in society and the spirit of liberal idealism which was at the back of American policies, particularly during the inter-war years. During the inter-war years (1919-39), the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson became its most forceful exponent.

The Idealist Approach advocates morality as the means for securing the desired objective of making the world an ideal world. It believes that by following morality and moral values in their relations, nations can not only secure their own development, but also can help the world to eliminate war, inequality, despotism, tyranny, violence and force.

"For the idealists, politics is the art of good government and not the art of possible. Politics provides for the good life and respect for his fellow humans, both domestically and internationally." —Couloumbis and Wolfe

As such Idealism advocates the need for improving relations among nations by removing the evils present in the international environment.

Main Features of Idealism

1. Human nature is essentially good and capable of good deeds in international relations.
2. Human welfare and advancement of civilization are the concerns of all.
3. Bad human behaviour is the product of bad environment and bad institutions.
4. By reforming the environment, bad human behaviour can be eliminated.
5. War represents the worst feature of relations.
6. By reforming international relations, war can be and should be eliminated.
7. Global efforts are needed to end war, violence and tyranny from

international relations.

8. International community should work for eliminating such global instruments, features and practices which lead to war.
9. International institutions committed to preserve international peace, international law and order should be developed for securing peace, prosperity and development.

The main supporters of idealism have been Mahatma Gandhi, Bertrand Russell, Woodrow Wilson, Aldous Huxley, William Ladd, Richard Cobben, Margret Mead, and others. They strongly oppose the realist view of international politics as struggle for power and national interest and advocate the use of reason, education and science for securing reforms in relations and for eliminating war and other evils from international relations.

Disadvantages

Idealist scholars have enriched the thoughts of man, but have never given ideas which may solve the problem existing in reality. Their ideas are to be respected though not to be obeyed in the study of international relations. The states are not ready to follow the moral doctrines of idealistic approach in practice.

2.3 Realism

The Philosophy as realism which flourished almost throughout the 18th and 19th centuries has been revived after the Second World War E.H .Carr, George Kennan, Thompson, Schuman and Morgenthau are the leading realists. Morgenthau's is generally recognised as the main exponent of this theory. It was he who gave theoretical orientation to realism. He is the first to develop a realistic model. According to him, the central focus of realism is power. Other realists who follow Morgenthau have only carried forward the tradition established by him.

Since Morgenthau is the chief advocate of the realist school it is proper to discuss in detail his realist theory of International politics. In his famous book 'Politics Among Nations, published in the late forties Morgenthau propounded the theory. He has developed his theory in the form of six principles of political realism.

The first principle of Political realism is that Politics is governed by objective laws which have their roots in human nature. Man is a mixture of good and bad, selfishness and altruism. Loving and quarrelsome traits and possessive and sacrificial qualities. Above all his is the story of struggle for survival and human history is an account of War contest and peaceful settlements. The earliest theory of politics takes into account the story of

human history as it has unfolded itself and tries to prevent it in a rational manner.

Secondly the main element of Political realism is the concept of national interest which Morgenthau defines in terms of power. His assumption is that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power. Power is not only a tool of analysis but also a guide to policy.

According to Morgenthau, a foreign policy should concern more with the political requirement of success rather than anything else. He guards against two popular fallacies. The concern with motives and the concern with ideological preferences. A student of international politics must not indulge in fining the motives of statesmen. For one thing such a task is difficult as motives are a complex psychological phenomenon and another its is unnecessary in political study.

Another factor which we must guard against in the desire to find out ideological roots for statesman's act. Ideology very often provides an idealistic or philosophical cover for actions which are essentially nationalist and thus misguide the researcher. The Sino-Soviet conflict had initially developed in ideological term. Mao had accused 'Khrushchev of abandoning the revolutionary mission of communism and of pursing a policy of peaceful co-existence with imperialistic west. But by the beginning of the seventies. Maohimself had established ties with the US. He vehemently criticized Soviet Policy towards the non-aligned world especially with India.

Thirdly, interest and power are no doubt the key concept in Morgenthau's Theory, but the meaning attached to them is not static and fixed once and for all. The states interests are fluid and change with the ever changing situation in the world at large.

Fourthly, political realism, though aware of the moral significance of political action, maintains that universal moral principles should not be applied to the action of states in their abstract universal formulation. It must be modified in accordance with the time and place. Realism, considers prudence to be the supreme virtue in politics. There can be no political morality without prudence.

Fifthly, as political realism does not identify national interests with universal morality and defeats its own purpose, it does not treat what is right and justifiable for certain nation as good for all countries. It refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with moral law that governs universe.

Finally political realism maintains the autonomy of the political sphere. It thinks in term of interest defined as power. It puts all other standards in

subordination to political standard. It should not be mixed up with the legalistic moralistic approach to international politics.

Evaluation

Like any other general theory, Morgenthau's realist theory appears vague and abstract when subjected to detailed examination. Although he has termed his theory as realist, the rational statesman he has envisaged to exist more in theory than in reality. As Stanley Hoffman has pointed out, irrational factors too influence Statesmen's decisions as it would be unrealistic to brush them aside as irrelevant intrusions or pathological deviations. History is replete with fanatic rulers who saw no other social good and morality except the one that they had cherished. To say that such fantasy was not rational is to admit the limitations of his realist model.

In conclusion we may say that Morgenthau made the study of international politics scientific. His two messages are (1) adopt that policy which enhances the power of a nation. (2) Know other's interest to avoid conflicts. So his approach is less open to risk.

2.4 Liberalism

Liberalism suggests in fact states can peacefully co-exist, and that states aren't always on the brink of war. Liberal scholars point to the fact that despite the persistence of armed conflict, most nations are not at war most of the time. Most people around the world don't get up and start chanting "Death to America!" and trying to figure out who they can bomb today. Liberalism argues that relations between nations are not always a zero-sum game. A zero-sum game is one in which any gain by one player is automatically a loss by another player. My gains in security, for example, don't make you worse off, and your gains in anything don't make me worse off. Liberal theory also points to the fact that despite the condition of anarchy in the world, most nations are not at war, most of the time. So the idea that international relations must be conducted as though one were always under the threat of attack isn't necessarily indicative of reality.

2.5 Systems Theory

Besides the idealist and realist approaches there are some other approaches which are more reasonable and realistic. The systems approach is one among them. Among the political scientists who made a significant contribution to this theory mention must be made of David Easton, Gabriel Almond and Morton Kaplan field of international politics.

Mortan Kaplan is one of the best representative of the system approach Kaplan believes that a system is most inclusive if it has such recognizable

interest as are neither completely identical not necessarily opposed to each other. A political system should have specific areas of jurisdiction and should provide methods for settling conflicts of jurisdiction. To him force is necessary as a last resort to keep the political system intact. He believes that the most important system is the international system. But he does not regard international system as apolitical system is subordinate to their role of decision making with international system is subordinate to their role in the national actor system. He thinks that the behaviour of national actors in the field of international affairs is always governed by the basic consideration of national interests. In other words to Kaplan actors on international scene belong to two categories: national actors and Supra national actors. National actors are the nation states like Soviet Russia, U.S. India, Saudi Arabia etc. The Supra national actors are such international actors as the NATO, Warsaw pact, the U.N. etc.

Morton Kaplan suggests that six international systems may be identified the balance of power, the loose bipolar, the tight polar, the universal the hierarchical and the unit veto systems. In a situation where too many actors influence international relations, it becomes difficult to strike a perfect balance of power position and loose bipolar system develops. The universal international systems grow when the universal actor like the U.N usurps many of the functions of powerful units in a loose bipolar system. In such a system the universal actor become powerful enough to prevent war among nations, but national actors, retain their individuality. In the Hierarchical international system, the universal actor becomes too powerful and the international community becomes a sort of world state. The unit Veto system develops as a result of weapons development. This system corresponds to the state of nature described by Hobbes in which the interests of all are opposed and in which all are at war in with each other.

1. Balance of power System

This model was operated in the 18th and 19th century in Europe. It is a popular model in which the power relations among five or six major powers constitute a balance and there is no authoritative international organization present in the system. The six basic rule of this model are

1. Each essential actor should increase its capabilities but this should be done through negotiation and not through war.
2. The primary obligations of each national actor must be to itself, which implies that unless a national actor is capable of protecting its own interests, those interests are unlikely to be achieved, and therefore, capabilities are to be increased even at the risk of war, if necessary.

3. One should stop fighting rather than eliminate an essential national actor.
4. The national actor should oppose any coalition of actors which tends to assume a position of predominance in relation to the rest of the system.
5. The national actor should prevent other actors from subscribing to a super national principle.
6. Defeated or constrained national actors should be permitted to re-enter the system and all essential actors should be acceptable as role partners.

These six rules keep intact the balance in relations. Kaplan is of the opinion that Failure to keep these rules lead to disturbances and finally to an end of the balance. The end of the balance leads to an end of the system. In the early years of the 20th century these rules were not followed and hence the balance of power system suffered a breakdown and the First World War broke out in 1914.

2. Loose Bi-polar System

The breaking down of the Balance of Power system leads to Bi-polar system. Its two forms are loose bi-polar system and tight bi-polar system. In the loose bi-polar system the norms or the rules of the game are never observed. They differ from actor to actor. The actors of this system can be divided into many sub-classes as national actors, super national actors and non-member actors. The present international situation explains the loose bi-polar system. The national actors are divided into two blocs the communist bloc headed by the Soviet Union and the non-communist bloc whose leader in the U.S.A. the non-aligned states can be considered as non-member actors. NATO is the super national institution which has a distinct role.

3. Tight Bi-polar System

The loose bi-polar system easily gets transformed into tight bi-polar system. It is a bi-polar system in which the two major powers lead their respective bloc of allied powers. Each bloc is dominated by the major power. The international organisations are very weak and there are no neutral blocs or nations.

4. The Universal System

The fourth model is the universal system in which the nations get organised in a federal system. The world gets transformed into a federal world state based upon the principles of mutual toleration and universal rule of law, and working through a universal actor in international organisation. The universal actor is powerful enough to check war and preserve peace or a balance in international relations.

5. The Hierarchical System

Hierarchical System came into existence when a single powerful super power can bring, through either a conquest or treaty, all other nations under its control. The states as territorial units are then transformed into functional units. The super-power becomes the universal actor and absorbs al other nations. In case this system comes into existence through conquest, it is a directive system, but if it comes through democratic means, it is a non-directive system.

6. The Unit Veto System

The sixth model projected by Kaplan is the unit veto system. It involves the conception of a situation of multipolarity in which each state is equally powerful. Each possesses such weapons as can be used by it for destroying any other caste. It becomes stable when each state can resist and retaliate threats from every other state.

Morton Kaplan's systems theory evoked more criticism than acclaim. His classification of international relations into six systems has been arbitrary and one can minimize or maximize such categories in another analytical framework. The Chief critique of Morton is Stanley Hoffman. He accused such theorists building models at the expense of our understanding of the field of political science

2.6 Decision Making Theory

This is another important approach that has been emphasised in the study of international politics during the last decades. The first major attempt at introducing the decision making analysis in the study of foreign policy was made by Richard Snyder and others after the II World war and is specially developed in the area of foreign policymaking.

The decision making approach has two fundamental purpose. The first is the identification, crucial structure in the political realm where change takes place, decisions are taken and actions are indicated and carried out. The second is the systematic analysis of the decision making behaviour which leads to action. This approach focuses in query on action called decision makers and on the state defined as decisional units. The action of the state is seen through the action of decision makers.

Analysing the factor that operate on decision makers, Snyder divides them into three main sets of stimuli, the internal setting, the external setting and the decision making process. He studies the personality factor of the decision maker and the various agencies and processes involved in decision making. The theory takes the study of international politics to the real actor from the abstract states and collective situation. The decision making theory has

contributed a great deal to the understanding of theprocess of foreign policy making which all other theories has rejected. Snyder's scheme ismost impressive as a detailed approach to the whole of international relations.

Criticism

In the words of Frankel, "The major weakness of the approach is that it concentrates exclusively upon images and perceptions and ignores the objective reality which these reflect." Some criticism of this approach are given below

1. Decision-making approach is a part of policy science.
2. It involves the study of a large number of variables which makes the task very complicated.
3. It is difficult to distinguish between strictly official and non-official decision makers of a state.
4. There is no uniform method or technique of studying the decision-making process.
5. The scope of this approach is limited.

2.7 The Game Theory

The approach suggested by the theory of game has also been used in the study of international politics. The theory of game has been developed mainly by mathematicians and economists. Martin Shubik, Oskar Morgenstern and Karl Deutsch were among the first to recognize the importance of game theory. It is a method of analysis and also of selecting the best course of action.

Game theory is the study of strategic decision making. Specifically, it is "the study of mathematical models of conflict and cooperation between intelligent rational decision-makers. The theory has been defined as body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflicts and competition when each participant or player seeks to maximize gains and minimize losses. It is a mathematical model in which the player is placed in a certain fixed situation and tries to make maximum gains from his opponents.

Three principal kinds of game have been identified in the framework of game theory. The first is called games with identical interests, the second games with opposite interests and the third games with mixed interests.

The game theory has five important concepts. They are strategy, opponent, pay-off, rules and information. The strategy takes into account the potential behavior of opponents. The Game theory assumes as opponent and this is the second important concept of game theory. The Third is pay off which refers what the game is worth at the end. The fourth is rules that govern a game. The fifth significant concept in Game theory is information. The

theory is highly abstract and works only under assumed conditions.

Communication Theory has been developed mainly by Karl W Deutsch for understanding the national scene and has been applied to international politics by Charles. A. McClelland and others. Deutsch's concern was to reduce the importance of the notion of power in Politics and highlight the importance of the flow of information in government decisions. The communications theory treats the Government as decision making system based on various information flows. The theory is equally important in international politics.

Communications has indeed transformed human relation as well as relations between states to much greater extent than any other development. It has increased people's exposition to official and non-official and non-official propaganda and strengthened both totalitarian and regimes and democracies. The communication system has undoubtedly increased interdependence of international community. It has made functioning of an international agency like the U.N much easier.

Model Questions

1. Write a short note on balance of power.
2. Explain briefly the Game Theory and discuss its application to the study of international politics.

CHAPTER - 3
NATIONAL POWER

Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Meaning of National Power

3.3 Characteristics of National Power

3.4 Nature of National Power

3.5 Main Features of National Power

3.6 Dimensions of National Power

3.7 Methods of Exercising National Power

3.8 Elements of National Power

3.9 Limitations of National Power

3.1 Introduction

Power is the key component of international politics. It plays a vital role in the conduct of relations among nations. It is necessary for securing the values and interests that the state seeks to preserve and promote. In the words of Carl Becker, "Politics is inseparable from power. States and governments exist to exert power. In each country and in the world at large there is either a stable balance of power or an unstable balance of power or no balance of power at all. But there is always power. Political power exists in the world will be used by those who have it.

National Power is the ability or capability of a nation to secure the goals and objectives of its national interests in relation with other nations. It involves the capacity to use force or threat of use of force or influence over others for securing the goals of national interest.

3.2 Meaning of National Power

We can understand the meaning of National Power by first analyzing the meaning and nature of power:

It is not easy to explain the meaning of 'Power', more particularly in the context of human relations. We are encountered with many different explanations in various disciplines. Even within a single social discipline, Power is defined in several different ways. Some social scientists define it as the use of force whereas many others explain it as the capacity to secure the desired goals through the use of force or threat of use of force or even by exercising influence.

Power has been the epicenter of human relations from the very inception of humanity. Power plays an important role in International relations and it is an essential element of politics. The status of state in the International sphere is determined not by its civilization or culture but by its physical force. The dictionary meaning of the term power is "that in a person or thing which enables them to act on other persons or things. Morgenthau wrote this "when we speak of power, we mean man's control over the minds and actions of other man".

"Power is the capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance." —Schwarzenegger.

"Power is the ability to exercise such control as to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward them or by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they value." —Charles P. Schleicher.

Palmer and Perkins observed, "To the totality of states effectiveness in world politics, we apply the term power".

On the basis of these definitions we can say that power in the context of human relations is the capacity and ability to secure a desired and intended effect or gain by means of use of force, influence or control.

National Power

After having understood the meaning of power, it becomes quite easy to define National Power.

1. "National Power is that combination of power and capability of a state which the state uses for fulfilling its national interests and goals." — Padelford and Lincoln
2. "National Power denotes the ability of a nation to fulfill national goals. It tells us as to how much powerful or weak a particular nation is in securing its national goals." —Hartman
3. "National Power is the ability of a nation to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with its own ends. Unless a nation can do this, she may be large, she may be wealthy, she may even be great but she is not powerful." —Organski

In simple words, it can be said that National Power is the ability or capability of a nation to secure the goals and objectives of its national interests in relation with other nations. It involves the capacity to use force or threat of use of force or influence over others for securing the goals of national interest. In this way, we can define National Power as "the ability to control the behaviour of other states in accordance with one's own will." National Power

is the currency of international relations.

3.3 Characteristics of National Power

Some characteristics of national power are given below

1. Unstable nature

The nature of national power is unstable. Its elements are changeable. A nation can become weak at a time but after sometime it can be strong. Some years ago India was not so strong as now-a-days.

2. Comparative nature

Nature and standard of national power can be observed by comparative method. One element of the national power of a nation can be compared with the same element of the national power of other nation. A nation can be said weak or strong after the comparison of the power and capacity of two nations.

3. Relativity

When a nation changes its power relations with other nations will be changed automatically. For example, after getting independence the relation between India and Britain have changed automatically on account of relativity.

4. No two nations have equal power

No two nations have absolutely equal power. There can be only a rough equality between the equally powerful and super powers. The power of a nation is always more or less than the power of every other nation.

5. All elements have equal importance

There are several elements of national power. They all have equal importance. If any one element of national power will be given more importance than the other then the foreign policy of a country cannot be successful.

6. No true evaluation of National power

Real assessment of the country is not possible, therefore real evaluation of the power of a nation is not possible.

3.4 Nature of National Power

For understanding the nature of National Power let us know the meaning of the terms ‘National’ and ‘Power’:

1. National

In common usage the term ‘National’ means pertaining to the nation. As such national power means the power of a nation. However, in the context of national power the term ‘nation’ does not bear the same meaning, as is the case in Political Science. Political Science defines nation as a group of population bound by a strong sense of nationality based upon common race,

religion, motherland, language, history, culture, economic needs etc.

In the context of national powers, the term nation stands for the power of the group of decision makers, statesmen and diplomats who exercises power on behalf of the nation. More specifically, it is the power of the decision-makers who formulate and implement the foreign policy of the nation and thereby attempt to secure national goals.

National Power does not mean the power of the entire population of the state. It is only a psychological link that makes the people regard the power of the decision-makers as their own power. An increase in the power of a nation really means an increase in the power of the decision-makers, statesmen and diplomats of the nation to secure the goals of national interest. Hence, when we speak of national power in international politics, we really refer to the power of decision-makers of a nation in terms of their ability to secure the national interest of their nation.

2. Power:

For understanding the nature of power in the context of National Power, let us distinguish between Power and Force, Power and Influence, Force and Influence, and its several other features.

A. Power and Force:

Force means physical force, violence in the form of police action, imprisonment, punishment or war. Power means a psychological relationship of control which is backed by the use of force, or threat of use of force. When physical force, war and other means involving the use of military power or police power is actually used to secure certain objectives, power stands replaced by force.

Wolfe and Coulomb's equate "force with military capacity of a nation, either in reserve or actualized." They regard power as "a wider concept that not only includes the threat or the actual use of force but may also rely on positive and non-violent means of persuasion, such as economic rewards, acts of cooperation and ideological solidarity."

B. Power and Influence:

There exists a subtle difference between Power and Influence. Both are intimately related terms with similar variables and sources, and even in respect of the desired end. Both involve the ability to produce an intended change or effect in the behaviour of others. However, the two are not the same. Power involves a use of force or threat of use of force. Political Power or Legal Power is backed by authority or sovereignty of the state.

Influence involves the attempt to change the behaviour of others through persuasion and not by threats or force. The scope of influence is wider than the scope of power and it is more democratic than power. Nations try to influence other nations but in the ultimate sense the success is determined by the capacity to use force or threat of use of force.

Hence, it is power and not influence which is the real currency of International Politics. Role of influence is subservient to power. Only those nations have influence which are powerful nations. Thus, power is neither force nor influence. But at the time it involves, in one form or the other, both force and influence.

3.5 Main Features of National Power

National Power has a non-stable, dynamic character and as such it has to be continuously or at least periodically and regularly evaluated for understanding the role of the nation in international relations. National power is always dynamic. A powerful nation can become less powerful or more powerful in future.

Some of the most important features of national power in politics are as follows:

1. National Power is both a Means as well as an End in International Relations

National Power is the means to control the behaviour of other states with a view to accomplish certain ends. It is recognized as the currency with which a nation can secure the desired values—peace, security, progress, development, status, and more power. Nations use power to secure their interests in international relations. This makes power a means in relations among nations.

However, in actual practice power is pursued as an objective or as an end. Nations want power not only for their immediate but also for their future needs. They, therefore, always try to build up a reserve of power and hence pursue power as an end. Thus, power like money is a means but it is mostly pursued as an end.

2. National Power is the Ability to Secure Goals of National Interest:

National Power is the ability or capacity of a nation to influence or change the behaviour of other nations with a view to secure the goals of its national interest. It is a relationship in which a powerful nation is in a position to achieve its desired goals of national interest in international relations. National Power of a nation is measured in terms of its ability to secure its goals and objectives in international relations.

3. National Power is Dynamic and Relative in Character:

National power is always relative to time and resources. The power of a nation has to be analyzed both through an analysis of the capabilities and ability of the nation as well as by a comparison of its national power with other nations.

Further, National Power is dynamic. It keeps on increasing or decreasing. The debacle that India suffered in the 1962-war with China, considerably reduced the national power of India in relations with other nations. But a reasonably good account in 1965 war with Pakistan followed by a decisive victory in 1971 war gave a big boost to the national power of India. In post-1971 period, India's ability to exercise influence over other nations considerably increased.

The status as one of the founding members of the Non-aligned, an important leader of the Third World and the good progress in development of technology and industrial development have further increased India's national power. Unfortunately, some domestic problems and issues have been at times adversely affected India's ability to exercise power in international relations. Internal disturbances have been acting as a limitation on India's power in international relations. Thus, India's national power has been dynamic and so has been the case of other nations.

National Power has a non-stable, dynamic character and as such it has to be continuously or at least periodically and regularly evaluated for understanding the role of the nation in international relations. National power is always dynamic. A powerful nation can become less powerful or more powerful in future.

This depends upon the changes in the power potential of other nations as well as upon the various components of national power. The power of a nation is always relative to the powers of other nations, particularly the power of its adversaries. In 1990, the collapse of the USSR and decline in the Russian power acted as a source of increase in the US power in international relations.

4. No Two Nations Have Equal Power

Further, it must be noted that no two nations have or can have absolutely equal power. There can be only a rough equality between two equally powerful super powers or great powers or major powers. The power of a nation is always more or less than the power of every other nation**.**

5. There Are Several Elements of National Power:

National power is often analyzed and evaluated in terms of the capabilities of a nation which are determined on the basis of several factors,

like Geography, Population, Industrial Capacity, Diplomacy, Military Preparedness, Quality of Leadership and Government etc. All these factors have to be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively for evaluating the national power of a nation.

6. Actual Power and Potential Power:

Moreover, the attempt to analyze the power of a nation must focus both on the analysis of actual power as well as potential power of a nation. Actual power is the power which is immediately available, whereas potential power is the power that can be generated in situations of crisis and times of need. It refers to the crisis- management ability as well as the possible availability of power in the years to come.

7. National Power is the Currency of International Relations:

Each nation seeks to use its power for securing its national interests in international relations. It is this feature which makes us regard international relations as a process of struggle for power. The nature of this struggle for power can be analyzed only through an analysis of the national powers of various nations. The role that a nation is playing or can play in international relations can be judged by evaluating its national power. It is also needed for understanding the national interests of nations.

In fact, the greatest of all the national interests of a nation is to maintain and increase its national power. It is the means for the fulfillment of the needs and aspirations of a nation. As such, it is on the basis of an analysis of national power that we can assess the importance and role of a nation in international politics.

8. National Power is the Basis as Well as a Means of Foreign Policy:

National Power is the very basis of the foreign policy of a nation. Only that foreign policy can be effective in securing the goals of national interest which is backed by adequate national power. The ability of the statesmen and diplomats to act and react with others is again determined by the national power of their respective nations.

3.6 Dimensions of National Power

Some of the major dimensions of national power in international politics are as follows: 1. Military Power 2. Economic Power 3. Psychological Power.

The three forms of national power are inseparable from each other. Without economic power no nation can develop her military power, and without the latter no nation can play an active role in international relations. Psychological power can be enduringly and really effective only when it is

backed by economic and military power.

1. Military Power

Military power is an important form of national power. It is regarded as absolutely essential for achieving the objective of security of the nation. For every nation, security is the most vital element of its national interest. In fact, it is the primary concern of every nation to work for securing her security.

The possibility of violation of security of a nation through war and aggression by other nations is always considered as a distinct possibility and hence every nation gives first priority to her security. For keeping her security against possible violations, each nation maintains an army. Military power is regarded as the key means for securing the security and territorial integrity of each nation.

Military power is as such a vital part of national power. The role and importance of a state in international relations depends upon its military power. No state can get recognition as a super power or big power without becoming a big military power. The USA is a super power and it is a formidable military power. Japan and Germany are big economic powers but are not recognized as super powers or great powers because they are weak military powers.

While evaluating military power of a nation we have to take into account the other two forms (Economic Power and Psychological Power) of national power, the elements of military power and the military power of other nations. Russia, the successor state of erstwhile USSR continues to be a nuclear power but it is no longer accepted as a super power because of its economic weakness. China is a big military power and yet it is not recognized as a super power.

2. Economic Power

Economic power is the second important form of national power. It is constituted by the ability of a nation to satisfy its own needs and to control the behaviour of other states by affording or denying access to economic goods and services. The economic means of foreign policy are today the most vital means which a state can use for influencing the actions and behaviour of other states. No state can become a military power without having adequate economic power.

"Economic power is inseparable from military power, for it is one of its basic components, to say that under conditions of modern warfare, economic power is military power is only a slight exaggeration." —Palmer and Perkins

Economic power is used by rich and developed nations to influence other states by granting them economic aid and loans. It is also through its

economic power that the rich states try to secure their interests in international relations. It is used both as a means to induce as well as to coerce through economic pressure for securing a desired change in the behaviour of other states.

In fact, in contemporary times, economic power has come to be recognized as even more important form of national power than military power. The example of Japan can be quoted as a proof. Lack of economic power has been a basic factor behind the weak power positions of the Third World countries.

While evaluating the economic power of a nation one has to take into account such factors as raw material, natural resources, food stocks, industrial and technological capacity, G.N.P., trade surplus, means of transport and communication, GDP, GDP per capita etc. However, economic power of a nation when not backed by military power and psychological power is not very effective in international relations.

3. Psychological Power:

Psychological power means the power of opinion and image of the nation. The role of propaganda and persuasive negotiations in international relations is a well known fact. These means are used by the states for securing an intended change in the behaviour of other states.

The improvement in the means of communications, increased influence of mass media and public opinion on foreign policy, the emergence of the age of open and conference diplomacy, the popularity of alternative ideologies the increase in people to people contacts, the role of NGOs and social movements, and the increased role of propaganda and publicity in international relations, have all increased the role of this dimension of National Power.

By the use of psychological and cultural means a nation always tries to influence the people and leaders of other nations. The ability to influence others through systematic publicity and educational and cultural relations constitutes the psychological part of the national power of a nation.

The Interdependence of the Three Forms of National Power

The three forms of national power are inseparable from each other. Without economic power no nation can develop her military power, and without the latter no nation can play an active role in international relations. Psychological power can be enduringly and really effective only when it is backed by economic and military power. Between 1950 and 1962 India was successful in exercising psychological power over a large majority of nations.

However, the Chinese invasion of 1962 and economic and industrial under-development as reflected in the outbreak of recurring famines and floods, made it very difficult for India in post-1962 period, to exercise power in international relations. This made India realize fully the importance of the other two forms of national power.

The increased military power and economic development since 1970s have now helped India to increase its psychological power in international relations. As one of the founding members and an important leader of the Non-aligned Movement as well as of the Third World, the fact of being the most developed among all the developing nations, and now the fact of being a nuclear power and world's second largest fast developing economic market, have further helped India to strengthen its power of opinion in world politics.

Thus, psychological power is closely related with economic power and military power. It is a valuable and important part of national power. The nature and scope National Power of nation can be evaluated only by evaluating all these three highly related and interdependent dimensions of National Power.

3.7 Methods of Exercising National Power

Each nation uses its national power for securing its national interests, and goals of foreign policy. It is used by the nation through four basic means Persuasion, Rewards, Punishment and Force.

1. Persuasion

Persuasion is a very effective method of exercising national power. The art of persuasion consists in defining and logically explaining a particular problem or issue or dispute to other nations or any other nation. An attempt is made to persuade other nations to adopt a particular and desired view or perception of the nature of issues involved in any bilateral or multilateral problem or dispute or issue.

Here the attempt is to convince others about the reasonableness and justness of the policies of the nation. Diplomacy basically uses persuasion as a method of securing support for the foreign policy that it represents.

Persuasion is widely used by diplomats and statesmen for securing the desired and defined objectives of the foreign policy. It is an effective method of exercising power. But success in persuasion can be achieved only when it is supplemented by other methods and when it is backed by a strong national power and effective foreign policy.

2. Rewards

The second popular method of exercising power is the offering of rewards. These rewards can be material or economic or psychological. A

nation can give material help to another nation in times of crisis or even otherwise. The practice of giving economic aid and easy loans or grants-in-aid is another method of winning support and inducing a change in the behavior of other states.

The token support or grant of certain honors to the statesmen, philosophers, artists, scientists and educationists of other nations also serve as psychological rewards intended to keep the other states friendly and cooperative.

The lease of territories or a military bases or equipment—industrial or military, transit and trade facilities and grant of right to allow passage of ships are some of the other forms of rewards which a state can offer to other states for securing a desired change in their behaviors. The USA is currently rewarding Pakistan for supporting US operations against terrorists in Afghanistan.

3. Punishment

A third way of exercising power is punishment. A powerful nation can inflict punishment on an offending or unhelpful state by imposing economic sanctions or norms or policies or placing trade restrictions or ensuring a denial of a possible reward. Denial or reduction in foreign aid or loan or refusal to export certain items or technology can be used by a powerful nation for inflicting a punishment or pressure on other nations.

Thus punishment can be used by a powerful nation for exercising its power over other states. In actual practice the powerful nations use threat of punishment as a method and refrain from actual imposition of punishment. The recourse to punishment can cause a reaction and thus harm the interest of the state resorting to punishment as a method of exercising its power.

The most effective punishment is the one which secures the desired objective of a state without the actual infliction of punishment on other states. Threat of punishment is a better method of exercise of national power than its actual infliction.

4. Force

The last method of exercising power is the actual use of force or physical violence. By the use of military power or physical force, a powerful nation can compel a desired change in the behaviour of another nation. As a method of exercising power, force is related to punishment.

When punitive action is actually taken against another nation, it becomes a case of use of force. However, when only threat of punitive action is given without the actual use of physical violence against the other state, it

becomes a case of exercise of power through the use of punishment. As such the difference between force and punishment is in the actual use of force versus the threat of use of force.

Physical force or violence can be used by resorting to war or acts of reprisals and restoration by a powerful state. Resort to war is the extreme form of exercise of force (Power) in international relation. It is indeed a risky and dangerous method, which can seriously limit and damage the national power of the state which resorts to war. This consideration makes the resort to war as a method of exercising power as the last resort.

Each nation uses these four basic means for exercising her national power in international relations. These are used simultaneously for securing the desired objectives or goals of the foreign policy of a nation. However, presently nations try to make a minimum use of the method of force because they prefer to follow the principles of peaceful co-existence and peaceful conflict-resolution. The use of national power is always governed by the objective of securing the goals of national interest of the nation.

3.8 Elements of National Power

All the elements of national power cannot be satisfactorily determined. Morgenthauhas divided the elements into two categories-permanent and temporary. Palmer andPerkins has divided the elements into tangible and intangible Organski has made adistinction between the natural determinants of power and social determinants of power.The elements of National power are inter related. For example, oil without engineers isvalueless and radio without ideas is fruitless. The following are some of the elements ofNational Power.

1. **Geography**

Napoleon once said that "The foreign policy of a country is determined byits geography". Geography has always been a determining factor of the national powerof a state. Today states are inter dependent to each other. So geography has its role inthe relations of nations. Geography as an element of national power has the followingsub elements.

a. **Size: -** The size of a state, whether small or great, is an important element of nationalpower. But only size does not make a state powerful. Even a small country can exert itsinfluence in International relations very much. For an e.g. Japan defeated Russie in 1905in the Russia-Japanese. Big size creates problem of for variety of reasons.

b. **Topography:** Topography gives certain advantages and disadvantages to a country. The rivers many provide ports, harbours and advantageous transport system. At the same time they may create obstacles in building

road, play havoc through floods etc. Mountains cause rainfall, stops enemies etc. Russia is denied by topography access to the open seas.

c. **Climate:** Location, attitudes, rainfall and winds determine climate. Climate has an indirect effect on culture, economy natural resources, political organizations religion and direct on health and energy of people. Extreme heat and cold are unfavourable for strength.

d. **Location:** Diplomacy and war strategy has its impact on location. Nearness to sea will provide for good harbours and it will increase chance of trade. Insular position has its impact on diplomacy. Great obstacles in the form of mountains etc. will decrease the chance of trade.

e. **National Boundaries:** Boundaries of the states are of two types – natural and artificial. Sea, mountains etc are natural boundaries. The contemporary tension in International relations is due to the boundary disputes Boundaries often decide the fate of nations.

2. **Natural Resources**

Natural resources are the permanent factors of National power. Palmer and Perkins termed it as the Gift of Nature Perhaps the natural resources are the most important elements of national power: The following elements constitute natural resources.

a. **Food –Stuffs and Agriculture Products*:*-**The countries self sufficient in food stuff have an advantage over other nations which lack it in times of war, it will become more clear, Scarcity of agriculture products limits the of power of a nation.

b. **Minerals*:*** For military strength, it is necessary to have highly developed industry for which minerals are necessary. Possession of minerals will strengthen the industrial capacity of a nation. For example, Petroleum, an important mineral has created 'Oil Diplomacy' in the Middle East.

3. **Population**

Prior to 20th century a large population was undoubtedly a significant and important source of national power. But in the 20th century, large population is a source of strength and weakness. It will be strength, if the state has the means to utilize its talent, energy and maintain a proper standard of living. A large population has nothing to do with National power. For example China, and India are the most populated states; but they are not the super powers. The age group, sex etc also must be taken into account. Too young and too old are not useful. Likewise if females outnumber males, it is also not useful for increasing power position.

4. **Technology**

Technology is the application of physical and biological sciences to engineering industry and other human activities. The technological advancement is a tremendous element of national power which has influenced the world affairs of recent times by increasing the technique of communications and inter dependence of states. Technology influenced strategic factors. Seas are now no barriers and hence the states separated by the seas do not remain attached to each other in any matter whatsoever. Technology has affected matter of foreign policy. Now Foreign policy includes the technological assistance. Increased emphasis on arms control, technological intelligence and communication satellites. Technology has sophisticated war methods. New inventions prove that the more technologically advanced is a nation the more is its capacity to influence other nations.

5. **Military Preparedness**

Military Preparedness requires a military establishment capable of supporting the foreign policies pursued. The significant factors that make military preparedness one are follows.

a. **War technology:**The fate of nations and civilization have always been determined by superior armies using sophisticated technology. The less sophisticated technology always has to face defeat.

b. **Leadership*:*** A military leader is the person, who makes best use of available resources in the appropriate time to reap the maximum fruits. Victory and defeat in war is associated with its leader.

c. **Espionage:**Today the success of military depends upon affective Espionage. Prior knowledge of enemies move, location and capacity of forces etc will open the way for easy success. The Radar and artificial satellites have played an important role in these filed.

d. **Quality of armed force**: Military power is dependent upon the quality of men and arms. Modern developed arms will make the victory sure, Israel's victory over the Arab states can be cited as an example.

6. **Ideologies**

Ideology is a body of ideas concerning economic social and political values and goals with positive actions and programme for attaining these goals. The impact of Ideology in International relations is very wide. It has produced a new cohesiveness within nations and group of nations. Even the geographical boundaries fail to limit the extension of ideologies. However it can be said that the role of ideology as an element of national power is not so powerful as in the past.

7. **National Morale**

Morale is a healthy frame of mind characterized by fidelity to a cause. In the worlds of Palmer and Perkins, "Morale is a thing of spirit, made up of loyalty, courage faith and the impulse to the preservation of personality and dignity" in the absence of which, the other factors will not work National morale is not static. There is a point where it breaks. National morale can be manufactured or stimulated by various factors. Factors like National character, culture, popular leadership popular government and circumstances make national morals.

8. **Quality of Leadership**

Leadership is the most important element of national power. Without leadership people can't even constitute a state. With out it there can be no well-developed technology and without it morale is totally useless. The functions of leadership are two fold, firstly it co-ordinates other elements of national power and secondly, use all the resources for the maximum benefit of the state. The ups and downs in the history of a state can be related to its leaders. Leadership includes the fact of handling foreign affairs. A leader must be capable of conducting diplomacy successfully. A weak and underdeveloped nation can become a powerful nation under an effective leadership.

9. **Quality of Diplomacy**

Another effective factor of national power is the quality of diplomacy. According to Morgenthau "Diplomacy of high quality will bring the ends and means of foreign policy with harmony with the available resources of national power. It will tap the hidden sources of national strength and transform them fully and securely. The quality of diplomacy is the most important of all the elements that influence the power base of a state as also its foreign policy.

3.9 Limitations of National Power

The legal basis of national power is the concept of the sovereignty of the state, which gives to every state the right to use power for securing its interests. An unlimited use of power by the states can be a source of war, anarchy and chaos in international relations. Now all nations accept the need for controlling and regulating the behaviour of the states in the interests of preventing war and anarchy in international relations. The limitations on national power are given below.

1. Balance of Power

It means some countries make an organisation against some powerful countries. These major actors maintain a particular balance in their power relations.

2. International Law

International law is the body of rules that the nation-states accept as binding upon them and which regulate their behaviour in international relations. It is an important limitation on the national power of a nation-world. Pubic opinion and International Morality Act as key sanctions behind it.

3. International Organisation

UN charter specifies certain objectives which its members are committed to secure. Nations are bound by the UN charter and they are expected to use their power only in accordance with the dictates of the charter.

4. International Morality

Behaviour of the states in the in the international environment is limited by international morality. It act as a limitation on the national power of each state.

5. World Pubic Opinion

World pubic opinion was emerged as an important factor of international relations. Strong word public opinion in favour of Arms control and disarmament has been a factor behind the INF Treaty, the START-I, START-II, the Chemical Weapons Elimination treaty and the continued talk on the issue of disarmament, nuclear disarmament and arms control in international relations.

6. Collective Security

Collective security is a device of power management which also acts as a limitation of national power. The system of collective security is based on the principle that international peace and security is the common objective to be secured by all the states through collective action against any violation by any state or states, of international peace and security. As such, the power of a state which violates or seeks to violate the freedom, sovereignty or territorial integrity of any other state is limited by the fear that any aggression or any such act committed by it will be met by the collective power of al other states.

7. Disarmament and Arms control

Both Arms control and Disarmament are governed by the belief that by eliminating or reducing the possession and production of weapons, the military power are thereby the national power of the state can be limited.

Conclusion

National power is a relative one. The power of one state is to be measured in comparison with the power of other states. National power is also changing. A nation may be strong today, but tomorrow it may become weak. And the factors of power are inter dependent. This makes the measurement of

power impossible. We shall conclude with the words of Palmer and Perkins" National power, like nearly everything else in this world of ours, is relative. A man with a million dollars is not rich in a group of multi-millionaires; a man of forty is old to child of few and youthful to an octogenarian. Similarly, In the matter of power absolute has little meaning. 50 divisions, 300 war vessels 2000 planes all these may represent overwhelming might against one opponent one miserable inadequate against another".

Model Questions

1. Define National Power and discuss its importance in international politics.
2. Discuss the elements of National Power.
3. Explain the forms and methods of National Power.

CHAPTER - 4
NATIONAL INTEREST

Structure

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Meaning

4.3 Components of National Interest

4.4 Classification of National Interests

4.5 Elements of National Interests

4.1 Introduction

'National Interest' is a key concept in International Relations. All the nations are always engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests. The foreign policy of each nation is formulated on the basis of its national interest and it is always at work for securing its goals. It is a universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests. A state always tries to justify its actions on the basis of its national interest. The behaviour of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests. Hence it is essential for us to know the meaning and content of National Interest.

4.2 Meaning

National Interest is a vague and ambiguous term that carries a meaning according to the context in which it is used. Statesmen and policy-makers have always used it in ways suitable to them and to their objective of justifying the actions of their states. Hitler justified expansionist policies in the name of "German national interests."

The US presidents have always justified their decisions to go in for the development of more and more destructive weapons in the interest of "US national interest." To build up a strong nuclear base at Diego Garcia was justified by the USA in the name of meeting the challenge posed by erstwhile USSR as well as for protecting the US interests in the Indian Ocean. During 1979-89, (erstwhile) USSR justified its intervention in Afghanistan in the name of "Soviet national interests".

China justified its border disputes with India and the Soviet Union in the name of attempts to secure the national interests of China. Now the P-5 countries talk of Non- proliferation and arms control in terms of the national interests of all the nations.

All these and many more examples can be quoted to stress the ambiguity that surrounds the concept of National Interest. This ambiguity hinders the process of formulating a universally accepted definition of National Interest. However, several scholars have tried to define National Interest.

Definition

1. National Interest means "The general, long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving." —Charles Lerche and Abdul.
2. National Interest is: "What a nation feels to be necessary to its security and well being … National interest reflects the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts." —Brookings Institution.
3. "National Interest is, that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states." —Vernon Von Dyke
4. "The meaning of national interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states". —Morgenthau
5. National Interest means: "The values, desires and interests which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other" "desires on the part of sovereign states". —V.V. Dyke

National Interests can as defined as the claims, objectives, goals, demands and interests which a nation always tries to preserve, protect, defend and secure in relations with other nations.

4.3 Components of National Interest

In describing the national interests that nations seek to secure a two-fold classification is generally made:

(A) Necessary or Vital Components of National Interest and

(B) Variable or Non-vital Components of National Interests.

(A) Necessary or Vital Components

According to Morgenthau, the vital components of the national interests that a foreign policy seeks to secure are survival or identity. He sub-divides identity into three parts: Physical identity. Political identity and Cultural identity.

Physical identity includes territorial identity. Political identity means politico- economic system and Cultural identity stands for historical values that are upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage. These are called vital components because these are essential for the survival of the nation and can

be easily identified and examined. A nation even decides to go to war for securing or protecting her vital interests.

A nation always formulates its foreign policy decisions with a view to secure and strengthens its security. The attempts to secure international peace and security, that nations are currently making, are being made because today the security of each state stands inseparably linked up with international peace and security. Security is, thus, a vital component of national interest. Each nation always tries to secure its vital interests even by means of war.

(B) Non-vital or Variable Components of National Interest

The non-vital components are those parts of national interest which are determined either by circumstances or by the necessity of securing the vital components. These are determined by a host of factors—the decision-makers, public opinion, party politics, sectional or group interests and political and moral folkways.

"These variable interests are those desires of individual states which they would, no doubt, like to see fulfilled but for which they will not go to war. Whereas the vital interests may be taken as goals, the secondary interests may be termed as objectives of foreign policy."

These objectives have been listed by V.V. Dyke and his list includes Prosperity, Peace, Ideology, Justice, Prestige, Aggrandisement and Power. Though each state defines these objectives in a manner which suits its interests in changing circumstances, yet these objectives can be described as common to almost all states. Thus, national interest which a nation seeks to secure can be generally categorized into these two parts.

4.4 Classification of National Interests

In order to be more precise in examining the interest which a nation seeks to secure, Thomas W. Robinson presents a six-fold classification of interests which nations try to secure.

1. The Primary Interests:

These are those interests in respect of which no nation can compromise. It includes the preservation of physical, political and cultural identity against possible encroachments by other states. A state has to defend these at all costs.

2. Secondary Interests:

These are less important than the primary interests. Secondary Interests are quite vital for the existence of the state. This includes the protection of the citizens abroad and ensuring of diplomatic immunities for the diplomatic staff.

3. Permanent Interests:

These refer to the relatively constant long-term interests of the state. These are subject to very slow changes. The US interest to preserve its spheres of influence and to maintain freedom of navigation in all the oceans is the examples of such interests.

4. Variable Interests:

Such interests are those interests of a nation which are considered vital for national good in a given set of circumstances. In this sense these can diverge from both primary and permanent interests. The variable interests are largely determined by "the cross currents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics and political and moral folkways."

5. The General Interests:

General interests of a nation refer to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations or in several specified fields such as economic, trade, diplomatic relations etc. To maintain international peace is a general interest of all the nations. Similar is the case of disarmament and arms control.

6. Specific Interests:

These are the logical outgrowths of the general interests and these are defined in terms of time and space. To secure the economic rights of the Third World countries through the securing of a New International Economic Order is a specific interest of India and other developing countries.

International Interests

Besides these six categories of national interest, T.W. Robinson also refers to three international interests—identical interests, complementary interests and conflicting interests.

The first category includes those interests which are common to a large number of states; the second category refers to those interests, which though not identical, can form the basis of agreement on some specific issues; and the third category includes those interests which are neither complementary nor identical.

However, this classification is neither absolute nor complete. The complementary interests can, with the passage of time, become identical interests and conflicting interests can become complementary interests. The study of national interest of a nation involves an examination of all these vital and non-vital components of national interest. The six fold classificatory scheme offered by T. W. Robinson can be of great help to us for analyzing the national interests of all nations. Such a study can help us to examine the

behaviour of nations in international relations.

4.5 Elements of National Interest

To secure the goals and objectives of her national interest is the paramount right and duty of every nation. Nations are always at work to secure their national interests and in doing so they adopt a number of methods.

The following are the popular methods or instruments which are usually employed by a nation for securing her national interests in international relations:

1. Adopting policy of status quo

The foreign policy of a nation following status quopolicy always aims at the preservation of the power status that exists at a particular time. Status quo can be useful principle of foreign policy, at times it can help a nation to justify and maintain its policies and power position in international relations. According to Morgenthau, "A nation whose foreign policy tends towards keeping power and not towards changing the distribution of power in its favour pursues a policy of the status quo.

2. Policy of imperialism

Imperialism is the result of power conflicts among nations. What a powerful nation established its supremacy upon the powerless nation, then imperialism takes place.

3. Diplomacy as a Means of National Interests

Diplomacy is a universally accepted means for securing national interests. It is through diplomacy that the foreign policy of a nation travels to other nations. It seeks to secure the goals of national interests. Diplomats establish contacts with the decision-makers and diplomats of other nations and conduct negotiations for achieving the desired goals and objectives of national interests of their nation.

The art of diplomacy involves the presentation of the goals and objectives of national interest in such a way as can persuade others to accept these as just and rightful demands of the nation. Diplomats use persuasion and threats, rewards and threats of denial of rewards as the means for exercising power and securing goals of national interest as defined by foreign policy of their nation.

Diplomatic negotiations constitute the most effective means of conflict-resolution and for reconciling the divergent interests of the state. Through mutual give and take, accommodation and reconciliation, diplomacy tries to secure the desired goals and objectives of national interest.

As an instrument of securing national interest, diplomacy is a universally recognized and most frequently used means. Morgenthau regards diplomacy as the most primary means. However, all the objectives and goals of national interest cannot be secured through diplomacy.

4. Propaganda

The second important method for securing national interest is propaganda. Propaganda is the art of salesmanship. It is the art of convincing others about the justness of the goals and objectives or ends which are desired to be secured. It consists of the attempt to impress upon nations the necessity of securing the goals which a nation wishes to achieve.

"Propaganda is a systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose." —Frankel

It is directly addressed to the people of other states and its aim is always to secure the self-interests—interests which are governed exclusively by the national interests of the propagandist.

The revolutionary development of the means of communications (Internet) in the recent times has increased the scope of propaganda as a means for securing support for goals of national interest.

5. Economic Means

The rich and developed nations use economic aid and loans as the means for securing their interests in international relations. The existence of a very wide gap between the rich and poor countries provides a big opportunity to the rich nations for promoting their interests vis-a-vis the poor nations.

The dependence of the poor and lowly- developed nations upon the rich and developed nations for the import of industrial goods, technological know-how, foreign aid, armaments and for selling raw materials has been responsible for strengthening the role of economic instruments of foreign policy. In this era of Globalization conduct of international economic relation has emerged as a key means of national interests.

6. Alliances and Treaties

Alliances and Treaties are concluded by two or more states for securing their common interests. This device is mostly used for securing identical and complementary interests. However, even conflictual interests may lead to alliances and treaties with like-minded states against the common rivals or opponents.

Alliances and treaties make it a legal obligation for the members of the alliances or signatories of the treaties to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. The alliances may be concluded for serving a particular

specific interest or for securing a number of common interests. The nature of an alliance depends upon the nature of interest which is sought to be secured.

Accordingly, the alliances are either military or economic in nature. The need for securing the security of capitalist democratic states against the expanding 'communist menace' led to the creation of military alliances like NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS etc. Likewise, the need to meet the threat to socialism led to the conclusion of Warsaw Pact among the communist countries.

The need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War led to the establishment of European Common Market (Now European Union) and several other economic agencies. The needs of Indian national interests in 1971 led to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the (erstwhile) Soviet Union. Alliances and Treaties are thus popular means for securing national interests.

7. Coercive Means

The role of power in international relations is a recognized fact. It is an unwritten law of international intercourse that nations can use force for securing their national interests. International Law also recognizes coercive means short of war as the methods that can be used by states for fulfilling their desired goals and objectives. Intervention, Non-intercourse, embargoes, boycotts, reprisals, retortion, retaliation, severance of relations and pacific biocides are the popular coercive means which can be used by a nation to force others to accept a particular course of behaviour or to refrain from a course which is considered harmful by the nation using coercive means.

8. War

War and Aggression have been declared illegal means, yet these continue to be used by the states in actual course of international relations. Today, nations fully realize the importance of peaceful means of conflict-resolution like negotiations, and diplomacy as the ideal methods for promoting their national interests. Yet at the same time these continue to use coercive means, whenever they find it expedient and necessary. Military power is still regarded as a major part of national power and is often used by a nation for securing its desired goals and objectives.

The use of military power against international terrorism now stands universally accepted as a natural and just means for fighting the menace. Today world public opinion accepts the use of war and other forcible means for the elimination of international terrorism.

All these means are used by all the nations for securing their national interests. Nations have the right and duty to secure their national interests and they have the freedom to choose the requisite means for this purpose. They can use peaceful or coercive means as and when they may desire or deem essential.

However, in the interest of international peace, security and prosperity, nations are expected to refrain from using coercive means particular war and aggression. These are expected to depend upon peaceful means for the settlement of disputes and for securing their interests.

While formulating the goals and objectives of national interest, all the nations must make honest attempts to make these compatible with the international interests of Peace, Security environmental protection, protection of human rights and Sustainable Development.

Peaceful coexistence, peaceful conflict-resolution and purposeful mutual cooperation for development are the common and shared interests of all the nations. As such, along with the promotion of their national interests, the nations must try to protect and promote common interests in the larger interest of the whole international community.

All this makes it essential for every nation to formulate its foreign policy and to conduct its relations with other nations on the basis of its national interests, as interpreted and defined in harmony with the common interests of the humankind. The aim of foreign policy is to secure the defined goals of national interest by the use of the national power.

Model Questions

1. What are the main elements of national interest? Explain.

CHAPTER - 5
BALANCE OF POWER

Structure

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Definition

5.3 Forms of Balance of Power

5.4 Methods of maintaining balance of power

5.5 Merits of balance of power

5.6 Demerits of National power

5.1 Introduction

Balance of power is a system of International Relations in which states seek security through internal build up of power or by alliances with other states to prevent one state from accumulating too much power realism that rationalized great power rivalry, arms race, secret alliances and balance of power politician. maintenance of balance of power is necessary for international peace and security. The political relations independent nations and especially of great powers traditionally have been explained by the theory of balance of power.

Palmer and Perkins suggest that the assumption of the theory of balance of power is that "the power alone can limit power". Palmer and Perkins on balance of power remark them. "The essential idea is simple. When the weights in the scales are equalsented by a pair of scales. When the weights in the scales, the concept of the balance of power of power assumes that no one power or combination of powers should be allowed to grow so string as to threaten the security of the rest.

5.2 Definition

Sidney. B. Fay maintains "Balance of power is just an equilibrium in power among the members of the family of nations as would prevent any one of them form becoming sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon others".

George Schwarzenegger defines it "asquilibrium or a certain amount of stability in international relations that under favourable conditions is produced by an alliance of states or by other devices."

In the words of G. Lowes Dickinson "it means on the one hand, as of the two sides when an account is balanced, and on the other hand, on inequality as when one has a balance to one's credit at the bank."

According to Prof. Schleicher, "balance of power implies something about the relative strength of individuals and of groups."

In his work 'Politics among Nations', Hans. J. Morgenthau has used the term Balance of Power in four different senses –

1. "As a policy aimed at a certain state of affairs.
2. As an actual state of affairs.
3. As an approximately equal distribution of power.
4. Any distribution of power."

However Morgenthau has clarified that whenever the term is used without qualification, it refers to an actual state of affairs in which power is distributed among nations with approximate equality."

5.3 Forms of Balance of Power

Balance of power is of two types. Simple balance and Complex balance.

1. **Simple balance**

If power is concentrated in two states or in two opposing camps, the balance or distribution of power is said to be simple. The important feature of the simple balance is that states or group of state are also divided into two camps like the two scales of the balance. In simple balance the power distribution between two opposing camps approximately equal. America and Russia individually and the western bloc and communist bloc collectively, are examples of the simple balance. Such pattern of balance is called "Bi-polarization", which has resulted in the cold war between the communist and the western bloc.

2. **Complex or multiple balance**

When there is a wide dispersal of power among states and a number of states or groups of states, balance each other, the balance is said to be 'Multiple of complex". A complex balance needs not have a balance. A simple balance may turn into a multiple or complex balance. Polycentrism has become a marked feature of politics. Within the communist as well as western block many new centre of power have come into existence. The uncommitted bloc is one of them. Balance may in terms of their geographical coverage be spoken of as local, regional or worldwide. The balance of power is local if it operates between two neighboring states for example India and Pakistan. The balance of power is regional if it involves in a number of states within a particular geographical area. The balance of power is worldwide if most of the countries of the world participate in the balance of power. The so called war between the communist and western bloc is the example of a global balance of power.

5.4 Methods of maintaining balance of power

The following are the ways or methods of maintaining the balance of power.

1. Alliances and counter alliances

Alliances are a necessary function of the balance of power operating with a multistage system. The rival groups in the balance of power system have three choices in order to maintain and improve their relative power positions.

1. They can increase their own power.
2. they can add to their power the power of the other nations.
3. they can withhold the power of other nations form the opponents.

If they make the first choice, they embark upon an armament race. If they make second and third choices, they purpose a policy of alliance. Alliances generally lead to counter alliances. When an alliance is specifically or indirectly directed against some states, it is quite natural that they will not remain as silent spectators. For example the triple alliance of 1882 between Germany, Austro Hungary and itlay led to a rival alliance, triple entente 1907 between Britain. France and Russia. Alliances may be both offensive and defensive. While an offensive alliance seeks to upset the balance in favour or its members a defensive alliance aims at restoring peace.

2. Armament and disarmament

Power is a relative term which is determined in the context of a particular nation or a group of nations. In the event of an impending\ danger form the enemy, every nation tries to maximize its power. The direct way of maintaining the balance is to increase ones own power in relation to power of one's opponents. When there is a great disparity between power position of two nations, it is not possible for the weaker one to increase its own power to the level of its rival. This method of maintaining the balance can be resorted to only when there in a rough parity in the power position the rivals.

Like armament, disarmament can resolve a balance of power one can succeed in keeping its rival disarmed one preserves the balance in one's favour. But in practice disarmament as such has rarely been resorted to except in case of defeated powers on the conclusion of general war. For example the effort on the part of the allied powers after the first world war was to keep Germany permanently weak.

3. Acquisition of territory

Acquisition of fresh territories is also a method of balance of power. This is made possible either by occupying neighboring territories by Israel is considered by the latter as essential for its security and the preservation of the balance of power.

4. Compensation and partition

A state increases its power by acquisition of new territories and thus balance is tilted in its favour. When such things occurs the other side also takes immediate steps to increase own power in compensation in order to preserve the balance. When some powerful nations occupy the territories of small nations, the powerful nations cannot tolerate this act. They place a condition either to share its under such conditions the powerful rival nations divide small nations swallow their share of prey.

The partition of Poland and later on its division between Russia, Prussia and Austria in a well known example of the Policy of compensation and partition. This principles is seen in the division of Germany, Korea and Vietnam. Each great power becomes a beneficiary and weak sate their victim.

5. Creation of buffer states

The creation of a buffer state is also a technique of maintaining the balance of power. A buffer sate is a natural zone sandwiched between two powerful nations. It is usually a weak state. Its function is to keep two giants apart and thus reduce the chances of friction between them. Poland has been the traditional buffer between Russia and Germany. Tibet has been buffer between China and British India. Thus the buffer state acts as a balancing force between the two powerful rivals because neither of them can allow the other to absorb the buffer. But the balance can also be maintained if the two giants decide to decide the buffer zone between them. Buffer states have been often vanished this way.

5.5 Merits of balance of power

The advocates of the balance of power have suggested the following main purposes of the balance of power.

1. Preservation of independent of states

The balance of power aims at such distribution of power among the state, that no single state or group of states becomes so powerful as to enforce its will upon the others. The balance of power helps to achieve stability nations to conquer or acquire control over small and weaker nations and they would probably be swallowed up of one ambitious state were allowed to achieve great superiority of power. But if there happen to be two or more powerful states none of them will tolerate the other to become more powerful. Each of the big powers will see to it that none of them commits aggression against the small and weak powers. Taylor remarks “No one state has ever been strong enough to eat up all the rest and the mutual jealousy of the great powers has preserved even the small states, which could not have preserved themselves”. Thus the

security and independence of all the states is assured.

2. Preservation of peaces

Between peace and security, security will get priority over peace, because security is the first condition of peace. If security is in danger , peace shall have to be scarified. If big powers start absorbing small ones first and second world wars. Advocates of the balance of power believed that the balance of power causes peace and so long as the balance is maintained, peace is assured. If balance as maintained neither there will be aggressions, nor was and therefore peace would automatically be established

3. Maintenance of international law

Balance of power is essential to the maintenance of international law. Regarding the relation between international law and balance of power Oppenheim writes "Balance of power is an indispensable condition of the very existence of international law. A law of nations can exist only if there can be an equilibrium, a balance of power between the members of the family of nations".

4. Discourages War

Balance of power discourages war because each state knows that any attempt to become unduly more powerful shall invoke an action by all other states and hence it keeps its power ambitions under control.

5. Checks Imperialism

Balance of power checks imperialism in so far as it clearly rules out the elimination of small state by any big state.

5.6 Demerits of National power

1. Balance of power cannot ensure peace

A balance of power does not necessarily bring peace. Even during its hey days, it failed to prevent the domination of small states by the big states. It was not successful in preserving a stable international peace and the security of small states. In the words of Quincy Wright, "if democracy and human liberty are to survive the nations that espouse these principles must find some device other than the balance of power."

2. Nations are not static units

Another point that must be raised about the balance of power is that nations are not static units. They increase their power through military aggression, seizure of territory and alliances. They can change their power from within by improving social organisation, by industrialising, and by mobilizing internal resources. So the traditional mechanism of the balance of power is not the only cause responsible for the increase of power.

3. Narrow Basis

The concept of balance of power is based upon a narrow view of international relations. It makes power relations as the whole of international relations. It gives importance to preservation of self and self-interest as the motives of all state actions. It fails to give proper weightage to other ends such as social, economic, cultural and moral that provides strong motives to international relations

4. Equality of a number of states is a myth

Balance of power presupposes the existence of a number of equally powerful states. In practice no two states have or can equal power. It involves the conception of equilibrium which is in fact disequilibrium and is subject to continuous change.

5. Uncertainty of Balance of Power

The Balance of power is uncertain because its operation depends upon an evaluation of power of various nations. It can be only through such an evaluation that a particular nation can be judges as more powerful than others and that whether it tends to pose a danger to the balance or not. It is only through an evaluation of power of nations that variations in power can be converted into quantitative units to be transferred from one scale to the other to restore balance. However, there exists and there can be no objective standard or system by which the power of the nations can be correctly and effectively evaluated. Under the circumstances every evaluation is bound to be uncertain and hence the balance of power is bound to be characterised by uncertainty.

6. Inadequacy of Balance of Power

Balance of powers an inadequate device of international peace and security. Even if we accept the contribution of this principle towards the maintenance of peace and security during the classical period of international relations (1648-1914), but it was not balance of power alone that maintained peace during this period. All writers on international relations agree that there was prevailing an intellectual and moral unity in this period which helped the balance of power to avoid major wars.

Relevance of balance of power today

Although the concept of the balance of power has lost much its validity in the present day conditions, its operation is still meaningful. As long as the multi – nation state system exists, balance of power will remain as a relevant concept. The changes brought about in the international society have removed many of the conditions in which the balance of power. Since the balance of power is a devices of the management power it will remain relevant till some

other device of managing power has not been found out.

If balance of power survives even today it is because of the fact that an effective substitute has not yet been possible such a substitute can probably be found out in the effective world organization, world public opinion and worldwide acceptance of the obligations of international law. But this prospect is very remote. However, Palmer and Perkins believe that balance of power will continue to operate, even if super- national world origination is formed. Anyhow that idea of balance of power is still the central theoretical concept in international relations.

But we cannot shut our eyes to realities. The rise of non- aligned countries on a large scale has adversely affected the importance of the principle of balance of power in the late twentieth century. The non- aligned countries have become the largest group in the United Nations General Assembly and consequently have enhanced their position in world affairs. Since the non-aligned countries represent a force without a military power they have affected the principle of balance of power in its traditional sense.

With the increasing non- use of physical force against each other by the major nuclear power, the phenomenon global or world wars might vanish. But wars may persist at regional levels among non- nuclear powers or among the nuclear and non- nuclear powers with conventional weapons and the concept may prove its validity also in the changes circumstance in regional affairs. All these local and regional wards have affected the balance of power position at the regional level. It would be safer, therefore to conclude that the balance of terror situation has reduced the validity of the principle of balance of power on a global scale but has retained it at regional level where wars are fought with conventional weapons. At the global level balance of power has lost much of its reference but it continues to hold good at regional level relations among nations. In this way it continues to be an important controlling mechanism of international politics. Snyder had observed, the idea of balance of power is still the central theoretical concept in international relations."

Model Questions

1. Define balance of power. Discuss its characteristics.
2. Discuss the merits and demerits of Balance of Power.

CHAPTER - 6
COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Structure

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Meaning and Definition

6.3 Conditions of maintaining collective security.

6.4 Objects of Collective Security

6.5 Features of Collective Security

6.6 Assumptions of Collective security

6.7 Collective security under the League of Nations

6.8 Collective security and UN

6.9 Evaluation of collective security

6.10 Relevance of collective security today

6.1 Introduction

Collective security is commonly regarded as most effective method of maintaining peace and deterring aggression. Collective security was supposed not noly to be the basis of the League of Nations but is also supposed to be the basis of the United Nations. Collective security is a device by which the security of all the nations in assessed. Under the system of collective security, aggression or war would no longer be the concern of any individual nation, but would be the concern of all nations.

6.2 Meaning and Definition

Collective security is a collective measure for security. The word security represents the goal while the word collective indicates the nature of the combined strength will face the aggression. The basic principle of collective security is that an attack on one state will be regarded as an attack on all states. Security becomes the concern of all nations and all will take care collectively of the security of each of them as if their own security were at state.

According to Morgenthau “one for all and all for one is the watchword of collective security.”

Palmer and Perkins observes collective security as “It clearly implies collective measure for dealing with threat to peace”.

George Schwarzenegger has defined collective security as machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order”.

According to F.H Hartmann collective security in basically a mutual insurance plan against aggression anywhere and everywhere.

The basic principle of collective security is that if an aggression takes place it should be frustrated by an overwhelming force. It is therefore necessary that all nations must stand united against the aggression. So the principle of collective security is based upon the preponderance of power in the hands of the protectors of peace and order andt his is said to be the only basis of the success of the system. Its chief merit lies in the force may not at all be needed. A threat of collective action will be sufficient to deter the potential aggressor.

6.3 Conditions of maintaining collective security.

The principle of collective security in order to work successfully as an instrument for providing peace must fulfill the following conditions.

1. The basic requirement of collective security is that it should function impartially. If collective security is to operate impartially government and people must exhibit flexibility of policy and sentiments.
2. The system of collective security must be able to muster at all time such overwhelming strength against the potential aggressor that the later should not repeat the aggression. The collective system must be able to meet any situation.
3. The nations which offer the combined strength to meet the threat of aggression under collective security system must have identical conception of security.
4. The nations must be willing to subordinate their political differences to the service of the world community by whole heartedly supporting collective action against the aggressor.
5. In the event of any aggression there should be unanimity among states in determining the aggressor.
6. Collective security must not be directed against any specific states group of states, but against aggression in general, that is against any aggression anywhere.
7. Collective security is incompatible with the traditional doctrine of neutrality in war. Neutrality strikes at the very root of collective security.
8. Collective security system necessitates the willingness of the nations to fight for the status- quo. Collective security does not accept a forcible change in the international order.

6.4 Objects of Collective Security

1. It aims at the preservation of peace by the collectivization of force.
2. It focuses upon the ideals of world government and international cooperation.
3. Collective security aims at mutual co-operation in which the ideas of common outlook, co-operation and trust are inherent.

6.5 Features of Collective Security

The following are the characteristics of collective security system

1. A device of power management

Collective security is a device of power management and of international peace and security.

2. It accepts universality of aggressions

It accepts that violation of the security of nations is bound to occur at times and that wars and aggressions cannot be totally eliminated from international relations.

3. All nations are committed to pool their power and eliminate aggression

In the event of a violation of international peace by any aggression in any part of the international system, al the nations are committed to create a preponderance of power, to pool their power and resources to take effective steps including collective military action against the aggressor and to restore international peace and security.

4. It involves the concept of an adhoc global preponderance of power

Since collective security stands for the creation of a universal or global preponderance of power and makes the maintenance of international peace and security, a responsibility of al the nations, it rules out the policy of isolationism. It even overlooks the concept of neutrality in war in so far as it makes it imperative for al nations to be ready to defend international peace and security through collective military action or war against the aggressor.

5. Postulates the presence of an international organisation

Collective security presupposes the existence of an international organisation of states under whose flag alone a global preponderance of power can be created for meeting the aggression. However, it rules out the possibility of the emergence of a permanent world government. It holds that international society is bound to remain a society of sovereign nation states which can pool their power against aggression but which cannot accept permanent subordination to a world government.

6. Collective security is a middle level system

The concept of collective security is a mid-way between the balance of power and world government. It stands for the creation of preponderance of power which is much bigger than the preponderance of power that balance of power seeks to create but not for as big and as permanent preponderance of power as the concept of world government seeks to create at the international level.

7. Collective security as a deterrent

Collective security system can be an effective deterrent to any state with aggressive design because in this system each nation knows that any aggression against another nation shall be met with by the collective power of all other nations. Such a realisation is expected to act as a deterrent to aggressive policies and postures in international relations. This realisation checks aggressive policies.

8. Aggression or war is the enemy and not the state which commits it.

Collective security regards aggression and war as the enemy and not the state which may resort to war or aggression. As collective security action is limited to the elimination of war, aggression or threat of war, it does not stand for the elimination or punishment of state which commits a violation of peace. Its sole concern is to get the aggression vacated, to prevent the aggressor to gain out of its aggression and to restore internal peace and security.

6.6 Assumptions of Collective security

The concept of collective security rests upon a number of fundamental assumptions. It postulates a number of conditions for its successful operation. According to A.F.K. Organski, an ideal concept of collective security rests upon five assumptions.

1. First, in any armed combat all nations will agree as to which combatant is the aggressor or that rapid collective action is necessary against an aggression.
2. Second, all nations are equally interested in stopping aggression from whatever sources it may come.
3. Third, all nations are equally free and able to join in action against an aggressor.
4. Fourth, combined power of all the nations of the world i.e., collective power of all, can be and should be mobilised against the aggressor.
5. Fifth, overwhelming power should stand ready to be used against an aggressor.

To these five major assumptions as suggested by Organski, we can add

the following four other assumptions

i. Wars are likely to occur in all the times to come.

ii. International peace and security is the common objective of all the nations and that the security of each is inseparably linked up with the security of all. Therefore all the nations are always willing to defend international peace and security against any violation by an aggressor.

iii. An international collective preponderance of power can always be created against the aggressor and such a collective preponderance of power can always outweigh the power of the aggressor.

iv. A collective preponderance of power can be easily created at the international level and for this the existence of an international aggression is a natural necessity.

Analyzing the assumptions of collective security, Morgenthau holds that the following three are its major assumptions.

1. First, all nations must be able to muster 'such overwhelming strength' against any potential aggressor at the latter would never dare to challenge the order defended by the collective system.
2. Second, all the nations which join such a system 'must have the same conception of security which they are supposed to defend'.
3. Such nations must be willing to subordinate their conflicting politics interests to the interest of security of all.

All these assumptions make collective security an ideal principle rather than an existing reality. Mr. Stanley Baldwin has rightly observed that "collective security will never work unless all the nations are prepared simultaneously to threaten with sanction and to fight, if necessary an aggressor".

6.7 Collective security under the League of Nations

The first effort for the enforcement of collective security on a world wide was made with the establishment of an international organization, the League of Nations. For the first time in the history the convent of the League of Nations introduced the principle of collective security as a practical programme of action. However, the covenant now here used the word. "Collective security". The covenant contained three key articles on collective security- Article 10,11 and 16.

Article 10 provided for guarantee against aggression and stated "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League".

Article 11 provided for action in case of war or threat of war. It states "any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not is hereby declared a matter of concern to the while League and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations".

Article16 states that if a member resorts to war, all trade and financial relations with that members state will be cut and there will be prohibition of financial commercial or personal intercourse between the aggressor and the members of the League.

Despite the bold provisions in the covenant of the League of Nations, the scheme of collective security was never really implemented in fact; The members of the League were more concerned about their own security than a genuine and universal security system.

The failure of the United States to join, the rise of the Soviet Union outside the League system, the reluctance of great Britain to assume international obligation, and later the open defiance of Japan, Italy and Germany- all these combined to destroy any hopes that the League would be effective in major international crises.

In its short span of life, the League had to face two major crises involving openedfiance of covenant but each time it proved unequal to the test and failed to take collective security measures. First was the Manchurian crisis in 1931-32 when Japan committed aggression against China. League branded Japan as aggressor and thereupon Japan withdrew form the League. The Principal members of the League were not prepared to use force against Japan. Thus the aggressor was left free and got what it wanted.

The principle of collective security was put to a very\ severe test in the Ethiopiancris is of 1935-36 when Italy invaded Ethiopia. The League powers were not prepared to apply military sanctions against Italy. However, the League Council voted to impose economic sanctions. In fact, the League members were not prepared to impose even economic sanctions sufficiently and efficiently. "The Italo- Ethiopian war the became the chief test case indeed, the only real one of the effectiveness of the League's security system;, says Palmer and Perkins. All the world knows the League failed in this crucial test. "The Italo-Ethopian war thus became the most important and the most decisive chapter in the history of the League of Nations. The failure of the League in this crucial test led to disastrous consequences. It followed the Nazi conquest of Austria, the surrender to Hitler at Munich and the invasion of Poland that started the second world war.

6.8 Collective security and UN

1. Provisions of the charter:

Like the covenant of the League, the Charter of the United Nations also made provisions for the collective security of its members. Article I of the Charter calls for "effective collective measures for prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace. Charter VII makes detailed provisions regarding collective security measures. The Security Council can consider an act of aggression or a threat to the breach of peace and call upon member states to apply economic or military sanctions.

Article 39 of the charter says: The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Article 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 41 makes provision for economic sanctions and for the Severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42 provides for military sanctions, if economic and diplomatic sanctions prove inadequate. It may take such action by air, sea and land forces as may be necessary to maintain and restore international peace and security.

Article 43 makes it obligatory upon the member states to help the Security Council in such a task.

Not only has the UN charter empowered the Security Council undertake necessary measure for collective security, but also has provided the permanent members of the security council with veto powers and thus it has deliberately exempted the permanent members form the application of the collective security measures. Since most of the breaches of peace resulted either from direct action by the veto possessing big powers or by others with a support from some such power, the Security Council in effect had become powerless in this respect. It was only when the General Assembly decided to break such a constitutional deadlock that the UN Could be activated for discharging its responsibility of collective security. Such an action arose in the case of the Korean War which merits our attention at this stage.

2. **The Korean War experience**

The Question of the North Korean attack on South Korea was referred to the Security Council. When the Security Council got seized of the matter, the Soviet delegation boycotted the council which thereafter passed a resolution recommending the members to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed Security Council the following month, the issue was deadlocked. Under these circumstances, the

General Assembly took over the Korean issue and passed a historic resolution entitles Uniting for Peace. By this resolution the General Assembly empowered upon itself the responsibility of taking collective measures. The main features of the Uniting for Peace resolution were.

a. The General Assembly can meet within twenty-four hours to consider breaches, or threats of breaches of peace, if the Security Council is deadlocked over this issue by the issue of veto.

b. The General Assembly can make recommendations to the member states for use of the armed forces to thwart aggression.

c. The member states should maintain elements of armed forces for use by the United Nations and make them available for collective security purposes.

3. The gulf war against Iraq in 1991

The United Nations was against Iraqin January, 1991 is another example of collective security in action. Saddam Husain's Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990.The UN Security Council passed a resolution on November 29, 1990 authorizing the formation and the use of the UN forces to fight Iraq and liberate Kuwait. The gulf war began on 17 January 1991.

Unlike the Korean war of the fifties there was no other power, small or big, which had joined the Iraq side. Since there was no use of veto by any permanent member of the Security Council, it could form a UN force to fight the Gulf war. In this sense the gulf war against Iraq in 1991 can be cited as the first example of the collective security measures undertaken by the UNO as conceived so in the UN Charter itself.

This perhaps became possible as Soviet Union herself disintegrated during the same period and became dependent upon the United States for reorganization of its economy. The world order has become unipolar and no country was in a position to challenge the US action. Although it was a war between the United Nations and Iraq on paper, in reality it was a war between the United States and Iraq. Iraq was defeated thus providing the success of the collective security measures.

6.9 Evaluation of collective security

Theoretically, collective security system is logical and flawless, but in its actual operation it reveals following of shortcomings and drawbacks, which make the system unrealistic and unworkable.

1. Realisation of Assumptions

The collective security system can effectively operate only if its basic assumptions are fully realised which are not justified by the realities of international politics.

2. Unrealized ideal

Collective security is an ideal which cannot be realised under the conditions prevailing on the international scene.

3. Failures of League and U.N.O

The collective security system has not worked satisfactorily under the League of Nations and the United Nations.

4. Wrong hypothetical assumptions

Collective security is based upon wrong assumptions which are mostly hypothetical. It cannot work under less than ideal conditions. The less ideal are the conditions for making collective security work, the less will be the combined strength of the nations to deter the aggressor.

5. Danger of world war.

Under collective security any war anywhere in the world tends to be potentially a world war. Normally a war between two nations would be confined to them alone, while under collective security, a war between any two nations anywhere in the world would risk a war among all or most of the nations of the world.

6. Destruction of peace

The system of collective security is bound to destroy peace among all nations by the transformation of local war into world war.

7. Impractical idealism

Under the system of collective security nationalism is opposed to the interests of international peace. It expects the nations to be inspired by the ideal of mutual assistance and a spirit of self-sacrifice. The system of collective security seeks such high level of sacrifice from the nations that they should be prepared to do things that actually go against their national interests. They are also expected to be ready to lay down their lives and risk total destruction for the security of any nation anywhere in the world. The fulfillment of such idealistic requirements is a remote possibility.

8. Factors against collective security

The conflicting interests of the nations, the lack of common outlook, cold war and group rivalries, and the threat of nuclear war are the factors which run counter to an effective system of collective security.

6.10 Relevance of collective security today

In its theoretical aspect collective security system appears to be logical but in its actual operation it reveals a number of shortcomings and drawbacks. The difficulties that come in the operation of the collective security system actually make the system itself unrealistic and unworkable. In reality collective security is an ideal which cannot be realized under the conditions prevailing on the international scene. The collective security has no worked satisfactory under the League of Nations and the United Nations. In fact the machinery of collective security has never been satisfactorily developed.

Collective security is based upon wrong assumptions which are mostly hypothetical. The conflicting interests of the nations, the lack of common outlook, cold war and group rivalries and the threat of nuclear war are the factors which run counter to an effective system of collective security. Whatever failures might have been faced in creating a system of collective security, its value as theory is meaningful.

The gulf war against Iraq in 1991 can be cited as the first example of the collective security measures undertaken by the UNO as conceived by the UN charter itself. This perhaps became possible as Soviet Union herself disintegrated during the same period and became dependent upon the United States for reorganization of her economy. The world order had become unipolar and no country was in a position to challenge the US Act. The US too functioned in a responsible manner by consulting all other big powers in her war efforts, and the Security Council was transformed into a seat of collective action. Thus, Iraq was defeated proving the success of the collective security measures.

The success of collective security lies in the fact that today any aggression is condemned legally and morally by the international society, any agression is everybody's business and aggression and problems of the disturbance of peace becomes the general concern of the international organization. Moreover, it is a standing warning to the potential aggressor that is to be opposed by the combined and overwhelming force.

Model Questions

1. Define Collective security. Discuss its characteristics.

2. Write short notes on

a. Collective security and League of Nations.

b. Collective security and UN.

CHAPTER - 7
DISARMAMENT

Structure

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Definitions

7.3 Kinds of Disarmament

7.4 Need for Disarmament

7.5 Hindrances in the way of Disarmament

7.1 Introduction

Disarmament literally means the reduction or elimination of armaments. The term 'Disarmament' is used in very general sense and as such it connotes the idea of limitation, or control, or reduction, or elimination of armaments. According to Morgenthau, "Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armament race." Disarmament has become such a wide word that any matter relating to the regulation of armaments comes within its meaning.

President Eisenhower has said, "There is no alternative to peace. War in our time has been an anachronism. Whatever the case in the past, war in future can serve no useful purpose." War needs no documentation to prove its horrors. People have constantly been in the search of alternatives to war and approaches to peace. Despite two world wars in the present century and the impending horror of the nuclear holocaust, the frequency of war has not decreased. If world War III comes, which we pray will never happen, it will be a war in which most people may die from silent, insidious, anti-human weapons that make no sound, give no warning, destroy no forts or ships or cities, but can wipe out human beings by the millions." It must be recognized that war today has potentialities for destruction beyond the range of human comprehension. President Kennedy predicated: "A full scale nuclear exchange, lasting less than 60 minutes, could wipe out more than 300million Americans, Europeans and Russians, as well as untold numbers elsewhere. "Dr. Albert Einstein once remarked, "I do not know the weapons with which World War III will be fought, but I can assure you that World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones."Among the many ways by which the war may be prevented the most important is disarmament.

7.2 Definitions

In the words of Morgenthau, "Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose ending the armament race."

Schleicher observes "Taken literally it means reducing or eliminating the material and human instrumentalities for the exercise of physical violence. But over the course of years it has come to mean anything having to do with limitation, reduction, abolition or control of such instrumentalities through the voluntary agreement of two or more states."

In the words of V.V. Dyke, "Any regulation or limitation having to do with armed power is treated as a measure of disarmament."

In their work "The dynamic and international organisation," Jacob and Atherton observe, "The strategy of disarmament is the exact reverse of collective security system and regional security alliances. Instead of trying to scare countries away from war by confronting them with a formidable deterrent force, disarmament seek to establish conditions that will assure a country that others are neither intending to attack it not capable of doing so at least in the immediate future. The strategy is to unwind rather than to build up a confrontation of armed forces.

7.3 Kinds of Disarmament

1. General and local disarmament

In General Disarmament, all or most of the great powers participate. Examples are the Washington Treaty of 1922 for the limitation of naval armaments, signed by all major naval powers, and the World Disarmament Conference of 1932. We refer to Local Disarmament when only limited number of nations are involved. The Rush – Bagehot agreement of 1817 between the United States and Canada is an example of this type.

2. Quantitative and Qualitative Disarmament

Quantitative Disarmament refers to an over all reduction of armaments of most or all types. This was the goal of most nations represented at the world conference in 1932. Qualitative disarmament aims at the reduction or abolition of only certain special types of armaments as was discussed by the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations.

3. Total Disarmament

Total disarmament aims at complete elimination of armaments. There would be no weapon of any kind whatsoever.

4. Disarmament and Arms control

Disarmament is concerned with the reduction or elimination of armament, but this applies only to the control of existing weapons. Arms control is concerned with regulating the armaments race in the future. As such, disarmament is concerned with the control of existing weapons and arms control with that of future weapons. Disarmament seeks to control armaments and arms control tries to check the armaments race.

7.4 Need for Disarmament

1. The prevention of War and the Establishment of Peace:

According to Morgenthau, "It is believed that, by doing away with one of the typical manifestations of the struggle for power on the international scene, one can do away with the typical effects of that struggle"; International anarchy and war." Disarmament is considered to be the most effective means of preventing war and guaranteeing peace. It is commonly believed that unless there is disarmament, war and destruction cannot be checked. The only direct cause of war according to disarmament approach is the existence of armaments. It is argued that war results from armaments and, therefore, it can be checked only by disarmament. Thus the belief that arms cause war is fundamental to the theory of disarmament. The amassing of armaments and their instant availability make war probable and feasible or, as Clause asserts, even tempting for statement to plunge into war. The theory of disarmament proceeds on the assumption that by limiting armaments, the nations would be deprived of the very means of fighting. When a nation increases its military strength, other nationals develop feelings of fear and insecurity. This leads to belligerence on the part of other nations and they also seek to increase their military strength. I realms of arms, one nation's common-sense is another nation's high blood pressure." Thus develops war hysteria. Sometimes, in anticipation of an attack a nation is acting in self defense. Armaments make the national outlook aggressive and militaristic. While the armaments encourage conflict and war, it would be incorrect to argue that it is the sole cause of war. Complete disarmament would, however, lead to peace by eliminating the very means to fight. According to Cohen, "Armaments aggravate tension and fear among nations. By releasing tension and fear disarmament should facilities and strengthens the process of peaceful settlement.

2. Nuclear Threat

The threat of nuclear weapons and even a very remote possibility of a nuclear war have made the problem of disarmament all the more important. A nuclear war will lead to total destruction. But at the same time the view has been expressed that the fear of total destruction is so great that a nuclear war

would never occur. Any war may turn ultimately into a nuclear war and the very threat of a nuclear war has restrained the nations from going to war in the nuclear age. If disarmament, both of nuclear as well as conventional weapons, is possible, way may be prevented**.**

3. Economic

A very important argument in favour of disarmament is economic. The very important argument which are allocated for military purposes by the nations area broad indication of what is denied to other avenues of public and private expenditure. If nations had not expended their means for military purposes, they could obviously have put the resources so consumed to many other uses. The military expenditures affect both the immediate consumption as well as future economic growth. The path of economic growth is barred. The nations are deprived of the mutual economic aid they could otherwise receive form one another. International trade and exchange of technological "know-how" have been impeded. If there were no arms race, trade and other exchanges would almost certainly be easier. A halt to the arms race could by itself be an important stimulus towards the relaxation of other existing barriers.

4. Social

The economic case for disarmament is closely linked with the social case. Military expenditure also have profound social consequences. The problem of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, housing and that of raising standard of living is not only confined to the developing countries. These problems in some measure are also present in the rich countries. Military expenditures absorb resources which would otherwise be released for providing social services. The military expenditure for the world as a whole is about two and half times the estimated total of the publicity financed health expenditure. A rough calculation suggests that all medical research in the world consumes only about 4000 million dollars as compared to some 25000million dollars spent on military research and development. Nuclear tests and explosions are having their polluting effects on the physical environment and thus bring environmental devastation.

5. Political

Armaments cause international suspicious and fears and they poison relations in the political sphere. Political differences become sharpened by the fear and suspicion which the amassing of armaments generates. The amassing of armaments also increases the possibility that force might be resorted to as a means of dealing with international problems. Armaments, which are supposed to provide security, in fact, provoke the political difference. It should be borne in mind that war is not an answer to any of man's imminent problems. The

spirit of militarism is opposed to the spirit of democracy and peaceful progress in the world.

6. Psychological

A war condition has a strange psychological influence over the minds of the people. Everybody feels that he lived in a world in which violence has become a common place, and which is stocked with sufficient lethal to create a psychological background of uncertainty, fear and anxiety. Some western social psychologists have expressed the view that the arms race and the horrors of war have developed a belief in the younger generation that world is a irrational place in which the improvement of society is a hopeless cause.

7.5 Hindrances in the way of Disarmament

1. The problem of disarmament is closely related to the problem of security. According to Palmer and Perkins. "There has long been a consciousness of an inverse relationship between disarmament and security. Unless some system can be evolved whereby nations will actually be more secure with less armed strength, disarmament will indeed remain a 'pipe dream'. International tension and the mutual fear among the nations develop in them a feeling of insecurity. So long asthe nations are not assured of their security, any effort for disarmament would meetwith failure. No guarantee can be provided to nations in view of the nature of the present international society. In the conditions like this, every nation is bound to depend upon its own power for its security.
2. Another hindrance in the way of disarmament is the fear and mutual distrust. As a result, every nation views with suspicion the disarmament proposals put forth by others. Every nation feels suspicious about the intentions of others nations that while it way effect a reduction in its armaments, other may not do so. This mistrust functions in two ways, "it hampers initial agreement and it might lead to the breakdown should a disarmament scheme be put into operation." But as Prof. Schleicher observes. "If there were perfect trust between nations, arms would be unnecessary and disarmament would but be the problem." So the basic problem of disarmament is that there is lack of mutual trust among the nations.
3. No nation expresses itself against disarmament as such, but it views any disarmament plan from the point of view of its national interest. During disarmament negotiations such conditions are placed by some of the participants, which are not acceptable to others. As a result, the disarmament conferences fail. In fact, the nations lack the real desire for disarmament and that is why they put such condition which may not be

acceptable to others. As a result the disarmament conferences fail. In fact, the nations lack the real desire for disarmament and that is why they put such conditions which may not be acceptable to others.

4. The developments after the Second World War divided the world into two blocs, and that gave birth to so- called cold war. Every nation is concerned about its security because of unstable balance of power. Armaments are the result of certain psychological factors. So long as these factors persist, disarmament seems to be a distant possibility. And disarmament proposal is, therefore, considered by the nations only in the contest of present international system.
5. In the realm of armaments, the super powers have achieved the maximum limit. In other words, they have gained such a potential capacity in armaments that it would not be worthwhile to go any further. Today both the U.S.A and the U.S.R. Rare in the possession of overkill capacity. It is now in their interest to put a halt to arms \race. But the nations which are much behind in the arms race want disarmament only when they have reached a rough parity in arms with the super powers. They consider the power- equality as the ideal situation for disbarment. Since this situation is highly improbable, disarmament also appears improbable in the near future.
6. One important hindrance in the way of disarmament is with regard to the ratio among the armaments of different nations after a reduction in the armaments has been effected. Every nation wants to be superior of disarmament to others. This question is always the first on the agenda of disarmament to others. This question is always the first on the agenda of disarmament conference and commissions as so what should be the nation among the armaments of different nations and within that ratio how different types and quantities of armaments are to be allotted to different nations.

Model Questions

1. Explain briefly the problems of disarmament**.**

CHAPTER – 8
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Structure

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Origin

8.3 The Covenant of the League of Nations

8.4 The Structure of the League of Nations

8.5 The Successes of the League of Nations

8.6 General Weaknesses of the League of Nations

8.7 Failure of the League of Nations

8.1 Introduction

The League of Nations was an international organization, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, founded on 10 January 1920 as a result of the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War. It was the first international organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace.

Its primary goals, as stated in its Covenant, included preventing wars through collective security and disarmament and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration. Other issues in this and related treaties included labour conditions, just treatment of native inhabitants, human and drug trafficking, arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe.

Though first proposed by President Woodrow Wilson as part of his Fourteen Points plan for an equitable peace in Europe, the United States never became a member.

8.2 Origin

The concept of a peaceful community of nations had been proposed as far back as 1795, when Immanuel Kant‘s. Kant argued for the establishment of a peaceful world community, not in a sense of a global government, but in the hope that each state would declare itself a free state that respects its citizens and welcomes foreign visitors as fellow rational beings, thus promoting peaceful society worldwide. International co-operation to promote collective security originated in the Concert of Europe that developed after the Napoleonic Wars in the 19th century in an attempt to maintain the status quo between European states and so avoid war. This period also saw the

development of international law, with the first Geneva Conventions establishing laws dealing with humanitarian relief during wartime, and the international Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 governing rules of war and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The forerunner of the League of Nations, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, was formed by the peace activists William Randal Cremer and Frederic Passy in 1889. The organisation was international in scope, with a third of the members of parliaments (in the 24 countries that had parliaments) serving as members of the IPU by 1914. Its aims were to encourage governments to solve international disputes by peaceful means. Annual conferences were held to help governments refine the process of international arbitration. Its structure consisted of a council headed by a president, which would later be reflected in the structure of the League.

At the start of the 20th century, two power blocs emerged from alliances between the European Great Powers. It was these alliances that, at the start of the First World War in 1914, drew all the major European powers into the conflict. This was the first major war in Europe between industrialised countries, and the first time in Western Europe that the results of industrialisation (for example, mass production) had been dedicated to war. The result of this industrialised warfare was an unprecedented casualty level: eight and a half million soldiers killed, an estimated 21 million wounded, and approximately 10 million civilian deaths. By the time the fighting ended in November 1918, the war had had a profound impact, affecting the social, political and economic systems of Europe and inflicting psychological and physical damage. Anti-war sentiment rose across the world; the First World War was described as "the war to end all wars" and its possible causes were vigorously investigated. The causes identified included arms races, alliances, secret diplomacy, and the freedom of sovereign states to enter into war for their own benefit. One proposed remedy was the creation of an international organisation whose aim was to prevent future war through disarmament, open diplomacy, international co-operation, restrictions on the right to wage war, and penalties that made war unattractive.

At the start of the First World War the first schemes for international organisation to prevent future wars began to gain considerable public support, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States. Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, a British political scientist, coined the term "League of Nations" in 1914 and drafted a scheme for its organisation. Together with Lord Bryce, he played a leading role in the founding of the group of internationalist pacifists known as the Bryce Group, later the League of Nations Union. The group

became steadily more influential among the public and as a pressure group within the then governing Liberal Party. In Dickinson's 1915 pamphlet After the War he wrote of his "League of Peace" as being essentially an organisation for arbitration and conciliation. He felt that the secret diplomacy of the early twentieth century had brought about war and thus could write that, "the impossibility of war, I believe, would be increased in proportion as the issues of foreign policy should be known to and controlled by public opinion." The ‘Proposals’ of the Bryce Group were circulated widely, both in England and the US, where they had a profound influence on the nascent international movement.

In 1915, a similar body was set up in the United States by a group of like-minded individuals, including William Howard Taft. It was called the League to Enforce Peace and was substantially based on the proposals of the Bryce Group. It advocated the use of arbitration in conflict resolution and the imposition of sanctions on aggressive countries. However, none of these early organisations envisioned a continuously functioning body; with the exception of the Fabian Society in England, they maintained a legalistic approach that would limit the international body to a court of justice. The Fabians were the first to argue for a "Council" of states, necessarily the Great Powers, who would adjudicate world affairs, and for the creation of a permanent secretariat to enhance international co-operation across a range of activities.

The British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour commissioned the first official report into the matter in early 1918, under the initiative of Lord Robert Cecil. The British committee was finally appointed in February 1918. It was led by Walter Phillimore (and became known as the Phillimore Committee), but also included Crowe, William, and Cecil Hurst. The recommendations of the so-called Phillimore Commission included the establishment of a "Conference of Allied States" that would arbitrate disputes and impose sanctions on offending states. The proposals were approved by the British government, and much of the commission's results were later incorporated into the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The American President Woodrow Wilson instructed Edward House to draft a US plan which reflected Wilson's own idealistic views, as well as the work of the Phillimore Commission. The outcome of House's work and Wilson's own first draft, proposed the termination of "unethical" state behavior, including forms of espionage and dishonesty.

The two principal drafters and architects of the covenant of the League of Nations were Lord Robert Cecil (a lawyer and diplomat) and Jan

Smuts (a Commonwealth statesman). Smuts' proposals included the creation of a Council of the great powers as permanent members and a non-permanent selection of the minor states. He also proposed the creation of a Mandate system for captured colonies of the Central Powers during the war. Cecil focused on the administrative side, and proposed annual Council meetings and quadrennial meetings for the Assembly of all members. He also argued for a large and permanent secretariat to carry out the League's administrative duties.

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Wilson, Cecil, and Smuts all put forward their draft proposals. After lengthy negotiations between the delegates, the Hurst-Miller draft was finally produced as a basis for the Covenant. After more negotiation and compromise, the delegates finally approved of the proposal to create the League of Nations. The final Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by a special commission, and the League was established by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles. On 28 June 1919, 44 states signed the Covenant, including 31 states which had taken part in the war on the side of the Triple Entente or joined it during the conflict.

The League would be made up of a General Assembly (representing all member states), an Executive Council (with membership limited to major powers), and a permanent secretariat. Member states were expected to "respect and preserve as against external aggression" the territorial integrity of other members and to disarm "to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." All states were required to submit complaints for arbitration or judicial inquiry before going to war. The Executive Council would create a Permanent Court of International Justice to make judgements on the disputes.

Despite Wilson's efforts to establish and promote the League, for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October 1919, the United States did not join. Opposition in the Senate, particularly from two Republican politicians, Henry Cabot Lodge and William Borah, and especially in regard to Article X of the Covenant, ensured that the United States would not ratify the agreement.

The League held its first council meeting in Paris on 16 January 1920, six days after the Versailles Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations came into force.[On 1 November 1920, the headquarters of the League was moved from London to Geneva, where the first General Assembly was held on 15 November 1920.

The official languages of the League of Nations were French, English, and Spanish. The League considered adopting Esperanto as their working language and actively encouraging its use, but this proposal was never acted

on. In 1921, Lord Robert Cecil proposed the introduction of Esperanto into state schools of member nations, and a report was commissioned. When the report was presented two years later, it recommended the adoption of Cecil's idea, a proposal that 11 delegates accepted. The strongest opposition came from the French delegate, Gabriel Hanotaux, partially to protect French, which he argued was already the international language. As a result of such opposition, the recommendation was not accepted.

In 1939, a semi-official emblem for the League of Nations emerged two five-pointed stars within a blue pentagon. They symbolised the Earth's five continents and five "races". A bow at the top displayed the English name ("League of Nations"), while another at the bottom showed the French ("Société des Nations").

8.3 The Covenant of the League of Nations:

The Covenant of the League of Nations consists of a short foreword or "Preamble" which introduces its three primary objectives; the 26 Articles which follow outline the means of carrying them out. In general, Article 1 describes the conditions of membership, admission and withdrawal. Articles 2 to 5specify the nature and power of the Assembly and the Council, the two main bodies of the Organization. Articles 6 to 7 discuss the appointment of a Secretary-General, the establishment of the League of Nations' Secretariat at Geneva, and its budget. Articles 8 to 9 deal with the subject of disarmament and the League of Nations' objective of reducing the number of arms to the lowest possible level through open discussion between Members. Articles 10 to 21 clarify the political and social mandates the newly formed international organization was expected to carry out, spelling out the obligations and rights of the Member States in order to promote international cooperation, and thus achieve international peace and collective security. Articles 22 to 23 detail the League of Nations' intention of extending international relations in the fields of finance, trade, transport by land, sea and air as well as the promotion of health and the struggle against drugs, prostitution and slavery. Articles 24 to 25 deal with the transfer of already established agencies and the commitment to encourage and support the aims of the Red Cross. Finally, Article 26explains how Members should proceed when amendments to the Covenant are deemed necessary.

8.4 The Structure of the League of Nations

The League had three principal organs: a Secretariat (headed by the General Secretary and based in Geneva), a Council, and an Assembly. The League also had numerous Agencies and Commissions. Authorization for any action required both a unanimous vote by the Council and a majority vote in

the Assembly.

The Assembly:

All members of the League were automatically members of the Assembly. Each Member State had one vote but was permitted to send up to three delegates. The Assembly held its sessions once a year in September. Paul Hymans of Belgium acted as President of the First Assembly. Amongst other things, the Assembly enjoyed the following powers and duties:

1. Control of the budget.
2. Admission of the new members to the League.
3. All matters affecting world peace.
4. Making amendments to the Covenant and revision of treaties.
5. Electing non-permanent members to the Council.
6. Formulation of rules regarding the selection and terms of Council members.

Consideration of matters to it by the Council. The Assembly accomplished most of its work through six main committees. These dealt with: (1) legal questions, (2) technical organizations, (3) reduction of armaments, (4) budget and finance, (5) social and humanitarian questions, and (6) political questions. Each member was entitled to be represented on all committees. Committee decisions could be taken by majority vote, but final approval on most issues had to face the requirement of unanimity in plenary session of the Assembly.

The Council

The Council was a coalition of the four permanent members: France, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom. Germany joined in 1926, but left in 1935. In September 1934, the Soviet Union entered the League of Nations. Up to 10 non-permanent Council members were elected by the Assembly for a three-year period. The most important task of the Council was to settle international disputes. It met, on average, five times a year, and in extraordinary sessions when required. The Council reported to the Assembly on its activities. In total, 107 public sessions were held between 1920 and 1939. Its first President was Lord Balfour, the Council's British representative. The allocation of powers and duties between the Assembly and the Council indicates the greater importance attached to the Council by the framers of the Covenant. The Council was assigned the following formidable responsibilities.

1. The conciliation of disputes.
2. The expulsion of members of the League that violated the Covenant.

3. The supervision of the mandates.
4. The approval of staff appointments to the Secretariat.
5. The authority to move the League headquarters
6. The formulation of plans for disarmament
7. The recommendation of methods for carrying out the provisions of the Covenant for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the application of sanctions.
8. The obligation to meet the request of any League member to consider any threat to international peace.

A few powers were shared by the Council and Assembly. Both the organs were authorized to deal with any matter under League's jurisdiction or affective world peace. Both were also authorized to seek advisory opinions from the Permanent Court of International Justice. In addition, three other responsibilities were thrust upon them such as: a) the appointment of Secretary-General, b) the election of members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and c) the approval of changes in the allocation of permanent and non-permanent seats on the Council.

The Secretariat

The staffs of the League's secretariat were responsible for preparing the agenda for the Council and Assembly and publishing reports of the meetings and other routine matters, effectively acting as the civil service for the League. It was headed by a Secretary-General, two Deputy Secretaries-General, and two Assistant Under-Secretaries. Over the life of the League from 1920 – 1946, there were three Secretaries-general, namely Sir James Eric Drummond, 7th Earl of Perth (UK) (1920-1933), Joseph Avenol (France) (1933-1940), and Seán Lester (Ireland) (1940-1946). The General Secretary wrote annual reports on the work of the League.

Other bodies

The League oversaw the Permanent Court of International Justice and several other agencies and commissions created to deal with pressing international problems. These were the Economic and Financial Organisation, the Organisation for Communications and Transit, the Disarmament Commission, the Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the Mandates Commission, the Permanent Central Opium Board, the Commission for Refugees, and the Slavery Commission. While the League itself is generally branded a failure, several of its Agencies and Commissions had successes within their respective mandates. Several of these institutions were transferred to the United Nations after the Second World War. In addition

to the International Labour Organisation, the Permanent Court of International Justice became a UN institution as the International Court of Justice, and the Health Organization was restructured as the World Health Organization.

The Mandate System

League of Nations Mandates were established under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. These territories were former colonies of the German Empire and the Ottoman Empire that were placed under the supervision of the League following World War I. The territories were governed by "Mandatory Powers", such as the United Kingdom in the case of the Mandate of Palestine and the Union of South Africa in the case of South-West Africa, until the territories were deemed capable of self-government. There were fourteen mandate territories divided up among the six Mandatory Powers of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, New Zealand, Australia and Japan. In practice, the Mandatory Territories were treated as colonies and were regarded by critics as spoils of war. With the exception of Iraq, which joined the League on October 3, 1932, these territories did not begin to gain their independence until after the Second World War, a process that did not end until 1990. Following the demise of the League, most of the remaining mandates became United Nations Trust Territories. In addition to the Mandates, the League itself governed the Saarland for 15 years, before it was returned to Germany following a plebiscite, and the free city of Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland) from 15 November1920 to 1 September 1939.

The Permanent Court of International Justice

Although the Permanent Court of International Justice was theoretically not a part of the League, but closely affiliated with it. The Court was established in 1921, three years after the end of World War I. The court was directed to decide disputes brought before it on the basis of existing treaty law and customary international law. It was composed of 11 judges and 4 Deputy Judges. The Court enjoyed three kinds of jurisdiction—Voluntary, Compulsory and Advisory. Some of the diplomats and lawyers drafting the statute of the court feared, however, that disputes might arise over new international issues for which there would be no settled custom or applicable treaty. They decided, and the nations voting for the statute agreed, to add a third source of law—"general principles of law recognized by civilized nations"—to allow the court to draw upon widely recognized legal principles in national law. In this way, the court would not have to refuse to settle a dispute because of the absence of international law. General principles that have been applied by the court and its successor, the United Nations International Court of Justice, include the "clean hands" doctrine (it is improper to accuse someone of

misconduct that the accuser has also engaged in), the principle that individuals should not be a judge in their own dispute, and the principle of *res judicata* (a case that is decided cannot be tried again).

The International Labour Organization

The International Labour Organization/Bureau International du Travail (ILO/BIT) was established in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference as an international organization working in cooperation with the League of Nations. The goal of the ILO/BIT was stated in the Covenant of the League of Nations (Article 23a) which called for the maintenance of "fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children." The membership of the ILO/BIT consisted of all of the member states of the League of Nations, plus the United States (which accepted membership in the organization on August 20, 1934).

The ILO successfully restricted the addition of lead to paint, and convinced several countries to adopt an eight-hour work day and forty-eight-hour working week. It also campaigned to end child labour, increase the rights of women in the workplace, and make shipowners liable for accidents involving seamen. After the demise of the League, the ILO became an agency of the United Nations in 1946.

The League's health organisation had three bodies: the Health Bureau, containing permanent officials of the League; the General Advisory Council or Conference, an executive section consisting of medical experts; and the Health Committee. The Committee's purpose was to conduct inquiries, oversee the operation of the League's health work, and prepare work to be presented to the Council. This body focused on ending leprosy, malaria, and yellow fever, the latter two by starting an international campaign to exterminate mosquitoes. The Health Organization also worked successfully with the government of the Soviet Union to prevent typhus epidemics, including organising a large education campaign.

The League of Nations had devoted serious attention to the question of international intellectual co-operation since its creation. The First Assembly in December 1920 recommended that the Council take action aiming at the international organisation of intellectual work, which it did by adopting a report presented by the Fifth Committee of the Second Assembly and inviting a Committee on Intellectual Cooperation to meet in Geneva in August 1922. The French philosopher Henri Bergson became the first chairman of the committee. The work of the committee included: inquiry into the conditions of intellectual life, assistance to countries where intellectual life was endangered, creation of national committees for intellectual co-operation, co-operation with

international intellectual organisations, protection of intellectual property, inter-university co-operation, co-ordination of bibliographical work and international interchange of publications, and international co-operation in archaeological research.

Introduced by the second International Opium Convention, the Permanent Central Opium Board had to supervise the statistical reports on trade in opium, morphine, cocaine and heroin. The board also established a system of import certificates and export authorisations for the legal international trade in narcotics.

The Slavery Commission sought to eradicate slavery and slave trading across the world, and fought forced prostitution. Its main success was through pressing the governments who administered mandated countries to end slavery in those countries. The League secured a commitment from Ethiopia to end slavery as a condition of membership in 1923, and worked with Liberia to abolish forced labour and intertribal slavery. The United Kingdom had not supported Ethiopian membership of the League on the grounds that "Ethiopia had not reached a state of civilisation and internal security sufficient to warrant her admission."

The League also succeeded in reducing the death rate of workers constructing the Tanganyika railway from 55 to 4 percent. Records were kept to control slavery, prostitution, and the trafficking of women and children. Afghanistan abolishedslaveryin1923, Iraq in1924, Nepal in1926, Transjordan and Persia in 1929, Bahrain in 1937, and Ethiopia in 1942.

The Committee for the Study of the Legal Status of Women sought to inquire into the status of women all over the world. It was formed in 1937, and later became part of the United Nations as the Commission on the Status of Women.

8.5 The Successes of the League of Nations

The League is generally considered to have failed in its mission to achieve disarmament, prevent war, settle disputes through diplomacy, and improve global welfare. However, it achieved significant successes in a number of areas

Åland Islands

Åland is a collection of around 6,500 islands mid-way between Sweden and Finland whose most of the residents wished to become part of Sweden; Finland, however, did not wish to cede the islands. The Swedish government raised the issue with the League in 1921. After close consideration, the League determined that the islands should remain a part of Finland, but be governed

autonomously, averting a potential war between the two countries.

Albania

The border between Albania and Yugoslavia remained in dispute after the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and Yugoslavian forces occupied some Albanian territory. After clashes with Albanian tribesmen, the Yugoslav forces invaded farther. The League was asked to intervene. It decided in favour of Albania, and the Yugoslav forces withdrew in 1921, albeit under protest. War was again prevented.

Upper Silesia

The Treaty of Versailles had ordered a plebiscite in Upper Silesia to determine whether the territory should be part of Germany or Poland. In the plebiscite, roughly 59.6% of the votes were cast for joining Germany, and this result led to the Silesian Uprising in 1921. The League was asked to settle the matter. It decided that the land should be split; the decision was accepted by both countries and by the majority of Upper Silesians.

Memel

The port city of Memel (now Klaipeda) and the surrounding area was placed under League control after the World War I and was governed by a French general for three years. However, Lithuanian forces invaded the territory in 1923 in order to claim it. The League chose to cede the land around Memel to Lithuania, but declared the port an international zone; Lithuania agreed. While the decision could be seen as a failure, the settlement of the issue without significant bloodshed was a point in the League's favour.

Greece and Bulgaria

After an incident between sentries on the border between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925, Greek troops invaded their neighbour. Bulgaria ordered its troops to provide only token resistance, trusting the League to settle the dispute. The League did indeed condemn the Greek invasion, and called for both Greek withdrawal and compensation to Bulgaria. Greece complied, but complained about the disparity between their treatment and that of Italy.

Saar

Saar was a province formed from parts of Prussia and the Rhenish Palatinate that was established and placed under League control after the Treaty of Versailles. A plebiscite was to be held after fifteen years of League rule, to determine whether the region should belong to Germany or France. The plebiscite went in favour of Germany referendum and became part of Germany again in 1935.

Mosul

The League resolved a dispute between Iraq and Turkey over the control of the former Ottoman province of Mosul in 1926.

Liberia

Following rumours of forced labor in the independent African country of Liberia, the League launched an investigation into the matter, particularly the alleged use of forced labour on the massive rubber plantation in that country. In 1930, a report by the League implicated many government officials in the selling of contract labor, leading to the resignation of President Charles D.B. King, his vice-president and numerous other government officials. The League followed with a threat to establish a trusteeship over Liberia unless reforms were carried out, which became the central focus of President Edwin Barclay.

Other successes

The League also worked to combat the international trade in opium and sexual slavery and helped alleviate the plight of refugees, particularly in Turkey in the period to 1926. One of its innovations in this area was its 1922 introduction of the Nansen passport, which was the first internationally recognised identity card for stateless refugees. Many of the League's successes were accomplished by its various Agencies and Commissions.

8.6 General Weaknesses of the League of Nations

The League did not, in the long term, succeed. The outbreak of World War II was the immediate cause of the League's demise, but there was also a variety of other, more fundamental, flaws. The League, like the modern United Nations, lacked an armed force of its own and depended on the Great Powers to enforce its resolutions, which they were very reluctant to do. Economic sanctions, which were the most severe measure the League could implement short of military action, were difficult to enforce and had no great impact on the target country, because they could simply trade with those outside the League.

The League's two most important members, Britain and France, were reluctant to use sanctions and even more reluctant to resort to military action on behalf of the League. So soon after World War I, the populations and governments of the two countries were pacifist. The British Conservatives were especially tepid on the League and preferred, when in government, to negotiate treaties without the involvement of the organization. Ultimately, Britain and France both abandoned the concept of collective security in favour of appeasement in the face of growing German militarism under Adolf Hitler.

Representation at the League was often a problem. Though it was intended to encompass all nations, many never joined, or their time as part of the League was short. One key weakness of the League was that the United States never joined, which took away much of the League's potential power. Even though US President Woodrow Wilson had been a driving force behind the League's formation, the United States Senate voted on November 19, 1919 not to join the League. The League also further weakened when some of the main powers left in the 1930s. Japan began as a permanent member of the Council, but withdrew in 1933 after the League voiced opposition to its invasion of the Chinese territory of Manchuria. Italy also began as a permanent member of the Council but withdrew in 1937. The League had accepted Germany as a member in 1926, deeming it a "peace-loving country," but Adolf Hitler pulled Germany out when he came to power in 1933.Another major power, the Bolshevik Soviet Union, was a member only from 1934, when it joined to antagonise Germany (which had left the year before), to December 14, 1939, when it was expelled for aggression against Finland. In expelling the Soviet Union, the League broke its own norms. Only 7 out of 15 members of the Council voted for the expelling (Great Britain, France, Belgium, Bolivia, Egypt, South African Union and the Dominican Republic), which was not a majority of votes as was required by the Charter to do so. Three of these members were chosen as members of the Council the day before the voting (South African Union, Bolivia and Egypt). The League of Nations practically ceased functioning after that and was formally dismissed in 1946.The League's neutrality tended to manifest itself as indecision. The League required a unanimous vote of its nine (later fifteen) member Council to enact a resolution, so conclusive and effective action was difficult, if not impossible. It was also slow in coming to its decisions. Some decisions also required unanimous consent of the Assembly; that is, agreement by every member of the League. Another important weakness of the League was that it tried to represent all nations, but most members protected their own national interests and were not committed to the League or its goals. The reluctance of all League members to use the option of military action showed this to the full. If the League had shown more resolve initially, countries, governments and dictators may have been more wary of risking its wrath in later years. These failings were, in part, among the reasons for the outbreak of World War II. Moreover, the League's advocacy of disarmament for Britain and France (and other members) whilst at the same time advocating collective security meant that the League was unwittingly depriving itself of the only forceful means by which its authority would be upheld. This was because if the League was to force countries to abide by international law it would primarily be the Royal Navy and the French

Army which would do the fighting. Furthermore, Britain and France were not powerful enough to enforce international law across the globe, even if they wished to do so. For its members League obligations meant there was a danger that states would get drawn into international disputes which did not directly affect their respective national interests. On 23 June 1936, in the wake of the collapse of League efforts to restrain Italy's war of conquest against Abyssinia, British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin told the House of Commons that collective security "failed ultimately because of the reluctance of nearly all the nations in Europe to proceed to what I might call military sanctions.... The real reason, or the main reason, was that we discovered in the process of weeks that there was no country except the aggressor country which was ready for war.... If collective action is to be a reality and not merely a thing to be talked about, it means not only that every country is to be ready for war; but must be ready to go to war at once. That is a terrible thing, but it is an essential part of collective security." It was an accurate assessment and a lesson which clearly was applied in the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which stood as the League's successor insofar as its role as guarantor of the security of Western Europe was concerned.

8.7 Failure of the League of Nations

With the onset of World War II, it was clear that the League had failed in its purpose – to avoid any future world war. During the war, neither the League's Assembly nor Council was able or willing to meet, and its secretariat in Geneva was reduced to a skeleton staff, with many offices moving to North America. After its failure to prevent one war, it was decided in 1945 at the Yalta Conference, to create a new body to supplant the League's role. This body was to be the United Nations. Many League bodies, for instance the International Labour Organization, continued to function and eventually became affiliated with the UN. Ata meeting of the Assembly in 1946, the League dissolved itself and its services, mandates, and property were transferred to the UN. The structure of the United Nations was intended to make it more effective than the League. The principal Allies in World War II (UK, USSR, France, U.S., and China) became permanent members of the UN Security Council, giving the new "Great Powers" significant international influence, mirroring the League Council. Decisions of the UN Security Council are binding on all members of the UN; however, unanimous decisions are not required, unlike the League Council. Permanent members of the UN Security Council were given a shield to protect their vital interests, which has prevented the UN acting decisively in many cases. Similarly, the UN does not have its own standing armed forces, but the UN has been more successful than the League in calling for its members to contribute to armed interventions, such as

the Korean War, and peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia. However, the UN has in some cases been forced to rely on economic sanctions. The UN has also been more successful than the League in attracting members from the nations of the world, making it more representative**.**

Causes of its Failure

The League of Nations was the first major attempt as an international organization of state to maintain peace and promote international co-operation. But it failed. Some of the causes of its failure are briefly mentioned as follows

1. The political background of Europe at the time of the birth of the League was not very conducive to a peace organization. World War I had been fought ostensibly to make the world safe for democracy, to end all future wars, etc. But essentially it was an imperialist war for the division and re-division of colonies.
2. The major powers namely the allied and the associated powers were, no doubt, victorious but peace as it emerged was an imperialist peace. The secret treaties among major powers were concluded at the very outset. The League of Nations was a part of the Versailles peace treaty. But men like Clemenceau (French P.M.) and Lloyd George never wanted its success. Clemenceau actually ridiculed the idea and said to Wilson, "I like your League of Nations. I like it very much but I do not believe in it," Thus the imperialist character of the peace handicapped the League throughout its history.
3. At no stage of its history did the League represent the world balance of forces. The U.S.A. never became its member and Russia stepped in only in 1934. Thus its effectiveness as an instrument of the world peace suffered.
4. In absence of Russia and America, it was actually dominated by the Anglo-French powers and became an instrument of their policy in Europe and since these powers were not interested in peace so much as in maintenance of their imperialist domination and destruction of Soviet Union, the League of Nations never had a chance to succeed.
5. The League of Nations was founded on the principle of unani of all the members except those who were party to a dispute. Thus every single member including the smallest had the right to veto. This system had two very important consequences.

6. A small power could very irresponsibly hamstring the League in its action against an aggressor. For instance aid to Republican Spain and condemnation of Fascist attack against Spain was prevented by a hostile vote of Portugal. The small powers who could not have the responsibility of maintaining world peace, could yet wreck it.
7. The big powers very often used small powers as stalking horses from behind the veto of a small member and thus escaped responsibility for a particular decision before their own people and world public opinion.
8. The world was divided into two social systems-the capitalistic and socialistic. The absence of Russia created a very real danger that the League might be used against the new socialist state. Unfortunately this danger proved to be real. The League which condoned fascist aggressions one after the other, wasted no time in violating its very principles by expelling Soviet Union on the question of Finland.
9. The spheres of activity of the Council and the Assembly were not clearly defined. It led to confusion of responsibility.
10. The responsibility for maintenance of peace was not securely placed anywhere. The Council of the League which alone could shoulder it was burdened with other responsibilities regarding minority treaties, mandatory territories, etc.

Despite these flaws, the League could have been made an instrument of peace if the powers dominating had wished it so. The articles of the covenant of the League provided for economic and military sanctions against the aggressors. The League failed because the leading powers never wanted a durable peace.

Conclusion

To sum up, the League of Nations was based on a new concept: collective security against the criminal threat of war. Unfortunately, the league rarely implemented its available resources, limited though they were, to achieve this goal. In the area of preserving peace, the league had some minor successes, including settlement of disputes between Finland and Sweden over the Åland Islands in 1921 and between Greece and Bulgaria over their mutual border in 1925. The Great Powers, however, preferred to handle their own affairs; France occupied the Ruhr, and Italy occupied Corfu, both in 1923, in spite of the league. The league was powerless to prevent the events in Europe that led to World War II. In 1946 the league voted to effect its own dissolution, whereupon much of its property and organization were transferred to the UN. Never truly effective as a peacekeeping organization, the lasting importance of the League of Nations lies in the fact that it provided the groundwork for the

UN. This international alliance, formed after World War II, not only profited by the mistakes of the League of Nations but borrowed much of the organizational machinery of the league.

Model Questions

1. Discuss the major successes of the League of Nations.
2. What were the circumstances that led the creation of the League of Nations?

CHAPTER - 9
UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Structure

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Origin of the UNO

9.3 Aims and objectives of the U.N.O.

9.4 The purpose of United Nations

9.5 The Principles of United Nations

9.6 Main Organs of the UNO

9.7 UN Secretary General

9.1 Introduction

The name "United Nations", coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt was first used in the Declaration of 1 January 1942, during the Second World War, when representatives of 26 nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers.

The forerunner of the United Nations was the League of Nations, an organization conceived in similar circumstances during the First World War, and established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles "to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security." The International Labour Organization was also created under the Treaty of Versailles as an affiliated agency of the League. The League of Nations ceased its activities after failing to prevent the Second World War.

In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on International Organization to draw up the United Nations Charter. Those delegates deliberated on the basis of proposals worked out by the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks, United States in August-October 1944. The Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 by the representatives of the 50 countries. Poland, which was not represented at the Conference, signed it later and became one of the original 51 Member States.

The United Nations officially came into existence on 24 October 1945, when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and by a majority of other signatories. United Nations Day is celebrated on 24 October each year.

United Nations head quarters is in New York, where 192 countries meet to solve international problems in a consensual manner. Due to its unique international character, and the powers vested in its founding Charter, the Organisation can take action on a wide range of issues, and provide a forum for its 192 Member States to express their views through the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies and committees.

9.2 Origin of the UNO

UNO came into being on October 24, 1945. But many attempts were made earlier to establish an international organisation.

The United Nations Charter is the treaty that established the United Nations. The following series of events led to the writing of the Charter, and the UN's formation.

12 June 1941 - The Declaration of St. James's Palace

In June 1941, London was the home of nine exiled governments. The great British capital had already seen twenty-two months of war and in the bomb-marked city, air-raid sirens wailed all too frequently. Practically all Europe had fallen to the Axis and ships on the Atlantic, carrying vital supplies, sank with grim regularity. But in London itself and among the Allied governments and peoples, faith in ultimate victory remained unshaken. And, even more, people were looking beyond military victory to the postwar future.

14 August 1941 - The Atlantic Charter

Two months after the London Declaration came the next step to a world organization, the result of a dramatic meeting between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

The main objectives of the Charter were.

- International peace and security.
- International cooperation in the field of social economic, cultural development of the world.
- Establish friendly relations among nations based on equal rights and self determination.
- Recognition of fundamental rights of the people.

1 January 1942 - The Declaration of the United Nations

26 Allied states representatives meet at Washington. Pledge to defeat common, enemies united. The word "United Nations" used for the first time.

1943 - Moscow and Teheran Conference

Thus by 1943 all the principal Allied nations were committed to outright victory and, thereafter, to an attempt to create a world in which "men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." But the basis for a world organization had yet to be defined, and such a definition came at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union in October 1943. In October 1943, a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., England and China took place at Moscow. The Moscow Declaration of 1943 confirmed the necessity of forming a general international organisation, based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving nations, for the preservation of international peace and security. It laid down the foundation of the U.N.O.

1944-1945 - Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta

The principles of the world organization-to-be were thus laid down. But it is a long step from defining the principles and purpose of such a body to setting up the structure. A blueprint had to be prepared, and it had to be accepted by many nations. Resolved to banish terror of war, to create a world in which all people may live free lives, untouched by tyranny and acts according to their own conscience.

The Yalta Conference, February 1945

Early in 1945, heads of three big nations, i.e., the U.S. President Roosevelt, the British Prime Minister Churchill and the Soviet Premier Stalin met at Yalta in the Soviet Union from 4th to 11th February, 1945. It was decided to open to all the states, at war with Germany, the membership of the United Nations, so that they could attend the next meeting to be held at San Francisco for drafting the Charter of the United Nations.

1945 - San Francisco Conference

Forty-five nations, including the four sponsors, were originally invited to the San Francisco Conference: nations which had declared war on Germany and Japan and had subscribed to the United Nations Declaration. The United Nations Charter was signed by 50 participating countries on June 26, 1945. It became effective on October 24, 1945 when the United Nations Organisation started functioning in a regular manner. That is why 24th October is celebrated each year as the United Nations Day.

- UN Headquarters are in New York City USA.
- Official languages of the UN are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Any speech can be translated simultaneously into the other five.

The charter containing 10,000 words in 111 Articles, divided in 19 chapters was finally prepared in 5 official languages- French, Russian, English, Spanish and Chinese. The last business session of the conference was held on June 5, 1945.

On June 26, 1945, the signatories to the charter established a commission of the UN in order to make provisional arrangements for the session of the General Assembly and the three councils, the establishment of the secretariat and the convening of the International Court of Justice. The commission was to consist of one representative of each member government.

The United Nations **flag** was adopted on October 20, 1947. It consists of the U.N. emblem in white on a light blue background. The emblem shows a globe inscribed in a wrath of olive branches which symbolises peace.

The expenses of the United Nations is met by the contributions made by the member-states. The contribution of different states is determined by the General Assembly each year on the recommendation of its committee on contributions.

Membership of the U.N.O. is open to all peace-loving nations which agree with the objectives of the U.N.O. and are ready to abide by its principles. The admission, suspension and expulsion of members are decided by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council by a 2/3rd majority of votes. Montenegro (a part of former Yugoslavia) became the newest member of the UN (192nd) in July 2006. Ban-ki-Moon of South Korea is the Secretary General of the UNO.

9.3 Aims and objectives of the U.N.O.

The main aims and objectives of the United Nations were defined in Article I of the Charter as:

1. To maintain international peace and security and to that end. To take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace. Suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. To bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character is promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all

without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

4. To be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

9.4 The purpose of United Nations

The purpose of the United Nations is set forth in Article 1 of the charter. These include

1. Maintenance of international peace and security.
2. Development of friendly relations among nations.
3. International cooperation in solving problems of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature; promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
4. To act as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve the above ends.

9.5 The Principles of United Nations

For the attainment of the above purposes the UN acts in accordance with certain principles which have been outlined in Article 2 of the UN charter. These principles include

1. The organization is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members.
2. The members shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present charter.
3. All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered.
4. All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations.
5. All members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
6. The organization shall ensure that states which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with these.
7. The organization shall not intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. This provision shall not, however, prejudice the application of enforcement action with respect to threats to

the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of regression.

Membership

At present United Nations has 193 members. These members broadly fall into two categories.

First, the original members, who participated in the San Francisco Conference or had signed earlier declaration by the United Nations on January 1, 1942 and signed and ratified the charter. In all, there were 51 original members.

Secondly, there are members which are elected under the UN charter by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The membership of UN is open to all peace loving countries which accept, and in the judgment of organization, are able and willing to carry out the obligations of the charter. Any prospective desiring to become a member has to submit an application including a declaration that it accepts the obligations envisaged in the charter. New members are admitted by two-thirds vote of the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The membership of the state becomes effective on the date the Assembly accepts the application.

With regard to withdrawal of membership, the charter is absolutely silent. Thus seems to suggest that the members cannot withdraw from membership. However, in 1965, India withdrew from the UN and became the first state to withdraw from the UN. But subsequently rejoined the UN.

9.6 Main Organs of the UNO

There are six principal bodies of the UN:

1. General Assembly
2. Security Council
3. Economic and Social Council
4. International Court of Justice
5. Trusteeship, Council
6. Secretariat.

1. General Assembly

The General Assembly is the most popular and the largest body of the UN. It is termed as the “Town meeting of the whole world” where all the members of the UNO, large or small, are heard in debates and discussions. All the member states of the UNO are its members. Regular session is only once in a year. It starts on 3rd Tuesday in September and countries till mid-December. Emergency/special session can also be held. Each country sends five delegates but has one vote only. Decisions on Important questions require 2/3 majority.

On ordinary matters a simple majority is enough.The Presidency of the Assembly rotates every among five group of states African, Asian, Eastern, European.

Functions and powers of the General Assembly

According to the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly may:

- Consider and make recommendations on the general principles of cooperation for maintaining international peace and security, including disarmament;
- Discuss any question relating to international peace and security and, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed by the Security Council, make recommendations on it;
- Discuss, with the same exception, and make recommendations on any questions within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations;
- Initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and international collaboration in the economic, social, humanitarian, cultural, educational and health fields;
- Make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation that might impair friendly relations among nations;
- Receive and consider reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs;
- Consider and approve the United Nations budget and establish the financial assessments of Member States;
- Elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of other United Nations councils and organs and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, appoint the Secretary-General.

2. Security Council

The Security Council is an executive organ of the UN which is entrusted with a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. All members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While other organs of the United Nations make recommendations to member states, only the Security Council has the power to make decisions that member states are then obligated to implement under the Charter. If General Assembly is the deliberative organ, the Security Council is the enforcement organ of the UN.

The Security Council held its first session on 17 January 1946 at Church House, Westminster, London. Since its first meeting, the Security Council has taken permanent residence at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City. It also travelled to many cities, holding sessions in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1972, in Panama City, Panama, and in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1990. A representative of each of its members must be present at all times at UN Headquarters so that the Security Council can meet at any time as the need arises.

The Security Council has 15 members. The USA, Russia, England, France and China are permanent members. Remaining 10 members are elected by the General Assembly for 2 years. Each council member has one vote. Permanent members have the right to veto. A permanent member can reject any decision of the Security Council. Meetings are held once a month, but can be held earlier in emergency. The members hold the presidency for one month by turns.

Functions and Powers

Under the United Nations Charter, the functions and powers of the Security Council are:

- to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
- to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction;
- to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement;
- to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;
- to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;
- to call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression;
- to take military action against an aggressor;
- to recommend the admission of new Members;
- to exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas";
- To recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

3. Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is assigned the task of organizing the UN's work on economic and social matters and the promotion of human rights. It consists of 54 members. Its 54 members are elected by the General Assemblies for 3 years, 1/3 retiring after 3 years and new members elected. Holds two sessions in a year.

Functions

- The chief function of this Council is to solve the economic, social and cultural problems.
- Makes efforts to remove the economic and social causes of the war. It aims at higher standard of living, full employment and economic and social progress.
- It appoints commissions in different spheres and inspects the working of the various institutions set up by the U.N.O.
- It established a commission in status of women in 1946. Its work led to the celebration of International women's year in 1975.

5. Trusteeship, Council

The Trusteeship Council operated the UN trusteeship system established under the charter. It was originally composed of member nations administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council, and a sufficient number of other members, elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms, to ensure an equal division of administering and no administering powers. After 1975, it was composed of the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the sole remaining administering power, and the four permanent no administering powers. The last trust territory, the Pacific island of Palau, voted for affiliation with the United States in late 1993. The Trusteeship Council voted in 1994 to suspend operation, convening only at the request of its President, a majority of its member states, the General Assembly, or the Security Council.

Functions

The function of this organ is to provide for an international trusteeship system to safeguard the interests of inhabitants of territories which are not yet fully self-governing and which may be placed there under by individual agreements.

5. International Court of Justice

It is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.The headquarters of the International court of justice is at The Hague (Netherlands).The court consists of 15 judges. The judges of the court are elected by the General

Assembly along with the Security Council for a nine year term. It may not include more than one judge of any nationality. The Members of the Court do not represent their governments but are independent magistrates.

The term of the judges is 9 years and they can be re-elected. Quorum is fixed at nine. All decisions taken by majority vote of the Judges present. Chief justice elected for 3 years and has a casting vote.

Functions:

- Settle mutual disputes among different nations peacefully.
- Disputes regarding Treaties of pacts are referred to it for decision.
- Advises the General Assembly, Security Council and other agencies of the UNO on legal matters.

Secretariat

The Secretariat, one of the main organs of the UN, is organized along departmental lines, with each department or office having a distinct area of action and responsibility. Offices and departments coordinate with each other to ensure cohesion as they carry out the day-to-day work of the Organization in offices and duty stations around the world. At the head of the United Nations Secretariat is the Secretary-General.

Functions

- Keeps record of all organs of the UNO.
- Implements the decisions taken by all the organs.
- Coordinates the work of all branches, see that they function properly and submit their animal report to the UNO.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations (UNSG) is the head of the United Nations Secretariat, one of the principal organs of the United Nations. The Secretary-General also acts as the *de facto* spokesperson and leader of the United Nations.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), located in The Hague, Netherlands, is the primary judicial organ of the United Nations. Established in 1945 by the United Nations Charter, the Court began work in 1946 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Statute of the International Court of Justice, similar to that of its predecessor, is the main constitutional document constituting and regulating the Court.

It is based in the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, sharing the building with the Hague Academy of International Law, a private centre for the study of international law. Several of the Court's current judges are either

alumni or former faculty members of the Academy. Its purpose is to adjudicate disputes among states. The court has heard cases related to war crimes, illegal state interference and ethnic cleansing, among others, and continues to hear cases.

A related court, the International Criminal Court (ICC), began operating in 2002 through international discussions initiated by the General Assembly. It is the first permanent international court charged with trying those who commit the most serious crimes under international law, including war crimes and genocide. The ICC is functionally independent of the UN in terms of personnel and financing, but some meetings of the ICC governing body, the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute, are held at the UN. There is a "relationship agreement" between the ICC and the UN that governs how the two institutions regard each other legally.

The International Court of Justice is the UN's principal judicial organ. Based in, The Hague, Netherlands, the Court pursues two primary objectives:

1. Settling legal disputes submitted by states in accordance with international law, and
2. Advising on legal questions brought by authorized international organs and agencies.

The Court consists of 15 judges elected to 9-year terms by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council during independent sittings.

Article 2 of the Statute provides that all judges should be "elected regardless of their nationality among persons of high moral character", who are either qualified for the highest judicial office in their home states or known as lawyers with sufficient competence in international law. Judicial independence is dealt specifically with in Articles 16-18. Judges of the ICJ are not able to hold any other post, nor act as counsel No more than one judge of any nationality may serve simultaneously, and judges are in all respects required to act as independent magistrates. A judge can be dismissed only by a unanimous vote of other members of the Court the Court's jurisdiction and competency in settling disputes is dependent upon a state's acceptance of its jurisdiction thereof.

Ad hoc judges

Article 31 of the statute sets out a procedure whereby *ad hoc* judges sit on contentious cases before the Court. This system allows any party to a contentious case to nominate a judge of their choice (usually of their nationality), if a judge of their nationality is not already on the bench. *Ad hoc*

judges participate fully in the case and the deliberations, along with the permanent bench. Thus, it is possible that as many as seventeen judges may sit on one case. Advisory opinion

An advisory opinion is a function of the Court open only to specified United Nations bodies and agencies. On receiving a request, the Court decides which States and organizations might provide useful information and gives them an opportunity to present written or oral statements. Advisory Opinions were intended as a means by which UN agencies could seek the Court's help in deciding complex legal issues that might fall under their respective mandates. In principle, the Court's advisory opinions are only consultative in character, though they are influential and widely respected. Whilst certain instruments or regulations can provide in advance that the advisory opinion shall be specifically binding on particular agencies or states, they are inherently non-binding under the Statute of the Court. This non-binding character does not mean that advisory opinions are without legal effect, because the legal reasoning embodied in them reflects the Court's authoritative views on important issues of international law and, in arriving at them, the Court follows essentially the same rules and procedures that govern its binding judgments delivered in contentious cases submitted to it by sovereign states. An advisory opinion derives its status and authority from the fact that it is the official pronouncement of the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

The Secretariat.

The United Nations Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General, assisted by a staff of international civil servants worldwide. It provides studies, information, and facilities needed by United Nations bodies for their meetings. It also carries out tasks as directed by the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly, the UN Economic and Social Council, and other UN bodies. The United Nations Charter provides that the staff be chosen by application of the "highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity," with due regard for the importance of recruiting on a wide geographical basis.

The Charter provides that the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any authority other than the UN. Each UN member country is enjoined to respect the international character of the Secretariat and not seek to influence its staff. The Secretary-General alone is responsible for staff selection.

Key Secretariat offices in this area include the Office of the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that, in his or her opinion, may threaten international peace and security.

Secretary-General

The current Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon of South Korea

The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General, who acts as the *de facto* spokesman and leader of the UN. The current Secretary-General is Ban Ki-moon, who took over from Kofi Annan in 2007 and will be eligible for reappointment when his first term expires in 2011.

Envisioned by Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "world moderator", the position is defined in the UN Charter as the organization's "chief administrative officer" but the Charter also states that the Secretary-General can bring to the Security Council's attention "any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security", giving the position greater scope for action on the world stage. The position has evolved into a dual role of an administrator of the UN organization, and a diplomat and mediator addressing disputes between member states and finding consensus to global issues.

The Secretary-General's duties include

a. Helping resolve international disputes,
b. Administering peacekeeping operations,
c. Organizing international conferences,
d. Gathering information on the implementation of Security Council decisions.
e. Consulting with member governments regarding various initiatives.
f. Acts as the custodian of all the funds.

The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly, after being recommended by the Security Council. The selection can be vetoed by any member of the Security Council, and the General Assembly can theoretically override the Security Council's recommendation if a majority vote is not achieved, although this has not happened so far. There are no specific criteria for the post, but over the years it has become accepted that the post shall be held for one or two terms of five years, that the post shall be appointed based on geographical rotation, and that the Secretary-General shall not originate from one of the five permanent Security Council member states.

Specialized Agencies of United Nations

The UNO is not only concerned with the establishment of peace and security in the world, bit also expected to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development. In this task, the UN is assisted by a number of specialized agencies.

Classification of Specialized Agencies

There are many **UN organizations and agencies** that function to work on particular issues. The UN Charter stipulates that each primary organ of the UN can establish various specialized agencies to fulfill its duties. At present the UN has in total **16** specialized agencies that carry out various functions on behalf of the UN.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations leads international efforts to defeat hunger. Serving both developed and developing countries, FAO acts as a neutral forum where all nations meet as equals to negotiate agreements and debate policy. FAO's mandate is to raise levels of nutrition, improve agricultural productivity, better the lives of rural populations and contribute to the growth of the world economy. FAO is the largest of UN agencies and its headquarters are in Rome, Italy.

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is an intergovernmental forum for scientific and technical cooperation in the field of nuclear technology. It seeks to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy and to inhibit its use for military purposes. The IAEA was set up as an autonomous organization in 29 July1957. Prior to this, in 1953, U.S. PresidentDwight D. Eisenhower envisioned the creation of this international body to control and develop the use of atomic energy, in his "*Atoms for Peace*" speech before the UN General Assembly. Its current membership is 144 countries.[2]

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) was founded in 1947. It codifies the principles and techniques of international air navigation and fosters the planning and development of international air transport to ensure safe and orderly growth. Its headquarters are located in the Quartier international de Montréal of Montreal, Canada.

The ICAO Council adopts standards and recommended practices concerning air navigation, prevention of unlawful interference, and facilitation of border-crossing procedures for international civil aviation. In addition, the ICAO defines the protocols for air accident investigation followed by transport safety authorities in countries signatory to the Convention on International Civil Aviation, commonly known as the Chicago Convention.

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) was established as an international financial institution in 1977, as one of the major

outcomes of the 1974 World Food Conference and a response to the situation in the Sahel. IFAD is dedicated to eradicating rural poverty in developing countries. Its headquarters are in Rome, Italy.

International Labor Organization (ILO)

The International Labour Organization (ILO) deals with labour issues. Its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. Founded in 1919, it was formed through the negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles, and was initially an agency of the League of Nations. It became a member of the UN system after the demise of the League and the formation of the UN at the end of World War II. Its Constitution, as amended to date, includes the Declaration of Philadelphia on the aims and purposes of the Organization. Its secretariat is known as the International Labour Office.

International Maritime Organization (IMO)

The International Maritime Organization (IMO), formerly known as the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), was established in 1948 through the United Nations to coordinate international maritime safety and related practices. However the IMO did not enter into full force until 1958.

Headquartered in London, the IMO promotes cooperation among governments and the shipping industry to improve maritime safety and to prevent marine pollution. IMO is governed by an Assembly of members and is financially administered by a Council of members elected from the Assembly. The work of IMO is conducted through five committees and these are supported by technical sub-committees. Member organizations of the UN organizational family may observe the proceedings of the IMO. Observer status may be granted to qualified non-governmental organizations.

The IMO is supported by a permanent secretariat of employees who are representative of its members. The secretariat is composed of a Secretary-General who is periodically elected by the Assembly, and various divisions including, *inter alia*, marine safety, environmental protection, and a conference section.

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) was established to standardize and regulate international radio and telecommunications. It was founded as the International Telegraph Union in Paris on 17 May1865. Its main tasks include standardization, allocation of the radio spectrum, and organizing interconnection arrangements between different countries to allow international phone calls — in which regard it performs for telecommunications a similar

function to what the UPU performs for postal services. It has its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, next to the main United Nations campus.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) is a specialized agency of the United Nations established in 1945. Its stated purpose is to contribute to peace and security by promoting international collaboration through education, science, and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, the rule of law, and the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the UN Charter.

United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), French/Spanish acronym ONUDI, is a specialized agency in the United Nations system, headquartered in Vienna, Austria. The Organization's primary objective is the promotion and acceleration of industrial development in developing countries and countries with economies in transition and the promotion of international industrial cooperation. UNIDO believes that competitive and environmentally sustainable industry has a crucial role to play in accelerating economic growth, reducing poverty and achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The Organization therefore works towards improving the quality of life of the world's poor by drawing on its combined global resources and expertise in the following three interrelated thematic areas:

- Poverty reduction through productive activities;
- Trade capacity-building; and
- Energy and environment.

UNOSAT

UNOSAT is the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) Operational Satellite Applications Programme, implemented in co-operation with the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN). The programme provides satellite solutions to relief and development organizations.

Universal Postal Union

The Universal Postal Union, headquartered in Berne, Switzerland, coordinates postal policies between member nations, and hence the world-wide postal system. Each member country agrees to the same set of terms for conducting international postal duties.

World Bank Group

The World Bank, a part of the World Bank Group (WBG), makes loans to developing countries for development programmes with the stated goal of reducing poverty. The World Bank differs from the World Bank Group in that the former only comprises the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association, while the latter incorporates these entities in addition to three others (i.e., MIGA & ICSID).

World Health Organization

The World Health Organization (WHO) acts as a coordinating authority on international public health. Established on 7 April 1948, and headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, the agency inherited the mandate and resources of its predecessor, the Health Organization, which had been an agency of the League of Nations.

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)

The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) (French: is a specialized agency of the United Nations created in 1967 and headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. Its purpose is to encourage creative activity and to promote the protection of intellectual property throughout the world. The organization administers several treaties concerning the protection of intellectual property rights.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) originated from the International Meteorological Organization (IMO), which was founded in 1873. Established in 1950, WMO became the specialized agency of the United Nations for meteorology (weather and climate), operational hydrology and related geophysical sciences. It has its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)

It was established in 1946 in London, England to replace the International Union of Official Tourist Propaganda Organization (IUOTPO). UNWTO has 160 member states and 350 affiliated members representing private organizations, educational institutions and others. It is headquartered in Madrid, Spain. The World Tourism Organization serves as a forum for tourism policies and acts as a practical source for tourism know-how.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

It provides monetary cooperation and financial stability and acts as a forum for advice, negotiation and assistance on financial issues.

9.7 UN Secretary General

The current Secretary-General is Ban Ki-moon of South Korea, who took office on 1 January 2007. His first term expired on 31 December 2011. He was re-elected, unopposed, to a second term on 21 June 2011. His successor will be appointed by the General Assembly in 2016.

The Secretary-General was envisioned by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "world moderator", but the vague definition provided by the UN Charter left much room for interpretation by those who would later inhabit the position. According to the UN website, their roles are further defined as "diplomat and advocate, civil servant, and CEO" Article 97 under Chapter XV of the UN Charter states that the Secretary-General shall be the "chief administrative officer" of the Organization, but does not dictate their specific obligations.

Responsibilities of the Secretary-General are further outlined in Articles 98 through 100, which states that they shall act as the officer "in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs". They are responsible, according to Article 99, for making an annual report to the General Assembly as well as notifying the Security Council on matters which "in their opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security". Other than these few guidelines, little else is dictated by the Charter. Interpretation of the Charter has varied between Secretaries-General, with some being much more active than others.

The Secretary-General is highly dependent upon the support of the member states of the UN. "The Secretary-General would fail if they did not take careful account of the concerns of Member States, but they must also uphold the values and moral authority of the United Nations, and speak and act for peace, even at the risk, from time to time, of challenging or disagreeing with those same Member States.

Appointment

Secretary General serves for five-year terms that can be renewed indefinitely, although none so far has held office for more than two terms. The United Nations Charter provides for the Secretary-General to be appointed by the Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. As a result, the selection is subject to the veto of any of the five permanent Members of the Security Council. While the appointment and approval process of the Secretary-General is outlined in the UN Charter, specific guidelines have emerged regarding the term limits and selection process. These include a limit

to two five-year terms, regional (continental) rotation of the appointee's national origin, and the appointee may not be a citizen of any of the Security Council's five permanent members.

Functions of UN Secretary General

The Secretary-General is also the chief administrative officer of the United Nations. Article 98 further states that the Secretary-General is further tasked with supervising the operations of the Security Council, General Assembly (GA), and the Economic and Social Council and is to "perform other such functions as are entrusted to him by these organizations". In short, this gives him or her further responsibility of presiding over the meetings of these organs of the UN. Also contained in Article 98 is the responsibility of the Secretary-General to compile annual reports concerning the UN's progress, to be presented to the General Assembly.

- **Administrative.** The secretary-general oversees the UN Secretariat, which handles UN operations, including research, translation, and media relations. The Secretariat--the UN's executive office--has a staff of close to nine thousand people from about 170 different countries. Each secretary-general has handled his administrative responsibilities differently. Hammerskjöld established a system of offices in charge of legal, political, personnel, and budgetary aspects of the secretariat. Boutros Boutros-Ghali streamlined the system by adding under-secretaries-general to oversee operations and report back. During Annan's administration, the deputy secretary-general position was created to handle day-to-day operations.
- **Human Resources**. The hiring of under-secretaries for approximately fifty UN posts, including the heads of funds such as UNICEF and UNDP, falls under the purview of the secretary-general. An important aspect of the hiring process involves lobbying from members to fill posts with their nationals, highlighting the secretary-general's role of negotiating with the Security Council and General Assembly to ensure broad regional representation.
- **Peacekeeping**. The secretary-general's office shoulders responsibility for overseeing peacekeeping missions and appoints the under-secretary in charge of that department, involving some sixteen operations worldwide as of September 2008. Although the General Assembly or Security Council may initiate a peacekeeping mission, operational control rests with the Secretariat.
- **Mediation**. This function involves the secretary-general's role as a mediator between parties in conflict. As part of his "good offices" role the secretary-general makes use of his independence and impartiality as the

head of a global organization to prevent and stop the spread of conflict. Examples of UN leaders taking on mediation roles in the past include Hammarskjöld's promotion of an armistice between Israel and Arab states and Javier Perez de Cuellar's negotiation of a ceasefire to end the Iraq-Iran War.

Model Questions

1. Trace Briefly the origin of the United Nations
2. Write a note on UN Secretariat and the role of Secretary General.
3. Explain the organs of UN and discuss itd powers and functions

CHAPTER -10
NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Structure

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Concepts of Non-Alignment

10.3 History of the Non-Aligned Movement

10.4 Evolution of NAM

10.5 Purposes

10.6 Principles

10.1 Introduction

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created and founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world and at the height of the Cold War. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States. Throughout its history, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has played a fundamental role in the preservation of world peace and security**.**

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of states which are not formally aligned with or against any major power. As of 2012, the movement has 120 members and 17 observer countries.

The organization was founded in Belgrade in 1961, and was largely conceived by India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru; Indonesia's first president, Sukarno; Egypt's second president, Gamal Abdel Nasser; Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah; and Yugoslavia's president, Josip Broz Tito. All five leaders were prominent advocates of a middle course for states in the Developing World between the Western and Eastern Blocs in the Cold War. The phrase itself was first used to represent the doctrine by Indian diplomat V. K. Krishna Menon in 1953, at the United Nations.

The countries of the Non-Aligned Movement represent nearly two-thirds of the United Nations's members and contain 55% of the world population. Membership is particularly concentrated in countries considered to be developing or part of the Third World countries.

The Non-Aligned movement was never established as a formal organization, but became the name to refer to the participants of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries first held in 1961. The term "non-alignment" itself was coined by V. K. Krishna Menon in 1953 remarks at the United Nations. Jawaharlal used the phrase in a 1954 speech in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In this speech, Nehru described the five pillars to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations called Panchsheel (five restraints), these principles would later serve as the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement. The five principles were:

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- Mutual non-aggression
- Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs
- Equality and mutual benefit
- Peaceful co-existence.

At the Lusaka Conference in September 1970, the member nations added as aims of the movement the peaceful resolution of disputes and the abstention from the big power military alliances and pacts. Another added aim was opposition to stationing of military bases in foreign countries.

The founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement were: Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Their actions were known as 'The Initiative of Five'.

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The primary objectives of the non-aligned countries focused on the support of self-determination, national independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; opposition to apartheid; non-adherence to multilateral military pacts and the independence of non-aligned countries from great power or block influences and rivalries; the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations; the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination; disarmament; non-interference into the internal affairs of States and peaceful coexistence among

all nations; rejection of the use or threat of use of force in international relations; the strengthening of the United Nations; the democratization of international relations; socioeconomic development and the restructuring of the international economic system; as well as international cooperation on an equal footing.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries played a key role in the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order that allowed all the peoples of the world to make use of their wealth and natural resources and provided a wide platform for a fundamental change in international economic relations and the economic emancipation of the countries of the South. During its nearly 50 years of existence, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has gathered a growing number of States and liberation movements which, in spite of their ideological, political, economic, social and cultural diversity, have accepted its founding principles and primary objectives and shown their readiness to realize them. Historically, the non-aligned countries have shown their ability to overcome their differences and found a common ground for action that leads to mutual cooperation and the upholding of their shared values

The main objectives of non-alignment are:

- to liquidate colonialism and imperialism in all their forms
- to establish world peace and ensure peaceful coexistence between nations
- to condemn racial discrimination
- to oppose military alliance
- to follow policy of disarmament
- to have respect for human rights
- to establish economic relations between nations based on equality and free from exploitation.

10.2 Concepts of Non-Alignment

As a concept and movement, non-alignment upholds certain values- while opposing certain other values.

1. Dissociation from Military Alliances:

Non-alignment stands- for dissociation from military alliances that came into existence as a result of rivalry between the super-powers. Military alliances attempt to create spheres of influence, promote arms race and thus increase tension in the world. It was on account of the membership of military alliances such as SEATO and CENTO that India opposed that entry of Pakistan into non-aligned movement at the time of the Colombo Conference held in 1976. It is now after having given up membership of military pacts that

Pakistan could be admitted as a member at the Havana Conference held in 1979. Rather, the alliances of which Pakistan was a member have disintegrated. This has proved the truth of the contention that non- alignment is gaining ground against military alliances.

2. Achievement of National Interest:

In spite of the fact that non-alignment aims at ushering in a just and peaceful international order, it is not blind to the fact that the existence of a nation depends upon seeking its own national interest. It is in this context that Nehru stressed that your relations with a particular country can be more cordial and friendly.

3. Synthesis of National Interest and Internationalism:

Promotion of national interest keeping in view the achievement of peace in the world means that non-alignment is a synthesis of nationalism and internationalism. The ideals of the leaders of the high priests of non- alignment were shaped by the traditions of their ancient civilisation as also the Western liberal education in which they were brought up.

The Indian leaders were in particular influenced by the moralist traditions of Buddha, Ashoka and Mahatma Gandhi. It is the Gandhian concept of non-violence at the national level that was extended by Nehru to the international plane through the police of peaceful co-existence and non-involvement with military rivalry of big power. Just as non-violence was based on courage and conviction and the best and most peaceful way of achieving independence so was non-alignment born out of conviction and sheer necessity of survival of the newly independent countries.

4. Concern for World-Peace:

Non-alignment is concerned with the maintenance of peace in the world. This is but natural in a world where nuclear holocaust can destroy the whole of the world within no time. Moreover, the non-aligned countries are against the use of force in settling international disputes. They are of the view that war instead of solving problems, tends to aggravate them. Their concern for peace so much over-shadows other things that at times they do not bother for their own national interest. Peace is considered necessary for the eradication of poverty and squalor from the world.

5. Seeking Economic Assistance:

All the new nations that joined non-aligned movement were under-developed. Their primary job was to develop their countries at the earliest possible. Development could be possible only through economic and technological assistance from the industrialised and developed countries. This

assistance was sought from countries of both the blocs. But this assistance was given with certain conditions and had therefore, politico-economic implications. Moreover, the moral and psychological effect of this end was also not in the interest of recipient country.

This made certain countries like India to receive aid in sectors which are critical for creating national know-how and infrastructure for future development in a way that the need for future assistance would end. In addition, efforts have been made by the non-aligned countries to evolve self-reliance. It is sought to be achieved through pooling of resources and reducing dependence on the developed countries. India is taking a leading position in creating self-reliance and self-confidence among the non-aligned countries.

In spite of the fact that India is a poor country, its food position is satisfactory, its foreign exchange reserves are enough and it is without exaggeration one of the most advanced countries in the field of science, technology and industry. She is rather helping countries of South, South East and West Asia in many ways.

6. Independence of Judgment on International issues:

The roost characteristic feature of the non-aligned is the independence of judgment which the non-aligned countries enjoy on international issues. They judge every issue on its own merit without any dictation from any other country. This has been asserted by many leaders of the non-aligned countries.

Nehru declared that non-alignment is "a policy of acting according to our best judgment. P.M. of Burma wanted to retain his "freedom of action in foreign affairs." Nkrumah of Ghana pointed out that "we must be free to judge issues on their merits."

7. Democratic approach to International Relations:

Non- aligned countries believe in a democratic approach to international relations by all the countries of the world. Vice-President Nixon and Secretary of State Dulles used almost abusive language for the concept of non-alignment in 1956.

Nehru urged upon them neither to suppress discussion nor give up tolerate in discussing external relations of the new nations. Nehru said, "I submit for consideration that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dulles are saying something that is opposed to the democratic way of life. The very basis of democracy is tolerance for differing points of view."

8. Opposition to Colonialism and Racialism:

Non-aligned countries are opposed to racialism and colonialism in any form. It was to condemn Dutch action on Indonesia and plead for the freedom

of Indonesia that Nehru called a conference in New Delhi in 1954. It was at the Bandung Conference held in 1955 where the representatives from Asia and Africa condemned racialism and colonialism.

Sukarno and Nehru were in particular concerned about the possibility that anti-colonial struggle would become institutionalised. Concern for the freedom of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) was expressed deeply by the non-aligned countries particularly India. Non-alignment is also opposed to racialism as practiced in South Africa.

9. Opposition to Power Politics:

Morgenthau and Schwarzen Berger regard international relations as a struggle for power. Power implies a particular man's control over the minds and actions of other men. Non- alignment rejects at least in theory, this game of power politics. Instead, it believes in influence politics. Influence politics differs from power politics in the sense that influence believes in persuasion while power lies in compelling other by the use of force to do what he would not have done otherwise.

10. Establishment of New International Economic Order:

In spite of the fact that the new nations have obtained freedom, they are still dominated by the highly developed countries in the economic sphere. They are tied in the economic system that believes in exploitation of the poor and underdeveloped countries.

In spite of the fact that these new nations have made developmental plans, they have not been able to make a little progress. The produce of the poor, underdeveloped, countries is bought by the affluent nations at a very low rate, while the finished goods prepared from that very stuff imported from the underdeveloped countries is exported to them at very high prices. This leads to deficit in balance of payments.

The aid given by the developed countries to the underdeveloped nations is eaten back by the former to meet balance of payments gap. The non-aligned countries plead for the replacement of this old system by a New International Economic System.

Concern for the new economic system was expressed for the first time at the Conference held at Algiers in 1970. Consequently, many of the new nations providing raw materials decided to come together and act in unison to increase the prices of their commodities.

It was this strategy at Algiers that gave birth to the demand for a New International Economic Order. This strategy which was later used with great effect by the OPEC (Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries)

provided a major threat for world capitalist powers.

The radical departure in the realm of economics gave the non-aligned movement a new structural meaning in world politics. They became in effect powerful bargaining groups within the context of international economic relations. The bargaining power gave a new meaning to their political demands, especially racialism and national liberation.

10.3 History of the Non-Aligned Movement

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created and founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world and at the height of the Cold War. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States. Throughout its history, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has played a fundamental role in the preservation of world peace and security.

While some meetings with a third-world perspective were held before 1955, historians consider that the Bandung Asian-African Conference is the most immediate antecedent to the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement. This Conference was held in Bandung on April 18-24, 1955 and gathered 29 Heads of States belonging to the first post-colonial generation of leaders from the two continents with the aim of identifying and assessing world issues at the time and pursuing out joint policies in international relations.

The principles that would govern relations among large and small nations, known as the "Ten Principles of Bandung", were proclaimed at that Conference. Such principles were adopted later as the main goals and objectives of the policy of non-alignment. The fulfillment of those principles became the essential criterion for Non-Aligned Movement membership; it is what was known as the "quintessence of the Movement" until the early 1990s.

In 1960, in the light of the results achieved in Bandung, the creation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was given a decisive boost during the Fifteenth Ordinary Session of the United Nations General Assembly, during which 17 new African and Asian countries were admitted. A key role was played in this process by the then Heads of State and Government Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, who later became the founding fathers of the movement and its emblematic leaders.

Six years after Bandung, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was founded on a wider geographical basis at the First Summit Conference of

Belgrade, which was held on September 1-6, 1961. The Conference was attended by 25 countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Yemen, Myanmar, Cambodia, Srilanka, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yugoslavia.

The Founders of NAM have preferred to declare it as a movement but not an organization in order to avoid bureaucratic implications of the latter.

The membership criteria formulated during the Preparatory Conference to the Belgrade Summit (Cairo, 1961) show that the Movement was not conceived to play a passive role in international politics but to formulate its own positions in an independent manner so as to reflect the interests of its members.

Thus, the primary of objectives of the non-aligned countries focused on the support of self-determination, national independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; opposition to apartheid; non-adherence to multilateral military pacts and the independence of non-aligned countries from great power or block influences and rivalries; the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations; the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination; disarmament; non-interference into the internal affairs of States and peaceful coexistence among all nations; rejection of the use or threat of use of force in international relations; the strengthening of the United Nations; the democratization of international relations; socioeconomic development and the restructuring of the international economic system; as well as international cooperation on an equal footing.

Since its inception, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has waged a ceaseless battle to ensure that peoples being oppressed by foreign occupation and domination can exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries played a key role in the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order that allowed all the peoples of the world to make use of their wealth and natural resources and provided a wide platform for a fundamental change in international economic relations and the economic emancipation of the countries of the South.

During its nearly 50 years of existence, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has gathered a growing number of States and liberation movements which, in spite of their ideological, political, economic, social and cultural diversity, have accepted its founding principles and primary objectives and

shown their readiness to realize them. Historically, the non-aligned countries have shown their ability to overcome their differences and found a common ground for action that leads to mutual cooperation and the upholding of their shared values.

The ten principles of Bandung

1. Respect of fundamental human rights and of the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality among all races and of the equality among all nations, both large and small.
4. Non-intervention or non-interference into the internal affairs of another - country.
5. Respect of the right of every nation to defend itself, either individually or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. Non-use of collective defense pacts to benefit the specific interests of any of the great powers.
   Non-use of pressures by any country against other countries.
7. Refraining from carrying out or threatening to carry out aggression, or from using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Peaceful solution of all international conflicts in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and of cooperation.
10. Respect of justice and of international obligations.

10.4 Evolution of NAM

The creation and strengthening of the socialist block after the defeat of fascism in World War II, the collapse of colonial empires, the emergence of a bipolar world and the formation of two military blocks (NATO and the Warsaw Pact) brought about a new international context that led to the necessity of multilateral coordination between the countries of the South.

In this context, the underdeveloped countries, most of them in Asia and Africa, felt the need to join efforts for the common defense of their interests, the strengthening of their independence and sovereignty and the cultural and economic revival or salvation of their peoples, and also to express a strong commitment with peace by declaring themselves as "non-aligned" from either of the two nascent military blocks.

In order to fulfill the aims of debating on and advancing a strategy designed to achieve such objectives, the Bandung Asian-African Conference was held in Indonesia in April 1955. It was attended by 29 Heads of State and Government of the first postcolonial generation of leaders and its expressed goal was to identify and assess world issues at the time and coordinate policies to deal with them.

Although the Asian and African leaders who gathered in Bandung might have had differing political and ideological views or different approaches toward the societies they aspired to build or rebuild, there was a common project that united them and gave sense to a closer coordination of positions. Their shared program included the political decolonization of Asia and Africa. Moreover, they all agreed that the recently attained political independence was just a means to attain the goal of economic, social and cultural independence.

The Bandung meeting has been considered as the most immediate antecedent of the founding of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which finally came into being six years later on a wider geographical basis when the First Summit Conference was held in Belgrade on September 1-6, 1961. This gathering was attended by the Heads of State and Government of 25 countries and observers from another three nations.

This First Summit of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was convened by the leaders of India, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria and Yugoslavia. On April 26, 1961, the Presidents of the Arab Republic of Egypt (Nasser) and Yugoslavia (Tito) addressed the Heads of State and Government of 21 "non-Aligned" countries and suggested that, taking recent world events and the rise of international tensions into account, a Conference should be held to promote an improvement in international relations, a resistance to policies of force and a constructive settlement of conflicts and other issues of concern in the world.

The Movement played an important role in the support of nations which were struggling then for their independence in the Third World and showed great solidarity with the most just aspirations of humanity. It contributed indisputably to the triumph in the struggle for national independence and decolonization, thus gaining considerable diplomatic prestige.

As one Summit after another was held in the 1960s and 1970s, "non alignment", turned already into the "Movement of Non-Aligned Countries" that included nearly all Asian and African countries, was becoming a forum of coordination to struggle for the respect of the economic and political rights of the developing world. After the attainment of independence, the Conferences expressed a growing concern over economic and social issues as well as over

strictly political matters.

Something that attested to that was the launching at the Algiers Conference in 1973 of the concept of a "new international economic order."

By the end of the 1980s, the Movement was facing the great challenge brought about by the collapse of the socialist block. The end of the clash between the two antagonistic blocks that was the reason for its existence, name and essence was seen by some as the beginning of the end for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries could not spare itself difficulties to act effectively in an adverse international political situation marked by hegemonic positions and unipolarity as well as by internal difficulties and conflicts given the heterogeneity of its membership and, thus, its diverse interests.

Nevertheless, and in spite of such setbacks, the principles and objectives of non-alignment retain their full validity and force at the present international juncture. The primary condition that led to the emergence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that is, non-alignment from antagonistic blocks, has not lost its validity with the end of the Cold War. The demise of one of the blocks has not done away with the pressing problems of the world. On the contrary, renewed strategic interests bent on domination grow stronger and, even, acquire new and more dangerous dimensions for underdeveloped countries.

During the 14th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana, Cuba in September 2006, the Heads of States and Governments of the member countries reaffirmed their commitment to the ideals, principles and purposes upon which the movement was founded and with the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The Heads of States and Governments stated their firm belief that the absence of two conflicting blocs in no way reduces the need to strengthen the movement as a mechanism for the political coordination of developing countries. In this regard they acknowledged that it remains imperative to strengthen and revitalize the movement. To do so, they agreed to strengthen concrete action, unity and solidarity between all its members, based on respect for diversity, factors which are essential for the reaffirmation of the identity and capacity of the movement to influence International relations.

They also stressed the need to promote actively a leading role for the movement in the coordination of efforts among member states in tackling global threats.

Inspired by the principles and purposes which were brought to the Non-Aligned Movement by the Bandung principles and during the First NAM Summit in Belgrade in 1961, the Heads of States and Governments of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement adopted in their 14th Summit in Havana the following purposes and principles of the movement in the present International juncture.

10.5 Purposes:

1. To promote and reinforce multilateralism and, in this regard, strengthen the central role that the United Nations must play.
2. To serve as a forum of political coordination of the developing countries to promote and defend their common interests in the system of international relations
3. To promote unity, solidarity and cooperation between developing countries based on shared values and priorities agreed upon by consensus.
4. To defend international peace and security and settle all international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles and the purposes of the UN Charter and International Law.
5. To encourage relations of friendship and cooperation between all nations based on the principles of International Law, particularly those enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.
6. To promote and encourage sustainable development through international cooperation and, to that end, jointly coordinate the implementation of political strategies which strengthen and ensure the full participation of all countries, rich and poor, in the international economic relations, under equal conditions and opportunities but with differentiated responsibilities.
7. To encourage the respect, enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, on the basis of the principles of universality, objectivity, impartiality and non-selectivity, avoiding politicization of human rights issues, thus ensuring that all human rights of individuals and peoples, including the right to development, are promoted and protected in a balanced manner.
8. To promote peaceful coexistence between nations, regardless of their political, social or economic systems.
9. To condemn all manifestations of unilateralism and attempts to exercise hegemonic domination in international relations.
10. To coordinate actions and strategies in order to confront jointly the threats to international peace and security, including the threats of use of force and the acts of aggression, colonialism and foreign occupation, and other

breaches of peace caused by any country or group of countries.

11. To promote the strengthening and democratization of the UN, giving the General Assembly the role granted to it in accordance with the functions and powers outlined in the Charter and to promote the comprehensive reform of the United Nations Security Council so that it may fulfill the role granted to it by the Charter, in a transparent and equitable manner, as the body primarily responsible for maintaining international peace and security.
12. To continue pursuing universal and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament, as well as a general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control and in this context, to work towards the objective of arriving at an agreement on a phased program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified framework of time to eliminate nuclear weapons, to prohibit their development, production, acquisition, testing, stockpiling, transfer, use or threat of use and to provide for their destruction.
13. To oppose and condemn the categorization of countries as good or evil based on unilateral and unjustified criteria, and the adoption of a doctrine of pre-emptive attack, including attack by nuclear weapons, which is inconsistent with international law, in particular, the international legally-binding instruments concerning nuclear disarmament and to further condemn and oppose unilateral military actions, or use of force or threat of use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Non-Aligned countries.
14. To encourage States to conclude agreements freely arrived at, among the States of the regions concerned, to establish new Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in regions where these do not exist, in accordance with the provisions of the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (SSOD.1) and the principles adopted by the 1999 UN Disarmament Commission, including the establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East. The establishment of Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones is a positive step and important measure towards strengthening global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.
15. To promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to facilitate access to nuclear technology, equipment and material for peaceful purposes required by developing countries.
16. To promote concrete initiatives of South-South cooperation and strengthen the role of NAM, in coordination with G.77, in the re-launching of North-

South cooperation, ensuring the fulfillment of the right to development of our peoples, through the enhancement of international solidarity.

17. To respond to the challenges and to take advantage of the opportunities arising from globalization and interdependence with creativity and a sense of identity in order to ensure its benefits to all countries, particularly those most affected by underdevelopment and poverty, with a view to gradually reducing the abysmal gap between the developed and developing countries.
18. To enhance the role that civil society, including NGO´s, can play at the regional and international levels in order to promote the purposes, principles and objectives of the Movement.

10.6 Principles:

1. Respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and International Law.
2. Respect for sovereignty, sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races, religions, cultures and all nations, both big and small.
4. Promotion of a dialogue among peoples, civilizations, cultures and religions based on the respect of religions, their symbols and values, the promotion and the consolidation of tolerance and freedom of belief.
5. Respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, including the effective implementation of the right of peoples to peace and development.
6. Respect for the equality of rights of States, including the inalienable right of each State to determine freely its political, social, economic and cultural system, without any kind of interference whatsoever from any other State.
7. Reaffirmation of the validity and relevance of the Movement's principled positions concerning the right to self-determination of peoples under foreign occupation and colonial or alien domination.
8. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States. No State or group of States has the right to intervene either directly or indirectly, whatever the motive, in the internal affairs of any other State.
9. Rejection of unconstitutional change of Governments.
10. Rejection of attempts at regime change
11. Condemnation of the use of mercenaries in all situations, especially in conflict situations.

12. Refraining by all countries from exerting pressure or coercion on other countries, including resorting to aggression or other acts involving the use of direct or indirect force, and the application and/or promotion of any coercive unilateral measure that goes against International Law or is in any way incompatible with it, for the purpose of coercing any other State to subordinate its sovereign rights, or to gain any benefit whatsoever.
13. Total rejection of aggression as a dangerous and serious breach of International Law, which entails international responsibility for the aggressor.
14. Respect for the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
15. Condemnation of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and systematic and gross violations of human rights, in accordance with the UN Charter and International Law.
16. Rejection of and opposition to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. In this context, terrorism should not be equated with the legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for self-determination and national liberation.
17. Promotion of pacific settlement of disputes and abjuring, under any circumstances, from taking part in coalitions, agreements or any other kind of unilateral coercive initiative in violation of the principles of International Law and the Charter of the United Nations.
18. Defense and consolidation of democracy, reaffirming that democracy is a universal value based on the freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their life.
19. Promotion and defense of multilateralism and multilateral organizations as the appropriate frameworks to resolve, through dialogue and cooperation, the problems affecting humankind.
20. Support to efforts by countries suffering internal conflicts to achieve peace, justice, equality and development.
21. The duty of each State to fully and in good faith comply with the international treaties to which it is a party, as well as to honor the commitments made in the framework of international organizations, and to live in peace with other States. v. Peaceful settlement of all international conflicts in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

22. Defense and promotion of shared interests, justice and cooperation, regardless of the differences existing in the political, economic and social systems of the States, on the basis of mutual respect and the equality of rights.
23. Solidarity as a fundamental component of relations among nations in all circumstances.
24. Respect for the political, economic, social and cultural diversity of countries and peoples.

The movement has succeeded to create a strong front on the International level, representing countries of the third world in the International organizations on top of which the United Nations.

Current Challenges facing the NAM include the necessity of protecting the principles of International law, eliminating weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, defending human rights, working toward making the United Nations more effective in meeting the needs of all its member states in order to preserve International Peace, Security and Stability, as well as realizing justice in the international economic system.

On the other hand, the long-standing goals of the Movement remain to be realized. Peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations, to mention just a few, are old goals of the non-aligned countries.

In conclusion, The Non-Aligned Movement, faced with the goals yet to be reached and the many new challenges that are arising, is called upon to maintain a prominent and leading role in the current International relations in defense of the interests and priorities of its member states and for achievement of peace and security for mankind.

Model Questions

1. Trace the history of the Non-aligned movement.
2. Evaluate NAM and discuss its role in international relations

CHAPTER - 11
COMMON WEALTH

Structure

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Origin

11.3 The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM}

11.1 Introduction

The Commonwealth of Nations was established in 1931 by the Statute of Westminster, at the initiative of the former dominions of the British Empire desiring more self-government and autonomy from Great Britain. Though the member nations accept the British monarch as the symbolic head of the Commonwealth, they maintain full control over their own domestic and foreign affairs. There is no written charter of the Commonwealth of Nations. A shared history, traditional procedures, and language are the basis of the structure and function of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Head Quarter of Commonwealth of Nations is situated at London, United Kingdom (Secretariat). The objective of the Commonwealth is to promote democracy, human rights, sustainable economic and social development among member countries and beyond. It also aims to provide a platform for global consensus building and assistance for sustainable development. The Commonwealth is an Association of 53 nations. The founding members of the Commonwealth were Great Britain, Irish Free State, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. With the London Declaration of 1949, the British Crown has got acceptance as a symbol of association by the member states rather than recognition as head of state. Presently there are 16 member nations (including Australia, Canada and New Zealand) who recognize the British Crown as head of State and the rest are republics or monarchies. The member nations contribute to the running budget of the Commonwealth according to their income and population. The member nations are not bound to follow the Commonwealth policies.

As the British Empire began its process of decolonization and the creation of independent states from former British colonies, there arose a need for an organization of countries formerly part of the Empire. In 1884, Lord Roseberry, a British politician, described the changing British Empire as a "Commonwealth of Nations."

Thus, in 1931, the British Commonwealth of Nations was founded under the Statute of Westminster with five initial members - the United Kingdom, Canada, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, and the Union of South Africa.

In 1946, the word "British" was dropped and the organization became known as simply the Commonwealth of Nations. Australia and New Zealand adopted the Statute in 1942 and 1947, respectively. With India's independence in 1947, the new country desired to become a Republic and to not utilize the monarchy as their head of state. The London Declaration of 1949 modified the requirement that members must view the monarchy as their head of state to require that countries recognize the monarchy as simply the leader of the Commonwealth.

With this adjustment, additional countries joined the Commonwealth as they gained independence from the United Kingdom so today there are fifty-four member countries. Of the fifty-four, thirty-three are republics (such as India), five have their own monarchies (such as Brunei Darussalam), and sixteen are a constitutional monarchy with the sovereign of the United Kingdom as their head of state (such as Canada and Australia).

Although membership requires having been a former dependency of the United Kingdom or a dependency of a dependency, former Portuguese colony Mozambique became a member 1995 under special circumstances due to Mozambique's willingness to support the Commonwealth's fight against apartheid in South Africa.

11.2 Origin

The origin of the Commonwealth may be clearly traced to the Durham Report of 1839. Canada was the first Dominion formed in 1867. New Zealand, Australia and South Africa all became Dominions before World War I. Responsible self-government on the British parliamentary model was the foundation on which this relationship was based. In 1925, Lord Balfour declared the Dominions as ‘autonomous communities’, freely associated, equal in status with the British but owing a common allegiance to the Crown.

The evolution of the British Empire into the Commonwealth of Nations from the 16th century to the mid-20th century was a gradual one. But there was a pattern in it. Former British colonies were given successive installments of self-government and later dominion status. Canada achieved this in 1867 and a few others followed without much delay.

In 1931, the association of the dominions and the United Kingdom took shape in the nature of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The members were the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Union of South Africa. The British monarch was the head of all these countries and he or

she appointed Governor-Generals who were the nominal heads of all these States.

Thus the British Monarch held the technical position of the head of each State. There were also some substantive matters in regard to which the other members of the Commonwealth looked towards the United Kingdom for leadership. These were trade and other economic relations, defense and foreign relations.

There has now been a change in regard to the position of the British monarch as well as these substantive matters. This was the result of the entry of a large number of non-white countries into the Commonwealth. There are now 53 members in the Commonwealth and majority among them are from Asia, Africa and the American hemisphere. South Africa joined as the 53rd member.

The Charter of Commonwealth began to change when India and Pakistan became its members in 1947. This was very soon followed by other Asian countries like Ceylon (Sri Lanka, later), Malaysia and Singapore. On March 6, 1957 Ghana became the first independent African member.

With the winds of change in Africa which brought independence and membership of the Commonwealth to many countries of that continent, the Charter of the Commonwealth also changed. By 1977, more than one-third of the members of the association of the Commonwealth which numbered 36 were African.

It was Nehru who made a substantial contribution to the new nomenclature of the Commonwealth and gave a new form which was indicative of the substance. He insisted on two points:

1. The name "British" should be dropped. It should be known only as the Commonwealth.
2. Any member, if it so desires, can become a republic and instead of the governor-general appointed by, and owing allegiance to, the Crown, a president bound by the country's constitution can be its formal head.

After some resistance, the white members of the Commonwealth including the United Kingdom accepted the change. If such changes had taken place earlier, Burma would not have left the Commonwealth. This innovation made possible entry into the Commonwealth of a vast number of newly independent countries of Africa.

This was not merely a change in the name. Nehru's success in this field was symbolic of that of the Asian-African States who gradually asserted their independent position in many fields. The most important among them was the exclusion of the Union of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

On the matter of discrimination based on racial distinction, even the United Nations only went so far as to make a recommendation against it. The Commonwealth made it clear that the Union of South Africa had no place inside it, if it continued the racial discrimination. It was no more an association dominated by the Anglo-Saxons.

The communiqué issued by Commonwealth Prime Ministers on April 28, 1949 explained the developments connected with it: "The Government of India had informed the other governments of the Commonwealth of the declared intention of the Indian people that under the new Constitution which is about to be adopted, India shall become a sovereign republic.

The Government of India has, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King / Queen as the symbol of the free association of independent member-nations and as such the head of Commonwealth.

The governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth hereby changes, accept and recognise India's continuing membership in accordance with this declaration."

The process set in motion by India at that time has crystallized now. As Peter Balvocaresse, a British scholar' notes, "This was a revolutionary step.

Without it the expanding post-war Commonwealth, with its strong republican tendencies, could not have taken shape. The independence of each member of the British family of nations has been accepted for a generation, but none has so far consistently pursued a foreign policy which ran counter to that of Britain. This Nehru set out to do, without impairing his good and continued relations with London, but once more he was substantially successful."

History

Though the modern Commonwealth began in 1949 with The London Declaration, the idea took root in the 19th century. In 1867, Canada became the first colony to be transformed into a self-governing 'Dominion', a newly constituted status that implied equality with Britain. Other parts of the empire became Dominions too: Australia (1900), New Zealand (1907), South Africa (1910) and the Irish Free State (1921). After the end of the First World War, the Dominions began seeking a new constitutional definition and reshaping their relationship with Britain. The Conferences of Dominions begun in 1887 were resumed and at the Imperial Conference in 1926, the prime ministers of the participating countries adopted the Balfour Report which defined the Dominions as autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the Crown, and freely

associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This definition was incorporated into British law in 1931 as the Statute of Westminster. It was adopted immediately in Canada, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland (which joined Canada in 1949) and South Africa. Australia and New Zealand followed. India, Britain's largest colony at the time, had still not achieved self-government and remained a Dominion under the India Act of 1935 until its independence in 1947. After the Second World War, the shape of the British empire began changing drastically. India gained independence in 1947, the new state of Pakistan was simultaneously created, and a wave of decolonisation followed which saw several colonies become independent and sovereign states. The London Declaration of 1949 was a milestone on the road to developing the modern Commonwealth. India provided an interesting test case: it desired to become a republic yet wanted to remain a member of the Commonwealth and this posed a fresh challenge to the entire concept. Would Commonwealth membership only be for countries "owing an allegiance to the Crown" as the Balfour Report had stated? A conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in 1949 decided to revise this criterion and to accept and recognise India's continued membership as a republic, paving the way for other newly independent countries to join. At the same time, the word 'British' was dropped from the association's title to reflect the Commonwealth's changing character. The first member to be ruled by an African majority was Ghana which joined in 1957. From 1960 onwards, new members from Africa, the Caribbean, the Mediterranean and the Pacific joined, increasing the diversity and variety that has enhanced the Commonwealth to this day. With its commitment to racial equality and national sovereignty, joining the Commonwealth became a natural choice for many new nations that were emerging out of the decolonisation process of the 1950s and 1960s. Since then, the Commonwealth has grown in size and shape, expanding its reach and range of priorities. It is now involved in a wide spectrum of activities, all feeding the greater goals of good governance, respect for human rights, and peace and co-operation in the member countries and beyond. In 1965, the leaders of the Commonwealth established the Commonwealth Secretariat in London, which became the association's independent civil service, headed by a Secretary-General.

11.3 The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM;

The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM is a biennial summit meeting of the heads of government from all Commonwealth nations. Every two years the meeting is held in a different member state, and is chaired by that nation's respective Prime Minister or President, who becomes the Commonwealth Chairman-in-Office. Queen Elizabeth II, who is the Head

of the Commonwealth, attended every CHOGM beginning with Ottawa in 1973 until Perth in 2011, although her formal participation only began in 1997.However, she was represented by the Prince of Wales at the 2013 meeting as the 88-year-old monarch was curtailing her overseas travel.

The first CHOGM was held in 1971, and there have been 23 held in total: the most recent was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka. They are held once every two years, although this pattern has twice been interrupted. They are held around the Commonwealth, rotating by invitation amongst its members.

In the past, CHOGMs have attempted to orchestrate common policies on certain contentious issues and current events, with a special focus on issues affecting member nations. CHOGMs have discussed the continuation of apartheid rule in South Africa and how to end it, military coups in Pakistan and Fiji, and allegations of electoral fraud in Zimbabwe. Sometimes the member states agree on a common idea or solution, and release a joint statement declaring their opinion. More recently, beginning at the 1997 CHOGM, the meeting has had an official 'theme', set by the host nation, on which the primary discussions have been focused.

The Secretary General is elected by the Heads of Government of the membership and can serve two four-year terms. The position of Secretary General was established in 1965. The Commonwealth Secretariat has its headquarters in London and is composed of 320 staff members from the member countries. The Commonwealth maintains its own flag. The purpose of the voluntary Commonwealth is for international cooperation and to advance economics, social development, and human rights in member countries. Decisions of the various Commonwealth councils are non-binding.

The purpose of the Commonwealth is consultation and cooperation. The sovereign members retain full authority in all domestic and foreign affairs, although Britain generally enjoys a traditional position of leadership in certain matters of mutual interest. There are economic ties in the fields of trade, investment, and development programs for new nations. A set of trade agreements (begun at the Ottawa Conference in 1932) between Britain and the other members gave preferential tariff treatment to many raw materials and manufactured goods that the Commonwealth nations sell in Britain, but the system of preferential tariffs was abandoned after Britain's entry into the European Community (now the European Union) in 1973. Periodically there are meetings of Commonwealth heads of government, but no collective decision made at these meetings is considered binding. In 1965 a Commonwealth secretariat was established, with headquarters in London.

The Commonwealth of Nations supports the Commonwealth Games, which is a sporting event held every four years for member countries.

A Commonwealth Day is celebrated on the second Monday in March. Each year carries a different theme but each country can celebrate the day as they choose.

The population of the 54 member states exceeds two billion, about 30% of the world population (India is responsible for a majority of the Commonwealth's population).

Activities

The Commonwealth is a voluntary association of independent sovereign states spread over every continent and ocean, sharing ideas and experiences, skills and know-how, and a common language. Its 2 billion people, who account for nearly 30 per cent of the world's population, are found in Africa, Asia, the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe and the South Pacific. They are of many religions, races, languages and cultures. The Commonwealth works to promote peace and international co-operation, democracy and good governance, respect for human rights and the rule of law, and the alleviation of poverty through sustainable economic and social development. These values – the funded values of the association – are expressed in two landmark declarations: the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, which was agreed by the Heads of Government of member countries when they met in Singapore in 1971, and the Harare Commonwealth Declaration, agreed at the 1991 Heads of Government Meeting in Zimbabwe. The Harare Declaration reaffirmed the Commonwealth principles declared 20 years previously at Singapore, and pledged the association to concentrate particular effort on a number of key areas, including: -promotion of its fundamental political values; - equality for women and men; - the provision of universal access to education; -the promotion of sustainable development; - protection of the environment; - action to combat drug trafficking and abuse, and communicable diseases; - help for small states in tackling their particular economic and security problems; -support for the Unite Nations and other international institutions in search of peace, and -the promotion of international consensus on global issues.

Commonwealth: Its Role and Relevance

To start with, Commonwealth didn't have a charter or a constitution. What provided a cohesive bonding to the member countries is the common historical past, shared legacy and commitment to basic principles of democracy and Parliamentary polity which over the years, have crystallized into certain "Declarations".

In the international arena, Commonwealth has been playing a very significant role in various fields. It had been a bull work against apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa. A number of declarations had been issued on this question. Commonwealth's sustained fight against apartheid ultimately ended the abhorrent practice of apartheid in South Africa. In this fight against apartheid, India's active support and involvement will always be remembered.

Another issue which had been pursued by the Commonwealth is disarmament. at the New Delhi submit of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in 1983, a separate document called the 'Gua Declaration on International Security' was adopted. The Declaration pledged that the Commonwealth would make a political contribution in encouraging the two superpowers (which included the erstwhile Soviet Union) to promote international security and understanding. The Gua Declaration was alter reiterated by the Nassau Declaration on world order which was adopted in the Bahamas in 1985 on the occasion of the United Nation 40th Anniversary.

The Commonwealth's contribution for establishment of a New International Economic Order to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor is also significant.

In the present day world, the Commonwealth has focused its attention on issues like 'Good governance', protection and promotion of human rights, free and fair elections, and greater economic cooperation among the member countries. Commonwealth had also established the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC) in 1971 to provide expertise, training and consultancy services to the member countries.

Model Questions

1. Write a note on CHOGM.
2. Describe the relevance of Common Wealth Nation I contemporary times.

CHAPTER – 12
ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

Structure

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Objectives

12.3 Fundamental Principles

12.4 Councils

12.1 Introduction

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand to promote political and economic cooperation and regional stability. Brunei joined in 1984, shortly after its independence from the United Kingdom, and Vietnam joined ASEAN as its seventh member in 1995. Laos and Burma were admitted into full membership in July 1997 as ASEAN celebrated its 30th anniversary. Cambodia became ASEAN's tenth member in 1999.

12.2 Objectives

The ASEAN Declaration states that the aims and purposes of the Association are:

1. To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian nations, and
2. To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. In 1995, the ASEAN Heads of State and Government re-affirmed that "Cooperative peace and shared prosperity shall be the fundamental goals of ASEAN."
3. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields.
4. To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres.
5. To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their

agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communications facilities and the raising of the living standards of their peoples.

6. To promote Southeast Asian studies; and
7. To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes, and explore all avenues for even closer cooperation among themselves.

12.3 Fundamental Principles

The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia, signed at the First ASEAN Summit on 24 February 1976, declared that in their relations with one another, the High Contracting Parties should be guided by the following fundamental principles:

- Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations;
- The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion, or coercion;
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another;
- Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful manner;
- Renunciation of the threat or use of force; and
- Effective cooperation among themselves.

12.4 Councils

The ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Council

To build on what has been constructed over the years in the field of political and security cooperation, the ASEAN Leaders have agreed to establish the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC). The APSC shall aim to ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another and with the world in a just, democratic and harmonious environment. The members of the Community pledge to rely exclusively on peaceful processes in the settlement of intra-regional differences and regard their security as fundamentally linked to one another and bound by geographic location, common vision and objectives. It has the following components: political development; shaping and sharing of norms; conflict prevention; conflict resolution; post-conflict peace building; and implementing mechanisms.

The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Council

The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) shall be the goal of regional economic integration by 2015. The AEC Council aims to create a stable,

prosperous and highly competitive ASEAN economic region in which there is a free flow of goods, services, investment, capital and equitable economic development and reduced poverty and socio-economic disparities.

AEC envisages the following key characteristics:

(a) a single market and production base;

(b) a highly competitive economic region;

(c) a region of equitable economic development; and

(d) a region fully integrated into the global economy.

The AEC areas of cooperation include human resources development and capacity building; recognition of professional qualifications; closer consultation on macroeconomic and financial policies; trade financing measures; enhanced infrastructure and communications connectivity; development of electronic transactions through e-ASEAN; integrating industries across the region to promote regional sourcing; and enhancing private sector involvement for the building of the AEC. In short, the AEC will transform ASEAN into a region with free movement of goods, services, investment, skilled labor and freer flow of capital.

ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Council

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community aims to contribute to realizing an ASEAN Community that is people-oriented and socially responsible with a view to achieving enduring solidarity and unity among the peoples and Member States of ASEAN. It seeks to forge a common identity and build a caring and sharing society which is inclusive and where the well-being, livelihood, and welfare of the peoples are enhanced. ASCC is focused on nurturing the human, cultural and natural resources for sustained development in a harmonious and people-oriented ASEAN.

The ASEAN Community

The ASEAN Vision 2020, adopted by the ASEAN Leaders on the 30th Anniversary of ASEAN, agreed on a shared vision of ASEAN as a concert of Southeast Asian nations, outward looking, living in peace, stability and prosperity, bonded together in partnership in dynamic development and in a community of caring societies.

At the 9th ASEAN Summit in 2003, the ASEAN Leaders resolved that an ASEAN Community shall be established comprising three (3) pillars, namely, ASEAN Political-Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. Each pillar has its own Blueprint, and, together with the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) Strategic Framework and IAI Work Plan Phase II (2009-2015), they form the

Roadmap for and ASEAN Community 2009 to 2015.

At the 12th ASEAN Summit in January 2007, the Leaders affirmed their strong commitment to accelerate the establishment of an ASEAN Community by 2015 and signed the Cebu Declaration on the Acceleration of the Establishment of an ASEAN Community by 2015.

The ASEAN Charter

The ASEAN Charter serves as a firm foundation in achieving the ASEAN Community by providing legal status and institutional framework for ASEAN. It also codifies ASEAN norms, rules and values; sets clear targets for ASEAN; and presents accountability and compliance.

The ASEAN Charter entered into force on 15 December 2008. A gathering of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers was held at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta to mark this very historic occasion for ASEAN. With the entry into force of the ASEAN Charter, ASEAN will henceforth operate under a new legal framework and establish a number of new organs to boost its community-building process. In effect, the ASEAN Charter has become a legally binding agreement among the 10 ASEAN Member States.

Model Questions

1. Write a short note on ASEAN

CHAPTER - 13
SAARC

Structure

13.1 History of SAARC

13.2 Objectives of SAARC

13.3 SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangements (SAFTA)

13.4 SAPTA to SAFTA

13.5 Achievements & Criticism of SAARC

13.6 EUROPEAN UNION

13.7 Objectives of the European Union.

The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) is an organisation of South Asian nations, which was established on 8 December 1985 when the government of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka formally adopted its charter providing for the promotion of economic and social progress, cultural development within the South Asia region and also for friendship and cooperation with other developing countries.

It is dedicated to economic, technological, social and cultural development emphasising collective self- reliance. In terms of population, its sphere of influence is the largest of any regional organisation: almost 1.5 billion combined population of its member states. In April 2007, Afghanistan became its eighth member.

13.1 History of SAARC

It was back in 1980 when the concept of regional political and economic cooperation in South Asia was first thought of and fired the public imagination. Even before that, the idea was discussed in three major conferences: Asian Relations Conference (New Delhi), Baguio Conference (Philippines) and Colombo Powers Conference (Sri Lanka), which were held between 1947 and 1954. Ex-president of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman was the one who made a formal proposal on May 2, 1980. The first SAARC summit was held in Dhaka on 8 December 1985, when the organisation was established. Afghanistan is the only new inclusion that happened since SAARC was established.

13.2 Objectives of SAARC

The objectives of SAARC, as defined in its charter, are as follows

1. Promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and improve their quality of life.
2. Accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region by providing all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and realise their full potential.
3. Promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia.
4. Contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems.
5. Promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields.
6. Strengthen co-operation with other developing countries.
7. Strengthen co-operation among themselves in international forms on matters of common interest.
8. Cooperate with international and regional organisation with similar aims and purposes.

13.3 SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangements (SAFTA)

SAPTA which came into operations in'1995 heralds a new chapter of economic co-operation among the SAARC countries. IT concretises the first step towards creation of a trade bloc in the South Asian Region. Under the SAPTA mechanism, the SAARC countries, to begin with, have identified 226 items for exchange on tariff concessions ranging from 10 per cent to 100 per cent.

India has agreed to extend tariff concessions on 106 items, while Bangladesh has agreed to offer tariff concessions on 12 items, Maldives on 17, Nepal 14, Pakistan 35, Sri Lanka 31 and Bhutan 11. Out of 106 items offered by India for tariff concessions, 62 items would be for the least developed countries in the SAARC.

13.4 SAPTA to SAFTA

The South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement came into force from July 1, 2006. With this, the earlier SAPTA established in 1995 had paved the way to SAFTA. The South Asian developed countries are well endowed with labour and natural resources. Further, with growing openness among themselves, higher production and expansion of labour, intensive exports, increased employment, increased wages and thereby helping in reducing

poverty, the region is poised to play an important role in the growing international trade relations.

SAARC Secretariat

The SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu (Nepal) facilitates and monitors implementation of activities of the organisation and acts as a communication channel between SAARC and its member states. Presently, the Secretariat is headed by Nepal's ex-foreign secretary – Arjun Bahadur Thapa.

13.5 Achievements & Criticism of SAARC

According to the declaration of the 16thSAARC Summit (April 2010), SAARC's "scope and substance of cooperation had expanded to diverse fields." The SAARC Summits have indeed created a platform for closed-door bilateral talks exclusive to the participating nations. These meetings have somewhat led to the progress in regional cooperation.

The scope of regional cooperation in SAARC has proliferated, and it has started to engage political, economic, social, cultural and other aspects in its dialogue. Even the member nations' interactions with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the corporate sectors seem to be developing gradually.

However, SAARC is seen as a failure by many analysts. According to observers, it has "achieved very little" over the last three decades. Besides deteriorating regional security environment and growth of terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan, inter-state disputes are also a nagging concern for the grouping. Social and economic sectors have registered a dismal growth, and so is the intra-regional trade.

There's a need for India and other member states to collectively tackle challenges such as poverty, energy crisis, and terrorism among others. India should take the centre stage and remove the perceived mistrust and a sense of insecurity among the member nations. But first, India and Pakistan should focus on improving bilateral ties.

13.6 EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union (EU) is a politico-economic union of 28 member states that are located primarily in Europe. The European Union (EU) is a political community constituted as an international organization whose aim is to promote integration and a common government of the European people and countries. According to the Article 3 of the European Union Treaty, Union's aim is to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples. It is based on the values of freedom, democracy, equality, law enforcement and respect for human rights and dignity.

The EU operates through a system of supranational institutions and intergovernmental - negotiated decisions by the member states. The institutions are: the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Council, the Court of Justice of the European Union, the European Central Bank, the European Court of Auditors, and the European Parliament. The European Parliament is elected every five years by EU citizens.

The EU traces its origins from the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), formed by the Inner Six countries in 1951 and 1958, respectively. In the intervening years, the community and its successors have grown in size by the accession of new member states and in power by the addition of policy areas to its remit. The Maastricht Treaty established the European Union under its current name in 1993 and introduced European citizenship. The latest major amendment to the constitutional basis of the EU, the Treaty of Lisbon, came into force in 2009.

The EU has developed a single market through a standardised system of laws that apply in all member states. Within the Schengen Area, passport controls have been abolished. EU policies aim to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital, enact legislation in justice and home affairs, and maintain common policies on trade,agriculture,fisheries, and regional development.

The monetary union was established in 1999 and came into full force in 2002. It is currently composed of 19 member states that use the euro as their legal tender. Through the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the EU has developed a role in external relations and defence. The union maintains permanent diplomatic missions throughout the world and represents itself at the United Nations, the WTO, the G8, and the G-20.

As of 2014 the EU has the largest economy in the world, generating a GDP bigger than any other economic union or country. Additionally, 26 out of 28 EU countries have a very high Human Development Index, according to the UNDP. In 2012, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Establishment of the European Union

In Article I-1, the Constitution established the European Union, reflecting the will of the citizens and States of Europe to build a common future. The Member States confer competences on the Union to attain objectives they have in common, and the Union coordinates the policies by which the Member States aim to achieve these objectives, and exercises on a Community basis the competences conferred on it by the Constitution.

The formula used in Article 1 is constitutional in nature, since it is stated "the Constitution establishes the European Union", whereas in the existing Treaties it is the "High Contracting Parties" that establish the Union and the Community among themselves. This language specific to international Treaties is replaced by a new formula which highlights the constitutional nature of the new Treaty.

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values, which are set out in Article I-2, are common to the Member States. Moreover, the societies of the Member States are characterised by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men. Comparison with the existing Treaties, the Constitution has included new values, notably human dignity, equality, the rights of minorities and the characterization of the values upheld by the societies of the Member States.

13.7 Objectives of the European Union.

1. Establishing an area of freedom, security and justice without internal borders.
2. Developing an internal market where competition is free, within the framework of a social economy market whose aim is full employment.
3. Creating a sustainable development with an economic growth capable of fulfilling the well-being needs of our society in the short, medium and, especially, long
4. Promoting scientific and technical progress.
5. Fighting against social exclusion and discrimination. Promoting social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and, protection of children’s rights.
6. Promoting economical, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among Member States.

In comparison with the existing Treaties, the Constitution has included new values, notably human dignity, equality, the rights of minorities and the characterization of the values upheld by the societies of the Member States.

To the objectives already set out in the existing Treaties, the Constitution thus adds the promotion of scientific and technological advance, of solidarity between generations and of the protection of children's rights. Economic and social cohesion now additionally acquires a territorial dimension. Cultural and linguistic diversity, and the safeguarding and enhancing of Europe's cultural heritage, also become Union objectives.

Paragraph 4 of Article I-3 is devoted to the Union's promotion of its values and interests in its relations with the rest of the world. This paragraph brings together the objectives from the EU Treaty relating to the common foreign and security policy, and the provisions of the EC Treaty relating to development cooperation:

- peace;
- security;
- sustainable development of the Earth;
- solidarity and mutual respect among peoples;
- free and fair trade;
- eradication of poverty;
- protection of human rights (in particular the rights of the child);
- development of international law (respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter).

The Constitution includes as a new objective the protection of children's rights on the international stage.

Finally, in Part III of the Constitutional Treaty, Articles III-115 to III-122 contain provisions relating to more specific requirements which the Union must fulfill in implementing the Constitution, in particular, equality between men and women, the combating of discrimination, requirements relating to employment and social policy, protection of the environment and consumers and consideration for the specific nature of services of general economic interest.

The fundamental principles

Article I-4 of the Constitution guarantees the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital within the Union (the famous "four freedoms") and strictly prohibits any discrimination on grounds of nationality.

As regards relations between the Union and the Member States, the Constitutional Treaty brings together the relevant provisions of the existing Treaties in Article I-5, in particular the obligation to respect the national identities and the fundamental political and constitutional structures of the Member States. The principle of loyal cooperation is also included in this Article.

Article I-6 of the Constitutional Treaty is devoted to Union law. It lays down the principle of the primacy of the law of the European Union over the law of the Member States. This principle, which has been developed by the Court of Justice in its case law, has long been recognised to be a basic principle

and a key aspect of the functioning of the Union. The Constitution simply gives it a higher profile by incorporating it into a key part of the Treaty.

Article I-7 confers on the European Union legal personality. Following the merger of the European Community and the European Union, the new Union will therefore have the right to conclude, in the same way as the European Community can today, but without compromising the division of competences between the Union and the Member States.

The symbols of the union

Article I-8 lists the symbols of the Union:

- the flag of the Union, which is a circle of twelve gold stars on a blue background;
- the anthem of the Union, which is based on the 'Ode to Joy' from the Ninth Symphony by Ludwig van Beethoven;
- the motto of the Union, which is 'United in diversity';
- the currency of the Union, which is the euro;
- 9 May, which is celebrated throughout the Union as Europe Day, in memory of the 1950 declaration by Robert Schuman, who initiated the European integration project.

CHAPTER – 14
FOREIGN POLICY

Structure

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Definition

14.3 Objectives of Foreign Policy

14.4 Determinants of Foreign Policy

14.5 Policy Making Factors

14.1 Introduction

The principle and the purpose of a state are reflected in the foreign policy. Foreign policy is not separate from national policy, instead, it is a part of it. It consists of national interests that are to be furthered in relation to other furthering national interests in their foreign policies within the limits of their strength and the realities of the external environment. In recent years, the term foreign policy has become so wide that it covers almost all sorts of relations of one government with the other. Obviously, then political relations also fall in the scope of foreign policy. 'A state without a foreign policy is like a ship without radar which drifts aimlessly without any direction by every storm and sweep of events".

14.2 Definition

The term 'foreign policy' has been defined in a number of ways. According to Prof. Taylor, "Foreign policy of a sort will go on so long as there are sovereign states." It is concerned with behaviour of a state towards other states.

George Modelskidefines it as, "The system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviourof other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment.

C.C Rodee defines foreign policy as a group of principles which are adopted by thestates to protect the national interests and to change the behaviour of others. In his own words, "Foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests"

The above definition makes it clear that foreign policy is the group of principles determined by the states. These principles involve those interests

which influence the behaviour of the states, intending to establish their relations to further and promote them. This includes not only the general principles but also those means necessary to implement them. Thus, these principles are those broader interests which states strive to achieve in international relations.

14.3 Objectives of Foreign Policy

Paul Seabury opined that the national interest can indicate suchideal objectives which the states pursue through their foreign policy or it can simply be the interpretation of the policy makers or its meaning may be different individuals and group."

K.J Holsti holds that the national interests are 'an image of a future state of affairs and future set of conditions which governments through individual policy makes aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behavior of states.

The objectives of foreign policy are divided in three categories namely.

i) Core values and interests.

ii) Middle range objectives, and

iii) Universal long-range objectives.

1. Core values and interests

Core values and interests determine the foreign policy of a nation. The basis of these objectives are those necessities and beliefs on which depends the existence of the state. These necessities and beliefs are as follows.

a. **National security**

National security is the primary goal of a foreign policy. This is the article of faith society generally consents to without any dissent. The treaties, contracts and alliances which the states conclude with other states rest on this objective. In 1823, the then president of the U.S.A declared the famous Monroe doctrine which aimed at checking the interference of European powers in the affairs of America.

The deep involvement of Soviet Union in East European affairs, its historic concern to find to find a route through Dardanelles and Bosphorous, and its efforts to defend its eastern borders from any possible aggression are the Soviet interests related with the question of national security. The complexion of the government in Moscow would not bring any significant change in the Soviet Union's stand on these highly sensitive issues. The policy of status quo; this may include the protection of rights and property of the nationals living in foreign lands. This policy is known as 'policy of prestige'.

The concept of national security is not confined to territorial integrity or security of national boarder. It may include the security of cultural and political institutions and beliefs and values.

b. **Economic development**

The promotion of economic interests of a nation is the fundamental goal in foreign policy as this is directly associated with state'sexistence. The status of a state in international relations is always determined bythe economic standard. So the state would always strive to adopt a course of actionwhich brings economic prosperity thereby making its armed forces well equipped, citizens much relaxed and state a mention that the national interests are more economic than political and foreign policy more guided by economic factors than by political ones. War, imperialism and colonialism, treaties, alliances and contracts are totally based on the idea of economic property.

In post Second World War period, European states adopted the American line as American economic aid was more than necessary of economic recovery of Europe. India, at the dawn of its independence, shrewdly opted or a policy of nonalignment to seek the help of both the blocs for its economic prosperity. The Sino –American détente is again the confirmation of economic interests dominating the politics than the vice versa.

2. **Middle range objective**

The middle range objective includes international co-operation, prestige and protection of the interests of the nationals. These objectives can be illustrated as follows:

a. **The interests of Pressure Groups**

The existence of pressure groups with global interests is a new phenomenon in politics which has a significant influence in foreign policy also. The pressure groups wield a considerable influence on their respective governments which have to include the interests of these pressure groups in foreign policy to bring stability in national politics or to assure the support of these groups in dominating the domestic political scene. This makes it clear that no government can get a smooth sailing without the support or these interest groups. That is why, to placate them, the governments have to deviate from political norms. The pro-Israel policy the U.S.A in the past was due to the considerable influence of the American Jews in American politics. India's repeated assurance to the Arab world to support them against Israel is because of the pressure of Muslim factor in India politics.

b. **Non-Political Cooperation**

In the field of international relations mutual cooperation is more than necessary today. So the objectives of a foreign policy inevitably include economic cultural and social cooperation. The economic aid to the developing states and the facilities the states give to the foreign students to pursue higher and technical education well explains this.

c. **Promotion of National Prestige**

The objective of this type includes those policies of states which are meant to focus an impressive image of the states abroad. The states generally resort to propaganda through mass media to create the desired effect. The competition between two super powers to reach the planets is motivated by this desire. The success of any of them in its mission would certainly prove the scientific and technological superiority of one over the other.

d. **Territorial expansion**

The policy of territorial expansion includes imperialism, colonialism which the states adhere to meet their economic and political aspirations. From 18th to 20th century the European states had adopted the policy of imperialism to capture the markets. Raw materials and to claim superiority in European affairs. In modern times the traditional imperialistic policy has undergone a change and this can be explained by illustrating its two prevalent forms. The first is a policy which aims at the increase of areas of influence, while the other seeks to capture the economic resources reducing the other state to the status of dependency. The economic or dollar imperialism of the West European countries and of the U.S.A falls in this category, while the Russian policy of imperialism can be covered in the former types: expansion of areas of influence or ideology.

3. Universal long range objective:

These are objectives aiming at restricting the international system. The plans and dreams which an ideology forms to establish the international system of its own liking is the distant goal of foreign policy. Hitler's idea of thousand years Reich', the idea of world revolution in socialist countries, the plans of the U.S.A to make the world for democracy is undoubtedly the foreign policy goals but with some distinction. While the primary and middle range goals are the policies immediately to be pursued, foreign policy is always coloured by them but the long range foals are the ambitions which the states may achieve in distant future and for them the states never press too much in the present.

The main objectives which the foreign policy of a country seeks to achieve are as follows.

1. To protect the territorial integrity of the country and protect the interests of its citizens, both within and outside the country.
2. Maintenance of links with other members of international community and adoption of policy of cooperation towards them with a view to promote its interests.
3. The foreign policy of a country seeks to promote the national interest of the country. The primary interest of each state is self-preservation, security and well being of citizen
4. The foreign policy aims at promotion of economic interests of their country.
5. It aims at enhancement of the influence of the state either by expanding its area of influence or by reducing that of other states to the position of dependency.

14.4 Determinants of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is that part of national policy which the states adopt in relation to other sovereign states. All these states are the components of the international system. They are sovereign, independent and to a large extent cling to the idea of nationalism. Thus 1) the sovereignty of the states, (2) their inter-dependence, and (3) their domestic and international circumstances are the three elements which generate and determine the foreign policy and its direction.

The first element is the sovereignty of the state which determines the principle of safeguarding the territorial integrity of the states. The element of inter dependence necessitates the principle of bargaining in foreign policy as the states Endeavour to achieve the maximum possible advantage under all circumstances. The third element the domestic and intermediate circumstances add the factor of realism. The foreign policy of all states is based on these three principles.

1. **Principles of Safeguarding the territorial integrity**

This is the primary duty of a state to protect the property of its citizens and to safeguard their interests wherever they are. This duty also involves the concept of security of national boundaries and if necessary to occupy other alien parts of the territory. The states, aiming at the protection of their own territory, pursue the policy of "status quo". The American policy of Isolation (Monroe Doctrine) and Stimson doctrine of 1932 may be cited as the best examples of policy of status quo. The states, aiming at subjugating occupied or non-occupied territory, may be names as pursuing the revisionist policy. The policy of safeguarding the interests of the citizens inside or outside the state is

known as policy of "prestige";

2. **Theory of Bargaining**

Inter dependence of the states is an important phenomenon in international politics. All the states, big or small, are dependent on one another for one or the other reasons. This inter-dependence may result in conflict or cooperation. So the states under these stresses endeavor to create a situation under which international behaviour may not be broken completely. Foreign policy strives to create such a balance with bargaining.

3. **Theory of the promotion of National interest**

It is the pious duty of all sovereign states to promote and further their national interests through their foreign policies. There may be a little bit of difference between the interests on one state with that of another as they naturally vary according to time, place and location, but the interests as self preservation, security and well-being of its citizens are the common interests on the basis of which foreign policy is generally formulated.

4. **Specific Determinants of Foreign Policy**

The foreign policy of a country is influenced by so many factors. Some of them are discussed below. Broadly speaking these factors fall into two categories, - internal and external.

i. Internal factors

a. **Size**

The size of a state's territory as well as its population greatly influences its foreign policy. Generally the leaders and people of countries with small territory and population do not expect their country to carry great weight in international affairs. On the other hand leaders and people of large countries are ready to assume special responsibilities. However, small states which have rich resources will have a deep impact on world politics. The oil rich countries of Middle East, though small in size play a significant role in international politics.

b. Geography

The geography of a country, including its fertility, climate, location and waterways also influence the country's foreign policy. It is a major factor in determining self-sufficiency of a country. An analysis of the foreign policy goals of different nations will reveal the strong influence of geography. India adopted policy of non-alignment because of its geographical location. The presence of two major powers (China and Russia) on its borders deterred it from joining power blocs.

c. **Culture and history**

Generally people possessing a unified common culture and historical experience can pursue an effective foreign policy because of the support of all sections of society who share the same values and memories. On the other hand a country which is culturally and historically fragmented cannot pursue an equally effective foreign policy.

d. **Economic Development**

Generally the industrially advanced countries feel more deeply involved in relations with other countries because they have to import different kinds of raw materials and commodities from other countries. They are also on the look out for latest technical know-how. Therefore they maintain intimate trade relations with their treading partners. All these leads to maintain an intimate links between the groups and people of one country with their counter parts of the other country.

e. Technology

Advancement in technology, which affects the military and economic capabilities of a state, also exercises profound influence on the foreign policy.

f. National capacity

National capacity of a state depends on its military preparedness, its technological advancement and economic development. A policy is doomed if it does not strike a balance with the national capacity, the change in American foreign policy in post Second World War period explains this. From 1823 the U.S.A had been pursuing the policy of isolation but the tremendous rate of economic growth in twentieth century compelled it to follow the policy of involvement in place of isolation. The increase in national capacity of India after 1971 brought diversions in the traditional policy of non-alignment.

National capacity is the pivot of foreign policy. It determines as well as implements it. In fact the foreign policy is directly associated with the national capacity. If the state increases its national capacity, its foreign policy will need a big change. It will strive to achieve a status of distinction in international relations, if it decreases, the state will have to compromise with its poor status. For example, at the end of Second World War Britain became a less powerful state in Europe as well as in the world. This change in national capacity has brought over whelming diversions in British foreign policy.

g. **Social Structure**

A society which is sharply divided on the basis of wealth, religion, regional imbalances etc cannot pursue effective foreign policy on account of division and lack of cooperation among various groups.

h. Public mood

In an authoritarian system, the public mood does not influence the foreign policy, but in a democratic system based on political accountability considerable weight has to be accorded to the changing public mood and sentiments.

i. Political organization

Generally under the authoritarian system quick foreign policy decision are possible because the decision making power rests with an individual assisted by his clique. On the other hand in a country possessing a democratic structure the citizens can freely express their opinion, which naturally leaves its impact on the foreign policy of the country.

j. Role of Press

The press also plays a vital role in the foreign policy formulation process. People take by reading published articles on current international developments which enable them to understand the significance of developments in their country in relation to the past developments and buy analyzing the policy of government in regards to foreign affairs. The press also plays an important role by publicizing the foreign policy of a country.

k. **Political Accountability**

Generally in an open political system, the demands of citizen and groups get articulated and transmitted to foreign policy formulators. The framers of the foreign policy cannot ignore theses demands. Infact, quite often the policy formulators anticipate these demands while formulating the policy. On the other hand under a closed system the public reactions are neither available nor given much importance.

l. **Leadership**

The qualities of leadership have a deep impact on the country's foreign policy but their role is greatly constrained by the governmental and social structure. Further the role of leadership is not identical in all countries. In less developed countries their role is grater as compared to industrialist societies. In industrialised societies the individuals enjoy very limited discretion in high governmental and non-governmental positions.

External Factors

External factors are of two types – flexible and rigid. In flexible factors we include international organizations and word public opinion. These are dynamic elements as the international organizations, international law and the treaties create international environment. This international environment influences world public opinion. These are dynamic elements as the

international organizations, international law and the treatiescreate international environment. This international environment influences world public opinion. The states, while formulating foreign policy, have to keep in mind this dynamics of international politics. The reactions of state, on the other hand, is not dynamic. We may term it as rigid factor. The states have some area of agreement and disagreement. They have some allied, some neighbours and some foes. These factors are permanent. For a clear understanding of these elements let us elaborate them.

a. Power Structure

The great power structure prevailing in the world politics also greatly influences the policy of a country. In this regard three possibilities can be envisaged. First, a number of powers may enjoy great power status and their relations may be based on balance of power system. Secondly, there may be only two powers which dominate the world scene and the other states are compelled to side with one or other. Thirdly, more than two states attain great power status and the two powers at the poles are less able to command strict allegiance of those in the orbit. The nature of power structure prevailing in the world has a substantial impact on the foreign policy of a country.

b. International Organization

While formulating the foreign policy, the country has to take note of the international law. Treaties and contracts. No country can ignore these factors. The Communist China, for a login time, showed utter disregard to these factors and consequently could not secure its due position in the field of international relations. Only after 1971, she recognised their importance and that move on the part of Communist China have introduced new dimensions in international politics.

c. Reaction of other states

While formulating the policy the country has to take note of the reaction of other states to its various actions. Otherwise strong reactions from the concerned state and will produce disastrous consequences.

Hitler in 1939 committed a blunder when he refused to be guided by the British reactions and went ahead with his Polish invasion. The result is well known. Japan's failure in assessing the American reactions in Pearl Harbour incident against brought disaster to Japanese policy which had intelligently avoided offending the U.S.A up to that period.

d. Alliances

Alliances concluded by various states also influence the foreign policy. The states parties to alliance have to respond to the requests and demands of

their allies and refrain from formulating policies or taking actions which are offensive to them.

e. **World Public Opinion**

The world public opinion influences the foreign policy of a country occasionally. It is able to exercise influence on the foreign policy of a state, only if it is supported by the domestic public opinion. It is well known that U.S government was made to effect changes in its Vietnam policy largely due to hostile world opinion.

The opinion is a factor which faces many obstacles in crystallization. The first and foremost is the ideological division of the world in which the actions good or bad of one part become naturally adverse to other part. The role of propaganda, absence of free press and economic backwardness of a larger number of states towards the evolution of a real public opinion, domestic factors as well as the international environments.

14.5 Policy Making Factors

In the formulation of foreign policy, the statesmen including all other policy makers play a decisive role. As the final shape of foreign policy is the handwork of these elites, the impact of their views and personality is but natural. The dictators generally try to change the public opinion in their favour through a controlled press. Leaders like Mussolini, Hitler, Mao Tse-Tung and AyubKhan have done the same. Generally, the policy makers have many tasks. They have to consider internal problems, public opinion, external circumstances and reaction of other states. In these tasks they are assisted by a number of departmental experts.

1. **Head of the Government and Foreign Minister**

In a totalitarian state foreign policy depends upon the whims of a dictator. In a democracy the general public is not competent enough to participate in it effectively. This phenomenon centralizes the powers of formulating the policy in the hands of a few, termed in modern parlance, as elites. The American President Truman used to say that the president is the maker of foreign policy. In a parliamentary democracy it is the Prime Minister who wields this authority.

2. **Legislature**

The legislature is generally a clumsy house. It is very strong word unfit to be wielded properly. Nevertheless, it is the last authority in decision-making and the strings of purse are under its control. These factors make it a strong determinant of foreign policy. The post Second World War period has seen a new aspect of foreign policy, i.e. the economic aid and assistance to promote

the national interests. For that matter, the executives of foreign policy depend upon the legislature of sanctions of huge amounts. The U.S.A is the chief donor of economic assistance. This has made the Senate a powerful concluded by the executives-Prime Minister or President by they must be ratified by the legislatures before they are applied. This against makes the legislature, important determinants.

3. **Foreign office and other services**

In theory the ministers make the policy and the permanent officials merely execute it, but in practice the officials formulate the policy and the ministers only render advice. It is equally true that if the minister is bent upon carrying out his own impressions then the bureaucracy has no alternative but to give way. Nevile Chamberlain clashed with the foreign office over his policy of Appeasement. He removed Lord Vansittart from his policies are less firm and clashes less pronounced, the advice of the officials carries much weight.

Foreign policy is not conducted by diplomacy along; it relies heavily on the military forces and on the scientists who supply them with up-to date weapons, one economists and also, especially today, on intelligence and propaganda services. In the world of today the weapons are not use, on the contrary they are produced only to deter. Here the scientists start playing an important role. In the same manner the governments have to rely upon the information rendered by the intelligence agencies.

4. **Ideologies**

Ideology is the basis as well as the goal of foreign policy. The states establish their political and economic institutions on the basis of ideology and endeavour to translate those very principles in the sphere of foreign policy. As is obvious, a particular ideology has a goal which the state strives to achieve in international relation. The ideological division of the world between the Soviet bloc and American bloc has focused tow types of foreign policies. One is communist oriented and the other non-communist. A sort of affinity can be traced among the states of identical ideologies while there is a feeling of animosity among the states adhering to contradictory ideologies. This is the root cause of cold war and postwar tensions.

5. **National Interests and Nation Values**

National interest is the key concept inforeign policy. These are the aspirations of the state to be achieved through foreignpolicy. The policy makers are governed by their respective national interests. Ifthey agree on certain points it is because they view that the interests they arepiously pursuing are not jeopardized. If they agree to concessions, they do onlywhen they are convinced that this brings advantage if their states national interestsare the

governing factors which loom large in diplomatic conferences-bilateral or multilateral. The success and failure of all these conferences depend upon the national interests involved. A conference cannot see the light of success of its conditions affect them and the area of cooperation stretches to the horizons of national interest. Lord Palmerstone was too right to say that friendship or enmity is never permanent in foreign policy, it is the national interests that are permanent and it was the pious duty of the states to follow them.

Model Questions

1. What do you mean by foreign policy? Explain its objectives.
2. Explain briefly the determinants of foreign policy.

CHAPTER – 15
INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Structure

15.1 Introduction

15.2 India's Relations with her neighbours

15.1 Introduction.

The foundations of India's foreign policy were laid during the freedom movement when our leaders, even when fighting for independence, were engaged with the great causes of **the** time. The principles of India's foreign policy, that emerged then, have stood the test of time: a belief in friendly relations with all countries of the world, the resolution of conflicts by peaceful means, the sovereign equality of all states, independence of thought and action as manifested in the principles of Non-alignment, and equity in the conduct of international relations.

Throughout this early period, our means were limited, our goals were primarily domestic, and our aspirations were local. The foreign policy challenges that we faced, such as having a border with China for the first time in our history after China moved into Tibet, could not be addressed with any tools other than diplomacy because of the simple fact that we had no others. Our primary focus was domestic, and at no stage in this period did we spend more than 3% of our GDP on defence. It was this desire to escape external distractions that accounts for some of the tactical choices in handling issues like the India-China boundary, resulting in the short but sharp and salutary conflict of 1962.

Under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, India was the founder member of the Non-aligned Movement. India has played an active role in strengthening the Movement and making it an effective voice in representing the collective aspirations and interests. The developing countries on such vital issues as development, peace and stability.

By the early seventies, the steady development of India, (which even at 3.5% p.a. was faster than that achieved by Britain for most of her industrial revolution), had created capacities and relative strengths that were dramatically revealed in the 1971 war. The liberation of Bangladesh was equally liberation for India. For the first time in centuries, India had on her own and without relying on external imperial power crafted a political outcome in our neighborhood, despite the opposition of a superpower and a large and

militarized neighbor. The diplomatic task was primarily to hold the ring internationally by winning over public opinion for a just cause and averting actions by others which would prevent us from assisting the birth of Bangladesh.

India hosted the 7th NAM Summit in New Delhi in 1983. In recent years, after the end of the Cold War, our foreign policy has been focused on strengthening the Movement by redefining its priorities in keeping with the changing times.

India has also been in the forefront of the world community in the struggle against colonialism. Indeed, the Independence of India itself played the role of a catalyst in removing the vestiges of colonialism in other parts of the developing world, particularly in Africa. India was also the first country to raise the question of racial discrimination in South Africa in 1946. It was at India's initiative that the AFRICA (Action for Resistance to Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid) Fund was set up at the 8th NAM Summit in Harare in 1986. India was the Chairman of the AFRICA Fund Committee, which wound up in 1993.

A notable feature of Indian foreign policy has been its strong advocacy of general and complete disarmament, with nuclear disarmament being accorded the highest priority. Towards this end, India has taken several initiatives within the United Nations and outside. In 1988, India presented to the 3rd Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament an Action Plan for Ushering in a Nuclear Weapons Free and Non-Violent World Order. In order to highlight international concern about the unprecedented nuclear arms race, India was also a member of the Six-Nation Five-Continent joint Initiative in the 1980s. But while India has, and will, remain committed to nuclear disarmament, to be achieved in a time-bound framework, it has consistently and in a principled manner opposed such discriminatory treaties as the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and has refused to give up its nuclear options until all countries in the world including nuclear weapon states embrace the idea of nuclear disarmament in a phased manner.

As a founder member of the United Nations, India has been firmly committed to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and has made significant contributions to its various activities, including peacekeeping operations. India has been a participant in all its peacekeeping operations including those in Korea, Egypt and Congo in earlier years and in Somalia, Angola and Rwanda in recent years. India has also played an active role in the deliberations of the United Nations on the creation of a more equitable

international economic order. It has been an active member of the Group of 77, and later the core group of the G-15 nations. Other issues, such as environmentally sustainable development and the promotion and protection of human rights, have also been an important focus of India's foreign policy in international forums.

Commensurate with national interests and security, the improvement of bilateral relations is an important component of any foreign policy, and India has succeeded in establishing a network of mutually beneficial relations with all countries of the world.

15.2 India’s Relations with her neighbours

India has formal diplomatic relations with most nations; it is the world's second most populous country, the world's most-populous democracy and one of the fastest growing major economies India is a regional power,a nascent global power and a potential superpower. India has a growing international influence and a prominent voice in global affairs. India is a newly industrialised country, has a history of collaboration with several countries, is a component of the BRICS and a major part of developing world. India was one of the founding members of several international organisations, most notably the United Nations, the Asian Development Bank, G-20 major economies and the founder of the Non-Aligned Movement. India has also played an important and influential role in other international organisations like East Asia Summit, World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund (IMF) G8+5 and IBSA Dialogue Forum. Regionally, India is a part of SAARC and BIMSTEC. India has taken part in several UN peacekeeping missions and in 2007, it was the second-largest troop contributor to the United Nations. India is currently seeking a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, along with the G4 nations**.**

The Ministry of External Affairs is the Indian government's agency responsible for the foreign relations of India. The Minister of External Affairs holds cabinet rank as a member of the Council of Ministers.

In particular, the improvement of relations with our neighbors has always been one of the pillars of India's foreign policy. Through the implementation of the 1964 and 1974 Agreements, the issues of the stateless people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka were resolved. In 1988, India helped preserve the integrity of Maldives by coming to the assistance of that country and preventing an attempted take over by armed mercenaries. The Indian government has taken recent initiatives to further strengthen ties with our neighbors, which have won international appreciation. These initiatives are based on five clear principles: First, with neighbors like Bangladesh, Bhutan,

Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity but gives all that it can in good faith and trust. Secondly, no South Asian country should allow its territory to be used against the interests of another country of the region. Thirdly, none will interfere in the internal affairs of another. Fourthly, all South Asian countries must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. And finally, they should settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

These tenets have paid rich dividends. A landmark Treaty has been signed with Bangladesh on the sharing of waters of the Ganga. With Bhutan and Nepal, major projects of economic collaboration have been advanced. Our relations with Sri Lanka have shown steady improvement. With Pakistan, India ha consistently pursued a policy seeking to improve relations under the framework of the Simla Agreement signed in 1972 which provided for the resolution of outstanding issues peacefully and bilaterally and for establishing durable peace in the Sub-continent. Bilateral discussions with Pakistan have resumed recently and India would continue efforts to have good neighborly relations with Pakistan.

An important achievement of India's foreign policy has been the strengthening of regional co-operation. India is an active member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) which was launched in December 1985. With India's full support, SAARC has recently taken significant steps in accelerating the pace of economic co-operation. The South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA) became operational in December 1995. At the 9th SAARC Summit in Male in May 1997, which was chaired by India, a historical decision has also been taken to strive for a South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) latest by the year 2001 AD. The emergence of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation (IOR-ARC) in March 1997, as a major instrument of cooperation in the larger region, has also had the active support of India.

India's foreign policy has always regarded the concept of neighborhood as one of widening concentric circles, around a central axis of historical and cultural commonalties. From this point of view, it has always given due priority to the development of relations with South East Asia. In 1947, India organized the Asian Relations Conference. It chaired the International Control Commission in 1954 and was a major player in the organization of the Bandung Conference in 1955. Today, India is implementing a 'Look East' policy which is underpinned by important economic considerations. Some significant steps in the pursuance of this policy have been taken with the admission of India as a full dialogue partner of ASEAN and a member of the

ASEAN Regional Forum, in 1996.

An attribute of a dynamic foreign policy is the ability to respond to changing developments. The emergence of the Central Asian Republics in the aftermath of the break up of the Soviet Union was one such recent development, and India, given the strategic and economic importance of this region, has been quick to strengthen its bilateral relations with each of these Republics. The shift in recent years by the countries of Central and East Europe to political pluralism and market-oriented structures has also seen India trying to build upon existing business and institutional linkages so as to further strengthen the traditional ties of friendship with the countries of this region.

The countries of the Gulf have a political and strategic importance for India. The region is a major market for Indian exports. Three million Indians are employed in these countries. The strengthening of ties with this region, therefore, has been a priority of India's foreign policy.

With China the aim of Indian foreign policy has been of developing a relationship of friendship, cooperation and good neighborliness, exploiting the potential for favorable growth wherever it exists, even as we seek to find a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to the outstanding border issue. Towards this aim, a series of high level visits have been exchanged, bilateral trade and economic cooperation is growing, and an Agreement on Confidence Building Measures, as part of a wider dialogue on security, has been signed.

Looking at the world from India, it often seems that we are witness to the collapse of the Westphalian state system and redistribution in the global balance of power leading to the rise of major new powers and forces. The interdependence brought about by globalization imposes limits beyond which tensions among the major powers are unlikely to escalate. Some of the same forces of globalization – the evolution of technology, the mobility of capital and so on – which have led to the decline or collapse of the Westphalian state order are also the source of our greatest dangers.

Looking ahead, the real factors of risk that threaten systemic stability come from larger, global issues like terrorism, energy security and environmental and climate change. With globalization and the spread of technology, threats have also globalised and now span borders. These are issues that will impact directly on India’s ability to grow and expand our strategic autonomy. It is also obvious that no single country can deal with these issues alone. They require global solutions.

CHAPTER – 16
INDIA–PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Despite historical, cultural and ethnic links between them, relations between India and Pakistan have been plagued by years of mistrust and suspicion ever since the partition in 1947. The principal source of contention between India and its western neighbor has been the Kashmir conflict. The causes for friction between India and Pakistan are deep-rooted suspicion and dislike between the two communities – Hindus and Muslims – due to historical happenings of the early and later medieval period. British for their own selfish end of justifying and perpetuating their rule in India by pursuing the policy of "divide and rule" broadened and widened the gulf between the two communities and showed apparent partisan love towards the Muslims. The idea east is east and West is west propagated by the occident lists created the seeds of "Two Nation Theory" which ultimately led to the demand of the partition of the Indian subcontinent. As the parties involved – the Hindus and the Muslims took extreme stand disagreeing to see reason, the emotionally charged minds persisted for bifurcation.

The Kashmir issue added fuel to the existing fire and kindled widespread flames of communal strife. USA took advantage of this volatile situation and tried to integrate Pakistan into the fold of USA through CENTO, SEATO, The Baghdad Pact and a military pact with the US in 1954. In such a situation only, the USSR began to thwart all resolutions on Kashmir unacceptable to India. A new dimension was added by the Chinese attack on India in 1962 and Pakistan and China supported each other.

Soon after their independence, India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations but the violent partition and numerous territorial claims would overshadow their relationship. Since their independence, the two countries have fought three major wars, one undeclared war and have been involved in numerous armed skirmishes and military standoffs.

The Kashmir Issue:

The Kashmir problem had begun from 1947, the year of our independence. The Mountbatten Plan had given the Indians States the option of joining either India or Pakistan or remaining independent. When the British left India, Pakistan attacked Kashmir and occupied a part of the Kashmir Valley.

The Maharaja of Kashmir decided to join India and signed the instrument of accession. The Indian army moved into Kashmir and pushed back the invaders. After UN intervention, North-West Kashmir was controlled

by Pakistan and the rest of the state was placed under Indian control.

The Indo-Pak War (1965):

In August 1965, Pakistan made another attempt to seize Kashmir. A war started. After UN intervention, a truce was declared and an agreement (the Tashkent Agreement) was signed in 1966. But cordiality and friendship were not established.

The Indo-Pak War (1971):

Hostilities between India and Pakistan again started in 1971 when India helped Bangladesh to become independent. By the Simla Agreement (1972), Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India and Z.A. Bhutto of Pakistan agreed to settle all problems peacefully. However, relations between India and Pakistan continue to remain strained.

Kargil War (1999):

War again broke out between the two countries when Pakistan occupied portions of Indian Territory in the Kargil area. India defeated Pakistan. Relations between India and Pakistan further worsened because of Pakistan's involvement in terrorist activities in various parts of India, especially in the Punjab and Kashmir. This cross- border terrorism instigated by Pakistan is a grave threat to India's security. Restraint, understanding and cooperation are needed for the establishment of lasting peace in this region.

Simla Summit 1971

Pakistani Prime Minister Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sign an agreement in the Indian town of Simla, in which both countries agree to "put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of a durable peace in the subcontinent". Both sides agree to settle any disputes "by peaceful means".

The Simla Agreement designates the ceasefire line of December 17, 1971, as being the new "Line-of-Control (LoC)" between the two countries, which neither side is to seek to alter unilaterally, and which "shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side".

1974 - The Kashmiri state government affirms that the state "is a constituent unit of the Union of India". Pakistan rejects the accord with the Indian government.

On May 18, India detonates a nuclear device at Pokhran, in an operation codenamed "Smiling Buddha". India refers to the device as a "peaceful nuclear explosive".

1988 - The two countries sign an agreement that neither side will attack the other's nuclear installations or facilities. These include "nuclear power and research reactors, fuel fabrication, uranium enrichment, isotopes separation and reprocessing facilities as well as any other installations with fresh or irradiated nuclear fuel and materials in any form and establishments storing significant quantities of radio-active materials".

Both sides agree to share information on the latitudes and longitudes of all nuclear installations. This agreement is later ratified, and the two countries share information on January 1 each year since then.

1989 - Armed resistance to Indian rule in the Kashmir valley begins. Muslim political parties, after accusing the state government of rigging the 1987 state legislative elections, form militant wings.

Pakistan says that it gives its "moral and diplomatic" support to the movement, reiterating its call for the earlier UN-sponsored referendum.

India says that Pakistan is supporting the insurgency by providing weapons and training to fighters, terming attacks against it in Kashmir "cross-border terrorism". Pakistan denies this.

Militant groups taking part in the fight in Kashmir continue to emerge through the 1990s, in part fuelled by a large influx of "mujahedeen" who took part in the Afghan war against the Soviets in the 1980s.

1991 - The two countries sign agreements on providing advance notification of military exercises, manoeuvres and troop movements, as well as on preventing airspace violations and establishing overflight rules.

1992 - A joint declaration prohibiting the use of chemical weapons is signed in New Delhi.

1996 - Following a series of clashes, military officers from both countries meet at the LoC in order to ease tensions.

1998 - India detonates five nuclear devices at Pokhran. Pakistan responds by detonating six nuclear devices of its own in the Chaghai Hills. The tests result in international sanctions being placed on both countries. In the same year, both countries carry out tests of long-range missiles.

1999 - Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee meets with Nawaz Sharif, his Pakistani counterpart, in Lahore. The two sign the Lahore Declaration, the first major agreement between the two countries since the 1972 Simla Accord. Both countries reaffirm their commitment to the Simla Accord, and agree to undertake a number of 'Confidence Building Measures' (CBMs).

Some of the diplomatic gains are eroded, however, after the Kargil conflict breaks out in May. Pakistani forces and Kashmiri fighters occupy strategic positions on the Indian side of the LoC, prompting an Indian counter offensive in which they are pushed back to the other side of the original LoC.

Kargil is the first armed conflict between the two neighbours since they officially conducted nuclear weapons tests.

In October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf, the Pakistani chief of army staff, leads a military coup, deposing Nawaz Sharif, the then prime minister, and installing himself as the head of the government.

2001 - Tensions along the Line of Control remain high, with 38 people killed in an attack on the Kashmiri assembly in Srinagar. Following that attack, Farooq Abdullah, the chief minister of Indian-administered Kashmir, calls on the Indian government to launch a full-scale military operation against alleged training camps in Pakistan.

In July, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee meet for a two-day summit in the Indian city of Agra. That summit collapses after two days, with both sides unable to reach agreement on the core issue of Kashmir.

On December 13, an armed attack on the Indian parliament in New Delhi leaves 14 people dead. India blames Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad for the attacks.

The attacks lead to a massing of India's and Pakistan's militaries along the LoC. The standoff only ends in October 2002, after international mediation.

2002 - President Musharraf pledges that Pakistan will combat extremism on its own soil, but affirms that the country has a right to Kashmir.

2003 - After Musharraf calls for a ceasefire along the LoC during a UN General Assembly meeting in September, the two countries reach an agreement to cool tensions and cease hostilities across the defacto border.india initiated to India-Pak friendship on October 22, 2003 by offering

a. To start Sri Nagar Muzaffrabad Bus Service.

b. To reinstate cricket and games.

c. To start Samjhota Express train service.

d. To start boat service between Mumbai and Karachi.

2004 - Vajpayee and Musharraf hold direct talks at the 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad in January, and the two countries' foreign secretaries meet later in the year. This year marks the beginning of the Composite Dialogue Process, in which bilateral meetings are held between officials at various levels of government (including foreign ministers, foreign secretaries, military

officers, border security officials, anti-narcotics officials and nuclear experts). In November, on the eve of a visit to Jammu and Kashmir, the new Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, announces that India will be reducing its deployment of troops there.

2006 - India redeploys 5,000 troops from Jammu and Kashmir, citing an "improvement" in the situation there, but the two countries are unable to reach an agreement on withdrawing forces from the Siachen glacier.

In September, President Musharraf and Prime Minister Singh agree to put into place an Indo-Pak institutional anti-terrorism mechanism.

2007 - On February 18, the train service between India and Pakistan (the Samjhauta Express) is bombed near Panipat, north of New Delhi. Sixty-eight people are killed, and dozens injured.

The fifth round of talks regarding the review of nuclear and ballistic missile-related CBMs is held as part of the Composite Dialogue Process. The second round of the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism (JATM) is also held.

2008 - India joins a framework agreement between Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan on a $7.6bn gas pipeline project. A series of Kashmir-specific CBMs are also agreed to (including the approval of a triple-entry permit facility).

In July, India blames Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) directorate for a bomb attack on the Indian embassy in Kabul, which kills 58 and injures another 141.

In September, Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari and Indian Prime Minister Singh formally announce the opening of several trade routes between the two countries.

In October, cross-LoC trade commences, though it is limited to 21 items and can take place on only two days a week.

On November 26, armed gunmen open fire on civilians at several sites in Mumbai, India. The attacks on the Taj Mahal Palace & Tower, the Oberoi Trident Hotel, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, Leopold Cafe, Cama Hospital, Nariman House Jewish community centre, Metro Cinema, St Xavier's College and in a lane near the Times of India office, prompt an almost three-day siege of the Taj, where gunmen remain holed up until all but one of them are killed in an Indian security forces operation. More than 160 people are killed in the attacks. Ajmal Kasab, the only attacker captured alive, says the attackers were members of Lashkar-e-Taiba. In the wake of the attacks, India breaks off talks with Pakistan.

2009 - The Pakistani government admits that the Mumbai attacks may have been partly planned on Pakistani soil, while vigorously denying allegations that the plotters were sanctioned or aided by Pakistan's intelligence agencies.

Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani and Indian Prime Minister Singh meet on the sidelines of a Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, issuing a joint statement charting future talks. Singh rules out, however, the resumption of the Composite Dialogue Process at the present time.

The Indian government continues to take a stern line with Pakistan, however, with its coalition government saying that it is up to Pakistan to take the first step towards the resumption of substantive talks by cracking down on militant groups on its soil.

In August, India gives Pakistan a new dossier of evidence regarding the Mumbai attacks, asking it to prosecute Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, the head of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, an Islamic charity with ties to Lashkar-e-Taiba.

2010 - In January, Pakistani and Indian forces exchange fire across the LoC in Kashmir, the latest in a string of such incidents that have led to rising tension in the area.

In February, India and Pakistan's foreign secretaries meet in New Delhi for talks. This meeting is followed by the two countries' foreign ministers meeting in Islamabad in July.

In May, Ajmal Kasab is found guilty of murder, conspiracy and of waging war against India in the Mumbai attacks case. He is sentenced to death.

2011 - In January, Indian Home Secretary GK Pillai says India will share information with Pakistan regarding the 2001 Samjhauta Express bombing. The two countries' foreign secretaries meet in Thimpu, Nepal, in February, and agree to resume peace talks "on all issues".

2012 - In November, India execute Pakistani national Mohammad Ajmal Kasab, the lone survivor of a fighter squad that killed 166 people in a rampage through the financial capital Mumbai in 2008, hanging him just days before the fourth anniversary of the attack.

2013 - In January, India and Pakistan trade accusations of violating the cease-fire in Kashmir, with Islamabad accusing Indian troops of a cross-border raid that killed a soldier and India charging that Pakistani shelling destroyed a home on its side.

2013 - In September, the prime ministers of India and Pakistan meet in New York on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly. Both the leaders

agree to end tension between armies of both sides in the disputed Kashmir.

2014 - On February 12, India and Pakistan agree to release trucks detained in their respective territories, ending a three week impasse triggered by seizure of a truck in India-administered Kashmir coming from across the de facto Line of Control for allegedly carrying brown sugar.

2014 - On May 1, Pakistan's Army chief General Raheel Sharif calls Kashmir the "jugular vein" of Pakistan, and that the dispute should be resolved in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of Kashmiris and in line with UNSC resolutions for lasting peace in the region.

2014 - On May 25, Pakistan releases 151 Indian fishermen from its jails in a goodwill gesture ahead of swearing-in ceremony of Narendra Modi as prime minister.

2014 - On May 27, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi holds talks with Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in New Delhi. Both sides express willingness to begin new era of bilateral relations.

Model Question

1. Discuss the relationship of India with Pakistan.

CHAPTER – 17
INDIA – BANGLADESH RELATIONS

Bangladesh shares 4094 kilometers of a border with India on three sides, fourth side being open to Bay of Bengal.

In 1971, a civil war broke out between the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. India helped East Pakistan in her war of independence against West Pakistan. In 1971, East Pakistan became independent with India's support. A new nation, Bangladesh, was born under Mujibur Rehman.

The two nations generally have friendly relations, although sometimes there are border disputes. Recently they have solved some of those disputed issues and agreed to work on terrorism, border killings, fake currency and smuggling of goods. They are common members of SAARC, BIMSTEC, IORA and the Commonwealth. Bangladesh has a high commission in New Delhi with consulates in Mumbai and Kolkata. India has a high in Dhaka with a consulate in Chittagong. In a survey, 70% percent of Bangladeshis expressed a favorable opinion of India.

The two nations were strong allies during the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971. However, they developed different Cold War alliances in the late 1970s and 80s.With the onset of economic liberalization in South Asia, they forged greater bilateral engagement and trade. The historic Ganges Water Sharing Treaty was concluded in 1996. India and Bangladesh are close strategic partners in counter-terrorism. They are also the largest trading partners in South Asia.

Areas of contention

1. A major area of contention has been the construction and operation of the Farakka Barrage by India to increase water supply in the river Hoogly. Bangladesh insists that it does not receive a fair share of the Ganges waters during the drier seasons, and gets flooded during the monsoons when India releases excess waters. See also Sharing of Ganges Waters.
2. There have also been disputes regarding the transfer of Teen Bigha Corridor to Bangladesh. Part of Bangladesh is surrounded by the Indian state of West Bengal. On 26 June 1992, India leased three bigha land to Bangladesh to connect this enclave with mainland Bangladesh. There was a dispute regarding the indefinite nature of the lease. The dispute was resolved by a mutual agreement between India and Bangladesh in 2011.
3. Terrorist activities carried out by outfits based in both countries, like Banga Sena and Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami. Recently India and

Bangladesh had agreed jointly to fight terrorism.

4. Bangladesh has consistently denied India transit facility to the landlocked North Eastern Regions of India. Although India has a narrow land link to this North eastern region, which is famously known as the Siliguri Corridor or "India's Chicken Neck"
5. Illegal Bangladeshi immigration into India. The border is porous and migrants are able to cross illegally, though sometimes only in return for financial or other incentives to border security personnel. Bangladeshi officials have denied the existence of Bangladeshis living in India and those illegal migrants found are described as having been trafficked. This has considerable repercussions for those involved, as they are stigmatized for having been involved in prostitution, whether or not this has actually been the case. Cross border migrants are also at far higher risk of HIV/Aids infection.
6. Continuous border killing of Indian and Bangladeshi people, aiding illegal immigrants, helping in armed dacoit, fake money transfer and illegal drug trades by both Indian and Bangladeshi people are the major problems between Bangladesh and India.
7. Both Bangladesh and India make claims over the same seawater at the Bay of Bengal before settlement of the issue.
8. There was a minor glitch in their relation when former Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh accidentally mentioned that 25% of Bangladeshis are anti-Indian, during an informal press meet.

Recent developments

In September 2011, the two countries signed a major accord on border demarcation to end the 4-decade old disputes over boundaries. This came to be known as the tin bigha corridor. India also granted 24-hour access to Bangladeshi citizens in the Tin Bigha Corridor. The agreement included exchange of adversely held enclaves, involving 51,000 people spread over 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladesh enclaves in India. The total land involved is reportedly 7000 acres**.**

On 9 October 2011, Indian and Bangladeshi armies participated in Sampriti-II (Unity-II), a 14-day-long Joint military exercise at Sylhet to increase synergy between their forces.

In 2012, Bangladesh allowed India’s Oil and Natural Gas Corporation to ferry heavy machinery, turbines and cargo through Ashuganj for Palatana Power project in southern Tripura.

From October 2013, India started exporting 500 megawatts of electricity a day to Bangladesh over a period of 35 years.

From November 2013, A Wagah Border-like ceremony is being organised at Petrapole (in West Bengal, India) Benapole (Bangladesh) border checkpoint. The ceremony which includes parades, march-past and lowering of the national flag of both the countries is now a daily routine, at sundown, on the eastern border. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh%E2%80%93 India_relations - cite_note-29 The relations between the countries are definitely moving in positive direction.

In June 2014, during her first official overseas visit, Foreign Minister of India, Sushma Swaraj concluded various agreements to boost ties. They include:

- Easing of Visa regime to provide 5 year multiple entry visas to minors below 13 and elderly above 65.
- Proposal of a special economic zone in Bangladesh.
- Agreement to send back a fugitive murder accused from India.
- Provide an additional 100 MW power from Tripura.
- Increase the frequency of Maitree Express and start buses between Dhaka and Guwahati and Shillong.
- Bangladesh allowed India to ferry food grains to the landlocked North East Indias using its territory and infrastructure

Conclusion

Bangladesh-India relations over the years reflect the prominence of coercive elements in India's hegemonic role in South Asia. This perception will affect the development of long term institutional relationship with smaller neighbors of South Asia. This was clearly reflected in India's aversion towards multilateral cooperation frameworks like SAARC and the lack of reciprocation in trade and economic cooperation with countries, as see with Bangladesh. The United States' hegemony over the years achieved a boost with its involvement with smaller and weaker neighboring allies in several economic and security cooperation ventures like the NATO and NAFTA. But India's influence in a regional context results in discontentment on the part of weaker states. Thus, India should rely on an institutional doctrine with greater involvement with smaller and weaker neighboring states with an aim to aid their efforts to develop themselves in various fields. The history of the formation of the European Union as a powerful regional bloc shows a greater compromise on the part of bigger states like France and Germany to achieve regional cohesion and peaceful relations. India, too, should prepare itself to compromise on

certain fronts if regional cohesion and peace is to be achieved. India's relationship with all South Asian countries should not be dictated by its relationship with Pakistan and China, with whom it has undergone prolonged conflict and competition. If India wishes to continue its relationship with Bangladesh, it needs to take a good look at the stand it takes towards other South Asian countries also.

CHAPTER – 18
INDIA - SRI LANKA RELATIONS

The relationship between India and Sri Lanka is more than 2,500 years old and both sides have built upon a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction. In recent years, the relationship has been marked by close contacts at the highest political level, growing trade and investment, cooperation in the fields of development, education, culture and defence, as well as a broad understanding on major issues of international interest. Bilateral exchanges at various levels over the past year and significant progress in implementation of developmental assistance projects for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and disadvantaged sections of the population in Sri Lanka has helped further cement the bonds of friendship between the two countries. The nearly three-decade long armed conflict between Sri Lankan forces and the LTTE came to an end in May 2009. During the course of the conflict, India supported the right of the Government of Sri Lanka to act against terrorist forces. At the same time, it conveyed at the highest levels, its deep concern at the plight of the mostly Tamil civilian population, emphasizing that their rights and welfare should not get enmeshed in hostilities against the LTTE. The need for national reconciliation through a political settlement of the ethnic issue has been reiterated by India at the highest levels. India's consistent position is in favour of a negotiated political settlement, which is acceptable to all communities within the framework of a united Sri Lanka and which is consistent with democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights.

Indian intervention in the Sri Lankan civil war

In 1987, India intervened directly in the conflict for the first time after the Sri Lankan government attempted to regain control of the northern Jaffna region by means of an economic blockade and military assaults, India supplied food and medicine by air and sea. After subsequent negotiations, India and Sri Lanka entered into an agreement/13th amendment. The peace accord assigned a certain degree of regional autonomy in the Tamil areas with Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) controlling the regional council and called for the Tamil militant groups to lay down their arms. Further India was to send a peacekeeping force, named the IPKF to Sri Lanka to enforce the disarmament and to watch over the regional council.

Even though the accord was signed between the governments of Sri Lanka and India, with the Tamil Tigers and other Tamil militant groups not having a role in the signing of the accord,most Tamil militant groups accepted this agreement,the LTTE rejected the accord because they opposed the

candidate, who belonged to another militant group named Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), for chief administrative officer of the merged Northern and Eastern provinces. Instead the LTTE named three other candidates for the position. The candidates proposed by the LTTE were rejected by India. The LTTE subsequently refused to hand over their weapons to the IPKF.

The result was that the LTTE now found itself engaged in military conflict with the Indian Army, and launched their first attack on an Indian army rations truck on October 8, killing five Indian para-commandos who were on board by strapping burning tires around their necks. The government of India then decided that the IPKF should disarm the LTTE by force,and the Indian Army launched number of assaults on the LTTE, including a month-long campaign dubbed Operation Pawan to win control of the Jaffna peninsula from the LTTE. When the IPKF engaged the LTTE, the then president of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa, began supporting LTTE and funded LTTE with arms. During the warfare with the LTTE, IPKF was also alleged to have made human rights violation against the civilians.

The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, which had been unpopular amongst Sri Lankans for giving India a major influence, now, became a source of nationalist anger and resentment as the IPKF was drawn fully into the conflict. Sri Lankans protested the presence of the IPKF, and the newly elected Sri Lankan president Ranasinghe Premadasa demanded its withdrawal, which was completed by March 1990. On May 21, 1991, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated and the LTTE was alleged to be the perpetrator. As a result India declared the LTTE to be a terrorist outfit in 1992. Bilateral relations improved in the 1990s and India supported the peace process but has resisted calls to get involved again.

Development Projects

The conclusion of the armed conflict saw the emergence of a major humanitarian challenge, with nearly 300,000 Tamil civilians housed in camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The Government of India put in place a robust programme of assistance to help the IDPs return to normal life as quickly as possible as also consistently advocated the need for them to be resettled to their original habitations as early as possible. India's immediate humanitarian assistance to IDPs included supply of 250,000 family relief packs, establishment of an emergency medical unit which treated over 50,000 IDPs, supply of over one million roofing sheets, as well as 400,000 bags of cement for constructing temporary housing and provision of 95,000 starter packs of agricultural implements. India also assisted in revival of agricultural

and economic activities in areas affected by the conflict. With the shift from relief and rehabilitation to reconstruction and development, the Government of India turned its attention to the housing requirements of the IDPs. During the visit of President Mahinda Rajapaksa to India in June 2010, an announcement was made by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh that India would support a programme to reconstruct 50,000 houses in Sri Lanka. A Pilot Project involving construction of 1,000 houses was launched in November 2010 and was completed in July 2012. An MOU with the Government of Sri Lanka on the modalities of implementation of the remaining 49,000 houses under the Project was signed on 17 January 2012 and second phase of the project (construction and repair of 43,000 Housing Units in Northern and Eastern Provinces) was launched in October 2012.

Sri Lanka is one of the major recipients of development credit given by the Government of India. Under a line of credit of $167.4 million, the tsunami-damaged Colombo-Matara rail link has been repaired and upgraded. Another line of credit of $800 million for track laying and supply of rolling stock to support construction of Medawachchiya to Madhu, Madhu to Talaimannar, Omanthai to Pallai, Pallai to Kankesanthurai railway lines and setting up of signaling and telecommunications systems in Northern Sri Lanka is already operational. On March 4, 2014 the reconstructed railway track between Kilinochchi and Pallai was inaugurated. India is also involved in projects for renovation of Palaly Airport, Kankesanthurai Harbour, construction of Cultural Centre in Jaffna, interconnection of electricity grids between the two countries, construction of a 150-bed hospital in Dickoya and setting up a coal power plant in Sampur as a joint venture between National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) and Ceylon Electricity Board (CEB). India also continues to assist a large number of smaller development projects in areas like education, health, transport connectivity, small and medium enterprise development and training in many parts of the country through its grant funding.

Fishermen issue

Given the proximity of the territorial waters of both countries, especially in the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar, incidents of straying of fishermen are common. Both countries have agreed on certain practical arrangements to deal with the issue of bona fide fishermen of either side crossing the International Maritime Boundary Line. Through these arrangements, it has been possible to deal with the issue of detention of fishermen in a humane manner.

Human rights council in Geneva 2012 and 2013

The United Nation Human rights council in Geneva adopted a resolution in 2012 and again 2013 calling on Sri Lanka to take credible steps to ensure accountability for alleged war crimes and human rights violations during the final steps of the war with the LTTE. The United States sponsored resolution in the 47 members of UNHCR, 24 countries voted for the resolution and 15 against it in 2012, its 19 session in Geneva27. India, voted for pro resolution making a critical stage for historical relations in both countries. However, India made an amendment to the resolution, impeding the international involvement to look for investigations. The UNHRC has passed the second resolution against Sri Lanka in its 22 session on March 2013. Twenty-five countries voted for the resolution and 13 against it and India was among voters for resolution again.28 India decision was made highly desperate in Sri Lankan government and the decision was criticised by the Sri Lankan politician as well.

Conclusion

India's foreign policy on Sri Lanka during post civil war period has been guided by the two factors. One is India's internal political scenario which is directly connected with Tamil Nadu factor.

The second factor is Sri Lanka's growing relations with China and Pakistan. As a South Asian regional power India will not be tolerated the growing relations between Sri Lanka, China and Pakistan. China and Pakistan always gave their military support during the civil war in Sri Lanka. China supplied the arms to the government of Sri Lanka and Pakistan involved with training the military forces in Sri Lanka. After the war was ended China is the main financial contributor of Sri Lanka's development projects.

The bi- lateral relations between India and Sri Lanka in the postwar era are based on two important facts. One is India's internal politics and the party interest which have always sought for strengthening their coalition power with the ruling government. The Tamil Nadu politics play an important role in this regard, by influencing to the central government to intervene to the Sri Lanka Tamil issues during the civil war in Sri Lanka. This also further complicated by fishermen issue. It is very clear the ruling Congress coalition seek to protect its popularity with the help of AIDMK in Tamil Nadu for next general election. The second issue is India's emerging power in the Asian region and its future threats from China who is ready to further strengthen her bi- lateral relations with Sri Lanka. This factor is always influenced to India within her strategic plan in the Indian Ocean and security. Growing Sino- Sri Lanka relations are

suspected by India and India shows her dislike to Sri Lanka with pressuring the Sri Lanka government through human rights violations on Tamils not only in regionally but also internationally. The bi-lateral relations India and Sri Lanka in the postwar era are not amicable and trustful. The growing political issues have been spoiled the historical amicable relations of the two countries.

CHAPTER – 19
INDIA'S RELATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN

India and UK are bound by strong ties of history. India has been able to maintain very cordial relations with Great Britain due to the exemplary manner in which the Britain gained independence to India and also partly due to non-violent nature of the Indian struggle for independence. India has a high commission in London and two consulates-general in Birmingham and Edinburgh. The United Kingdom has a high commission in New Delhi and five deputy high commissions in Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad and Kolkata.

Since 1947, India's relations with the United Kingdom have been through bilateral, as well as through the Commonwealth of Nations framework. Although the Sterling Area no longer exists and the Commonwealth is much more an informal forum, India and the UK still have many enduring links. This is in part due to the significant number of people of Indian origin living in the UK. The large South Asian population in the UK results in steady travel and communication between the two countries. The British Raj allowed for both cultures to imbibe tremendously from the other. The English language and cricket are perhaps the two most evident British exports, whilst in the UK food from the Indian subcontinent is very popular.

Economically the relationship between Britain and India is also strong. India is the second largest investor in Britain after the US. Britain is also one of the largest investors in India.

India's multi-faceted bilateral relationship with the UK intensified with its upgradation to a Strategic Partnership in 2004. The groundwork for this was laid when Prime Minister Manmohan Singh met former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair in September 2004 and they adopted a joint declaration titled 'India-UK: towards a new and dynamic partnership' which envisages annual Summits and regular meetings between Foreign Ministers. It also outlines areas for future cooperation in civil nuclear energy, space, defence, combating terrorism, economic ties, science & technology, education and culture. The visit of UK Prime Minister David Cameron to India in July 2010 saw the relations elevated to 'Enhanced Partnership for the Future'. The UK supports India's proposal for permanent membership of the UNSC and is also an important interlocutor for India in the EU, G8, G20 and global contexts.

India and the United Kingdom upgraded their bilateral relationship to that of Strategic Partnership in September 2004. The visit of Prime Minister Cameron to India in 2010 laid the foundations for Enhanced Partnership for the

Future, which is defined by a high level economic and technological cooperation and close coordination on many regional and global issues. PM Cameron also visited India in February 2013 with a business delegation of over 100 companies and then again in November 2013 enroute to Colombo.

High level bilateral visits and interactions continued in 2014 with the new government in India. PM Modi met UKPM Cameron on the side lines of G20 Summit in November 2014 in Australia; EAM visited UK from October 16-17, 2014 to inaugurate the Regional Pravasiya Bharatiya Diwas where she had bilateral meetings with UK Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary; MoS (VK) visited London from December 3-4, 2014 to attend London Conference on Afghanistan; CIM visited London from January 18-20, 2015 for the 10th JETCO. FM visited London from 13-14 March, 2015 to unveil the statue of Mahatma Gandhi in Parliament Square. MoS(IC) for Power, Coal and New and Renewable Energy visited UK from 22-23 May, 2015 and held meetings with the Parliamentary Under Secretary, Department of Energy and Climate Change(DECC) and Parliament Under Secretary, Department for International Development.

From the UK side, the then Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg visited India from August 25-27, 2014; former UK Foreign Secretary William Hague, accompanied by Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne, Minister for Government Policy in Cabinet Office, Oliver Letwin and the then Head of Downing Street Policy Unit Jo Johnson visited India in July 2014; the then Business Secretary Dr. Vince Cable visited India in October 2014 and the then Minister for University, Science and Cities visited India in November 2014. UK FS Philip Hammond visited India from 12-13 March, 2015 for bilateral consultation.

As Strategic Partners, India and UK increasingly seek to increase their collaboration in foreign policy and have a shared vision for peace, stability, democracy and prosperity. Both sides have institutionalised dialogues in the areas of counter terrorism, cyber security, West Asia, Afghanistan, East Asia, UN and multilateral issues, disarmament and non -proliferation and consular and visa matters at Senior Official Level. Besides, annual Foreign Office Consultations are held between the two sides at the level of Foreign Secretary - Permanent under Secretary. These regular consultations have ensured an expeditious implementation of the decisions reached at highest levels.

India-UK Inter-Parliamentary Contacts

The Parliaments of India and the UK have close relations. The former Speaker of Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament), Mrs.Meira Kumar, visited UK from 17 – 19 January 2011. Speaker of the House of

Commons John Bercow paid a return visit the same year in August 2011. There are Friends of India Groups in all the three major political parties. There are All-Party Parliamentary Groups on India and British Hindus in the UK Parliament. Parliamentary exchanges have also taken place under the banner of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA). The regular exchanges between the Members of Parliament of two countries helped in strengthening cooperation between the two countries.

India-UK Civil Nuclear Cooperation

India and UK signed a Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement on 11 February 2010 which will help promotion and facilitation of cooperation in the nuclear field including nuclear trade and also between the scientific institutions of the two countries.

Defence

Both the UK and India have suffered serious terrorist attacks over the years and are among the strongest proponents of international co-operation to counter terrorism and extremism. The UK and India are strategic partners in this field. Bilateral operational links are expanding and deepening, close cooperation around the 2010 Delhi Commonwealth Games represented a significant security success.The UK-India defence relationship has never been stronger. The bilateral programme of exercises, exchanges, training courses and high-level visits across all Services continues apace. Defence equipment co-operation includes supply of AW101 helicopters and Hawk Advanced Jet Trainers. The recent visit of HMS Daring – the first of the new Type 45 Destroyers – to Mumbai was a great success and provided an excellent opportunity for UK Defence companies to showcase the best of British defence technology.

On the nuclear test made by India in May 1998, England imposed bans on India, but when Indian foreign minister Jaswant Singh visited Britain in 1999 the bans were lifted. In January 2002 British Prime Minister Tony Blayer came to India to reduce the Indo-Pak tension.

CHAPTER – 20
INDIA–UNITED STATES RELATIONS

Prominent leaders of India's freedom movement had friendly relations with the United States of America which continued well after independence from Great Britain in 1947. In 1954, United States of America made Pakistan a Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) treaty-ally. India cultivated strategic and military relations with the Soviet Union to counter US-Pakistan ties.

In 1961, India became a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement to avoid involvement in the Cold War power play between the USA and USSR. The Nixon administration's support for Pakistan during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 affected relations till the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. In the 1990s, Indian foreign policy adapted to the unipolar world and developed closer ties with the United States

History.

The relationships between India in the days of the British Raj and the US were thin. In the 1930s and early 1940s the United States gave very strong support to the Indian independence movement in defiance of the British Empire.

World War II

Everything changed in World War Two, when India became the main base for the American China Burma India Theater (CBI) in the war against Japan. Tens of thousands of American service men arrived, bringing all sorts of advanced technology, and money; they left in 1945. Serious tension erupted over American demands, led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, that India be given independence, a proposition Prime Minister Winston Churchill vehemently rejected. For years Roosevelt had encouraged Britain's disengagement from India. The American position was based on principled opposition to colonialism, practical concern for the outcome of the war, and the expectation of a large American role in a post-colonial era. However, in 1942 when the Indian National Congress launched a Quit India movement, the British authorities immediately arrested tens of thousands of activists. Meanwhile, India became the main American staging base for aid to China. Churchill threatened to resign if Roosevelt pushed too hard, so Roosevelt backed down

Post-independence (1947-1997)

After Indian independence and until the end of the Cold War, the relationship between the US and India was cold and often thorny. This was due

to the closeness of the US towards India's arch-rival Pakistan during the War, with Pakistan joining the US-led Western Bloc in 1954. The relations worsened further with India pursuing a policy of being neutral i.e. not aligned with either the US or the Soviet Union, but maintaining close ties with the latter to counter Pakistan.

In the late 1948s, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru rejected American suggestions for resolving the Kashmir crisis. His 1949 tour of the US was "an undiplomatic disaster" that left bad feelings on both sides. India rejected the American advice that it not recognise the Communist conquest of China, but it did back the US when it supported the 1950 United Nations resolution condemning North Korea's aggression in the Korean. India tried to act as a broker to help end that war, and served as a conduit for diplomatic messages between the US and China. Meanwhile, poor harvests forced India to ask for free American food, which was given starting in 1950

In 1959, Dwight D. Eisenhower was the first US President to visit India to strengthen the staggering ties between the two nations.

The Kennedy administration openly supported India during the 1962 Sino-Indian war and considered the Chinese action as "blatant Chinese Communist aggression against India. The United States Air Force flew in arms, ammunition and clothing supplies to the Indian troops and the United States Navy even sent the USS Kitty Hawk aircraft carrier from the Pacific to protect India, only to recall it back before it reached the Bay of Bengal. In a May 1963 National Security Council meeting, the United States discussed contingency planning that could be implemented in the event of another Chinese attack on India.

Following the assassination of Kennedy in 1963, Indo-US relations deteriorated gradually. While Kennedy's successor Lyndon Johnson sought to maintain relations with India to counter Communist China,he also sought to strengthen ties with Pakistan with the hopes of easing tensions with China and weakening India's growing military buildup as well.

Richard Nixon established a very close relationship with Pakistan, aiding it militarily and economically, as India, now under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, was seen as leaning towards the Soviet Union. He considered Pakistan as a very important ally to counter Soviet influence in the Indian subcontinent and establish ties with China, with whom Pakistan was very close.

During the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War, the US openly supported Pakistan and even deployed its aircraft carrier USS Enterprise towards the Bay of Bengal, which was seen as a show of force by the US in support of the

beleaguered West Pakistani forces. Later in 1974, India conducted its first nuclear test, Smiling Buddha, which was opposed by the US, however it also concluded that the test did not violate any agreement and proceeded with a June 1974 shipment of enriched uranium for the Tarapur reactor.

Soon after Atal Bihari Vajpayee became Indian Prime Minister, he authorised nuclear weapons testing at Pokhran. The United States strongly condemned this testing, promised sanctions, and voted in favour of a United Nations Security Council Resolution condemning the tests. President Bill Clinton imposed economic sanctions on India, including cutting off all military and economic aid, freezing loans by American banks to state-owned Indian companies, prohibiting loans to the Indian government for all except food purchases, prohibiting American aerospace technology and uranium exports to India, and requiring the US to oppose all loan requests by India to international lending agencies. However, these sanctions proved ineffective - India was experiencing a strong economic rise, and its trade with the US only constituted a small portion of its GDP. Only Japan joined the US in imposing direct sanctions, while most other nations continued to trade with India. The sanctions were soon lifted. Afterward, the Clinton administration and Prime Minister Vajpayee exchanged representatives to help rebuild relations. In March 2000, U.S. President Bill Clinton visited India, undertaking bilateral and economic discussions with Prime Minister Vajpayee. During the visit, the Indo-US Science & Technology Forum was established.

After the September 11 attacks against the US in 2001, President George W. Bush collaborated closely with India in controlling and policing the strategically critical Indian sea lanes from the Suez Canal to Singapore. After the December 2004 tsunami, the US and Indian navies cooperated in search and rescue operations and in the reconstruction of affected areas. An Open Skies Agreement was signed in April 2005, enhancing trade, tourism, and business via the increased number of flights, and Air India purchased 68 US Boeing aircraft at a cost of $8 billion.

India-US relations have been strained over the Obama administration's approach to Pakistan and the handling of the insurgency in Afghanistan. India and US governments have differed on a variety of regional issues ranging from India's cordial relations with Iran, Russia and Sri Lanka to foreign policy disagreements relating to Maldives, Myanmar and Bangladesh.

US-India Strategic Dialogue produced a joint statement in which the two countries pledged to "deepen people-to-people, business-to-business, and government-to-government linkages ... for the mutual benefit of both countries and for the promotion of global peace, stability, economic growth and

prosperity."It outlined extensive bilateral initiatives in each of ten key areas: (1) advancing global security and countering terrorism, (2) disarmament and nonproliferation, (3) trade and economic relations, (4) high technology, (5) energy security, clean energy, and climate change, (6) agriculture, (7) education, (8) health, (9) science and technology, and (10) development.

Military relations

US-India military relations derive from a common belief in freedom, democracy, and the rule of law, and seek to advance shared security interests. These interests include maintaining security and stability, defeating violent religious extremism and terrorism, preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and associated materials, data, and technologies, and protecting the free flow of commerce. In recent years, India has conducted large joint military exercises with the US in the Indian Ocean.

Recognising India as a key to its strategic interests, the United States has sought to strengthen its relationship with India. The two countries are the world's largest democracies, and both are committed to political freedom protected by representative government. The US and India have a common interest in the free flow of commerce and resources, including through the vital sea lanes of the Indian Ocean. They also share an interest in creating a strategically stable Asia.

In late September 2001, President Bush lifted sanctions imposed under the terms of the 1994 Nuclear Proliferation Prevention Act following India's nuclear tests in May 1998. The non-proliferation dialogue has bridged many of the gaps in understanding between the countries. In a meeting between President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee in November 2001, the two leaders expressed a strong interest in transforming the US-India bilateral relationship. High-level meetings and concrete cooperation between the two countries increased during 2002 and 2003. In January 2004, the US and India launched the "Next Steps in Strategic Partnership" (NSSP), which was both a milestone in the transformation of the bilateral relationship and a blueprint for its further progress.

In July 2005, Bush hosted Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Washington, D.C. The two leaders announced the successful completion of the NSSP, as well as other agreements which further enhanced cooperation in the areas of civil nuclear, civil space, and high-technology commerce. Other initiatives announced included a US-India economic dialogue, the fight Against HIV/AIDS, disaster relief, technology cooperation, an agriculture knowledge initiative, a trade policy forum, energy dialogue, CEO Forum, and an initiative to assist each other in furthering democracy and

freedom.[348] President Bush made a reciprocal visit to India in March 2006, during which the progress of these initiatives were reviewed, and new initiatives were launched.

In December 2006, the US Congress passed the historic Henry J. Hyde US-India Peaceful Atomic Cooperation Act, which allows direct civilian nuclear commerce with India for the first time in 30 years. US policy had been opposed to nuclear cooperation with India in prior years because India had developed nuclear weapons against international conventions, and had never signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT). The legislation clears the way for India to buy US nuclear reactors and fuel for civilian use.

Nuclear cooperation

The India–United States Civil Nuclear Agreement also referred to as the "123 Agreement", signed on 10 October 2008 is a bilateral agreement for peaceful nuclear cooperation which governs civil nuclear trade between American and Indian firms to participate in each other's civil nuclear energy sector. For the agreement to be operational, nuclear vendors and operators must comply with India's 2010 Nuclear Liability Act which stipulates that nuclear suppliers, contractors and operators must bear financial responsibility in case of an accident.

The US is one of India's argest trading partners. Major items import from India includes information technoogy services, textiles, machinery, gems and diamonds, chemicals, iron and steel products, coffee, tea and other edible products. Major American items imported by India include aircraft, fertilisers, computer hardware, scrap metal, and medical equipment

Recent Developments

The positive trends in Indo-US relations that had become evident in recent years were established.

In January-February 1990, the former foreign secretary Mr. S.K. Singh visited USA for bilateral consultations on poetical developments globally and in South Asia. He also apprised the US leaders on the Kashmir situation.

In May 1990, special envoy of the US President Mr. Robert Gates visited India and conveyed the US concern on the escalation of tension in the sub-continent. USA urged India and Pakistan to enter into a dialogue in the spirit of the Simla agreement. India pointed out that terrorism in Punjab and Jammu Kashmir were the root cause of the situation and their elimination was essential for restoration of peace and confidence.

On 29th May 1990, American president George Bush appealed to India and pakistan to settle their dispute over Kashmir through negotiations and said

that the Simla agreement remained the best framework for the peaceful resolution of the dispute.

Narasimha Rao's government looked forwarf to the further development of India's relations with USA. India believed that building a mutualy benefucual and mature relationship is a goal shared by both the countries. However in 1993, U.S.A isted India for violation of patent rights and withdrew many aid pans.

USA imposed all sorts of economic restrictions on India because of the nuclear tests attempted successfully by it on May 11 & 13 1998. Clinton government however lifted ban from 51 Indian companies in December 1999.

In June 1999, the US adopted an objective approach towards the Kargil war between India and Pakistan, and called upon Pakistan to end Kargil intrusion from its side of the LoC, to respect the LoC and to start dialogue with India. The US president send his special envoys to Pakistan to impress upon it the need to end its intrusion in Kargil. This gave rise to new hope for an improvement in the Indo-US relations.

In July 1999, Indo-US Extradition Treaty came into force and it constituted an important step in the direction of promoting cooperation between the two countries for fighting the menance of terrorism.

Between July-August 1999, the environment of the India-US relations witnessed a qualitative improvement not only because of the objective and the firm stand taken by the USA in respect of the kargil war but also because of the defeat of the Goodling Amendment (seeking to deny military assistance to India for its failure to support the USA in the UN General Assembly). In the US House of Representatives on July 21, 1999.

Further in early August 1999, the Anti-India Burton Amendment was withdrawn by US Congressman Mr. Don Burton under pressure from Washington. The proposed amendment had called for providing any development assistance to India a 25% cut from US Presidents fiscal year 2000, and to allow development assistance to India only through NGOs. This signifies the growing recognition of the importance of India by the US Congressmen.

In December 1999, the USA voiced its support for India during the crisis created by the hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane to Kandahar (Afghanistan) by the Islamic terrorists.

In March 2006, President George Bush Visited India. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh signed an agreement related to atomic energy. But the agreement will be applicable after ratification by the both parliaments.

Modi's visit to America, 2014

Modi travelled to US from 27–30 September 2014,[336] beginning with his maiden address in the United Nations general assembly followed by attending a gala public reception by the Indian American community in New York's Madison Square Garden before heading Washington, D.C. for the bilateral talk with Obama. While there, Modi also met several American business leaders and invited them to join his ambitious Make in India program in a bid to make India a manufacturing hub.Modi said that "India and the United States are bound together, by history and culture" but acknowledged that there have been "ups and downs" in relations.

Barack Obama's visit to India, 2015

President Barack Obama became the first US president to be the chief guest of the 66th Republic Day celebrations of India held on 26 January 2015.India and the US held their first ever bilateral dialogue on the UN and multilateral issues in the spirit of the "Delhi Declaration of Friendship" that strengthens and expands the two countries' relationship as part of the Post-2015 Development Agenda

CHAPTER - 21
INDIA–RUSSIA RELATIONS

Indo-Russian relations refer to the bilateral relations between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation. During the Cold War, India and the Soviet Union (USSR) enjoyed a strong strategic, military, economic and diplomatic relationship**.** After the collapse of the USSR, Russia inherited the close relationship with India, even as India improved its relations with the West after the end of the Cold War.

A cordial relationship with India that began in the 1950s represented the most successful of the Soviet attempts to foster closer relations with Third World countries. The relationship began with a visit by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union in June 1955 and Khrushchev's return trip to India in the fall of 1955. While in India, Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union supported Indian sovereignty over the disputed territory of the Kashmir region and over Portuguese coastal enclaves, e.g. Goa.

The Soviet Union's strong relations with India had a negative impact upon both Soviet relations with the People's Republic of China, including Indian relations with the PRC, during the Khrushchev period. The Soviet Union declared its neutrality during the 1959 border dispute and the Sino-Indian war of October 1962, although the Chinese strongly objected. The Soviet Union gave India substantial economic and military assistance during the Khrushchev period, and by 1960 India had received more Soviet assistance than China had. This disparity became another point of contention in Sino-Soviet relations. In 1962 the Soviet Union agreed to transfer technology to co-produce the Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21 jet fighter in India, which the Soviet Union had earlier denied to China.

In 1965 the Soviet Union served successfully as peace broker between India and Pakistan after an Indian-Pakistani border war. The Soviet Chairman of the Council of Ministers, literally Premier of the Soviet Union, Alexei Kosygin, met with representatives of India and Pakistan and helped them negotiate an end to the military conflict over Kashmir.

In 1971 the former East Pakistan region initiated an effort to secede from its political union with West Pakistan. India supported the secession and, as a guarantee against possible Chinese entrance into the conflict on the side of West Pakistan, it signed with the Soviet Union, the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. In December, India entered the conflict and ensured the victory of the secessionists and the establishment of the new state of Bangladesh.

Relations between the Soviet Union and India did not suffer much during the rightist Janata Party's coalition government in the late 1970s, although India did move to establish better economic and military relations with Western countries. To counter these efforts by India to diversify its relations, the Soviet Union proffered additional weaponry and economic assistance.

During the 1980s, despite the 1984 assassination by separatists of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the mainstay of cordial Indian-Soviet relations, India maintained a close relationship with the Soviet Union. Indicating the high priority of relations with the Soviet Union in Indian foreign policy, the new Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, visited the Soviet Union on his first state visit abroad in May 1985 and signed two long-term economic agreements with the Soviet Union. In turn, Gorbachev's first visit to a Third World state was his meeting with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi in late 1986. Mikhail Gorbachev unsuccessfully urged Gandhi to help the Soviet Union set up an Asian collective security system. Gorbachev's advocacy of this proposal, which had also been made by Leonid Brezhnev, was an indication of continuing Soviet interest in using close relations with India as a means of containing China. With the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations in the late 1980s, containing China had less of a priority, but close relations with India remained important as an example of Gorbachev's new Third World policy.

The first major political initiative, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, between India and Russia began with the Strategic Partnership signed between the two countries in 2000. President Vladimir Putin stated in an article written by him in the Hindu, "The Declaration on Strategic Partnership between India and Russia signed in October 2000 became a truly historic step"

Both countries closely collaborate on matters of shared national interest these include at the UN,BRICS, G20 and SCO where India has observer status and has been asked by Russia to become a full member. Russia also strongly supports India receiving a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. In addition, Russia has vocally backed India joining the NSG and APEC. Moreover, it has also expressed interest in joining SAARC with observer status in which India is a founding member.

The Indo-Russian Inter-Governmental Commission (IRIGC) is the main body that conducts affairs at the governmental level between both countries. Some have described it as the steering committee of Indo-Russia relations. t is divided into two parts, the first covering Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Co-operation. This is normally co-chaired by the Russian Deputy Prime Minister and the Indian External Affairs

Minister. The second part of the commission covers Military Technical Co-operation this is co-chaired by the two countries respective Defence Ministers. Both parts of IRIGC meet annually. In addition, to the IRIGC there are other bodies that conduct economic relations between the two countries. These include, the Indo-Russian Forum on Trade and Investment, the India-Russia Business Council, the India-Russia Trade, Investment and Technology Promotion Council and the India-Russia Chamber of Commerce.

Military relationship

Defence relations between India and the Russian Federation have a historical perspective. The Soviet Union was an important supplier of defence equipment for several decades, and that relationship was inherited by Russia after the break-up of the Soviet Union. In 1997, Russian and India signed a ten-year agreement for further military-technical cooperation. That agreement encompassed a wide range of activities, including the purchase of completed weaponry, joint development and production, and joint marketing of armaments and military technologies

An Inter-Governmental commission on military-technical co-operation is co-chaired by the defence ministers of the two countries. The seventh session of this Inter-Governmental Commission was held in October 2007 in Moscow. During the visit, an agreement on joint development and production of prospective multi-role fighters was signed between the two countries.

An India–Russia co-operation agreement was signed in December 1988. It has resulted in the sale of a multitude of defence equipment to India and also the emergence of the countries as development partners as opposed to purely a buyer-seller relationship. Two programmes that evidence this approach are the projects to form Indian-Russian joint ventures to develop and produce the Fifth Generation Fighter Aircraft (FGFA) and the Multirole Transport Aircraft (MTA). The agreement is pending a 10-year extension.

Russia, is working for the development of the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant, that will be capable of producing 1000 MW of electricity. Gazprom, is working for the development of oil and natural gas, in the Bay of Bengal. India and Russia, have collaborated extensively, on space technology. Other areas of collaboration include software, ayurveda, etc. India and Russia, have set a determination in increasing trade to $10 billion.

Cooperation between clothing manufacturers of the two countries continues to strengthen. India and Russia signed an agreement on joint efforts to increase investment and trade volumes in the textile industry in both countries. In signing the document included representatives of the Russian Union of Entrepreneurs of Textile and Light Industry Council and apparel

exports of India (AEPC). A cooperation agreement provides, inter alia, exchange of technology and know-how in textile production. For this purpose, a special Commission on Affairs textile (Textile Communication Committee).

Counter-terrorism techniques are also in place between Russia and India.From 7 August 2014 India and Russia will hold a joint counter-terrorism exercise near Moscow boundary with China and Mongolia. It will involve the use of tanks and armored vehicles.

During the 2014 Crimean crisis India refused to support American sanctions against Russia and one of India's national security advisers Shivshankar Menon was reported to have said "There are legitimate Russian and other interests involved and we hope they are discussed and resolved.

India and Russia have so far conducted three rounds of INDRA exercises. The first exercise was carried out in 2005 in Rajasthan, followed by Prshkov in Russia. The third exercise was conducted at Chaubattia in Kumaon hills in October 2010.

On President Putin’s arrival in Delhi Prime Minister Modi tweeted that “times have changed but our friendship has not“ and he looks forward to having a “productive visit that will take Indo-Russian ties to newer heights“, suggesting that he was ready to take forward our special and privileged strategic partnership without succumbing to any outside pressure**.**

During the summit both sides expressed confidence that a strong bilateral strategic partnership advances the national interests of the two countries and contributes to a more stable and secure world order. The two countries have resolved to strengthen this partnership over the next decade through concrete initiatives in diverse areas and to make a bilateral institutional dialogue architecture more result-oriented and forward-looking. While leaders of both countries would continue to meet on the sidelines of international fora, the annual summit would review the progress and supervise the realisation of the vision of Indo-Russian partnership.

The two countries have expressed their readiness to continue consultations and coordi-nation in multilateral fora such as G-20, EAS, BRICS and RIC. While discussing the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, both sides supported the idea of evolution of an open, balanced and inclusive security architecture in the Asia-Pacific region based on collective efforts, taking into conside-ration the legitimate interests of all states of the region and guided by respect for the norms and principles of international law.

Indeed, all the components of our strategic partnership have received additional impetus as a result of this summit. First of all, a path- breaking

strategic vision document has been signed to bolster our cooperation in the vital nuclear sector. Russia, which has already built two nuclear reactors at Kudankulam, would now build another at least 10 reactors in the next several years, out of which four reactors would be built in the same place in Tamil Nadu and another six would be built in a site that has not been decided so far. Russia has expressed its desire to play a significant role in India's nuclear industry by building altogether 25 reactors in coming years. Here, there are a number of advantages in our cooperation with Russia. First of all, we have traditional cooperation for a number of years. Secondly, unlike the US, Russia does not attach political conditions to cooperation in this major sector. For example, if the US builds a nuclear plant in India and Delhi at any stage decides to go for further nuclear tests, Washington in that case would take back everything from the project. Thirdly, the US has not built a single reactor in the last 12-13 years and apparently lags behind Russia in the area. Fourthly, India and Russia have reached some kind of understanding on India's controversial liability law while the US firmly opposes that. Last but not the least, Russia's reactors are considered the safest in the world.

Russia has started participating in our "Make in India"programme before it was announced by the Modi Government. Such sophisticated military hardware like Sukhoi-30 MKI fighter jets, T-90 tanks, missiles are already being built here for years. President Putin's current visit has resulted in an agreement for production of advanced helicopters in India, which was lauded by Prime Minister Modi. Production of Sukhoi Superjet-100, MS-21passengers aircraft in India are under active discussion by both sides.

On the whole, the fifteenth Indo-Russian summit will go down in the history of bilateral relationship as yet another new milestone, taking the time-tested, all weather, special and privileged strategic partnership to a new level.

CHAPTER – 22
INDIA—CHINA RELATIONS

China and India are two of the world's oldest civilisations and have co-existed in peace for millennia. Cultural and economic relations between China and India date back to ancient times. The Silk Road not only served as a major trade route between India and China, but is also credited for facilitating the spread of Buddhism from India to East Asia

Relations between contemporary China and India have been characterised by border disputes, resulting in three major military — the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Chola incident in 1967, and the 1987 Sino-Indian skirmish.

However, since the late 1980s, both countries have successfully attempted to reignite diplomatic and economic ties. In 2008, China emerged as India's largest trading partner and the two countries have also attempted to extend their strategic and military relations

Despite growing economic and strategic ties, there are several hurdles for India and the PRC to overcome in order to establish favourable relations. Though bilateral trade has continuously grown, India faces massive trade imbalance heavily in favour of China. The two countries have failed to resolve their long-standing border dispute and Indian media outlets have repeatedly reported Chinese military incursions into Indian territory. Both countries have steadily established heavy military infrastructure along border areas. Additionally, India remains wary about China's strong strategic bilateral relations with Pakistan, while China has expressed concerns about Indian military and economic activities in the disputed South China Sea.

The post-cold war era has offered enormous opportunities to New Delhi and Beijing to move in the direction of a productive relationship'. Both countries have realized the imperative need for cooperation in diverse areas, especially in the trade and economic domains, in the long-term interest of peace and stability in Asia as well as for faster economic development and prosperity at home. During Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to China in June 2003, leaders of both countries not only emphasized the categorical need to deepen economic, trade and strategic ties, but also the need to explore a feasible framework for an early settlement of border question, which has been a contentious issue for more than four decades.

During the 1950's the relations between India and China were flowery, based on the peaceful coexistence, but the Tibet issue, followed by a border

dispute poisoned the climate of Sino-Indian entente cordiale. Nehru's policy of no-dispute and no-negotiation policies finally led to a border war in 1962. From then on, Sino-Indian relations entered an era of cold war which lasted nearly 20 years.

In late 1967, there were two skirmishes between Indian and Chinese forces in Sikkim. The first one was dubbed the "Nathu La incident", and the other the "Chola incident". Prior to these incidents had been the Naxalbari uprising in India by the Communist Naxalites and Maoists

However during the era of Rajiv Gandhi (1988), the tension between the two countries was minimized and initiatives were taken for improvement in the relations. Since the end of cold war the relations between the two countries has steadily improved, and also strengthened in various fields of mutual interest. The continuous visits between the heads of state and officials have strengthened the relations and various issues including the border issue haves been in the discussion for resolution by mutual cooperation.

India—China relations have undergone dramatic changes over the past five decades, ranging from the 1950's with a deep hostility in the 1960's and 1970's to a rapprochement in the 1980's and a readjustment since the demise of Soviet Union.

The occupation of Tibet by China in 1950 upset Nehru very much but in 1954 India and China signed a treaty in which India recognized the rights of China over Tibet. Both the countries became party to Panchsheel and in the Bandung Conference of 1959; Nehru took measures to project China and Chou Enlai.

In 1954, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou- en-lai, had signed the "Panchsheel" agreement.

They adopted five principles:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Mutual non-aggression.
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
4. Equality and mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful coexistence.

In spite of this, in 1962, China attacked India in the Northeast and occupied a part of Indian Territory. The war ended soon but relations between India and China remained strained for a long time to come.

In 1959, a revolt took place in Tibet and Dalai Lama with his followers fled to India. Dalai Lama was given asylum in India and he was strictly warned not to carry out political activities on the Indian soil. Despite our efforts to stop

the Dalai Lama from such activities, the Chinese were unhappy and in October 1959, the Chinese opened fire on Indian patrol near Kongalca pass in Ladakh. Since then relations were strained and on 8 September 1962, the Chinese army attacked the Thagla ridge and dislodged Indian troops. A week later, the Chinese army launched a huge attack and overran Indian posts in the eastern sector of NEFA or the present day Arunachal Pradesh.

In August 1971, India signed its Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Co-operation with the Soviet Union, and the United States and the PRC sided with Pakistan in its December. Although China strongly condemned India, it did not carry out its veiled threat to intervene on Pakistan's behalf. By this time, the PRC had just replaced the Republic of China in the UN where its representatives denounced India as being a "tool of Soviet expansionism."

India and the PRC renewed efforts to improve relations after Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress party lost the 1977 elections to Morarji Desai's Janata Party. The new Desai government sought to improve long-strained relations with India and the PRC. In 1978, the Indian Minister of External Affairs Atal Bihari Vajpayee made a landmark visit to Beijing, and both countries officially re-established diplomatic relations in 1979. The PRC modified its pro-Pakistan stand on Kashmir and appeared willing to remain silent on India's absorption of Sikkim and its special advisory relationship with Bhutan. The PRC's leaders agreed to discuss the boundary issue, India's priority, as the first step to a broadening of relations. The two countries hosted each other's news agencies, and Mount Kailash andMansarowar Lake in Tibet, the mythological home of the Hindu pantheon, were opened to annual pilgrimages.

In 1984, squads of Indian soldiers began actively patrolling the Sumdorong Chu Valley in Arunachal Pradesh (formerly NEFA), which is north of the McMahon Line as drawn on the Simla Treaty map but south of the ridge which Indian claims is meant to delineate the McMahon Line. The Sumdorong Chu valley "seemed to lie to the north of the McMahon line; but is south of the highest ridge in the area, and the McMahon line is meant to follow the highest points" according to the Indian claims, whilst the Chinese did not recognise the McMahon Line as legitimate and were not prepared to accept an Indian claim line even further north than that. The Indian team left the area before the winter. In the winter of 1986, the Chinese deployed their troops to the Sumdorong Chu before the Indian team could arrive in the summer and built a Helipad at Wandung. Surprised by the Chinese occupation, India's then Chief of Army Staff, General K.Sundarji, airlifted a brigade to the region. Chinese troops could not move any further into the valley and were forced to move

sideways along the Thag La ridge, away from the valley.

By 1987, Beijing's reaction was similar to that in 1962 and this prompted many Western diplomats to predict war. However, Indian foreign minister N.D. Tiwari and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi travelled to Beijing over the following months to negotiate a mutual de-escalation.

After the Huang visit, India and the PRC held eight rounds of border negotiations between December 1981 and November 1987. These talks initially raised hopes that progress could be made on the border issue. However, in 1985 the PRC stiffened its position on the border and insisted on mutual concessions without defining the exact terms of its "package proposal" or where the actual line of control lay. In 1986 and 1987, the negotiations achieved nothing, given the charges exchanged between the two countries of military encroachment in the Sumdorung Chu Valley of the Tawang tract on the eastern sector of the border. China's construction of a military post and helicopter pad in the area in 1986 and India's grant of statehood to Arunachal Pradesh (formerly the North-East Frontier Agency) in February 1987 caused both sides to deploy new troops to the area, raising tensions and fears of a new border war. The PRC relayed warnings that it would "teach India a lesson" if it did not cease "nibbling" at Chinese territory. By the summer of 1987, however, both sides had backed away from conflict and denied that military clashes had taken place.

A warming trend in relations was facilitated by Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December 1988. The two sides issued a joint communiqué that stressed the need to restore friendly relations on the basis of the Panch Shila and noted the importance of the first visit by an Indian prime minister to China since Nehru's 1954 visit. India and the People's Republic of China agreed to broaden bilateral ties in various areas, working to achieve a "fair and reasonable settlement while seeking a mutually acceptable solution" to the border dispute. The communiqué also expressed China's concern about agitation by Tibetan separatists in India and reiterated China's position that Tibet was an integral part of China and that anti-China political activities by expatriate Tibetans was not to be tolerated. Rajiv Gandhi signed bilateral agreements on science and technology co-operation, on civil aviation to establish direct air links, and on cultural exchanges. The two sides also agreed to hold annual diplomatic consultations between foreign ministers, and to set up a joint ministerial committee on economic and scientific co-operation and a joint working group on the boundary issue. The latter group was to be led by the Indian foreign secretary and the Chinese vice minister of foreign affairs.

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However, as the year progressed the long-standing border dispute was eased as a result of bilateral pledges to reduce troop levels and to respect the cease-fire line along the India-China border. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Premier Li Peng signed the border agreement and three other agreements, primarily dealing with cross-border trade, and on increased cooperation on environmental issued (e.g. Pollution, Animal extinction, Global Warming, etc.)

Talks were held in New Delhi in February 1994 aimed at confirming established "confidence-building measures" and discussing clarification of the "line of actual control", reduction of armed forces along the line, and prior information about forthcoming military exercises. China's hope for settlement of the boundary issue was reiterated.

The 1993 Chinese military visit to India was reciprocated by Indian army chief of staff General B. C. Joshi. During talks in Beijing in July 1994, the two sides agreed that border problems should be resolved peacefully through "mutual understanding and concessions." The border issue was raised in September 1994 when PRC minister of national defence Chi Haotian visited New Delhi for extensive talks with high-level Indian trade and defence officials. Further talks in New Delhi in March 1995 by the India-China Expert Group led to an agreement to set up two additional points of contact along the 4,000 km border to facilitate meetings between military personnel. The two sides also were reported as "seriously engaged" in defining the McMahon Line

and the line of actual control vis-à-vis military exercises and prevention of air intrusion. Talks in Beijing in July 1995 aimed at better border security and combating cross-border crimes and in New Delhi in August 1995 on additional troop withdrawals from the border made further progress in reducing tensions.

Sino-Indian relations hit a low point in 1998 following India's nuclear tests in May. Indian Defence Minister George Fernandez declared that "China is India's number one threat", hinting that India developed nuclear weapons in defence against China's nuclear arsenal. In 1998, China was one of the strongest international critics of India's nuclear tests and entry into the nuclear club. During the 1999 Kargil War China voiced support for Pakistan, but also counseled Pakistan to withdraw its forces.

Nathu La was re-opened in 2006 following numerous bilateral trade agreements. The opening of the pass is expected to bolster the economy of the region and play a key role in the growing Sino-Indian trade.

With Indian President K. R. Narayanan's visit to China, 2000 marked a gradual re-engagement of Indian and Chinese diplomacy.

In 2002, Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji reciprocated by visiting India, with a focus on economic issues. 2003 ushered in a marked improvement in Sino-Indian relations following Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's landmark June 2003 visit to China. China officially recognised Indian sovereignty over Sikkim as the two countries moved towards resolving their border disputes**.**

2004 also witnessed a gradual improvement in the international area when the two countries proposed opening up theNathula and Jelepla Passes in Sikkim which would be mutually beneficial to both countries.

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao paid an official visit to India from 15–17 December 2010 at the invitation of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

In April 2011, during the BRICS summit in Sanya, Hainan, China the two countries agreed to restore defence co-operation and China had hinted that it may reverse its policy of administering stapled visas to residents of Jammu and Kashmir. This practice was later stopped,and as a result, defence ties were resumed between the two countries and joint military drills were expected.

In the 2012 BRICS summit in New Delhi, India, Chinese President Hu Jintao told Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh that "it is China's unswerving policy to develop Sino-Indian friendship, deepen strategic cooperation and seek common development" and "China hopes to see a peaceful, prosperous and continually developing India and is committed to building more dynamic China-India relationship". Other topics were discussed,

including border dispute problems and a unified BRICS central bank.

In response to India's test of a missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead to Beijing, the PRC called for the two countries to "cherish the hard-earned momentum of co-operation"

A three-week standoff between Indian and Chinese troops in close proximity to each other and the Line of Actual Control between Jammu and Kashmir's Ladakhregion and Aksai Chin was defused on 5 May 2013, days before a trip by Indian Foreign Minister Salman Khurshid to China; Khurshid said that both countries had a shared interest in not having the border issue exacerbate or "destroy" long-term progress in relations. The Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops in exchange for an Indian agreement to demolish several "live-in bunkers" 250 km to the south in the disputed Chumar sector.

Chinese Premier Li Keqiang made his first foreign visit to India on 18 May 2013 in a bid to resolve border disputes and to stimulate economic relations. According to Mr. Li, there were three main reasons for his visit. First was to increase diplomatic co-operation. Second was to cement relations in trade and other areas and finally to formulate strategy for common prosperous future.

In September 2014 the relationship took a sting as troops of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) have reportedly entered two kilometers inside the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Chumar sector. The next month, V. K. Singh said that China and India had come to a "convergence of views" on the threat of terrorism emanating from Pakistan.

Despite gloomy predictions about the inevitability of competition between China and India, cooperation between Asia's two emerging powers is possible. It, will however, require a much more concerted effort to bridge the gap in socio-cultural understanding that existed between them, there remains a fundamental lack of appreciation on the part of each country of the underlying cultural and societal norms that define the other—norms that influence each country's perception of its own national interest.By far the most vexing issue has been the demarcation and resolution of the boundary line denoting the border between the two countries. To further complicate the issue, while there appears to be a tacit understanding of mutual respecting a notional Line of Actual Control (LAC) between the two countries, there has been precious little achieved in terms of actually defining this LAC on the ground.

Model Questions

1. Explain India's foreign policy towards China and evaluate its merits and demerits.

CHAPTER – 23
WORLD WAR I (1914–1918)

World War 1 occurred between July 1914 and November 11, 1918. By the end of the war, over 17 million people would be killed including over 100,000 American troops. The reason why war erupted is actually much more complicated than a simple list of causes. While there was a chain of events that directly led to the fighting, the actual root causes are much deeper and part of continued debate and discussion. This list is an overview of the most popular reasons that are cited as the root causes of World War 1.

1. Mutual Defense Alliances

Over time, countries throughout Europe made mutual defense agreements that would pull them into battle. These treaties meant that if one country was attacked, allied countries were bound to defend them. Before World War 1, the following alliances existed:

- Russia and Serbia
- Germany and Austria-Hungary
- France and Russia
- Britain and France and Belgium
- Japan and Britain

Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, Russia got involved to defend Serbia. Germany seeing Russia mobilizing, declared war on Russia. France was then drawn in against Germany and Austria-Hungary. Germany attacked France through Belgium pulling Britain into war. Then Japan entered the war. Later, Italy and the United States would enter on the side of the allies.

2. Imperialism

Imperialism is when a country increases their power and wealth by bringing additional territories under their control. Before World War 1, Africa and parts of Asia were points of contention amongst the European countries. This was especially true because of the raw materials these areas could provide. The increasing competition and desire for greater empires led to an increase in confrontation that helped push the world into World War I.

3. Militarism

As the world entered the 20th century, an arms race had begun. By 1914, Germany had the greatest increase in military buildup. Great Britain and Germany both greatly increased their navies in this time period. Further, in Germany and Russia particularly, the military establishment began to have a

greater influence on public policy. This increase in militarism helped push the countries involved to war.

4. Nationalism

Much of the origin of the war was based on the desire of the Slavic peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina to no longer be part of Austria Hungary but instead be part of Serbia. In this way, nationalism led directly to the War. But in a more general way, the nationalism of the various countries throughout Europe contributed not only to the beginning but the extension of the war in Europe. Each country tried to prove their dominance and power.

5. Immediate Cause: Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

The immediate cause of World War I that made the aforementioned items come into play (alliances, imperialism, militarism, nationalism) was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary. In June 1914, a Serbian-nationalist terrorist group called the Black Hand sent groups to assassinate the Archduke. Their first attempt failed when a driver avoided a grenade thrown at their car. However, later that day a Serbian nationalist named Gavrilo Princip assassinated him and his wife while they were in Sarajevo, Bosnia which was part of Austria-Hungary. This was in protest to Austria-Hungary having control of this region. Serbia wanted to take over Bosnia and Herzegovina. This assassination led to Austria-Hungary declaring war on Serbia. When Russia began to mobilize due to its alliance with Serbia, Germany declared war on Russia. Thus began the expansion of the war to include all those involved in the mutual defense alliances.

EUROPE BY 1914

Almost exactly a century before, a meeting of the European states at the Congress of Vienna had established an international order and balance of power that lasted for almost a century. By 1914, however, a multitude of forces were threatening to tear it apart. The Balkan Peninsula, in southeastern Europe, was a particularly tumultuous region: Formerly under the control of the Ottoman Empire, its status was uncertain by the late 1800s, as the weakened Turks continued their slow withdrawal from Europe. Order in the region depended on the cooperation of two competing powers, Russia and Austria-Hungary. The slumping Austria-Hungary–in which small minorities (Germans in Austria, Magyars in Hungary) attempted to control large populations of restless Slavs–worried for its future as a great power, and in 1908 it annexed the twin Balkan provinces of Bosnia-Herzogovina. This grab for territory and control angered the independent Balkan nation of Serbia–who considered Bosnia a Serb homeland–as well as Slavic Russia.Upstart Serbia then doubled its territory in back-to-back Balkan wars (1912 and 1913), further threatening

Austro-Hungarian supremacy in the region. Meanwhile, Russia had entered into an alliance with France–angry over German annexation of their lands in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71–and Great Britain, whose legendary naval dominance was threatened by Germany's growing navy. This Triple Entente, squared off against the German-Austro-Hungarian alliance, meant that any regional conflict had the potential to turn into a general European war.

World War I commenced in August 1914 after a series of events sparked by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria. Initially arranged in two alliances, the Triple Entente (Britain, France, Russia) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman Empire), the war soon drew in numerous other countries and was fought on a global scale. The largest conflict in history to date, World War I killed over 15 million people and devastated large parts of Europe.

1914: Opening Campaigns

With the outbreak of hostilities, Germany sought to utilize the Schlieffen Plan which called for a quick victory against France so that troops could be moved east to fight Russia. The first step of this plan called for German troops to move through Belgium. This action led to Britain entering the conflict as it was obligated by treaty to defend the small nation. In the resulting fighting, the Germans nearly reached Paris, but were halted at the Battle of the Marne. In the east, Germany won a stunning victory over the Russians at Tannenberg, while the Serbs threw back an Austrian invasion of their country. Though beaten by the Germans, the Russians won a key victory over the Austrians as the Battle of Galicia.

1915: A Stalemate Ensues

With the beginning of trench warfare on the Western Front, Britain and France sought to break through the German lines. Wishing to focus its attention on Russia, Germany launched only limited attacks in the west where they debuted the use of poison gas. In an effort to break the stalemate, Britain and France conducted major offensive operations at Neuve Chapelle, Artois, Champagne, and Loos. In each case, no breakthrough occurred and casualties were heavy. Their cause was bolstered in May when Italy entered the war on their side. In the east, German forces began operating in concert with the Austrians. Unleashing the Gorlice-Tarnow Offensive in May, they inflicted a severe defeat on the Russians and forced them into a full retreat.

A Global Struggle: The Middle East & Africa

While the armies clashed in Europe, fighting also raged across the belligerents' colonial empires. In Africa, British, French, and Belgian forces

captured the German colonies of Togoland, Kamerun, and South-West Africa. Only in German East Africa was a successful defense mounted, where Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck's men held out for the duration of the conflict. In the Middle East, British forces clashed with the Ottoman Empire. After the failed campaign at Gallipoli, the primary British efforts came through Egypt and Mesopotamia. After victories at Romani and Gaza, British troops pushed into Palestine and won the key Battle of Megiddo. Other campaigns in the region included fighting in the Caucasus and the Arab Revolt.

1917: America Joins the Fight

Despite its reluctance to directly involve itself in continental European affairs, the United States provided substantial loans to the Allies, but only entered World War I after attacks by German U-boats substantially interfered with U.S. shipping. Their offensive capability spent at Verdun, the Germans opened 1917 by falling back to a strong position known as the Hindenburg Line. The Allied cause was bolstered in April when the United States, angered by Germany's resumption of unrestricted, entered the war. Returning to the offensive, the French were badly repulsed later that month at Chemin des Dames leading some units to mutiny. Forced to carry the load, the British won limited victories at Arras and Messines, but suffered heavily at Passchendaele. Despite some success in 1916, Russia began to collapse internally as revolution broke out and the Communist Bolsheviks came to power. Seeking to exit the war, they signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in early 1918. During the peace conference at Versailles, U.S. attempts to shift international relations to an idealist by President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points,(e.g. Sykes) made during the war and geopolitical horse-trading. The United States benefited from its expanded visibility and role in international commerce but did not sign the treaty or participate in the League of Nations, which was created at the conference. U.S. domestic politics turned against idealist, international policies and the country returned to a more isolationist stance. The United States signed separate peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary in August 1921.

1918: A Battle to the Death

With troops from the Eastern Front freed for service in the west, German General Erich Ludendorff sought to inflict a decisive blow on the tired British and French before American troops could arrive in large numbers. Launching a series of Spring Offensives, the Germans stretched the Allies to brink but were unable to break through. Recovering from the German onslaughts, the Allies counterattacked in August with the Hundred Days Offensive. Slamming into the German lines, the Allies won key victories at Amiens, Meuse-Argonne, and shattered the Hindenburg Line. Forcing the

Germans into full retreat, Allied forces compelled them to seek an armistice on November 11, 1918.

Aftermath: The Seeds of Future Conflict Sown

Opening in January 1919, the Paris Peace Conference was convened to draft the treaties that would officially end the war. Dominated by David Lloyd George (Britain), Woodrow Wilson (US), and Georges Clemenceau (France), the conference re-drew the map of Europe and began to design the postwar world. Having signed the armistice under the belief that they would be able to negotiate a peace, Germany was angered when the Allies dictated the terms of the treaty. Despite the wishes of Wilson, a harsh peace was inflicted on Germany which included a loss of territory, military restrictions, heavy war reparations, and acceptance of sole responsibility for the war. Several of these clauses helped create the circumstance that led to World War II.

CHAPTER - 24
WORLD WAR II (1941–1945)

Causes of World War Two

The causes of World War Two can be divided into long term causes and short term causes. There can be little doubt that one of the long term causes of the war was the anger felt in Weimar Germany that was caused by the Treaty of Versailles. Another long term cause was the obvious inability of the League of Nations to deal with major international issues. In the 1930's these would have been in Manchuria and Abyssinia. In both conflicts the League showed that it was unable to control those powers that worked outside of accepted international law. In the case of Manchuria it was Japan and in Abyssinia it was Mussolini's Italy.

With such apparent weakness, Hitler must have known that at the very least he could push the boundaries and see what he could get away with. His first major transgression was his defiance of the Versailles Treaty when he introduced re-armament into Nazi Germany. The expansion of all three arms of the military was forbidden by treaty. Hitler, however, ignored these restrictions. The world's powers did nothing. The same occurred in 1936 when Nazi Germany re-occupied the Rhineland. Forbidden by Versailles, Hitler felt confident enough to ignore it. Europe's failure to react was also demonstrated when Austria and the Sudetenland were occupied. Only when it became obvious that Hitler was determined to expand east and that what was left of Czechoslovakia and region Poland were to be his next targets, did the major powers of Europe react. Hitler's reference to the Munich Agreement as a "scrap of paper" made clear his intentions. However, in 1938, very many in the UK had supported Neville Chamberlain's attempts at avoiding war (appeasement) and public opinion was on his side. This only changed when it became clear that appeasement had failed and the public rallied to the side of Winston Churchill – the man who had insisted that Chamberlain had taken the wrong course of action.

World War Two began in September 1939 when Britain and France declared war on Germany following Germany's invasion of Poland. Although the outbreak of war was triggered by Germany's invasion of Poland, the causes of the war are more complex.

Effects of the Treaty of Versailles

Many of the seeds of World War II in Europe were sown by the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I. In its final form, the treaty placed full

blame for the war on Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as exacted harsh financial reparations and led to territorial dismemberment. For the German people, who had believed that the armistice had been agreed to based on US President Woodrow Wilson's lenient Fourteen Points, the treaty caused resentment and a deep mistrust of their new government, the Weimar Republic.

The main terms of the Treaty of Versailles were:

- **War Guilt Clause** - Germany should accept the blame for starting World War One.
- **Reparations** - Germany had to pay 6,600 million pounds for the damage caused by the war**.**
- **Disarmament** - Germany was only allowed to have a small army and six naval ships. No tanks, no airforce and no submarines were allowed. The Rhineland area was to be de-militarized.
- **Territorial Clauses** - Land was taken away from Germany and given to other countries. Anschluss (union with Austria) was forbidden.

The need to pay war reparations, coupled with the instability of the government, contributed to massive hyperinflation which crippled the German economy. This situation was made worse by the onset of the Great Depression

The German people were very unhappy about the treaty and thought that it was too harsh. Germany could not afford to pay the money and during the 1920s the people in Germany were very poor. There were not many jobs and the price of food and basic goods was high. People were dissatisfied with the government and voted to power a man who promised to rip up the Treaty of Versailles. His name was Adolf Hitler.

Rise of Fascism & the Nazi Party

In 1922, Benito Mussolini and the Fascist Party rose to power in Italy. Believing in a strong central government and strict control of industry and the people, Fascism was a reaction to the perceived failure of free market economics and a deep fear of communism. Highly militaristic, Fascism also was driven by a sense of belligerent nationalism that encouraged conflict as a means of social improvement.

By 1935, Mussolini was able to make himself the dictator of Italy and transformed the country into a police state. To the north in Germany, Fascism was embraced by the National Socialist German Workers Party, also known as the Nazis. Swiftly rising to power in the late 1920s, the Nazis and their charismatic leader, Adolf Hitler, followed the central tenets of Fascism while also advocating for the racial purity of the German people and additional German *Lebensraum* (living space). Playing on the economic distress in

Weimar Germany and backed by their "Brown Shirts" militia, the Nazis became a political force. On January 30, 1933, Hitler was placed in position to take power when he was appointed Reich Chancellor by President Paul von Hindenburg

The Nazis Assume Power

A month after Hitler assumed the Chancellorship, the Reichstag building burned. Blaming the fire on the Communist Party of Germany, Hitler used the incident as an excuse to ban those political parties that opposed Nazi policies. On March 23, 1933, the Nazis essentially took control of the government by passing the Enabling Acts. Meant to be an emergency measure, the acts gave the cabinet (and Hitler) the power to pass legislation without the approval of the Reichstag. Hitler next moved to consolidate his power and executed a purge of the party (The Night of the Long Knives) to eliminate those who could threaten his position. With his internal foes in check, Hitler began the persecution of those who were deemed racial enemies of the state. In September 1935, he passed the Nuremburg Laws which stripped Jews of their citizenship and forbade marriage or sexual relations between a Jew and an "Aryan." Three years later the first pogrom began (Night of Broken Glass) in which over one hundred Jews were killed and 30,000 arrested and sent to concentration camps.

Hitler's Actions

Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in January 1933. Almost immediately he began secretly building up Germany's army and weapons. In 1934 he increased the size of the army, began building warships and created a German airforce. Compulsory military service was also introduced.

Although Britain and France were aware of Hitler's actions, they were also concerned about the rise of Communism and believed that a stronger Germany might help to prevent the spread of Communism to the West.

In 1936 Hitler ordered German troops to enter the Rhineland. At this point the German army was not very strong and could have been easily defeated. Yet neither France nor Britain was prepared to start another war.

Hitler also made two important alliances during 1936. The first was called the Rome-Berlin Axis Pact and allied Hitler's Germany with Mussolini's Italy. The second was called the Anti-Comitern Pact and allied Germany with Japan.

Hitler's next step was to begin taking back the land that had been taken away from Germany. In March 1938, German troops marched into Austria. The Austrian leader was forced to hold a vote asking the people whether they

wanted to be part of Germany.

The results of the vote were fixed and showed that 99% of Austrian people wanted Anschluss (union with Germany). The Austrian leader asked Britain, France and Italy for aid. Hitler promised that Anschluss was the end of his expansionist aims and not wanting to risk war, the other countries did nothing.

Hitler did not keep his word and six months later demanded that the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia be handed over to Germany.

Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of Britain, met with Hitler three times during September 1938 to try to reach an agreement that would prevent war. The Munich Agreement stated that Hitler could have the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia provided that he promised not to invade the rest of Czechoslovakia.

Hitler was not a man of his word and in March 1939 invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia. Despite calls for help from the Czechoslovak government, neither Britain nor France was prepared to take military action against Hitler. However, some action was now necessary and believing that Poland would be Hitler's next target, both Britain and France promised that they would take military action against Hitler if he invaded Poland. Chamberlain believed that, faced with the prospect of war against Britain and France, Hitler would stop his aggression. Chamberlain was wrong. German troops invaded Poland on 1st September 1939.

The Annexation

Emboldened by Great Britain and France's reaction to the Rhineland, Hitler began to move forward with a plan to unite all German-speaking peoples under one "Greater German" regime. Again operating in violation of the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler made overtures regarding the annexation of Austria. While these were generally rebuffed by the government in Vienna, Hitler was able to orchestrate a coup by the Austrian Nazi Party on March 11, 1938, one day before a planned plebiscite on the issue. The next day, German troops crossed the border to enforce the *Anschluss* (annexation). A month later the Nazis held a plebiscite on the issue and received 99.73% of the vote. International reaction was again mild, with Great Britain and France issuing protests, but still showing that they were unwilling to take military action.

Failure of Appeasement

Appeasement means giving in to someone provided their demands are seen as reasonable. During the 1930s, many politicians in both Britain and France came to see that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles had placed

restrictions on Germany that were unfair. Hitler's actions were seen as understandable and justifiable.

When Germany began re-arming in 1934, many politicians felt that Germany had a right to re-arm in order to protect herself. It was also argued that a stronger Germany would prevent the spread of Communism to the west.

In 1936, Hitler argued that because France had signed a new treaty with Russia, Germany was under threat from both countries and it was essential to German security that troops were stationed in the Rhineland. France was not strong enough to fight Germany without British help and Britain was not prepared to go to war at this point. Furthermore, many believed that since the Rhineland was a part of Germany it was reasonable that German troops should be stationed there.

In May 1937, Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister of Britain. He believed that the Treaty of Versailles had treated Germany badly and that there were a number of issues associated with the Treaty that needed to be put right. He felt that giving in to Hitler's demands would prevent another war. This policy, adopted by Chamberlain's government became known as the policy of Appeasement.

The most notable example of appeasement was the Munich Agreement of September 1938. The Munich Agreement, signed by the leaders of Germany, Britain, France and Italy, agreed that the Sudetenland would be returned to Germany and that no further territorial claims would be made by Germany. The Czech government was not invited to the conference and protested about the loss of the Sudetenland. They felt that they had been betrayed by both Britain and France with whom alliances had been made. However, the Munich Agreement was generally viewed as a triumph and an excellent example of securing peace through negotiation rather than war. This famous picture shows Chamberlain returning from Munich with the paper signed by Hitler declaring 'Peace in our time.'

When Hitler invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, he broke the terms of the Munich Agreement. Although it was realised that the policy of appeasement had failed, Chamberlain was still not prepared to take the country to war over ".a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing." Instead, he made a guarantee to come to Poland's aid if Hitler invaded Poland.

In late August 1939, Hitler and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin signed the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, which incited a frenzy of worry in London and Paris. Hitler had long planned an invasion of Poland, a nation to which Great Britain and France had guaranteed military support if it was

attacked by Germany. The pact with Stalin meant that Hitler would not face a war on two fronts once he invaded Poland, and would have Soviet assistance in conquering and dividing the nation itself. On September 1, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland from the west; two days later, France and Britain declared war on Germany, beginning World War II.

On September 17, Soviet troops invaded Poland from the east. Under attack from both sides, Poland fell quickly, and by early 1940 Germany and the Soviet Union had divided control over the nation, according to a secret protocol appended to the Nonaggression Pact. Stalin's forces then moved to occupy the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) and defeated a resistant Finland in the Russo-Finish War. During the six months following the invasion of Poland, the lack of action on the part of Germany and the Allies in the west led to talk in the news media of a "phony war." At sea, however, the British and German navies faced off in heated battle, and lethal German U-boat submarines struck at merchant shipping bound for Britain, sinking more than 100 vessels in the first four months of World War II.

World War II in the West (1940-41)

On April 9, 1940, Germany simultaneously invaded Norway and occupied Denmark, and the war began in earnest. On May 10, German forces swept through Belgium and the Netherlands in what became known as "blitzkrieg," or lightning war. Three days later, Hitler's troops crossed the Meuse River and struck French forces at Sedan, located at the northern end of the Maginot Line, an elaborate chain of fortifications constructed after World War I and considered an impenetrable defensive barrier. In fact, the Germans broke through the line with their tanks and planes and continued to the rear, rendering it useless. The British Expeditionary Force (BEF) was evacuated by sea from Dunkirk in late May, while in the south French forces mounted a doomed resistance. With France on the verge of collapse, Benito Mussolini of Italy put his Pact of Steel with Hitler into action, and Italy declared war against France and Britain on June 10.

Hitler now turned his attention to Britain, which had the defensive advantage of being separated from the Continent by the English Channel. To pave the way for an amphibious invasion (dubbed Operation Sea Lion), German planes bombed Britain extensively throughout the summer of 1940, including night raids on London and other industrial centers that caused heavy civilian casualties and damage. The Royal Air Force (RAF) eventually defeated the Luftwaffe (German Air Force) in the Battle of Britain, and Hitler postponed his plans to invade. With Britain's defensive resources pushed to the limit, Prime Minister Winston Churchill began receiving crucial aid from the

U.S. under the Lend-Lease Act, passed by Congress in early 1941.

Operation Barbarossa (1941-42)

By early 1941, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria had joined the Axis, and German troops overran Yugoslavia and Greece that April. Hitler's conquest of the Balkans was a precursor for his real objective: an invasion of the Soviet Union, whose vast territory would give the German master race the "Lebensraum" it needed. The other half of Hitler's strategy was the extermination of the Jews from throughout German-occupied Europe.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler ordered the invasion of the Soviet Union, codenamed Operation Barbarossa. Though Soviet tanks and aircraft greatly outnumbered the Germans', their air technology was largely obsolete, and the impact of the surprise invasion helped Germans get within 200 miles of Moscow by mid-July. Arguments between Hitler and his commanders delayed the next German advance until October, when it was stalled by a Soviet counteroffensive and the onset of harsh winter weather.

World War II in the Pacific (1941-43)

With Britain facing Germany in Europe, the United States was the only nation capable of combating Japanese aggression, which by late 1941 included an expansion of its ongoing war with China and the seizure of European colonial holdings in the Far East. On December 7, 1941, 360 Japanese aircraft attacked the major U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, taking the Americans completely by surprise and claiming the lives of more than 2,300 troops. The attack on Pearl Harbor served to unify American public opinion in favor of entering World War II, and on December 8 Congress declared war on Japan with only one dissenting vote. Germany and the other Axis Powers promptly declared war on the United States.

After a long string of Japanese victories, the U.S. Pacific Fleet won the Battle of Midway in June 1942, which proved to be a turning point in the war. On Guadalcanal, one of the southern Solomon Islands, the Allies also had success against Japanese forces in a series of battles from August 1942 to February 1943, helping turn the tide further in the Pacific. In mid-1943, Allied naval forces began an aggressive counterattack against Japan, involving a series of amphibious assaults on key Japanese-held islands in the Pacific. This "island-hopping" strategy proved successful, and Allied forces moved closer to their ultimate goal of invading the Japanese homeland.

Allied victory in World War II (1943-45)

In North Africa, British and American forces had defeated the Italians and Germans by 1943. An Allied invasion of Sicily and Italy followed, and

Mussolini's government fell in July 1943, though Allied fighting against the Germans in Italy would continue until 1945.

On World War II's Eastern Front, a Soviet counteroffensive launched in November 1942 ended the bloody Battle of Stalingrad, which had seen some of the fiercest combat of the war. The approach of winter, along with dwindling food and medical supplies, spelled the end for German troops there, and the last of them surrendered on January 31, 1943.

On June 6, 1944–celebrated as "D-Day"–the Allied began a massive invasion of Europe, landing 156,000 British, Canadian and American soldiers on the beaches of Normandy, France. In response, Hitler poured all the remaining strength of his army into Western Europe, ensuring Germany's defeat in the east. Soviet troops soon advanced into Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania, while Hitler gathered his forces to drive the Americans and British back from Germany in the Battle (December 1944-January 1945), the last major German offensive of the war. An intensive aerial bombardment in February 1945 preceded the Allied land invasion of Germany, and by the time Germany formally surrendered on May 8, Soviet forces had occupied much of the country. Hitler was already dead, having committed suicide on April 30 in his Berlin bunker.

World War II Ends (1945)

At the Potsdam Conference of July-August 1945, U.S. President Harry S. Truman (who had taken office after Roosevelt's death in April), Churchill and Stalin discussed the ongoing war with Japan as well as the peace settlement with Germany. Post-war Germany would be divided into four occupation zones, to be controlled by the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States and France. On the divisive matter of Eastern Europe's future, Churchill and Truman acquiesced to Stalin, as they needed Soviet cooperation in the war against Japan. Heavy casualties sustained in the campaigns at Iwo Jima (February 1945) and Okinawa (April-June 1945), and fears of the even costlier land invasion of Japan led Truman to authorize the use of a new and devastating weapon–the atomic bomb–on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in early August. On August 10, the Japanese government issued a statement declaring they would accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, and on September 2, U.S. General Douglas MacArthur accepted Japan's formal surrender aboard the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay.

World War II proved to be the most devastating international conflict in history, taking the lives of some 35 to 60 million people, including 6 million Jews who died at the hands of the Nazis. Millions more were injured, and still more lost their homes and property. The legacy of the war would include the

spread of communism from the Soviet Union into Eastern Europe as well as its eventual triumph in China, and the global shift in power from Europe to two rival superpowers–the United States and the Soviet Union–that would soon face off against each other in the Cold War.

Failure of the League of Nations

The League of Nations was an international organisation set up in 1919 to help keep world peace. It was intended that all countries would be members of the League and that if there were disputes between countries they could be settled by negotiation rather than by force. If this failed then countries would stop trading with the aggressive country and if that failed then countries would use their armies to fight. In theory the League of Nations was a good idea and did have some early successes. But ultimately it was a failure.

The whole world was hit by a depression in the late 1920s. A depression is when a country's economy falls. Trade is reduced, businesses lose income, prices fall and unemployment rises.

In 1931, Japan was hit badly by the depression. People lost faith in the government and turned to the army to find a solution. The army invaded Manchuria in China, an area rich in minerals and resources. China appealed to the League for help. The Japanese government was told to order the army to leave Manchuria immediately. However, the army took no notice of the government and continued its conquest of Manchuria.

The League then called for countries to stop trading with Japan but because of the depression many countries did not want to risk losing trade and did not agree to the request. The League then made a further call for Japan to withdraw from Manchuria but Japan's response was to leave the League of Nations.

In October 1935, Italy invaded Abyssinia. The Abyssinians did not have the strength to withstand an attack by Italy and appealed to the League of Nations for help.

The League condemned the attack and called on member states to impose trade restrictions with Italy. However, the trade restrictions were not carried out because they would have little effect. Italy would be able to trade with non-member states, particularly America. Furthermore, Britain and France did not want to risk Italy making an attack on them.

In order to stop Italy's aggression, the leaders of Britain and France held a meeting and decided that Italy could have two areas of land in Abyssinia provided that there were no further attacks on the African country. Although Mussolini accepted the plan, there was a public outcry in Britain and the plan

was dropped.

The main reasons for the failure of the League of Nations can be summarised into the following points:

1. Although the idea for the League of Nations had come from Woodrow Wilson, there was a change of government in the United States before the signing of the treaty and the new Republican government refused to join. As a punishment for having started World War One, Germany was not allowed to join and Russia was also excluded due to a growing fear of Communism. Other countries decided not to join and some joined but later left.
2. The main weapon of the League was to ask member countries to stop trading with an aggressive country. However, this did not work because countries could still trade with non-member countries. When the world was hit by depression in the late 1920s countries were reluctant to lose trading partners to other non-member countries.
3. Soldiers were to be supplied by member countries. However, countries were reluctant to get involved and risk provoking an aggressive country into taking direct action against them and failed to provide troops.
4. The Council of the League of Nations only met four times a year and decisions had to be agreed by all nations. When countries called for the League to intervene, the League had to set up an emergency meeting, hold discussions and gain the agreement of all members. This process meant that the League could not act quickly to stop an act of aggression.

CHAPTER – 25
COLD WAR (1945–1991)

Structure

25.1 Introduction

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25.1 Introduction

The Cold War was a period of economic, political and military tension between the United States and Soviet Union from 1945 to 1991. Following the end of the Second World War, complications arose centering on the shifting of international power. The Soviet Union wanted to acquire additional territory while the United States attempted to limit the gains desired by the Soviets. This battle of ideologies resulted in increased national security, diplomatic tension and proxy wars between the two powerful nations.

The peace that came after the end of Second World War was neither a healthy nor an enduringly effective peace. The possibilities of outbreak of a Third World War were keeping the world under grave stress and strain. Peace in 1945 was a peace under the shadow of war-like tensions and strains because of the emergence of a dangerous cold war between the USA and the USSR.

25.2 Definition of Cold War

Cold War can be defined as a state of intense unhealthy competition—political, economic and ideological—which falls short of an armed conflict between the states. As a concept in international relations, it denotes a state of constant conflict, strains, tensions and strife maintained and perpetuated by political and psychological warfare but without a direct war between the opposing sides.

The term "Cold War" had an American origin and was used for the first time by Bernard Baruch who observed thus on 16 April 1947.

Cold War has been defined by R.K. Garthoff as "the conflict between the Communist Powers and the rest of the world waged by means short of overt major war."

Florence Elliot and Michael Sumer skill have defined Cold War as "a state of tension between countries in which each side adopts policies designed to strengthen itself and weaken the other by falling short of actual war."

According to Hartman, "Cold War is a state of tension between countries in which each side adopts policies designed to strengthen it and weaken the other by falling short by actual war".

In the words of John Foster Dullas, "The cold war was a moral crusade for moral values for good against bad, right against wrong, religion against atheism."

According to K.P.S. Menon Cold war, as the world experienced, was a war between two ideologies (Capitalism and Communism), two systems (Bourgeoisie Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship), two blocs (NATO and Warsaw Pact), two states (the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) and two personalities (John Foster Dulles and Stalin).

In fact, Cold War was basically a war of nerves between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. but its effects were so widespread that the post-war era of international relations came to be known as the era of Cold War.

25.3 Emergence of Cold War

After the end of the Second World War, each of the two super powers (USA and USSR) got engaged in policies, decisions and actions designed to limit and harm the power of the other. The relations between them became highly tense and strained.

There is no unanimity amongst scholars regarding the origin of the Cold War In 1941 when Hitler invaded Russia, Roosevelt the President of USA sent armaments to Russia. It is only because the relationship between Roosevelt and Stalin was very good. But after the defeat of Germany, when Stalin wanted to implement Communist ideology in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, at that time England and America suspected Stalin.

Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of England in his 'Fulton Speech' on 5 March 1946 said that Soviet Russia was covered by an Iron Curtain. It led Stalin to think deeply. As a result of which suspicion became wider between Soviet Russia and western countries and thus the Cold War took birth.

Alliance politics and ideological conflict further acted as a source of additional tensions and disputes which combined to make the international relations a system of cold war. The Cold War continued to remain as a basic feature of international relations between 1945-90, with just one small interval of ten years (1971-80).

25.4 Causes of the Cold War:

1. Historical Causes

Capitalist western countries were in opposition of Soviet Union from 1917, because communism was a word wide movement and its objective was the expansion of the communism and end of capitalism in the world. The Soviet Union Government was established in 1917 but Britain approved it in 1924 and America approved in 1933. The secret security pact that the USSR and Germany concluded in 1939 and the Soviet refusal to join the war against Nazi Germani made the western powers very fearful of the Soviet role in world politics. The growing power of Hitler's Germany and the subsequent German aggression against the Soviet Union on 22nd June 1942 forced the latter to join the Second World War on the side of the allies.

A. General Grievances of the USA i.e. the West against the USSR:

1. Western fear of growing Soviet Power:

Anglo-American nations were dissatisfied with several Soviet decisions during the course of the Second World War. The growing strength of the USSR and the demonstration of its power in the Second World War made the Western powers apprehensive about the growing 'communist menace' in international relations. The war time cooperation between the East and West was a necessary evil and hence, after the war, it was quite natural for the Western powers to work for containing the growing power of the USSR.

2. The Ideological Conflict—Communism Vs. Capitalism:

The communist thesis of the inevitability of conflict between socialism and capitalism, and the final triumph of socialism also made the democratic western states highly apprehensive of the growing strength of the Soviet Union and its policy of exporting socialism to other countries. The differences between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies were the direct product of contradicting ideologies of communism and capitalism.

The ideology of communism advocated that the liquidation of capitalism was the final goal of socialist revolution and for achieving this end, revolution by the workers was the natural and ideal means. Such a negative view of capitalism was strongly opposed to the ideology of liberal democracy and capitalism.

The capitalist countries regarded communism as degraded materialism which involved the destruction of human values of liberty and prosperity. As such opposed ideologies provided the ideological environment that gave rise to a cold war between the USSR-led East and the USA-led West.

3. **Western Fears of growing Socialist Movement:**

After the coming of Socialist Revolution (1917) in the Russia, labour movements became very popular and powerful in almost all the states of Europe. The emergence of socialist parties in various states of Europe and elsewhere greatly alarmed the capitalist states. They felt that socialist movements were really subversive movements as these were guided by the ideology that class interests were stronger than national interests and that workers of the world had no country of their own.

The support that these socialist movements in various countries received from the USSR made the capitalist states annoyed with the USSR. They believed that the USSR was trying to spread subversion in other countries and hence felt justified in undertaking measures designed at limiting the spread of socialist movements and the power of their leader, the USSR.

B. Specific Western Grievances (USA) Against the East (USSR):

There were several specific Western complaints against some decisions and policies of the USSR.

4. **USSR was guilty of violating Yalta Agreements:**

It was felt by the Western powers that the USSR was guilty of violating the agreements reached at the Yalta Conference.

This became evident form:

a. Soviet interferences in the internal affairs of Poland.

b. The arrest of democratic leaders of Poland and the refusal to permit the entry of the U.S. and British observers into Poland.

c. The success of the USSR in securing the establishment of socialist regimes in Eastern European countries—Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. At Yalta, the Western powers had almost accepted the Soviet influence over Eastern and Central Europe, but it had been agreed that after the peace settlement, democratic institutions were to be established in the liberated states.

d. The USSR used its control over Manchuria for helping the communist forces of Mao and refused to help the nationalist army of China to operate against the communist forces. This was again a source of big dissatisfaction with the Soviet role in the war.

5. **USSR's refusal to withdraw its forces from Northern Iran:**

By an agreement of 1942, the USSR and the Western powers had agreed to withdraw their forces from Iran within six months of the surrender of Germany. As agreed, after the war the USA and Britain promptly withdrew their armies from Iran and they expected that the USSR would soon follow

suit. However, the latter was not quite willing to withdraw its forces from Northern Iran. This was totally opposed by Western powers.

6. **USSR's Pressures on Greece:**

The attempts made by the USSR and its camp followers to secure the establishment of leftist and pro-communist or communist governments in Greece and Turkey were also strongly opposed by the Western powers.

7. **Soviet attempts to tame Turkey:**

After the War, the USSR began putting pressure on Turkey and demanded the cession of some Turkish territories for itself. In particular, it wanted to establish a military base at Bospherus. These demands were opposed by Turkey and the Western powers. The U.S.A. came forward to support Turkey in a big way.

8. **Soviet Pressures on Germany:**

The Western powers were strongly of the view that the Soviet Union was deliberately violating the war-time agreements regarding the nature and scope of Allied control over Germany. Soviet policies in East Germany, which was under its control, were considered to be violate of Potsdam agreements.

It was alleged that the USSR was guilty of:

a. Transportation of German machinery to the USSR as a part of reparations;
b. The imprisonment and exiling of German leaders and people;
c. The decision to separate East Germany from West Germany;
d. The forcible assimilation of German Socialist Party with the Communist Party of USSR ;
e. Failure to recognize Germany as a single economic zone;
f. The decision to make Ode-Niese line as the border between Poland and Germany and,
g. Agreement transferring some areas of Germany to Poland.

All these Soviet decisions were strongly opposed by the Western powers.

9. **The Differences over Berlin:**

The nature of the Berlin occupation by the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., the U.K. and the France also acted as a big irritant in post-war East-West relations. The Soviet control over East Berlin and the roads leading into Berlin, and the Anglo- American-French control over the West Berlin, made Berlin a big bone of contention between the USSR and the Western powers.

10. **Frequent Use of Soviet Veto in the UN Security Council:**

The Western powers were greatly disturbed by the frequent use of veto-power by the USSR in the UN Security council.

11. **Differences over Peace Treaties:**

The Western powers were greatly annoyed with the USSR's attempts to secure most favourable conditions during the course of discussions on the peace treaties with the defeated nations of Second World War.

12. **Communist Activities in the U.S.A. and Canada:**

The post-war years witnessed a spurt in communist activities in the U.S.A. and Canada. It came to be widely believed by the people of these two countries that the USSR was behind the increased anti- American and anti-democracy propaganda which was being carried out in various parts of the globe, and particularly in the U.S.A. and Canada.

The belief that the USSR was engaged in widespread espionage activities in Europe and in the American continent, gave further strength to mutual distrust that had come to develop between the East and the West during the 1944-47 period. Because of all these reasons, the Western powers became thoroughly dissatisfied with the behaviour of USSR in international relations.

C. General Soviet Grievances against the USA and Western Powers:

13. **Soviet displeasure over several Western Policies during War:**

The USSR was greatly disturbed and annoyed with several policies and actions of Western powers which, it felt were designed to limit its power and role in international relations. Initially, the Western attempts to encourage a counter revolution in Socialist Russia were strongly disapproved and objected to by the Soviet leadership.

Later on, the Western policy of appeasing Hitler's Germany was interpreted by the Soviet leadership as the Western strategy to build Germany and Italy as a counterpoise to communism. They believed that the Western powers were encouraging Hitler to embark upon a policy of expansionism towards USSR. It concluded a non-aggression security pact with Germany only for checking such a possibility.

D. Specific Grievances of the USSR against the West (USA):

During the period of war several Western decisions were interpreted by the USSR as decisions which were planned with a double motive:

(i) To defeat the Axis powers and

(ii) To weaken the USSR.

E. Specific Western Decisions and Policies strongly disliked by the USSR:

14. The delay in the Opening of Second Front against Germany:

When the German forces were rapidly advancing into the USSR, the Russian leaders believed that there was an urgent need to immediately open a second front against Germany. This alone, felt Stalin, could check the advance of German forces into the USSR and thereby reduce the pressure upon Soviet security.

As against such a view, the Western leaders maintained that it was not possible for them to immediately open a second front against Germany as it required a long and full preparation. Later on, the Western powers agreed to open the second front but in doing so they decided to operate from the Central European side and not from the Western side, as advocated by the USSR. The delay in the opening of second front as well as the Western decision to choose a different area for operations against Germany, greatly annoyed the USSR.

15. Western Relations with Fascist Italy:

The USSR was of the view that the rise of fascism in Italy was backed by the capitalists as they considered it as an effective bulwark against communism. The Western leniency in conducting the peace settlement with Italy and the eagerness shown by the USA, the UK and France in developing relations with fascist Italy made the USSR more convinced that the enemies of communism were out to limit the role of USSR in world politics.

16. Inadequate Western aid to USSR:

USSR was greatly disturbed by the delay and the inadequacy of Western aid during the course of war. She felt that since she was bearing heavy losses due to the big German assault on her, it was the duty of the Western powers to provide adequate help enabling her to withstand and meet the pressure of German attack. However, to her dismay, the Western powers came out to provide only 4% of the requirements of USSR and that too only in a delayed manner. Such a Western policy was considered by the USSR as a deliberate Western attempt to weaken it.

17. Sudden End of Lend-Lease Agreement by the USA:

The American decision to terminate the ‘aid’ that it was giving to the USSR under the Lend-Lease Agreement was strongly disliked by the its leaders. Already the USSR was dissatisfied with the meagre aid that it was getting from the Western powers, and this American decision, which came immediately after the surrender of Germany, added fuel to the fire. The Western opposition to the Soviet demand for huge reparations from defeated

nations further acted as an irritant in the East-West relations.

18. **The American Secrecy over the Atom Bomb:**

The American decision to maintain secrecy over her atomic capability and in respect of the decision to drop atom bombs over Japan without taking the USSR into confidence greatly annoyed the Soviet leaders.

19. **Anti-Soviet Propaganda by Western Press and Leadership:**

Despite the fact that since 1942, the Soviet Union had been a war ally of the Allies, the Western Press and leadership always had kept up their propaganda against communism and Soviet policies. As a war-ally, the USSR expected that Western powers shall refrain from pursuing anti-communist propaganda tirade.

However, the Western press showed no sign of relenting from its professed and active anti-communist role. It kept on talking of the grave threat that communist menace was posing to the free world and that the Soviets were out to transfer the world into a communist world. The USSR felt greatly annoyed with such Western tirades against communism and its policies.

20. **Soviet disapproval of several Western Decisions:**

The increased anti-Soviet propaganda by Western leaders, particularly after 1945, greatly disturbed the Soviet Union. She felt greatly unhappy with Churchill's Fulton speech, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan and the open indictment by the U.S. Senate of the Soviet foreign policy as a policy of aggression and expansionism. All these factors made the Soviet Union greatly dissatisfied with the Western powers.

Due to all these factors Cold War between the USA and USSR came to develop in the international relations of the post-war period. The mutual complaints and grievances of East and West created an environment of distrust and disharmony between the USSR (the EAST) and the USA (the West). The end of the Second World War can be termed as inglorious in so far it gave rise to cold war in international relations.

25.5 History of Cold War from 1945-1971

Mutual fear and distrust among the Western powers and the USSR got manifested in the form of several opposed policies and decisions over several international issues and problems.

In March 1946 British Prime Minister Churchill, in his famous Fulton speech (the Iron Curtain speech), strongly attacked the policies of USSR and role of communist international. He warned that the USSR was out to export communism to different parts of the world, particularly to Greece, Turkey and Iran.

First Phase (1946-1949)

In this phase America and Soviet Russia disbelieved each other. America always tried to control the Red Regime in Russia. Without any hesitation Soviet Russia established Communism by destroying democracy in the Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and other Eastern European Countries.

In order to reduce Russia's hegemony, America helped Greece and Turkey by following Truman Doctrine which came into force on 12 March 1947. According to Marshall Plan which was declared on 5 June 1947 America gave financial assistance to Western European Countries.

In this phase, non-withdrawal of army from Iran by Soviet Russia, Berlin blockade etc. made the cold was more furious. After the formation of NATO in 1949, the Cold War took a halt.

Second Phase (1949-1953):

In this phase a treaty was signed between Australia, New Zealand and America in September 1957 which was known as ANZUS. America also signed a treaty with Japan on 8 September 1951. At that time by taking armaments from Russia and army from China, North Korea declared war against South Korea.

Then with the help of UNO, America sent military aid to South Korea. However, both North Korea and South Korea signed peace treaty in 1953 and ended the war. In order to reduce the impact of Soviet Communism, America spent a huge amount of dollar in propaganda against Communism. On the other hand, Soviet Russia tried to be equal with America by testing atom bomb.

Third Phase (1953-1957):

Now United States of America formed SEATO in 1954 in order to reduce Soviet Russia's influence. In 1955 America formed MEDO in Middle East. Within a short span of time, America gave military assistance to 43 countries and formed 3300 military bases around Soviet Russia. At that time, the Vietnamese War started on 1955.

To reduce the American Power, Russia signed WARSAW PACT in 1955. Russia also signed a defence pact with 12 Countries. Germany was divided into Federal Republic of Germany which was under the American control where as German Democratic Republic was under Soviet Russia. In 1957 Soviet Russia included Sputnik in her defence programme.

In 1953 Stalin died and Khrushchev became the President of Russia. In 1956 an agreement was signed between America and Russia regarding the Suez Crisis. America agreed not to help her allies like England and France. In

fact West Asia was saved from a great danger.

Fourth Phase (1957-1962):

In 1959 the Russian President Khrushchev went on a historical tour to America. Both the countries were annoyed for U-2 accident and for Berlin Crisis. In 13 August 1961, Soviet Russia made a Berlin Wall of 25 Kilometers in order to check the immigration from eastern Berlin to Western Berlin. In 1962, Cuba's Missile Crisis contributed a lot to the cold war.

This incident created an atmosphere of conversation between American President Kennedy and Russian President Khrushchev. America assured Russia that she would not attack Cuba and Russia also withdrew missile station from Cuba.

Fifth Phase (1962-1969):

The Fifth Phase which began from 1962 also marked a mutual suspicion between USA and USSR. There was a worldwide concern demanding ban on nuclear weapons. In this period Hot Line was established between the White House and Kremlin. This compelled both the parties to refrain from nuclear war. Inspite of that the Vietnam problem and the Problem in Germany kept Cold War between USA and USSR in fact.

Sixth Phase (1969-1978):

This phase commencing from 1969 was marked by DETENTE between USA and USSR- the American President Nixon and Russian President Brezhnev played a vital role for putting an end to the Cold War. The SALT of 1972, the summit Conference on Security' of 1975 in Helsinki and Belgrade Conference of 1978 brought America and Russia closer.

In 1971, American Foreign Secretary Henry Kissinger paid a secret visit to China to explore the possibilities of reapproachment with China. The American move to convert Diego Garcia into a military base was primarily designed to check the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean. During the Bangladesh crisis of 1971 and the Egypt-Israel War of 1973 the two super powers extended support to the opposite sides.

Last Phase (1979-1987):

In this phase certain changes were noticed in the Cold War. That is why historians call this phase as New Cold War. In 1979, the American President Carter and Russian President Brezhnev signed SALT II. But in 1979 the prospects of mitigating Cold War were marred by sudden development in Afghanistan.

Vietnam (1975), Angola (1976), Ethiopia (1972) and Afghanistan (1979) issues brought success to Russia which was unbearable for America.

American President Carter's Human Rights and Open Diplomacy were criticised by Russia. The SALT II was not ratified by the US Senate. In 1980 America boycotted the Olympic held at Moscow.

In 1983, Russia withdrew from a talk on missile with America. In 1984 Russia boycotted the Olympic game held at Los-Angeles. The Star War of the American President Ronald Regan annoyed Russia. In this way the 'New Cold War' between America and Russia continued till 1987.

25.6 Major Developments in Cold War 1947-70:

1. Germany as the Centre of Cold War:

In respect of Germany, the U.S.S.R. came to adopt a policy which was strongly opposed by the Western powers. The division of Germany into Federal Republic of the Germany (Pro West) and German Democratic Republic (Pro USSR) was affected in the process of attempts made by the U.S.S.R. and the Western powers to maintain their powers in their respective occupation zones.

2. Berlin Issue and Cold War:

In 1948, the cold war got manifested in the form of Berlin Blockade. With a view to check Western economic intervention in Berlin, the USSR decided to introduce its own economic reforms immediately. The USSR decided to apply the new East Zone currency and goods to Berlin. It enforced a blockade of Berlin which produced a strong Western reaction in the form of Berlin Airlift.

This led to the development of a real crisis which produced a stalemate when the USSR refused to lift the blockade and the U.S.A. refused to abandon the airlift. The former insisted that the West should leave Berlin, and the latter announced its determination to remain in Berlin until the Germany was reunited. Such opposed stands made all the conferences over Berlin a big failure. Berlin became a centre of cold war between the USSR and the USA.

3. Organisation of NATO and Division of Germany:

The immediate fall out of such policies came in the form of the establishment of NATO on 4 April 1949 by the U.S.A. and her allies and the subsequent establishment of Federal Republic of Germany on 21 September 1949. The Soviet counter move came on 7 October 1949, when Soviet occupation zone in East Germany was declared to be the state of German Democratic Republic. It was followed up by the USSR by organizing Warsaw Pact in 1955.

4. Rise of Communist China and Cold War:

In 1949, the rise of Mao's Communist Party to power in China gave a big boost to Soviet influence in world politics and it produced a reaction in the form of the U.S. commitment to follow containment of communism more vigorously. The USA then entered into a security treaty with Formosa China and declared it to be the real China. This was strongly opposed by the USSR and communist China.

5. Korean Crisis and Cold War:

In 1950, the Korean War provided the ground for the pursuance of cold war politics-in Far East. The situation created by the North Korean aggression against South Korea provided the U.S.A. and the Western powers an opportunity to attempt containment of communism by helping democratic South Korea against communist North Korea.

In the Korean War, North Korea was supported by the U.S.S.R. and Communist China, whereas South Korea was supported by the U.S.A. and other western countries. American success in making the U.N. Security Council agree upon the need to enforce collective security system in the Korean War was strongly opposed by the Soviet Union.

The differences between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. over the issue of peace in Korea sharply divided the U.N. Security Council and consequently, it failed to perform its responsibility of preserving international peace and security against aggression.

6. Issue of Peace Treaty with Japan and Cold War:

The issue of peace treaty with Japan also demonstrated that both the U.S.A. and the USSR were committed to pursue cold war in their relations. The U.S. decision to summon the San Francisco Conference in September 1951, for considering and approving the draft of peace treaty with Japan was strongly opposed by the U.S.S.R.

However, Soviet opposition did not deter the USA to conclude the treaty. It followed this up by concluding a defence treaty with Japan and thereby it got the right to station its troops in Japan. This treaty and the American treaty with Taiwan were obviously designed to put pressure on the U.S.S.R. and China, and to arrest the spread of communism.

7. SEATO and Warsaw Pact:

During 1953-63, the U.S.A. continued its policy of military and economic offensive. On the pattern of NATO, it organised the SEATO and MEDO. These organisations were meant to check the spread of communism into South East Asia, and Middle East. As a counter action to such American

moves, the U.S.S.R., on 4th May, 1955, was successful in organizing a communist defence pact—the Warsaw Pact involving Eastern European socialist states.

It was designed to "resist the attacks of the imperialists and capitalists." This led to the organisation and consolidation of Soviet power or the Socialist Bloc against the American power or the Democratic Bloc. The international system came to be vertically divided into two parts: the Soviet Bloc and the American Bloc, with cold war in between. The development of such a bipolarity in international relations further increased the intensity of cold war.

8. Nuclear Arms Race and Cold War:

Further the emergence of nuclear armament race between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. followed by the space race further made the cold war more grave. The overkill capacity developed by each of the two super powers created a highly dangerous situation in which talks for disarmament and arms control were held but without success.

9. Civil War in Indo-China and Cold War:

The cold war made its appearance in Indo- China, Vietnam in particular, in early 1950s. By 1954, the war between the Ho Chin Minh forces and the French forces had reached a critical stage. Ho Chin Minh's forces were backed by the U.S.S.R. and Communist China, and France was strongly backed by the U.S.A. France wanted to get rid of her involvement and therefore, advocated a peaceful solution.

Likewise, the Soviet Union and China also wanted to avoid increasing the U.S. involvement in Indo- China and hence expressed their willingness for a peaceful settlement of Indo-China problem. It was under these circumstances that the Geneva Agreement on Indo-China was affected in 1954. Vietnam got partitioned into North Vietnam under the Communists and South Vietnam under the Democrats.

However, within 24 hours of the signing of the Geneva Agreement, the war broke out between communist guerillas and South Vietnamese forces. In order to check the spread of communism, the U.S.A. started giving huge aid to South Vietnam, and subsequently got directly involved in the Vietnam War.

After this development, the U.S.S.R. and China started giving huge military and economic aid to North Vietnam and thus, the war in Indo-China got inseparably joined up with the cold war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

10. Hungarian Crisis and Cold War:

In 1956, the Soviet intervention in Hungary was strongly opposed by the Western countries. But the former exhibited its ability to keep the iron curtain tight over the Eastern European states.

11. Suez Crisis and Cold War:

During the Suez Canal War of 1956, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. found themselves engaged in unintentional cooperation. The Anglo-French-Jewish invasion of Egypt for maintaining a forcible occupation of Suez Canal area was strongly disliked by the U.S.A., as it believed that it would force Egypt and other Muslim countries of Middle East to accept Soviet aid and be under Soviet influence. Hence, the U.S.A. wanted an early end to this invasion.

Likewise, the U.S.S.R., found in the Suez Canal crisis an opportunity to increase its influence in the Middle East by siding with Egypt. It, therefore, have a call for the end of the invasion of Egypt and followed this up immediately by holding out the threat to use atomic weapons in case Britain, France and Israel failed to abandon the Suez. Thereupon Britain France and Israel agreed to accept the U.N. call for an immediate ceasefire, and thus ended the Suez War of 1956.

12. Eisenhower Doctrine and Cold War:

However, in June 1957, Eisenhower Principles, under which the U.S. Congress authorized the President to send the U.S. armed forces to any place for checking the danger of Communism, gave a new intensity to the Cold War. During the last two years of the tenure of US President Eisenhower, heightened cold war continued to characterize he relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Germany, Berlin, Indo-China, Korea, Japan and Middle East continued to be the key centres of cold war.

13. Khrushchev's visit to the U.S.A.—a hope for Peace:

In 1957-58, Soviet Premier Khrushchev came out openly in support of peaceful co-existence between East and West. He expressed the strong desire to renounce war and to get engaged in peaceful cooperative international intercourse. He expressed his readiness to visit the U.S.A. and meet President Eisenhower for sorting out the U.S.-Soviet differences.

This appeared as a welcome change, particularly when the U.S.A. decided to extend an invitation to Khrushchev. From 15 to 28 September 1959, Soviet Premier Khrushchev paid a visit to Washington and conducted meaningful talks with President Eisenhower.

Khrushchev's visit successfully made the international environment develop a healthy look. Further positive development came when an agreement

was announced for holding a Four Power—(the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and France)—Summit in Paris in June 1960.

14. U-2 incident and Cold War:

Unfortunately, however, just a few days before the 4- power Summit, the U-2 incident of 1 May 1960, took place and spoiled the entire environment that had been developing since 1957. U-2 was a U.S. Spy plane which was shot down by the Soviet forces. The U.S.S.R. felt greatly annoyed with the U.S.A. and wanted a U.S. apology and assurance to end such spy missions over the Soviet Union. The U.S.A. was not prepared to accept the Soviet demand, and hence the U-2 incident once again made the U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations highly tense and strained.

15. Failure of Paris Summit and Cold War:

The Paris Summit was held on 16th May, 1960, under the shadow of the U-2 incident. Despite an earlier assurance that U-2 incident shall not be raised at the Paris Summit, Khrushchev demanded an American apology over the incident, and as a mark of protest refused to shake hands with the US President Eisenhower. Under the circumstances, the Paris Summit failed to reach any decision, and cold war continued to be the natural form of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations.

16. Berlin Walls Crisis 1961:

Initially, an attempt was made to repair the damage that had been done to the U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations by the U-2 incident. However, little meaningful progress could be made. The Berlin wall crisis of 1961 brought the USA and USSR to the verge of a full hot war. In August 1961, the construction of a wall by the Soviet Union for separating the Soviet sector from the Western sector of Berlin City was strongly opposed by the U.S.A. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. moved their tanks to the frontiers and war appeared to be a distinct possibility. However, a wiser sense prevailed on both sides and several mutually agreed steps were taken to diffuse the tension.

17. Cold War towards Hot War—Cuban Missile Crisis 1962:

In October 1962, the Cuban Missile crisis, came to be developed between the USA & USSR. It brought them the threshold of a war. The USSR's decision to establish a missile base in Cuba was strongly opposed by the USA. When the Soviet missile carrying ships were on their way to Cuba, the USA, in order to prevent their entry into Cuba, ordered the blockade of Cuba.

The American government declared that it would regard any missile launched from Cuba against any nation as an attack by the USSR on the USA

requiring a full retaliatory response. On 23 October 1962, the U.S.A. decided to take all necessary steps for ending the threat to peace and security of the American continent.

On 24 October 1962, the U.S. Blockade of Cuban ports became effective. The war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. became a distinct possibility. The U.N. Secretary General tried to prevail upon the U.S.A. to suspend the blockade and also asked the USSR to halt shipments to Cuba, but failed.

The USSR demanded the withdrawal of the U.S. rockets from Turkey as a precondition for stopping installation of missiles in Cuba. This demand was rejected by the U.S.A. ultimately, after some very anxious days; the Soviet Union agreed to divert her missile carrying ships and to dismantle the Cuban missile sites. Thus, ended the dreaded Cuban Missile Crisis.

25.7 History of New Cold War 1980-87:

The termination of Detente in 1979 led to the emergence of a new Cold War.

The following developments led to an end of detente and the emergence a New Cold War in international relations.

1. Changes in the US Foreign Policy and a new opposition to Soviet Policies:

The American decision:

1. To rescue the US status as number one power in the world.
2. To reject the view that the only alternative to detente was war, and
3. To stop over selling detente, gave a big blow to detente spirit. The USSR felt alarmed at these changes.The USA held the view that USSR's conduct in Angola, Middle East and the United Nations was irresponsible that it was harmful to the US interests, and that it violated the spirit of detente.

2. The US attempts to cultivate relations with Eastern Europe and China:

The US foreign policy, even during 1970s, involved the attempt to deepen the division between China and the USSR with a view to secure a strategic advantage vis-a-vis the USSR by cultivating relations with China. Further, it involved the policy to win over the socialist states of Eastern Europe through increased economic relations and making European states conscious of European security in the era of nuclear weapons.

In particular, the US wanted to strengthen liberalisation in Poland. All these US attempts were designed to contain the Soviet influence over Eastern Europe. Naturally such moves were strongly disliked by the USSR and it initiated counter measures to check such US policies.

3. The US role in Nicaragua, Elsalvador and Grenada:

The US attempts to forcibly maintain its superior influence over these states was strongly opposed by the Soviets.

4. Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan and US Opposition:

The Soviet attempt at keeping leftists in power in Afghanistan and the subsequent Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, were regarded by the United States as a naked and big violation of detente, which were designed to increase Soviet power in the gulf region. It was regarded as a serious threat to the US interests in the region as well as to American relations with the Gulf countries. The Soviet march into Afghanistan, definitely gave a big blow, almost a death blow to the detente of the 1970s.

I. US decisions in the era of New Cold War:

After 1979 the USA took several decisions which were aimed at checking USSR's power is international relations.

a. The USA decided to strengthen its naval base at Diego Garcia by making it a nuclear base as well as to make it the main base for organizing and strengthening the defence and security of the Persian Gulf.
b. For meeting USSR's threat in Afghanistan the USA began arming Pakistan in a big way.
c. The USA decided to organise and deploy RDF (Rapid Deployment Force) in the Persian Gulf region.
d. The USA formed the Washington-Beijing-Islamabad-Tokyo group with a view to counteract the Soviet role in Asia.
e. The USA decided to go in for the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) programme (Popularly known as the Star War Programme). It involved the decision for the militarization of outer space programme.

The USA also decided to:

a. Keep pending the SALT II agreement.
b. Install Perishing, Cruising and MX missiles in Western Europe.
c. Go in for an increased production of more and more sophisticated weapons for keeping a superior position in arms race.
d. Increase American power and presence in the Indian Ocean.
e. Give extensive aid to Kenya and Somalia.
f. Boycott the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980.
g. To impose a grain embargo against the USSR.

All these US policies were strongly criticized by the USSR. These were regarded as decisions designed to harm USSR's interests. These US decisions showed the emergence of a new cold war in international relations.

II. Soviet Policies designed to check the US Power and Influence:

In the era of New Cold War, the USSR also took several decisions to check US power and role in international relations:

1. To Increase Soviet & Cuban role in Angola.
2. To keep USSR's presence in Afghanistan.
3. To Increase USSR's role in Ethiopia.
4. To keep Soviet brigade in Cuba.
5. To deploy SS-20, new medium range Soviet Missiles in Eastern Europe.
6. To provide help and support to the leftists in several Latin American countries.
7. To increase USSR's influence in West Asia and to develop friendship between Moscow and New Delhi, and Moscow and Hanoi.
8. To strengthen Soviet military bases in Africa.
9. To increase USSR's presence inthe Indian Ocean.
10. To increase Soviet influence in the West Asia and Persian Gulf.

All these Soviet decisions were viewed by the Americans as dangerous developments which posed a new serious danger to US interests in world politics. These decisions of the USSR against showed the emergence of a New Cold War in international relations.

Decline of New Cold War and Rise of New Détente:

Fortunately within five years of its emergence, the New Cold War began diluting. By 1985 both the super powers once again decided to limit the New Cold War. The welcome break came in the form of bold initiatives taken by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Acting under the concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost, respecting the cries of world public opinion and the demands of Non-aligned and Third world countries, the Soviet leader came forward to accept certain moves in the direction of arms control and disarmament.

The willing recognition of this on the part of the USA, set the stage for a very positive development—the signing of the historic INF Treaty (1987) under which both the USA and the USSR agreed to destroy, under joint supervision, medium range missiles which stood deployed in Europe. This historic agreement and the speed with which it was implemented in practice gave a positive and qualitative change to international relations of the New

Cold War period.

The change of outlook and attitude got reflected in certain events—End of Iran-Iraq War, Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Four Party Agreement regarding the independence of Namibia, Arms cuts announced by the Soviet Union, Arms cuts accepted by the United States in the NATO forces, Sino-Soviet rapprochement culminating in the May 1989, visit of Soviet President Gorbachev to China.

Sino-Indian rapprochement, withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the growing possibility of unification of Koreas, recognition of Israel by Palestine, direct talks between the USA and PLO over Palestine, the direct dialogue between the leaders of the Greek and Turkish communities of divided Cyprus, a emergence of a new faith in the United Nation's role in crisis management in international relations, the New Delhi Declaration made by India and the USSR and speedy East-West detente, all these and several other such developments gave a big blow to the New Cold War.

As such within seven years of the outbreak of a New Cold War, a new detente came to emerge in international relations.

New Detente and the Process of Decline of New Cold War:

After 1987, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R got further engaged in a mature new detente. Through it, the two were successful in harmonizing their relations, and ushering these into an era of peaceful co-existence and cooperation.

Perestroika and Glasnost in the U.S.S.R and their impact upon the countries of Eastern Europe produced big liberalizing changes in the political systems of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and East Germany. These changes brought these states quite near to the Western European states. A new era of cooperation among European states had its birth. West Germany and East Germany got united into Germany. Berlin Wall, the symbol and physical manifestation of cold war in Europe got demolished. The U.S.S.R. pulled out of Afghanistan.

The U.S.A. became now more objective in its approach towards Afghanistan. The U.S.S.R. began adopting a mature policy towards socialist states, several local wars came to an end, no nation now tried to fish out of the troubled waters in Sri Lanka, both the U.S.A. and the USSR, adopted a positive and mature position over the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan, and the thinking in favour of cold war, got replaced by a commitment to new detente, peace, security, development, peaceful methods of conflict-resolution, increased cooperation for protecting the environment, disarmament and arms control and the principles of the U.N. The new detente led to a big decline in

the new cold war. Between 1987-1997 the new cold war appeared to be getting eliminated.

Difference between New Cold War and Old Cold War:

1. New Cold War was more dangerous than the Old Cold War.
2. New Cold War had its epicenter in Asia whereas the Old Cold War had its epicenter in Europe.
3. China became an active actor in the New Cold War.
4. Old Cold War involved the concept of maintaining balance between the USA & USSR, whereas in the New Cold War the attempt was made by each super power to dominate the world scene.
5. Previously, both the super powers had accepted that a nuclear war could not be actually fought. However, with the development of new technology, the two super powers, particularly the United States, now accepted that there could be fought a limited nuclear war.
6. The increased number of actors in international relations, indeed, made the operation of New Cold War policies different from the Old Cold War policies.
7. The emergence of China and France as sizeable nuclear powers gave a new dimension to the New Cold War. Thus New Cold war was different from the Old Cold War in several ways.

The Final End of Cold War

The final end of new cold war, however, came in the last months of 1991 when the USSR collapsed as a state and got disintegrated. The state which continued to be a super power during 1945-91 failed to maintain itself as a single integrated state due to internal political and economic pressures. Around 1988, the USSR had started developing cracks and its leadership had failed to control the situation.

Initially, the three Soviet states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were in a position to secure independence from the USSR. Later on other Soviet Republics one after the other, also started declaring their independences. The Soviet leadership became helpless.

In August 1991, there was an attempted coup in Moscow against Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership. This coup failed, but the U.S.S.R. also failed to preserve its identity as a single state. In November 1991, all the Republics declared their independences. Nine of them joined hands to form a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)—a loose organisation of sovereign republics of former U.S.S.R. Russia came to be recognised as the successor state of the U.S.S.R.

Finally on 31st December, 1991, the U.S.S.R. faded into history. The collapse of the U.S.S.R. gave a final burial to the cold war. Russia being a weak economic power and being a state faced with internal political turmoil was incapable of pursuing a cold war policy towards the U.S.A. and the West.

Thus, the collapse of the U.S.S.R. completed the process of decline of the new cold war and the world witnessed the end of Cold War. Now all states of the world came forward to accept the principles of liberalisation, democratization, open competition, peaceful coexistence and mutual cooperation for sustainable development.

The end of new Cold War came as a very welcome development. However, the emergence of USA as the role surviving super power after the disintegration of USSR and the emergence of a weak Russia, led to the birth of unipolarity in international relations. The changes that came along with the end of cold war gave a new dimension to international system. It came to be characterised by unipolarity, ideological unipolarism, an increase in the role of the United Nations, a weak Non-aligned Movement and an international community involved in the process of adjusting with the new realities.

The 21st century dawned as a century full of new hopes and aspirations for a more peaceful world motivated by the desire to achieve sustainable development and protection of human rights of all.

However, soon it found herself faced with the menace of international terrorism. Currently all the members of the international community are trying to end the menace of international terrorism as well as for securing human rights, sustainable development, a multi-centric or polycentric international system and a more broad based, more democratic and more decentralised United Nations Security Council.

25.8 Factors that brought about the end of the cold war

Some of the factors that brought about the end of the cold war are as follows:

The world now has entered the post Cold War era. Many efforts have been made since the 1950s to promote relaxation of tensions and on many occasions in the past it appeared that the two power blocks had entered the period of detente. Gradually, however, the Cold War came to an end. This was due to the operation of several factors acting in tandem.

One of the most important factors that played an increasingly important role in changing the policy of confrontation was the realization that unlike at any time before in human history, the predictability of all- out war simply could not be the basis of conducting international relations.

The reports prepared by the scientists on the effects of a nuclear war and the voices raised by them against the armaments race and the doctrines of Mutually Assured Destruction and Nuclear Deterrence, and the popular anti-war movements in every part of the world played an important role in creating an atmosphere of detente.

Further, since the early 1960s, the rigid military alliances showed tendencies of breaking down. From 1954, the Soviet leaders began laying stress on peaceful existence. After the split, in the communist movement which began in the late 1950s, the theory of the danger of the expansion of Communism lost much of its relevance. The hostility between the Soviet Union and China destroyed the fear of Communism which had been earlier viewed as a monolithic bloc.

Albania went but of Warsaw Pact in 1961 and Romania began to play a role independent of the Soviet Union. The US relations with China improved in the early 1970s and China was admitted to the United Nations in 1971. There were changes in the US sponsored military contingents from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) forces in 1966 and NATO forces and bases were removed from French territory. In the early 1970s, South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) also began to be phased out as a military alliance. Pakistan withdrew from the SEATO in 1973 and France in 1974.

However, the process of the end of the Cold War was not an easy one. There were a number of instances when the world was faced with the prospect of a 'hot war' breaking out. In 1956, there was uprising in Hungary and in 1968 a change of government in Czechoslovakia.

In both cases, it meant the countries going out of Soviet control and following political and economic policies which deviated from the Soviet socialism. In 1961 East Germany built a wall between East and West Berlin to make it impossible for East Germany to escape to West Berlin.

This created widespread resentment in the west. In 1979, the Soviet Union sent her troops to Afghanistan to help the Afghan government crush the rebels who had been harmed by the United States and were operating in Afghanistan from and with the support of Pakistan. There were also many instances of the US overt or covert intervention in many countries, particularly in Latin America.

Another factor in the end of Cold War was the efforts towards disarmament. The elimination of the means of destruction alone can ensure peace. The existence of the weapons whose destruction power is beyond ordinary human imagination is itself a source of tension. The end of confrontation, therefore, may lead to disarmament, to begin with, nuclear

disarmament.

Though disarmament remains a far cry, some positive steps were taken in this direction. In 1963, a Test Ban Treaty was signed by the Unites States, the Soviet Union and Britain which prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater.

France and China, however, had refused to sign the treaty and continued to carry out nuclear tests in the atmosphere. In 1969, negotiations aimed at reduction of arms began between the United States and the Soviet Union and in 1972 an agreement was reached on limiting certain categories of missiles. These negotiations were known as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

The negotiations for disarmament were hampered in the 1980s when the Unites States started working on a new system of weaponry called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), popularly known as the Star Wars Programme. This would mean taking the arms race to a new terrible height by extending it to outer space. However, some progress was made in eliminating some categories of nuclear missiles and in cutting others.

A treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear weapons, popularly known as the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was also signed by many countries with the aim to prevent the countries not possessing nuclear weapons from acquiring them. But it does not require countries already in possession of nuclear weapons should eliminate them.

The policies pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev who came to power in 1989 also were a seminal development that finally brought the Cold War to end. He wanted to transform the revitalize the country, which he intended to achieve by modernizing and streamlining the Communist Party with new policies of Glasnost (openness) and Perestroika. The new thinking soon made an impact on foreign affairs.

His policy of peace found expression when he held summit meetings with Reagan and proposed a fifteen year time table for a step by step process for riding the earth of nuclear weapons. The result was the INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) Treaty, formally signed by Reagan and Gorbachev in December, 1987.

The treaty provided for scrapping up of all land-based intermediate range nuclear weapons over the next three years. The treaty also provided for strict verification regime for both rides to check that weapons were actually being destroyed. The Soviet control over the governments of East European countries was loosened and new governments were formed after free elections were held in these countries.

In October, 1990, Germany was united. In 1991, the Warsaw Pact, the military bloc, headed by the Soviet Union was formally dissolved. In 1991, the Communist Party's exclusive control over the Soviet Union, which it had exercised since the October Revolution of 1917 came to an end.

By the end of the 1991, the Soviet Union broke up into fifteen independent republics. The Cold War came to an end with the collapse of Communist parties rule in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The Non-Aligned Movement also had a note in the process that brought the Cold War finally to end. The non-aligned countries were deeply interested in preserving their own independence and playing an independent role in shaping the world and in speeding up the process of destruction of imperialism.

The non-aligned countries refused to align with any of the military blocs and believed in taking independent stance on foreign issues. Moreover, they stood for peaceful resolution of international disputes. The non-aligned nations by their advocacy of peace had a sobering effect on international relations. They helped create a climate of peace and harmony in international arena.

The United Nations Organization founded in 1945 with the explicit aim of saving the world from the scourge of war also played a role in ending the Cold War. The UN played a seminal role in averting many international crises. Moreover, in the world divided into military blocs, it was the only organization that lent some sort of mentality. By helping diffuse crises and by working for building peace in the world, the UN helped promote an opinion and climate which favoured disarmament and peace.

The Cold War came to an end by the interplay of variety of factors acting in association. However, the end of Cold War has not ushered in a world free of conflicts and tensions. It has led to emergence of many non-static actors with pretensions to disturb the world peace.

CHAPTER – 26
COLLAPSE OF USSR

Structure

26.1 Historical Background

26.2 Collapse of the Socialist Bloc and the Liberalisation of Socialist Regimes

26.3 Impacts of the Collapse of Russia on International Relations

Collapse of the USSR and the Socialist bloc can be legitimately described as one of the most astounding developments of last decade of the 20th century. The emergence of the USSR as the first socialist state of world (Socialist Revolution of 1917) had a big and deep impact on the nature and course of international relations of the first quarter of the 20th century.

Likewise, the collapse of the USSR in 1991 acted as a source of equally big impact on international relations of the last decade of the 20th century. It led to the collapse of the entire socialist bloc. The 21st century opened as a new century characterised by ideological and strategic unipolarism, and struggling to adjust with the new realities of the post-USSR, post-socialist bloc international relations.

26.1 Historical Background

In 1917, Russia came to be the first socialist state in the world. Soon it reorganized itself into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the USSR. Initially, it decided to concentrate upon the task of internal consolidation and socialist state building. Within a short span of about 25 years, it was, in a position to make spectacular progress in all spheres of internal administration—political, economic, social, cultural and military.

It began getting transformed for its earlier status as the sick man of Europe to a powerful and developed state and a global powerful actor. During 1917-39 it even refrained from exporting socialism to other countries.

During the period of the Second World War, the USSR first consolidated its position and then entered the war against the Axis powers, particularly against Hitler's Germany which had invaded it in 1942. In this war, it demonstrated not only its new military might but also its ability to secure its desired objectives in international relations.

After the war, the USSR decided to fill in the power vacuum which had resulted from the loss of power suffered by all the European states. It also decided to export socialism to European states, and was actually successful in getting Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Hungary, Rumania,

Bulgaria and Yugoslavia transformed into socialist regimes. All these states, with the exception of Yugoslavia, got organised under Soviet leadership into the socialist bloc, which got formalized by the Warsaw Pact of 1955.

The Soviet policies and interests in Europe as well in other parts of the world were challenged by the USA and other democratic (capitalist) countries of the West, particularly the Western European countries. The USA adopted the policy of 'Containment of Communism' and 'Massive Retaliation' particularly for checking the growing power and influence of the communist USSR.

The latter, as a counter move, decided to challenge the US and Western policies, interests and decisions in international politics. In the process a cold war broke out between the East and West in general and the USSR and the USA in particular. The emergence of communists China in 1949 gave a big boost to the growing socialist movement in the world. After 1949 the cold war between the USA and the USSR got materialised as cold war between Socialist East and Capitalist West.

The cold war (1947-70) continued unabated between the USSR and its bloc on one side and the USA and its bloc on the other side. Each of the two super powers always acted to limit and isolate the other. In 1962 this cold war brought the East and West on the brink of a hot war and the danger compelled the USSR and the USA to lessen the cold war tensions and strains.

Between 1970-80 a conscious attempt was made to reduce the cold war strains and tensions as well as for developing friendly cooperation between the USSR & the USA. The exercise i.e. detente, however remained limited in scope and partial in approach.

In early 1980s this attempt (detente) got once again replaced by a new cold war, which, however, could remain in operation for just 5 to 7 years. The dangers of the New Cold War and the pressure resulting from the USSR's presence and role in Afghanistan compelled the USSR leadership to realize the need for a new detente in international relations.

The leadership of Michael Gorbachev in the USSR and his policies of Perestroika (Restructuring) and Glashost (Openness) provided a good ground for the birth of a new detente capable of terminating the new cold war. In mid-1980s the new cold war got replaced by a new detente, and its birth was heralded by the INF Treaty 1987.

Around 1985 Mr. Gorbachev adopted the policy of liberalization of Soviet society and polity and of restructuring the Soviet economy. His concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost started guiding the Soviet policies and economy. He came forward to adopt the policy of opening out in international relations

through a rejection of cold war and by lending support to the principles of peaceful coexistence, disarmament, arms control and mutual cooperation for development.

Within the Soviet Union, he introduced multi-party, multi-candidate elections, open debates, public decision-making, democratization, decentralisation and liberalization. A wind of change started blowing in the USSR as well as in other socialist countries of Europe.

26.2 Collapse of the Socialist Bloc and the Liberalisation of Socialist Regimes

Acting under the new policy initiatives, the USSR signed the historic INF Treaty with the USA in 1987. It gave a big boost to the process of arms control, peaceful coexistence, and cooperation between East and West. Gorbachev adopted the policy of keeping regular and high level contacts with the US President, Mr. Reagan, and Mr. George Brush who succeeded Mr. Reagan in 1988. He adopted the policy of encouraging liberalisation towards the West.

His concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost became instrumental in producing a movement towards liberalisation and democratisation in the Socialist countries of Europe. Between 1988-90, the process of liberalisation of Eastern European countries made its appearance in a big way. The communist regimes in all these states began getting replaced by liberalized non-communist democratic regimes.

In the USSR, the new liberalisation and restructuring got transformed into a movement for democratic rights and freedoms. The economic weakness of the USSR, as reflected in shortages in the consumer goods and food, provided fuel to the movement for liberalisation. The Soviet central power developed a weakness and its ability to use power and authority got limited.

The Union Republics of the USSR, one after the other, started declaring their independences. Ethnic conflicts started developing in several Union Republics. The Baltic states of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia were the first to secure their independences from the USSR.

In August 1991, an unsuccessful communist coup to seize power in the USSR was staged. The coup further reflected the increasing weakness of central power in the USSR. Moreover after this coup, power struggle between Michael Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin came to the forefront.

By November 1991, the Soviet authority got almost totally eclipsed. All the Soviet Republics declared their independences and the central government led by Mr. Gorbachev found the situation hopeless. Russia, the biggest republic

of the USSR, was being ruled by President Boris Yeltsin and he posed the final challenge to the Presidency of Gorbachev.

In November 1991 nine Republics of the USSR, which had declared themselves sovereign independent states, signed a treaty to form the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), a loose confederation of nine sovereign states. Russia asserted its claim for recognition as the successor of the erstwhile USSR and it was accepted by the new sovereign republics as well as by the USA and other states of the world.

Finally on 31st December 1991 the flag of the USSR was replaced by the flag of Russia. The President of Russia, Mr. Boris Yeltsin received the nuclear button from Mikhail Gorbachev. Russia inherited the permanent seat of the USSR in the UN Security Council. With this the collapse of the USSR became complete and a super power got confined to the pages of history.

Along with Russia all the countries of the socialist bloc also got their regimes liberalized. In fact, non-communist regimes became successful in terminating the communist regimes. Disintegration of USSR led to a disintegration of the entire socialist bloc. The socialist bloc now came to be a liberalized bloc. The Eastern European states felt themselves now closer to Western European states. East Germany merged with West Germany to become one single Germany.

The collapse of USSR was also partial in the sense that the successor of the erstwhile USSR i.e. Russia inherited 3/4th of territory, population, resources and the whole of nuclear arsenal of the parent USSR. Russia took over all assets and liabilities of the erstwhile USSR.

However, despite this fact, it found itself weak and dependent due to the following factors**:**

1. A very weak economic system that Russia inherited compelled it to be dependent upon American and Western economic aid.
2. Presence of strong opposition to the leadership of President Boris Yeltsin within Russia acted as a big limitation. He found it difficult to have his own Prime Minister. A power struggle also got developed between the Russian Parliament and the President.
3. Russia was yet to fix its priorities in international relations. It was yet to adopt a foreign policy capable of securing Russian interests in the post-cold war and the post-USSR environment of international relations.
4. Lack of means and power to check the growing US power in international relations further compelled Russia to remain less active. The economic dependence of Russia made it difficult for the new Russian regime to act

for limiting the fast developing US dominance over the UN and the international system.

5. The problem of conducting relations with other new independent states, which had been previously parts of the Soviet federation, also posed a big limitation on Russian power. The problem of sharing control over the assets of the Red Army as well as the need to control all the nuclear weapons of the erstwhile USSR, further acted as a big limitation on Russian power.
6. Despite inheriting the permanent seat in the UN Security Council, Russia found it almost difficult to challenge the growing US dominance over this powerful organ of the United Nations.
7. In the ideological and power unipolarism that came to develop as a result of the collapse of the USSR, Russia found it problematic and difficult to challenge the US power in the world.
8. Several internal troubles, e.g., Chechnya crisis a civil war, were instrumental in keeping limited the Russian power and role in international relations.

All these factors prevented Russia from effectively taking over the role of the erstwhile USSR in international relations. Legally it became the successor of the parent USSR, but in practice it failed to act as a super power or even as a major power in world politics.

26.3 Impacts of the Collapse of Russia on International Relations:

The impact of the collapse of the USSR, which also involved the collapse of the socialist bloc in international relations, was indeed very profound and big. It can be analyzed under the following heads:

1. Final End of Cold War:

The cold war got virtually ended when the liberalisation and democratisation of Eastern European countries took place, when the Berlin wall got demolished and the two German states became one, when the Warsaw Pact got liquidated, and when the erstwhile adversaries East and West got engaged in a process of peaceful coexistence and mutual cooperation for development.

However, the presence of a Socialist USSR, despite the new liberalism, kept alive the chances for a re-emergence of a new cold war. It was really after the disintegration of the USSR and the inability of Russia to oppose the West that the chances for a re- emergence of cold war finally came to an end. We can say the final cremation of cold war took place with the collapse of the USSR.

2. Rise of Uni-polarity in International Relations:

The bi- polarity of the 1950s, which had got replaced by bi-multi-polarity or poly-centrism in 1960s, itself got replaced by a unipolarity in international relations of 1990s. The disintegration of the socialist bloc, the termination of the Warsaw Pact, and the collapse of the USSR created unipolarity in international relations with the U.S.A. as the sole-surviving super power in the world.

The unipolarity in international relations got reflected from the continued presence of NATO, the dominant position of the U.S.A. in the world in general and the UN in particular, and the inability or unwillingness on the part of the major powers to oppose or challenge the U.S. power in the world.

3. Ideological Unipolarism:

The collapse of the socialist U.S.S.R. as well as the other socialist countries of Europe gave a serious and fatal blow to the ideology of communism. Further, the acceptance and adoption of liberalisation, liberalism, democracy, decentralisation and market economy by almost all the states gave a further blow to the popularity of communism in the world.

Even China had to abandon the socialist economic system even while retaining the socialist-political authoritarianism of the past. It found itself isolated. The case of Vietnam and Cuba also came to be similar. Along with this, the ideological principles of liberalism, liberalisation of politics and economy, human rights, democratisation, decentralisation and peaceful co-existence, received a universal recognition. Ideological unipolarism came to characterize the post-USSR era of international relations.

4. Changes in the Politics of Europe:

The collapse of Socialist bloc and the USSR was accompanied by the end of Russian role in European politics. The rise of non-communist regimes through movements for democracy and liberalisation in the Eastern European states, gave a new look to European politics.

The division between Eastern Europe and Western Europe got diluted and all the European states began living in an era of peaceful co-existence and mutual cooperation for development. The demolition of Berlin Wall, the unification of Germany, end of Warsaw Pact and the rise of democratic regimes in erstwhile socialist states together gave a new dress and content to European politics.

These changes in Europe brought into existence the chances of an increased co-operation between the Western European states and the former socialist states, it also gave rise to the possibility of diversion of Western and

American economic aid from the Third World to the erstwhile socialist states of Europe.

The U.S.A. became interested in increasing its influence, particularly its economic influence over the Eastern European states. The Western European states which stood organised as the European Union realized the new opportunity for economic development through the establishment of high level trade and economic relations with the Eastern European states.

The membership of the European Union was enlarged with the admission of several new states of Eastern Europe. The European Union did not want them to become dependent on the USA. This feature gave rise to some thinking towards the – emergence of an economic cold war between the EU and the U.S.A. However, the change of scene gave to the USA the opportunity to expand its NATO towards the East.

The erstwhile socialist states got involved in the process of adjusting their foreign policies to the new environment, and some of them became willing to join the Non-aligned Movement. They thought that by doing so they could be in a position to avoid a possible economic cold war between the EU and the U.S.A., and at the same time could get a chance to develop high level trade, industrial and economic relations with the developing countries, almost all of whom happened to be the members of the NAM. As such, the collapse of the U.S.S.R acted as a source of a big change in the politics of Europe, which in turn acted as a source of change in international relations.

5. Rise of Fundamentalism in Central Asian States:

Six of the republics of the erstwhile U.S.S.R., which became independent sovereign states and which were located in the Central Asian region, preferred to become Islamic republics. They joined nine Islamic states and formed the Economic Cooperation Organisation (E.C.O.) in Central Asia. Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism in Central Asia gave strength to such forces in other parts of the world.

This compelled many countries to realize better the dangers resulting from the growing strength of the factor of Islamic politics in world politics. This factor compelled a change in the U.S. policy towards India, China, West Asia, Central Asia and other regions of the world. Central Asia became a new centre of global interest and concern. Central Asian Crude became a new factor of worldwide interest in this region.

6. Changes in Asian Politics:

Under the impact of the collapse of the U.S.S.R., politics in Asia underwent a big change. In particular, India lost one of its ‘time tested and

dependable friends'. Its foreign policy had to readjust relations with Russia and other republics of the erstwhile U.S.S.R.

It took nearly 12 months to adjust her relations, and give a proper direction to socio-economic-cultural cooperation with Russia and other members of the CIS. India also found it essential to work for an improvement of relations with the USA. Its economic necessities and the changes in its economic policies from public sector oriented policies to privatisation oriented policies further compelled an improvement in Indo-US relations.

The holding of joint Indo-US Naval exercises in the Indian Ocean, the Indian vote in the United Nations in favour of the resolution which held that Zionism was not apartheids, and Indian vote in favour of several US decisions in respect of the Gulf crisis and Gulf war, were all pointers towards this direction.

After the collapse of the USSR, another major Asian power, China also felt itself isolated as a communist state. It found compelled to go in for economic liberalisation in a rapid way, mend its fences with India, Japan, Vietnam and other countries of Asia. It also found it difficult to attempt to restrain the US dominance of the UN Security Council. Vietnam also found it essential to leave Cambodia, mend its fences with China and develop friendly cooperation with other Asian countries.

Likewise, Japan found it essential to reassess and redefine its role in Asia in particular and the world at large in general. It decided to develop its military power in the new environment. The possibility of emergence of an economic cold war with the USA began compelling Japan to develop further its trade relations with other Asian countries, particularly with India, China and ASEAN countries, The strength that forces of Islamic fundamentalism started gaining in Central Asia and West Asia compelled several democratic and secular states to devise policies for keeping these within check.

In the changed environment of Central Asia, Pakistan decided to orient its policy towards the consolidation of unity of the Islamic states of Central Asia. Asia witnessed the emergence of ECO in Central Asia.

The weakness suffered by the erstwhile USSR during 1985-90 and the changes in its policy helped the process of effecting a resolution of conflict in Afghanistan and Cambodia and for the emergence of Arab-Israel talks for resolving the West Asian crisis. In the absence of the USSR, the USA decided to give more importance to her relations with democratic countries like India.

The importance of relations with Asian countries was doubly realized by the western powers. Within nine months of its emergence as a sovereign state, Russia also decided to give priority to the development of its relations

with Asian countries, particularly with India, China, Japan, Vietnam and ASEAN states.

7. NAM after the Collapse of the U.S.S.R. and the Socialist Bloc:

The collapse of the U.S.S.R. in 1991 and the changes that came in the international system after 1985— liberalisation of Eastern Europe, liquidation of the Warsaw Pact and dissolution of the socialist bloc—all combined to create a new environment in which NAM found itself under stress. The disintegration being suffered by Yugoslavia, which happened to be chairman of NAM during the crucial period of 1989-92, also acted as a big limitation on the working of NAM.

The end of Cold war and the emergence of East-West cooperation influenced several scholars to voice the view that NAM had lost its relevance in international relations and that NAM was no longer needed .In the Gulf crisis which was followed by the Gulf War, NAM could play little role. Most of the NAM countries found it essential to accept the US view of several international problems and issues.

The collapse of the U.S.S.R and the dissolution of the socialist bloc reduced the operational ability of the NAM. It had little option except to support liberalisation and to tolerate unipolarism. While NAM welcomed the new faith in peaceful co- existence, democratization and mutual cooperation for development among all nations, it felt apprehensive of the newly emerged unipolarity in international relations.

However by holding the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth NAM Summits in 1992, 1995, 1998 and 2003, NAM was successful in reasserting its unity as an international movement. But at the same time, it also reflected a lack of a clear-cut direction. Membership of NAM registered an increase but its ability to work as a cohesive group suffered a decline.

8. Collapse of the USSR and Socialist bloc and prospects for Arms Control:

Before the collapse of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet leadership had signed two vitally important arms control/arms reduction agreements—INF and START-I with the U.S.A. After the collapse of the U.S.S.R. its successor state Russia came forward to sign START-II with the U.S.A. in January 1993. On 15th January 1993, the chemical weapons treaty got ratification from 125 states.

As such in the post-U.S.S.R. era of international relations some progress towards arms control was maintained. France and China decided to sign N.P.T. The movement for nuclear disarmament and arms control began

gaining some momentum.

However, there was registered little progress towards securing a general and comprehensive disarmament and arms control treaty. CTBT proved to be partial, half-baked and inadequate exercise. The USA revived with vigour its national missile defence programme, India and Pakistan became N- powers in 1998.

9. Weakness Suffered by the Movement for NIEO:

In the post-U.S.S.R. era, the demand for securing NIEO through a North-South dialogue virtually fell into background. Little progress could be made towards the securing of NIEO and Uruguay round of negotiations too failed in this respect. The Third World countries now found themselves more dependent upon the U.S.A. and other developed countries, particularly the G-7 (now G-8) countries. They feared a reduction in their foreign aid levels because of the possibility of diversion of western economic aid towards the erstwhile socialist countries.

The neo-colonial dependence of the Third World upon the developed countries of the West continued unabated. The economic liberalisation and market economy began acting as a source of increased economic control of the developed nations and the USA upon the economies and policies of the Third World countries.

These countries now realized better the need for securing their economic development through South-South cooperation. For this they began relying more on NAM, regional cooperation for development, leadership of G-20, increased role of G-24, G-77, UNCTAD and other such institutions.

However, the loss of momentum by NAM and emergence of WTO, Globalization and increasing role of Multinational corporations created an environment in which the developing countries found it more difficult to secure NIEO.

10. Rise of Several Economic Blocs:

After the collapse of the Socialist bloc and the USSR, international economic, system began undergoing big changes. Politics of international economic relations came to be the dominant dimension of relations among nations.

After 1990 several economic bloc actors appeared on the scene and began becoming more and more active actors. APEC, AFTA, NAFTA, PIF, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, G-7, G-15 besides the EU, ASEAN, SAARC, OPEC got engaged in active economic diplomacy and cooperation in international relations.

Thus the collapse of the U.S.S.R., the collapse of the socialist bloc, along with the end of Cold war, liberalization of Eastern Europe and emergence of unipolarism in power structure and ideological environment, acted as a source of profound and big changes in the international relations of the last decade of the 20th century.

The emergence of unipolarity with the USA as the sole surviving super power, the changes in the politics of Europe, the increase in the number of nations states, (the U.N.O. has now a membership of 193 nations), the virtual isolation of the remaining communist countries—China and Cuba—the reduced role of NAM, the U.S. domination of the U.N. Security Council, the continued and ever increasing neo-colonial control of the developed countries over the developing counties, the increased dependence of the developing countries upon foreign aid, the possibility of the rise of an economic cold war in international relations, came to the major realities of the post- U.S.S.R. international relations.

Thus there is a change I the economic, political, military system of the world due to the collapse of communist system. Now, all countries of the world are thinking about liberalism, democratic measures, market economy, development, human rights, disarmament and decentralisation.

CHAPTER – 27
POST COLD WAR DEVELOPMENTS

The changes in the global power structure and resulting developments produced by the last war, underwent several subtle but definitely big and formidable new changes in the last decade of the 20th century. In particular, after 1987, rapid changes began characterizing the relations among nations.

The Cold War came to an end. The Warsaw Pact died a natural death. The collapse of the erstwhile USSR became a reality. In place of the erstwhile USSR, Russia emerged as the successor state. There emerged a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) i.e. an association of nine independent republics of erstwhile USSR. Russia had nuclear weapons and yet it came to be a weak power.

Domestic political uncertainty and economic dependence upon the USA and other western countries kept it weak. The USA became the sole surviving super power. Berlin Wall stood buried. Germany became a unified single state. Non- alignment developed a weakness.

The emergence of international terrorism as a big menace and the new and strong commitment of the international community to wipe it out came to be a new reality of international relations. The WTO replaced Bretton woods and Globalisation came to get initiated. International economic relations came to be a more dominant feature of international relations.

Regional cooperation for development, economic integration on the model of European Union, ASEAN, APEC, NAFTA, SAFTA, FT AS, CECAS, came to be the order of the day, Securing sustainable development, protection of environment, nuclear- non-proliferation, elimination of terrorism and protection of human states of all came to be the Global objectives.

Along with the USA, the UK, France, Russia and China, India, Brazil Germany, Japan, EU, ASEAN, South Africa, NAFTA, APEC started emerging as bigger centers of power. To secure the multi-centric structure of international relations came to be recognized as the common goal. The world got changed, and is still rapidly changing.

For a clear understanding of the nature of Post Cold War International System, it is essential to take into account the new changes and changing trends.

Contemporary ISSUES in post cold war period

1. International relations

Under the impact of the Second World War several changes came to characterize international relations which still continue to be operative even along with the changes that came during the last two decades. The USA continues to be a superpower. The NATO continues despite the end of Cold War and the Warsaw Pact. The nuclear weapons along with their impact continue to be the factor of international relations, though there is now an increasing awareness in favour of containment of nuclear proliferation and arms race through arms-control and disarmament measures.

The era of imperialism and colonialism has ended and yet neo-colonialism has come to characterize the relations between the former colonial masters (the developed and rich states of the North) and the new states (the developing and poor states of the South). The humankind fully realizes the dangers of a future world war and yet local wars and ethnic conflicts continue to characterize international relations. Rise of several new Asian and African actors and the resurgence of the Latin American states have come, marking an end of the era of imperialism and colonialism and yet the evils continue to operate in new forms of Neo-colonialism and new imperialism.

Trends towards international integration are distinctly visible from increased regional cooperation, global cooperation and South-South cooperation (South Commission, G-8, G- 24, G-25, etc.) and yet the sovereign nation states system continues. The non-state actors have come to play a bigger role in shaping international relations. The international economic relations have gained tremendous importance and yet political relations continue to determine the course of international relations.

As such, the first major trend worth observing has been the changing as well as the continuing nature of the international system. “In the aftermath of the Second World War,” observed Brzezinski in 1979, “there began a massive reorganization of the world.” The process still continues, several new and important changes have come, others are still coming, “Our generation is living through a genuine global awakening.” The international system of the 21st century is a new system and yet, it still reflects the impact of the Second World War.

2. Changed Role of the Nation-State:

The contemporary international system generally continues to be basically constituted by the system of interactions among the sovereign nation-states acting at the local (sub-regional/bilateral), regional and global levels. The ideologies of nationalism and self-determination continue to enjoy support and

popularity. Yet the role of the nation-state has changed.

In this era of increased global interdependence, the nation-state, howsoever powerful, finds itself compelled to keep its power and objectives under restraint. The emergence of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction against which the nation-state can offer little protection to the life and property of its subjects, has adversely affected its role in international relations.

Decolonization gave rise to the emergence of a large number of sovereign nation-states as new actors in world politics. However, these nation-states, because of their new problems and new ambitions, have mostly failed to be active and powerful actors in themselves.

These have found themselves individually, incapable of facing the three dimensional war involving nuclear, psychological and economic weapons. These find themselves compelled to form regional associations for securing their development objectives. The Western European states have been in a position to develop only by 'compromising their sovereignty' and forming the European Union.

The rise of world public opinion, people to people contacts, global peace and development movements which have successfully transcended the national frontiers, have again changed the role of the nation-states. The decision-makers exercising power on behalf of their states today find it difficult to avoid and ignore these new powerful forces.

They now find it essential to establish collective regional economic institutions and obey their directives for satisfying the developmental needs of their people. Even while defining the goals of its national interest, a nation-state has to keep these in a capsule of internationalism or universalism.

The freedom of the Indian Ocean is demanded by the littoral states in the name of international peace and security. The needs for technology imports are projected as the right of all nations to share gains of technological revolution. The nationalistic universalism and not pure nationalism is now being followed by the nation-states.

Further, the contemporary nation-state now finds its 'sovereignty' limited by world public opinion, international morality, international law, increased global interdependence, the commitment to world peace, inability to resort to war which can be a total war, the realization regarding the reduced worth of military weapons as means of security and national power, and presence of several non-state actors.

In contemporary international relations of this post-industrial international setting, the nation-state has been coming under increasing attack from three quarters

1. The advance of military technology, which has been theoretically increased but practically decreased its ability to use force for securing its interests.
2. The rise of super national organizations, and
3. The transnational ideological and political movements.

The international system has been increasingly getting transformed into a system characterised by regional, functional and economic alliances and trading blocs. The communications revolution has forced the nation-states to admit 'external cultural influences' upon their societies. CNN, STAR TV, BBC World Service, VOA and other such Television/Radio networks have now been engaged in a cultural invasion of the life of Asian and African people.

The economic dependence of the Third World countries has been increasing. The republics of the erstwhile USSR, Russia and the former Eastern European socialist countries continue to be dependent upon foreign aid and loans. This has further limited the ability of the nation-state to act out its traditional role in international politics. The high cost of war has checked the desire to use force for securing its interests.

The World Public Opinion has been emerging as a potent limitation on the national power of each state. Globalisation, transnational relations, intra-state ethnic violence and emergence of several international problems needing global solutions through global efforts (Problem of International terrorism) have tended to limit the role of sovereign nation-state system.

While not agreeing with the view which talks of the end of the nation-state in international politics, it is accepted that the role of the nation-state in international relations has undergone a big change. In the process it has changed the nature of international relations.

"We are standing between old conceptions of political conduct and a wholly new conception between inadequacy of the nation-state and the emerging imperative of global community." —Henry Kissinger

The emergence and acceptance of Globalisation as the new principle of international relations involving a free flow of people, information, goods and services across borders, has been now acting as a source of further limitation on the sovereignty of the nation-state. National Boundaries have been becoming soft.

3. Transformation of Bi-multipolarity into Unipolarity, and New Trends towards Polycentrism or Multipolarity:

The aftermath of Second World War found the world divided into two blocs each under the care of the super actors—the U.S.A. and the erstwhile U.S.S.R. Both these states, in order to strengthen their respective positions in international politics started organizing their camps.

The United States brought the democratic/free countries in one bloc—the American bloc, through several regional alliances likes NATO, SEATO and others. The Soviet Union organised the socialist states into Warsaw Pact. The Cold War between the two super powers and their blocs divided the world vertically into two groups—a configuration that came to be known as bi-polarity.

However, towards the late fifties, there appeared cracks in both the opposing camps. The attempts of France to be an independent power, and certain other factors made the American camp weak. Similarly, the decision of Yugoslavia to remain non-aligned and the emergence of Sino-Soviet differences made the Soviet camp weak.

The rise of China and several other powerful nations in different parts of the globe further weakened the tight bipolar system of the early 1950s. The emergence of some new centers of power, the European Community, Japan, Germany, China, India and NAM, initiated the process of transformation of the bipolarity towards multi-polarity or polycentrism.

In 1970s, this development came to be characterised as multi-polarity or polycentrism. The two super powers and their respective blocs continued to be operative in international relations. However, along with them non-aligned countries like India, Egypt, Yugoslavia and some others like China, France, Germany and Japan emerged as important actors in world politics. The situation came to be known as bi-polycentrism or bi-multi-polarity or even multi-polarity.

This bi-multi-polarity got transformed into a virtual unipolarity in the international relations of the last decade of the 20th century. In 1990s the bi-multi-polarity got replaced by a unipolarity with the USA as the sole surviving super power, along with its NATO. Disintegration of the USSR, liquidation of Warsaw Pact, end of socialist bloc in world politics, inability of Russia, the successor state of the (erstwhile) USSR, to challenge the US power, the inability of the European Union, Germany, Japan, France and China to materially check the US power, the continued British support for the US policies and role in the world, the weakness suffered by NAM, the economic dependence of the Third World countries and former socialist states, and the

US domination of the UN, all came to be the new realities of international relations.

The USA, as the sole surviving super power began dominating the international system in general and the UN Security Council in particular. The virtual absence of any power capable and willing to challenge the US power, enabled it to play a dominant role in World Politics. Unipolarity came to characterize the international system. Ideological unipolarism gave it further strength.

However, towards the beginning of the 21st century, there appeared several definite indications towards the re-emergence of polycentrism. Russia, China, European Union, India, Japan, EU. All of these the UN, the G-15 and some others began playing a more vigorous role. All of these accepted the objective of ensuring a multipolar international structure. Most of the states declared their resolve to secure and maintain the multipolar character of the international system.

In June 2005, China, India and Russia decided to forge and develop a common understanding and approach towards problems like terrorism and the need for the protection of their strategic interests. The US dominance, that was witnessed in the first few post cold war years, also came to be somewhat diluted.

After the unfortunate events of 11 September, 2001 (Black Tuesday Terrorist attacks in the USA), the USA also became conscious of the need to involve fully and more vigorously a large number of states in the international war against terror. As such, there came to be present several definite trends towards the re- emergence of a new multi-centrism or multi-polarity in international relations. Contemporary international system is definitely trying to become a multipolar system.

4. Increased and Ever-increasing International Interdependence:

The contemporary era of international relations continues to be characterised by increased and ever-increasing mutual interdependence among the nations. The rich and developed countries depend upon the poor and developing countries for the purchase of raw materials, sale of industrial products, and import of educated, skilled and trained manpower.

The price of petrol in the USA now depends upon decisions of the OPEC countries. The value of US dollar depends upon India Rupee, Japanese Yen and it tries to maintain its position in the international economic system by securing desired changes in the currencies of the Third World states.

The stock market crisis (1997), on the one hand, reflected the increasing interdependence of currencies and economies but on the other hand it also reflected the potential of market operators to affect the course of international economic order and relations. The imports and exports have become the most powerful inputs of national economies. The linkage between the national environment of a nation and the international environment has become profound.

Increased international interdependence has brought the nation-states closer. The global system has been becoming a more 'collective system', despite the continuance of local wars, ethnic conflicts, bilateral and regional disputes, and some other confrontations and conflicts.

The increased international interdependence, however, continues to be accompanied by the dependence of the Third World states upon the states of the developed world. Neocolonialism continues to live in contemporary international relations.

5. New Colonialism

The end of the era of imperialism- colonialism through a process of decolonization leading to the rise of large number of new nation- states in the world has been an astounding reality of our times. The rise of several new sovereign states in Asia and Africa coupled with the awakening of the Latin American states has materially changed the complexion of international relations.

From a small world of nearly 60 states in 1950s, it has become a big world of more than 193 states. The increase in the number of states, most of which are poor and developing, has made international relations more complex and problematic. The existence of several economic, political, territorial, and ethnic disputes has made contemporary international relations highly volatile, conflictual and problematic.

Yet the attempts on the part of all the states to overcome their problems through mutual efforts and cooperation, and through the platforms of NAM and the Third World, have been a source of increased awareness towards fruitful international cooperation. These new states dominate the UN General Assembly while the USA, Russia, Britain, France and China continue to dominate the U.N. Security Council. A demand for including more permanent members in the U.N. Security Council is currently being made. The efforts of the 'New States' to get their due place in the international system are a reality of our times.

6. Continued North-South Divide:

The rise of new states in the world with poverty and underdevelopment as their 'assets', their continued exploitation of the hands of the former imperial masters, the emergence of neo-colonial control of the developed states over the economies and policies of the developing states and the determination and efforts of the latter to throw off neo-colonialism, have combined to produce a division of the world into the North-consisting of rich and developed nations with very high GNP, GNP per capita and highly developed economic industrial and technological bases; and the South i.e. poor and developing The South wants a restructuring of the international economic system with a view to free itself from neo-colonialism.

The North, however, wants to maintain the existing economic system as it suits its interests. It is prepared to make some modifications in the existing system for accommodating the wishes of the South. The South, however, strongly opposes North's attempts to perpetuate the system by resorting to protectionist trade and economic policies.

It also opposes the continued dominance of the existing economic system and its institutions like World Bank, IMF, and IBRD etc. by the North. The South wants an immediate North-South dialogue for restructuring the international economic relations i.e. for securing a New International Economic Order (NIEO) capable of protecting the economic and developmental interests of all the states.

The North, particularly the United States, is in no meaningful way prepared to accept any such move. Hence, there still prevails a sharp division between the North and the South over the issue of NIEO and other related matters. The North-South divide continues to characterize contemporary international relations. Even after the creation of new GATT and WTO, North-South relations continue to be problematic and divided.

7. Slow Progress of South-South Cooperation:

With a view to forge cooperation for development as well as cooperation for securing their due rights in the international economic system, the Third World countries have been trying to secure cooperation among them—i.e. South-South cooperation in economic, industrial and technological spheres. The NAM, the South Commission, the G-15, the G-24, the G-77, and several regional economic associations have been actively engaged in promoting South-South cooperation in international relations. However, their efforts have been only marginally successful.

Their economic, industrial and technological dependence upon the developed countries, the diversion of Western aid towards former socialist

states of Europe and Russia, the ability of the developed to exploit the economic dependence of the underdeveloped countries, existence of political disputes among the developing countries, conditions of instability that prevail in several developing countries etc., have all combined to keep limited the progress of South-South cooperation in international relations. The G-15 has not been in a position to really act out its role as a catalytic group.

8. Increased Importance of International Economic Relations:

Another noticeable trend in contemporary international politics is that Low Politics (Economic issues and relations) has come to be perceived as more important than High Politics (Military- strategic issues and relations). Conduct of economic relations is now regarded even more important than political relations among nations.

The existence of political/territorial disputes does not deter the parties to enter into economic cooperation. An improvement in socio-economic-cultural relations is viewed as a device for creating a healthy environment for the settlement of political disputes/conflicts. India and China, despite the continuance of the boundary dispute, are trying to maintain and even improve their economic and cultural relations.

India and the U.S.A. hold different, perceptions in respect of several key issues of world politics (E.g., Iran N-policy) and yet the two have been trying to extend their economic, civil, nuclear, and cultural cooperation. Similarly, we can quote the examples of Russia—U.S.A., U.S.A.— China, Russia—China, China and Japan, India and Pakistan etc. to support this view. This change has given strength to the Economic-political perspective in the study of International relations of our times.

9. Increasing Number and Invigorating Role of Non-State Actors:

Another important trend in contemporary international politics has been the emergence of several powerful non- state actors—NGO, international organizations, multi-national corporations Peace Groups, Human Rights Groups, and regional functional organizations. These actors often engage in actions which transcend national units, bridging nation-states into interlocking sets of economic, social, political and cultural ties.

These have been playing a key role in increasing the speed of global interdependence. “They have made for a new international system because it is now composed of new types of actors pursuing new types of objectives through new modes of interactions.” The emergence of transactional perspective in the study of international relations reflects the importance that non-state actors have come to play in contemporary international relations.

10 Issue of Nuclear Proliferation vs. Non-Proliferation and Arms Control:

The nuclear factor has been a source of a big change in the nature of international relations and the nuclear powers particularly the U.S.A., Russia, Britain, France and China, are in predicament. They have the power, rather the overkill capacity, yet they cannot use it for securing their desired objectives. Even after signing INF, START-I, START-II and Chemical Weapons Abolition Agreement and even while accepting the need for arms control and disarmament, the nuclear powers have been maintaining their nuclear potentials. However at the same time they want the non-nuclear nations to refrain from making nuclear weapons.

France and China have already become sizeable nuclear powers. Since 1998, India and Pakistan have been developing their n-weapon capabilities. States like Israel, South Africa and Iran have either secretly developed nuclear weapons or are on the way to do so. Brazil and Argentina can become nuclear in the near future. Similar can be the case of Iran. With the collapse of the erstwhile USSR at least three independent republics of this region have nuclear capabilities. The majority of the states, however, continue to be non-nuclear states

In fact, they see no reason and rationale behind the production of nuclear weapons and the continuance of nuclear proliferation by the nuclear haves. The nuclear nations support piecemeal nuclear control systems like creation of nuclear weapons free zones in the world. Countries like India are opposed to this piecemeal and sub-regional view of Arms Control and Disarmament.

Several states support measures for comprehensive and global disarmament. They want to end the state of their defencelessness against nuclear weapons as well as the overkill capacity of the nuclear states. The nuclear haves do not accept such a demand. Through the extension of NPT and signing of CTBT they have virtually perpetuated their statuses as nuclear haves and are now trying to practise a sort of nuclear hegemony on non-nuclear states.

These advocate nuclear non-proliferation by the non-nuclear states but justify their own nuclear proliferation in the name of nuclear deterrence and world peace. India and Pakistan have acquired nuclear weapons. The issue of CTBT evades consensus. Nuclear weapons and problem of Nuclear Disarmament and Arms Control continue to be the key issues of contemporary international relations.

11. Final End of Cold War in International Relations:

After having kept the world involved in the politics of confronrontation and conflict during 1945-90 (with the exception of 1971-79), the Cold War got

ended in early 1990s. The U.S.A. and the erstwhile USSR got engaged in a mature and continuous detente in 1985. Through it the two were successful in harmonizing their relations and in ushering an era of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Perestroika and Glasnost in the erstwhile U.S.S.R. and their impact upon the countries of Eastern Europe produced big changes in the political systems of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and East Germany. These changes brought these states very near to the Western European states. A new era of cooperation among European states dawned.

West Germany and East Germany got united into Germany. The Berlin Wall, the symbol and material manifestation of Cold War in Europe got demolished. Superpower involvement in regional conflicts got reduced. The (erstwhile) USSR withdrew from Afghanistan. The USA became more objective in its approach towards Afghanistan. Several local wars came to an end. No nation tried to fish out of the troubled waters in Sri Lanka. The U.S.A. and some other Western powers have come forward to adopt a positive and mature position over the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan.

The thinking in favour of Cold War, alliance politics, arms race, nuclear deterrence, balance of terror and aggressive power politics has been getting replaced by a commitment to peace, security, development, peaceful methods of conflict resolution, increased cooperation for protecting the environment, disarmament and arms control, and the principles of the U.N. The progress of post-Cold War international relations now reflects an increasing commitment towards peaceful coexistence and mutual cooperation for socio- economic cooperation among nations.

12. Enhanced Popularity of Peace and World Order Movements:

A very encouraging and positive trend in contemporary international relations has been the emergence of several well organised and influential world movements in favour of peace, security, environment protection and development. There exists a very welcome peace movement in the world.

The people all over the world have joined hands to raise voice in favour of peace against war, disarmament against armament race, non-nuclear non-violent world against nuclear and tense (terrorized) world, and cooperation and economic development against confrontation and fruitless militarization. Environment protection movements and Earth protection drives have given a new positive direction and health to international relations.

These have secured vital support for the ideals of Peace, Security, Cooperation and Development. The British based Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the European Nuclear Disarmament Movement (END),

the Green Peace against nuclear weapons, the Five Continent Six Nation Disarmament initiative taken by India, the movement for maintaining the ecological balance of our planet, the international fund raising movements for meeting the challenges posed by floods, famines etc., are all signs of a growing consciousness in favour of world peace. Peace research perspective in the study of International Politics has been becoming increasingly popular.

13. A Growing Trend towards International (Regional) Economic Integration:

The successful operationalization of the concept of Western European Economic Integration has been a source of encouragement for other nations. Through European Common Market and several other institutions, the Western European nations have been successful not only in making good the very heavy losses they had suffered between 1914-45, but also in registering rapid and big economic, industrial and technological development.

The success had encouraged them to vote in favour of making Europe a single economic zone with a common currency and banking service. European Economic Community (now EU) has emerged as a powerful non-state or multi-state actor in contemporary international relations. The changes in Eastern European countries have set the stage for ushering Europe into an era of meaningful and high level economic cooperation among all the European states.

Several Eastern European states have joined EU and others are in the queue. Success of EU has encouraged others to follow suit. The South-East Asian states have been using ASEAN, and the South Asian States SAARC, nine states of West Asia and Central Asia have formed ECO, Shaghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) the OPEC, Arab League and several other similar functional organizations have appeared in different parts of the globe. Economic and trading blocs like NAFTA and APEC and groups like ARF, G-8, G-15 (G-20) and others also point towards the growing importance of economic relations and forces of regional economic integration.

Several states have started acting as sectoral partners in the process of economic development. Along with these, a manifold increase in international and regional and bilateral institutions has been taking place. These have been established for guiding, directing and coordinating mostly non-political, non-military socio-economic-cultural relations among nations.

This trend towards institutionalization of relations and regional/global integration is a welcome trend since it is based upon the principle of mutual benefits through organised mutual efforts. Globalisation reflects the new urge for international integration.

14. Stronger Role of the United Nations:

In the post- Cold War, post-USSR era of international relations, an invigoration of the role of the United Nations took place. It played an important role in ending, through a collective security war the Gulf crisis resulting from the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. It was successful in bringing peace to war torn Cambodia and Afghanistan. It has now been engaged in peace-keeping operations in several parts (20) of the world. It has been very actively engaged in bringing peace in the Balkans by getting resolved the ethnic war between Muslim Serbs and Croats of the former Yugoslavia.

The end of Cold War and the consequent unwillingness of China and Russia to oppose the USA, the UK, and France in the UN Security Council has created a situation in which the UN Security Council now finds it possible to take effective and timely decisions in the interest of international peace and security. All the states now realize better the importance and potential of the United Nations as a global agency for peace, security and development. This has given a new strength to this giant international organization.

15. Some Attempts at Dominance of the United Nations:

In the post-Cold War era, the collapse of the Soviet Union gave a big boost to the US power in the world. As the sole surviving superpower, it came to be an even bigger actor in international relations. The Gulf war operations were virtually the US operations under the UN flag. In the post-Cold War period, particularly after the disintegration of the erstwhile USSR and increased dependence of Russia and the former republics of the erstwhile USSR, the US position in the UN Security Council became very strong.

None of the other four permanent members (Veto powers) were prepared to displease the surviving superpower. Several UN decisions—the sanctions against Iraq, measures against Libya, the decision to exonerate Israel by getting passed the resolution that Zionism and apartheid are not one, the UN decisions on Somalia, Bosnia, Cambodia and Angola issues, etc., all reflect the increased US influence nay US dominance of the UN.

Several scholars even go to the extent of stating that the UNO has been behaving as USO, particularly its Security Council has been showing a pro-US orientation. Almost all the nations, particularly the Third World nations are quite aware of the need to check all attempts at the dominance of the UN.

16. Demand for Democratization and Expansion of the UN Security Council:

The world map began registering rapid and big changes in the post-war years due to the emergence of the process of liberation of states from the yoke

of imperialism-colonialism. In the late 1990s, it underwent further big changes due to several new developments— emergence of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania as sovereign independent states, disintegration of the Soviet Union, rise of 11 new sovereign republics in the territory of the erstwhile USSR, unification of Germany, disintegration of Czechoslovakia into two independent republics, and the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

These changes gave a new shape to the world map. The number of sovereign states in the world went up to 192. The strength of the UN General Assembly correspondingly registered a big increase. However, the UN Security Council continued to live still in the past with five permanent and 10 non-permanent members. Asia had only one permanent seat, and Latin America and Africa were yet to get a permanent seat. The UN Security Council is yet to incorporate the recent changes.

It is yet to adopt decentralization and democratization. Germany, Japan, India, Brazil, South Africa and Egypt deserve permanent seats in this apex decision-making body at the international level., Brazil, Germany, India and Japan have formed G-4 for securing this objective.

The need to confer permanent membership on some of the states is felt by all, though some prefer to suggest that new permanent members should be non-veto members while others hold that either the existing permanent members should be made to part with their veto power in the era of sovereign equality of all states and peaceful co-existence, or the new permanent members should also be given the veto power.

17. Increased Ethnic Conflicts, Ethnic Violence and Ethnic Wars:

A sad and unfortunate reality of the contemporary era of international relations has been the emergence of ethnic conflicts and ethnic wars in several parts of the globe. Even after the defeat of LITE at the hands of Sri Lankan forces, the Tamil ethnic problem of their island nation is yet to be fully resolved. Armenia and Azerbaijan have been involved in ethnic wars and Russia and Georgia are virtually getting involved in a local ethnic war.

A dirty and bloody ethnic war in former Yugoslavia has been inflicting a big loss of human life. (Now, however, it appears to have been contained.) Massacre of children, women and men in the name of religion and ethnic cleansing has been a bitter reality in contemporary times.

Angola, Cyprus, Somalia, Ethiopia, Algeria, Middle-East, South Africa, Russia, Chechnya, China, Lebanon, Iraq and others continue to be potent centres of ethnic conflicts and wars. The rising force of Islamic fundamentalism in West Asia, Central Asia, Algeria, Egypt and some other areas has been another development causing concern. The post-Cold War

world has yet to really secure peaceful co-existence and freedom from local and ethnic wars.

18. Little Progress towards Arms Control and Disarmament:

A positive emerging trend in contemporary international relations happens to be an increasing consciousness and steady, success towards the goals of arms control and disarmament in international relations. The breakthrough came in the form of INF Treaty in 1987 and it paved the way for START-I and START-II.

In 1993, the Chemical Weapons Elimination Convention became a positive and important milestone on the road towards disarmament and arms control. Yet the nuclear haves are interested in perpetuating their N-power status and at the same time they are pressurizing the non-nuclear weapon nations to abandon even their peaceful nuclear programmes.

They are not prepared to accept full global-level arms control and disarmament measures but are interested in pursuing such piecemeal arms control measures like making the South Asia a nuclear weapon free zone and CTBT. In November 2001, both the USA and Russia expressed their desire and even resolved to reduce their respective nuclear weapon stockpiles. In fact, the danger of nuclear weapons/N- weapon technology falling into the hands of any international terrorist organisation has given rise to a new thinking and decision to check both the horizontal and vertical expansion of nuclear club.

Most of the countries today feel the necessity of complete elimination of the nuclear weapons through an international treaty for formulating and implementing a time bound programme for nuclear disarmament followed by a strict scheme for nuclear arms control. (However, on 14th December, 2001, the USA gave a notice for the termination of the AMB Treaty. It categorically asserted its decision to develop and deploy a new national missile defence system.)

19. Growing and Dangerous Menace of International Terrorism:

The last decade of the 20th century and the first decade of 21st century experienced the emergence of international terrorism in its several dimensions—Cross-border Terrorism, Religious Terrorism, Fundamentalist Terrorism, Narco-Terrorism, Jihadi Terrorism. Kashmir, Chechnya, Serbia, Rwanda, Luanda, Sri Lanka, Washington, London, Mumbai Delhi and many other places witnessed the ugly, dangerous and atrocious face of terrorism. Several terrorist groups began acting as highly organised and motivated groups actively using and justifying the use of the weapon of terror for securing their respective narrowly conceived goals.

The international community started becoming more and more conscious of the need to control this menace which has the potential of challenging and disturbing international peace and security in a big way. The decision (1999) to prevent the funding of terrorist groups by any state fully reflected concern.

However, it was only after September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the American World Trade Centre and the Pentagon that the world, led by the USA, accepted the urgent need to fight the menace of international terrorism. War against terrorism was initiated in a big way in October 2001.

However, this war, after its successful conclusion, will have to be extended to war against every other centre of terrorism and every other such regime as is found engaged in helping or supporting or sponsoring terrorism in any dimension.

After December 13, 2001 terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament, and the 26/11 terrorist attacks on Mumbai, it became fully clear that the war against terrorism would have to be fought against Taliban's, Osama Bin Laden, Al Qaeda, LET, JEM and JUD. The world community is now fully committed to win the war against International terrorism, particularly terrorism flowing from Afghanistan-Pakistan area into several different parts of the world.

Pakistan must end all terror networks operating from its soil and the POK. The international community wants strong, transparent, comprehensive and effective Pakistani action against all terrorists without any reservations. These are no good or bad terrorists. All terrorists are terrorists and they must be either forced to abandon terrorism or face complete destruction. There is a big need to adopt strong political, economic, social, cultural and military means for meeting this menace.

The fight against terrorism should be made under the aegis of the United Nations and no single nation should be permitted to implement and secure its national agenda in the garb of a collective (coalition) war against terrorism. War against terrorism should not be selective and subjective. It must be global in scope and approach as well as involve truly global efforts for pursuing the global objective of securing an end of international terrorism before the 21st century gets the chance to enter its second decade.

20. Changing Role of the NAM:

The negative elements—Cold War, Military Alliances and Power-politics, which provided some foundations to non-alignment in international relations, got a burial in the latter half of 1980s. Many scholars, therefore, started advocating that this development has made non-alignment irrelevant and even obsolete. However, the NAM nations and scholars belonging to the Third World countries reject this view.

They uphold the continued relevance of the NAM in international relations as a global movement in favour of independence in foreign protection of environment, end of protectionism and exploitation in international trade and economic relations, disarmament and arms control, protection of Human Rights of all races and peoples, and liberalisation and democratization of international apartheid war, nuclear weapons and armament race, exploitation and prevailing inequalities in contemporary international relations.

The Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Summits of the NAM reflected fully the continued relevance of the NAM in international relations. Thereafter, the 13th, 14th and 15th NAM Summits have reflected the determination of Non-aligned Nations to keep the Non-aligned movement as an active global level movement against Neo-colonialism, hegemony, protectionism, inequalities, discrimination and under- development. However, NAM has yet to adopt a new agenda for keeping itself strong and healthy. It must start more actively working for securing the interests of the developing countries in this era of Globalisation and WTO.

21. New Adjustments in International System:

The end of the Cold War, the demise of the USSR, the emergence of virtual unipolarity, the loss of vitality suffered by the NAM, the increasing importance of international economic relations, the US attempts to dominate the UN and international decision-making, the growing military and economic power of China, the attempts being made by Russia to carve out a new role in the emerging world order, emerging Sino-Russia strategic relationship, the possibility of development of an economic Cold War between the USA and EU, and the USA and China, the potential role of Germany, the possibility of Japan becoming a military power, the growing role of India in the new world order, and some other factors., all reflect the fact that post-Cold War and post-USSR, international system is now trying hard to adjust itself with the new realities. A multi-centrist international system or a multipolar world is being pushed as a global objective. The need for the UN reforms is being advocated by almost all the members of the international community.

22. Globalisation:

The movement for globalisation has been currently commanding the increasing attention and interest of the nations. It has emerged as a commonly shared objective and contemporary international system abundantly reflects that Globalisation has gained a near universal acceptance as an objective of international relations.

It is seen both as an active process of corporate expansion across borders and a structure of cross-border facilities and economic linkages that have been

steadily growing and changing as the process gathers steam. Like its conceptual partner 'free trade', globalisation is also an ideology, whose function is to reduce any resistance to the process by making it seem both highly beneficent and unstoppable.

It is expected to act as the means both for a real economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a global village as well as for securing the objective of sustainable development. However, the critics of Globalisation hold that it is really a corporate agenda for dominating international business and economy. It has the potential danger of enabling the rich and developed countries to maintain and strengthen their neo-colonial control over the policies and economies of the Third World countries.

In the name of protection of Human Rights, development of all and sustainable development, Globalisation seeks to perpetuate the gap between the developed and the developing countries. The critics also project the view that the existing global economic recession has been a product of globalisation. No one denies that globalisation has its problems.

However, it is also an accepted fact that Global problem need global solutions. Economic recession can be met by global-level policies and efforts. Hence, globalisation is a reality and a need of international relations. What is needed is to prevent every attempt at protectionism and hijacking of globalisation by all the nations by promoting global-level understanding and cooperation as well as undertaking global-level efforts for finding solutions for all global issues and problems.

23. Sustainable Development, Protection of Environment and Protection of Human Rights of all as the Key Objectives:

In the contemporary era of international relations, all the members of the international community, both the nation-states as well as the non-state regional and global actors, have accepted securing of sustainable development, protection and promotion of environmental health and protection of all human rights of all the people of the world as the three cardinal objectives to be secured in the days to come.

Development registered in the age of science and technology has proved to be neither real nor enduring development. This development has adversely affected our environment and made our planet, Earth, poorer by excessive and unprincipled exploitation of the natural resources. The development secured during the past century has adversely affected the ability of the future generations to live and develop.

As such, the current objective is to secure sustainable development, real and enduring development, which in no way limits the ability of the future

generation to develop. It also involves making our environment healthier by repairing the damage already done as well as by strengthening its ability to withstand pressure resulting from development. Use of eco-friendly technology for keeping the environment healthy is the current objective.

Finally, protection of all human rights of all the people living in all parts of the globe for enabling them to have equal benefits of natural resources of the earth and gains from technological advancement is again an international objective. Contemporary international system accepts these three as valuable objectives to be secured in the 21st century.

24. Global-Level Efforts for Controlling Global Economic Recession:

Since 2008, the world has been experiencing a global-level economic recession. The economies of all the developed countries, particularly the USA, Japan, UK, Canada, the European Union States and Australia have been living with big economic and industrial slowdowns and several cases of failures of Banks, Insurance Companies and other such institutions.

Negative inflation, negative industrial growth, job losses and rising unemployment have been the order of the day. Under the impact of economic recession in developed countries, the economies of almost all the developing countries have been living with economic and industrial pressures.

The economies of two largest emerging economies China and India have been registering quite slow economic and industrial growths. The developed countries have been undertaking several measures-stimulus packages for banks and insurance institutions, lowering of interest rates, protection of domestic employment markets and several others, The G-8 and G-20 Groups as well as the World Bank and IMF have been trying to overcome economic recession.

Globalisation appears to have got halted. Countries like India have been trying hard to maintain their economies healthy and growing. These are also opposing New Protectionism being adopted by developed countries in the name of fighting economic recession. The international economic system is currently under great stress.

Fortunately, all the countries have been trying to adopt necessary measures for overcoming the problem. G- 20 leaders have been regularly meeting to devise global-level ways and means for meeting the pressures resulting from recession. It is hoped that in the next nine to twelve months, the international community will be in a position to come out of economic recession.

Most of the states are now advocating a strong need for reforming international economic institutions as well as the need to check unbridled capitalism. The need to regulate the process of globalisation is also being

advocated by all the countries.

These have been some of the major changes/trends in contemporary international order. The process of change, which has been in place since 1991, is neither complete nor can it be completed in the immediate future. International Politics has always been dynamic and the same is also true in contemporary times.

A new international system is currently emerging. It has several distinct trends— Globalisation, fight against terrorism as a priority additional steps for the protection of Human Rights and the environment, the need to meet the challenges coming from climate change and the imperative need for securing sustainable development.

CHAPTER – 28
TERRORISM

Structure

28.1 Introduction

28.2 Meaning

28.3 Types of Terrorism

28.4 Conditions of Terrorism

28.5 Globalisation and Terrorism

28.1 Introduction

The words terrorism, insurgency, civil war, revolution, guerrilla war, intimidation and extremism are most often interchanged and used very loosely. What is common in all is 'violence'. Terrorism is an organized system of intimidation. It is broadly defined as 'violent behaviour designed to generate fear in the community, or a substantial segment of it, for political purposes'. It is also defined as 'a method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence' (Encyclopedia of Social Sciences).

The US Central Intelligence Agency's 1980 definition of it, duly accepted by the State Department is: "The threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition, when such actions are intended to shock, stun, or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims" (The Hindustan Times, January 15, 1996). Terrorist acts are directed against persons who, as individual agents or representatives of authority, interfere with the consummation of the objectives of such a group.

28.2 Meaning

A 'terrorist' is one who imposes the punishment meted out by his organization upon those who are held to interfere with the revolutionary programme. The terrorist does not merely threaten; death or destruction is part of his programme of action

Terrorism is, most simply, policy intended to intimidate or cause terror. It is more commonly understood as an act which

1. Is intended to create fear (terror).
2. Is perpetrated for an ideological goal (as opposed to a materialistic goal or a lone attack).
3. Deliberately targets (or disregards the safety of) non-combatants.

Some definitions also include acts of unlawful violence or unconventional warfare, but at present, there is no internationally agreed upon definition of terrorism.

"Terror" comes from a Latin word meaning "to frighten". A person who practices terrorism is a terrorist. Acts of terrorism are criminal acts according to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373 and the domestic jurisprudence of almost all nations.

.In November 2004, a United Nations Security Council report described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act".

The history of terrorist organizations suggests that they do not practice terrorism only for its political effectiveness; individual terrorists are also motivated by a desire for social solidarity with other members.

Terrorism has been practiced by a broad array of political organizations for furthering their objectives. It has been practiced by right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic groups, religious groups, revolutionaries, and ruling governments.

Terrorism is also often recognizable by a following statement from the perpetrators.

Violence – According to Walter Laqueur of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, "the only general characteristic of terrorism generally agreed upon is that terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence". However, the criterion of violence alone does not produce a useful definition, as it includes many acts not usually considered terrorism: war, riot, organized crime, or even a simple assault. Property destruction that does not endanger life is not usually considered a violent crime, but some have described property destruction by the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front as violence and terrorism.

Psychological impact and fear – The attack was carried out in such a way as to maximize the severity and length of the psychological impact. Each act of terrorism is a “performance” devised to have an impact on many large audiences. Terrorists also attack national symbols, to show power and to attempt to shake the foundation of the country or society they are opposed to. This may negatively affect a government, while increasing the prestige of the given terrorist organization and/or ideology behind a terrorist act.

Perpetrated for a political goal – Something that many acts of terrorism have in common is a political purpose. Terrorism is a political tactic, like letter-writing or protesting, which is used by activists when they believe that no other means will affect the kind of change they desire. The change is desired so badly that failure to achieve change is seen as a worse outcome than the deaths of civilians. This is often where the inter-relationship between terrorism and religion occurs. When a political struggle is integrated into the framework of a religious or "cosmic" struggle, such as over the control of an ancestral homeland or holy site such as Israel and Jerusalem, failing in the political goal (nationalism) becomes equated with spiritual failure, which, for the highly committed, is worse than their own death or the deaths of innocent civilians.

Deliberate targeting of non-combatants – It is commonly held that the distinctive nature of terrorism lies in its intentional and specific selection of civiliansas direct targets. Specifically, the criminal intent is shown when babies, children, mothers and the elderly are murdered, or injured and put in harm's way. Much of the time, the victims of terrorism are targeted not because they are threats, but because they are specific "symbols, tools, animals or corrupt beings" that tie into a specific view of the world that the terrorists possess. Their suffering accomplishes the terrorists' goals of instilling fear, getting their message out to an audience or otherwise satisfying the demands of their often radical religious and political agendas.

Disguise – Some terrorists pretend to be non-combatants, hide among such non-combatants, fight from vantage points in the midst of non-combatants, and (when they can), strive to mislead and provoke the government soldiers into attacking other people, so that the government will be blamed.

Unlawfulness or illegitimacy – Some official (notably government) definitions of terrorism add a criterion of illegitimacy or unlawfulness to distinguish between actions authorized by a government (and thus "lawful") and those of other actors, including individuals and small groups. Using this criterion, actions that would otherwise qualify as terrorism would not be considered terrorism if they were government sanctioned. For example, firebombing a city, which is designed to affect civilian support for a cause, would not be considered terrorism if it were authorized by a government. This criterion is inherently problematic and is not universally accepted, because: it denies the existence of state terrorism; the same act may or may not be classed as terrorism depending on whether its sponsorship is traced to a "legitimate" government; "legitimacy" and "lawfulness" are subjective, depending on the perspective of one government or another; and it diverges from the historically accepted meaning and origin of the term. For these reasons, this criterion is not

universally accepted; most dictionary definitions of the term do not include this criterion.

28.3 Types of Terrorism

Four types of terrorism have been identified by Chalmers Johnson and those are:

(1) Ethnic

(2) Nationalist

(3) Ideological

(4) Pathological or Religious.

Insurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram belonged to ethnic type, where as Khalistan movement in Punjab belonged to religious or pathologic type while Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ellam (LTTE) come under the Nationalist category, the Naxalites in India are called 'ideological' groups the other two types of terrorism are state- terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism, the one sponsored by Pakistan in the Kashmir Valley.

Other Forms of Terrorism:

Terrorism may also take several other forms, such as Bio- terrorism, Nuclear terrorism Cyber terrorism, Gene terrorism. Bio-terrorism refers to the use of biological weapons which are more fatal compared to other conventional weapons. Bio- terrorism became a reality only after the September 11 incident with the detection of Anthrax attack in the U.S. cities through postal mails. The main objective of the terrorists to resort to bio-terrorism is to create a panic among the civilian population of the targeted country.

The bio-terrorists send the frozen and dried Anthrax Bacterial powder in small packets/parcels by ordinary mail across the borders of the targeted country, where those are stock-piled for use in future. Although, production of these bio-weapons have been banned under Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention Treaty, 1972 but the secret use of these bio-arms by the terrorists are considered more dangerous and vulnerable.

Nuclear Terrorism

It relates to the secret use of Nuclear weapons by the terrorists. Its use was confirmed when the Al-Qaeda documents and manuals were found in the city of Kabul in Afghanistan by the North-Alliance army. These documents contained research studies into the use of nuclear weapons and materials including U- 235. This also included use of radioactive materials to incite panic acid terror among the civilians.

Cyber Terrorism:

It is a 21st century threat. The goal of a cyber attack is to disable the enemy's defence system, scramble its logistics, and in fact the software's. 'Hacking' is the most commonly and easily used method to deface governmental Websites by hackers. Security experts feel that this method is virtually untraceable as there is no trail from sender to recipient. These terrorists exploit hi-tech graphic tools and the Internet to send and receive coded messages.

Gene-terrorism:

A Gene-terrorist, by twisting bacterial and viral DNA can create an agent, for more devastating than the bugs in the Anthrax attack. There have been instances, where Micro-biologists have created new intestinal bugs, which are much more fatal for the human life. Their use by the terrorists can lead to massive death. Social Terrorists or Mafia-terrorists have become a menace all over India. They comprise drugs-boron's, under-world Arms dealers, and threaten the social fabric of our country.

28.4 Conditions of Terrorism:

Researchers in their comparative study of Political violence, a synonym of terrorism have revealed nine "Systemic Conditions of Political Unrest." these are:

1. Poor state of Socio-economic development.
2. The widening gap between Social wants and Social Satisfaction within the Society.
3. Pace of modernisation.
4. The level of need-achievement within the Society.
5. Presence of strong minority populations.
6. High level Socio-economic frustration, high level fluctuation in coerciveness and mud-level coerciveness of Political regime.

Range of terrorist activities:

The range of terrorist activities is wide and it covers cases of bus and plane-hijacking, sabotage, leading to Railways accidents resulting loss of life, taking persons as 'hostage', abduction of Political leaders, and their kids, political assassinations, explosion of bombs in office-buildings and at public places, mass-killing through use of air bombs and suicide-quads.

In 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistant Administration in the United States formed the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. One of the five volumes that the committee was entitled Disorders

and Terrorism, produced by the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism under the direction H.H.A. Cooper, Director of the Task Force staff. The Task Force classified terrorism into six categories.

1. **Civil Disorders** – A form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security, and normal functioning of the community.
2. **Political Terrorism** – Violent criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it, for political purposes.
3. **Non-Political Terrorism** – Terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which exhibits "conscious design to create and maintain high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of a political objective."
4. **Quasi-Terrorism** – The activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism but which nevertheless lack its essential ingredient. It is not the main purpose of the quasi-terrorists to induce terror in the immediate victim as in the case of genuine terrorism, but the quasi-terrorist uses the modalities and techniques of the genuine terrorist and produces similar consequences and reaction. For example, the fleeing felon who takes hostages is a quasi-terrorist, whose methods are similar to those of the genuine terrorist but whose purposes are quite different.
5. **Limited Political Terrorism** – Genuine political terrorism is characterized by a revolutionary approach; limited political terrorism refers to "acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a concerted campaign to capture control of the State.
6. **Official or State Terrorism** –"referring to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that reach similar to terrorism or such proportions." It may also be referred to as **Structural Terrorism** defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

In an analysis prepared for U.S. Intelligence four typologies are mentioned.

1. Nationalist-Separatist
2. Religious Fundamentalist
3. New Religious
4. Social Revolutionary

State sponsors

A state can sponsor terrorism by funding or harboring a terrorist organization. Opinions as to which acts of violence by states consist of state-sponsored terrorism or not vary widely. When states provide funding for groups considered by some to be terrorist, they rarely acknowledge them as such.

State terrorism

The concept of state terrorism is controversial. Military actions by states during war are usually not considered terrorism, even when they involve significant civilian casualties. The Chairman of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee has stated that the Committee was conscious of the 12 international Conventions on the subject, and none of them referred to State terrorism, which was not an international legal concept. If States abused their power, they should be judged against international conventions dealing with war crimes, international human rights and international humanitarian law. Former United NationsSecretary-GeneralKofi Anna has said that it is "time to set aside debates on so-called 'state terrorism'. The use of force by states is already thoroughly regulated under international law" However, he also made clear that, "...regardless of the differences between governments on the question of definition of terrorism, what is clear and what we can all agree on is any deliberate attack on innocent civilians, regardless of one's cause, is unacceptable and fits into the definition of terrorism." State terrorism has been used to refer to terrorist acts by governmental agents or forces. This involves the use of state resources employed by a state's foreign policies, such as the using its military to directly perform acts of considered to be state terrorism. Professor of Political Science, Michael Stohl cites the examples that include Germany's bombing of London and the U.S. atomic destruction of Hiroshima during World War II. He argues that "the use of terror tactics is common in international relations and the state has been and remains a more likely employer of terrorism within the international system than insurgents." They also cite the First strike option as an example of the "terror of coercive diplomacy" as a form of this, which holds the world "hostage,' with the implied threat of using nuclear weapons in "crisis management." They argue that the institutionalized form of terrorism has occurred as a result of changes that took place following World War ll. In this analysis, state terrorism exhibited as a form of foreign policy was shaped by the presence and use of weapons of mass destruction, and that the legitimizing of such violent behavior led to an increasingly accepted form of this state behavior.

State terrorism has also been used to describe peace time actions by governmental agents or forces, such as the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 flight. Charles Stewart Parnell described William Gladstone's Irish Coercion Act as terrorism in his "no-Rent manifesto" in 1881, during the Irish Land War. The concept is also used to describe political repressions by governments against their own civilian population with the purpose to incite fear. For example, taking and executing civilian hostages or extrajudicial elimination campaigns are commonly considered "terror" or terrorism, for example during Red Terror or Great Terror. Such actions are often also described as democide which has been argued to be equivalent to state terrorism Empirical studies on this have found that democracies have little democide.

Tactics

Terrorism is a form of asymmetric warfare, and is more common when direct conventional warfare either cannot be (due to differentials in available forces) or is not being used to resolve the underlying conflict.

The context in which terrorist tactics are used is often a large-scale, unresolved political conflict. The type of conflict varies widely; historical examples include:

- Secession of a territory to form a new sovereign state
- Dominance of territory or resources by various ethnic groups
- Imposition of a particular form of government
- Economic deprivation of a population
- Opposition to a domestic government or occupying army

Terrorist attacks are often targeted to maximize fear and publicity. They usually use explosives or poison, but there is also concern about terrorist attacks using weapons of mass destruction. Terrorist organizations usually methodically plan attacks in advance, and may train participants, plant "undercover" agents, and raise money from supporters or through organized crime. Communication may occur through modern telecommunications, or through old-fashioned methods such as couriers.

Responses to terrorism

Responses to terrorism are broad in scope. They can include re-alignments of the political spectrum and reassessments of fundamental values. The term counter-terrorism has a narrower connotation, implying that it is directed at terrorist actors.

Specific types of responses include:

- Targeted laws, criminal procedures, deportations, and enhanced police

powers

- Target hardening, such as locking doors or adding traffic barriers
- Pre-emptive or reactive military action
- Increased intelligence and surveillance activities
- Pre-emptive humanitarian activities
- More permissive interrogation and detention policies
- Official acceptance of torture as a valid tool

Mass media

Media exposure may be a primary goal of those carrying out terrorism, to expose issues that would otherwise be ignored by the media. Some consider this to be manipulation and exploitation of the media. Others consider terrorism itself to be a symptom of a highly controlled mass media, which does not otherwise give voice to alternative viewpoints that controlled media is responsible for terrorism, because "you cannot get your information across any other way". The mass media will often censor organizations involved in terrorism (through self-restraint or regulation) to discourage further terrorism. However, this may encourage organizations to perform more extreme acts of terrorism to be shown in the mass media.

28.5 Globalisation and Terrorism

The term “global terrorism” means terrorism involving citizens of the territory of more than one country. The term “terrorist group” means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism. The nature of “global terrorism” has changed dramatically since September 11 2001.

It has moved from a small-scale, country-centered risk to a global phenomenon with escalating human and financial costs. Many recognized experts in Global Risk Analysis have estimated the risk of terrorism in 186 countries, and against these countries’ interests abroad, over the coming years. Globalization is becoming an ever more influential “architect” of the new international security agenda.

This impact on the evolution of the relations among states in this key area is contradictory. International terrorism is developing into a strategic threat to the security of mankind. A sinister symptom of that disease was the terrorist acts, monstrous in their cruelty and the number of victims that have swept the world in recent years. Even the rise of political violence also further aggravated the situation leading to large-scale insecurity in the society and social unrest.

The main political violence threats are posed by:

1. Major terrorist attacks by organized groups,
2. Small-scale, often random attacks by individuals or ad hoc groups,
3. Politically motivated kidnapping,
4. Politically motivated harassment.
5. Violent political unrest, and
6. Inter and intra state conflicts.

The threat of Islamic extremist "terrorism" has increased in the past few years, especially in Africa, Middle East, and South-East Asia. "Al-Qaida" has emerged as a global phenomenon encompassing various autonomous local/regional networks.

Similarly, the threats from nationalist, extreme right/left-wing, religious cults, and criminal gangs are increasing by leaps and bounds leading to large-scale insecurity to common man. With the result, the growing threat perceptions among the masses and middle-class sections have reached a stage that normal life is getting disturbed in many of the developing countries.

The inclusion of technology as a tool for carrying out terrorist attacks by organized networks with access to finance and explosives is a recent phenomenon. Even the politically motivated individuals or ad hoc groups with limited resources are resorting to terrible violence in the name of protest marches on various public issues.

This resulted in growing attacks against:

1. Buildings (offices, hotels, official interests, etc.)
2. Vehicles (hijacks, carjacks, ambushes)
3. Personnel (targeted or random shooting, kidnap, etc.)
4. Infrastructure (oil, electricity, water, etc.).

Serious political unrest relatively rare in North Africa, Middle East more common in some parts of S-E Asia (e.g., Indonesia) has been the outcome of this global terrorism. These protests rarely pose direct threats to foreign personnel, but can develop into riots or sustained clashes with the security forces, posing significant incidental risks.

The growing militancy in Jammu & Kashmir in the name of Islamic Jihad also indicates the failure of governments in dealing with the people's aspirations as observed by some scholars. The opening of economies and thereby inviting foreign investments in many of the developing countries that are struggling to fight against social unrest and terrorism may further complicate the situation leading to social insecurity.

There is a likelihood of diversion of funding toward anti-social agencies under unforeseen conditions. The globalization phenomenon becomes controversial in this context and has triggered a massive debate about its influence on the rising social insecurity and unrest.

Rising Social Insecurity:

In the event of terrorism being characterized as an act of violence, either domestic or international, depending on the origin, base and objectives of the terrorist organization it should be tackled with a stern hand as it is going to cost the global peace heavily. At a time when state sponsorship of terrorism is increasing and many formal terrorist groups, and loosely affiliated extremists are viewing the United States as an enemy, there needs to be sufficient attention among the people concerned to rise to the occasion and initiate steps toward mitigating the evil effects of this scenario.

This is found to be necessary in view of rising insecurity in the backdrop of global terrorism. Most of the scholars and thinkers opine that the rising "social unrest" resulting from poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy is leading the people toward anti-social activities in such a way as to make the state a silent spectator. The number of terrorist attacks has increased in every region of the world including the Middle East, which is found to be the boiling point of global unrest. In view of growing vested interests around the "Palestine problem", as anticipated by some thinkers, it appears that one more world war could occur.

The growing social insecurity in the light of so-called "Islamic fundamentalism" as described by some thinkers may cost the interests of next generation of human beings and as such Samuel Huntington's theory of Clash of Civilizations finds relevance in this regard. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre, New York, on September 11, 2001 (popularly known as 9/11 incident) sensitizes the global community about the dangers of growing social insecurity.

There is a popular perception that the rising insecurity in the wake of terrorism supported by globalization phenomenon might affect the desired goods of economic globalization. It implies that the flow of foreign investments to many of the Third World countries may be halted due to declining security standards. And as such the millions of poor people who became prey to natural disasters, which are beyond human capacities to protect, may also become victims to terrorism caused by social unrest and political failures.

The globalization impact on the welfare of humanity, from terrorism point of view, has another dimension which contains an element of truth. As

analyzed by some thinkers, globalization contributes to accelerated development of productive forces, scientific and technological progress and ever more intensive communication among states and peoples.

So, objectively it helps the mankind to build up the resource base and the intellectual potential for ensuring "international security" at a qualitatively new level. The growing interdependence of countries and peoples in every sphere helps to generate new political approaches aimed at creating democratic multilateral mechanisms of managing the international system and hence reliable solution of the security problems.

At the same time, the processes of globalization, which mainly develop spontaneously, without a collective directing influence of the world community, aggravate a number of old problems of international security and engender new risks and challenges.

Regional mechanisms of anti-terrorist interaction, including within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the "Shanghai Cooperation Organization", are gathering strength. They are called upon to put a serious barrier to the spread of terrorism in Central Asia. The new quality of partnership between "Russia" and "NATO" countries and the "European Union" has significant potential to counter terror.

Whatever the reasons may be, the common task of the world community is to preserve and develop the acquired experience of interaction within the coalition that is being forged among world nations to fight against the global terrorism by avoiding any unilateral actions that could undermine it. It is the UN that is called upon to continue to guarantee efforts in combating new threats and challenges that have a solid basis in international law.

CHAPTER – 28
ENVIRONMENT

Structure

28.1 Meaning

28.2 Environmental Pollution and Its Effects

28.3 Global warming

28.4 Greenhouse Effect

28.5 GEF History

28.1 Meaning

Environment is the surrounding things. It includes living things and natural forces. The environment of living things provides conditions for development and growth as well as danger and damage. Living things do not simply exist in their environment. They constantly interact with it. Organisms change in response to conditions in their environment. The environment consists of the interactions among plants, animals, soil, water, temperature, light, and other living and non-living things.

The word environment is used to talk about many things. People in different fields of knowledge (like history, geography or biology) use the word differently. An electromagnetic environment is the various radio waves that equipment such as radio and radar can meet. Galactic environment refers to conditions between the stars.

In psychology and medicine a person's environment is the people, physical things, places, and events that the person lives with. The environment affects the growth and development of the person. It affects the person's behavior. It affects the person's body, mind and heart.

Natural environment

In biology and ecology the environment is all of the natural materials and living things, including sunlight. This is also called the natural environment. Some people call themselves environmentalists. They think we must protect the environment, to keep it safe. Things in the environment that we value are called natural resources. For example fish, sunlight, and forests. These are renewable natural resources because they come back naturally when we use them. Non-renewable natural resources are important things in the environment that do not come back naturally, for example ores and fossil fuels.

Historical environment

Environment is the events and culture that a person lived in. A person's beliefs and actions are dependent on his environment. For example, Thomas Jefferson and Julius Caesarowned slaves. Modern people mostly think it's wrong to own slaves. But in Jefferson's and Caesar's environments slavery was normal. So, their actions did not look as wrong in their societies.

28.2 Environmental Pollution and Its Effects

One of the greatest problems that the world is facing today is that of environmental pollution, increasing with every passing year and causing grave and irreparable damage to the earth. Environmental pollution consists of five basic types of pollution, namely, air, water, soil, noise and light.

Air pollution is by far the most harmful form of pollution in our environment. Air pollution is cause by the injurious smoke emitted by cars, buses, trucks, trains, and factories, namely sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide and nitrogen oxides. Even smoke from burning leaves and cigarettes are harmful to the environment causing a lot of damage to man and the atmosphere. Evidence of increasing air pollution is seen in lung cancer, asthma, allergies, and various breathing problems along with severe and irreparable damage to flora and fauna. Even the most natural phenomenon of migratory birds has been hampered, with severe air pollution preventing them from reaching their seasonal metropolitan destinations of centuries.

Chlorofluorocarbons (CFC), released from refrigerators, air-conditioners, deodorants and insect repellents cause severe damage to the Earth's environment. This gas has slowly damaged the atmosphere and depleted the ozone layer leading to global warming.

Water pollution caused industrial waste products released into lakes, rivers, and other water bodies, has made marine life no longer hospitable. Humans pollute water with large scale disposal of garbage, flowers, ashes and other household waste. In many rural areas one can still find people bathing and cooking in the same water, making it incredibly filthy. Acid rain further adds to water pollution in the water. In addition to these, thermal pollution and the depletion of dissolved oxygen aggravate the already worsened condition of the water bodies. Water pollution can also indirectly occur as an offshoot of soil pollution – through surface runoff and leaching to groundwater.

Noise pollution, soil pollution and light pollution too are the damaging the environment at an alarming rate. Noise pollution include aircraft noise, noise of cars, buses, and trucks, vehicle horns, loudspeakers, and industry noise, as well as high-intensity sonar effects which are extremely harmful for the environment.

Maximum noise pollution occurs due to one of modern science's best discoveries – the motor vehicle, which is responsible for about ninety percent of all unwanted noise worldwide.

Soil pollution, which can also be called soil contamination, is a result of acid rain, polluted water, fertilizers etc., which leads to bad crops. Soil contamination occurs when chemicals are released by spill or underground storage tank leakage which releases heavy contaminants into the soil. These may include hydrocarbons, heavy metals, MTBE, herbicides, pesticides and chlorinated hydrocarbons.

Light Pollution includes light trespass, over-illumination and astronomical interference.

28.3 Global warming

Global warming is rapid increase in the temperature of earth's atmosphere and oceans in the past few years. The negative effects of Global warming are heat waves, unusual warm weather, ocean warming, rise in sea level, and coastal flooding, warming of Arctic and Antarctic zones, changes in the pattern and amount of precipitation, species extinction and melting of the glaciers which have proven to be extremely dangerous.

Global warming is the result of human negligence. Years of deforestation and pollution have slowly but steadily damaged the atmosphere and depleted the ozone layer. Refrigerators and air conditioners for example, emit the harmful Chlorofluorocarbons (CFC) which cause the depletion of the ozone layer and result in Global warming.

Our injured atmosphere is reflected in increasing droughts and fires, heavy downfalls, snowfalls and flooding, tornados, hurricanes, plant and animal shift range and population changes, Tsunamis and coral reef bleaching.

Plant respiration and the decomposition of organic matter release more than 10 times the CO2 released by human activities; but these releases have generally been in balance during the centuries leading up to the industrial revolution with carbon dioxide absorbed by terrestrial vegetation and the oceans.

In the last few hundred years is the additional release of carbon dioxide by human activities have caused the atmospheric temperature to rise. Fossil fuels burned to run cars and trucks, heat homes and businesses, and power factories are responsible for maximum poisonous gases emissions. Increased agriculture, deforestation, landfills, industrial production, and mining also contribute a significant share of emissions.

To reduce Global warming we need to be very careful of the electronics we use, and try and use CFC free electronics. We need to control the air pollution, the emission of the harmful gases and factory smoke, which is one of the main causes of Global Warming.

We need to respect and protect our environment so that we have safe and healthy air to breathe and we can live in a clean atmosphere.

28.4 Greenhouse Effect

The Greenhouse effect is the rise in the temperature of nitrous oxide and carbon dioxide, Earth's atmosphere due to certain gases like, methane, water vapour, which trap the energy and heat from the sun. Without these gasses, the heat would escape reducing the temperature of the atmosphere. These gases are commonly known as Greenhouse gases, because they help to maintain the Earth's average temperature. Simply put, it is a natural process which make the Earth's atmosphere just right for life forms to flourish.

The glass panes of the greenhouse let the light in, but trap the heat and energy, thus keeping the greenhouse warm even in winter, so much so that the atmosphere is warm enough for the plants to grow in winter. The Greenhouse heats up mainly because the sun warms the ground inside, which in turn warms the air above the ground, and this air is stopped from rising and flowing away.

In the Earth's atmosphere the Greenhouse gases behave similar to the glass panels in a greenhouse. Sunlight penetrates through Earth's atmosphere, passing through the layer of Green house gases. On reaching the Earth's surface, biosphere, water, and land, absorb the sunlight's heat and energy. Once the energy and heat is absorbed, it returns to the atmosphere. Most of the heat and energy is trapped in the Earth's atmosphere by the Greenhouse gases, which ultimately results in the Earth to warm up; however some of the heat and energy returns back to space.

In the last few centuries, the human activities have directly or indirectly caused the concentration of the major greenhouse gases to increase. Scientists predict that this increase may enhance the greenhouse effect making the planet warmer. Few researchers estimate that the Earth's average temperature has already risen by 0.3 to 0.6° Celsius. Predictions of future point at an alarming rise to approximate 1 to 3° Celsius higher than today by the middle of the next century.

28.5 GEF History

The Global Environment Facility was established in October 1991 as a $1 billion pilot program in the World Bank to assist in the protection of the

global environment and to promote environmental sustainable development. The GEF would provide new and additional grants and concessional funding to cover the "incremental" or additional costs associated with transforming a project with national benefits into one with global environmental benefits.

The United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Environment Program, and the World Bank were the three initial partners implementing GEF projects.

In 1994, at the Rio Earth Summit, the GEF was restructured and moved out of the World Bank system to become a permanent, separate institution. The decision to make the GEF an independent organization enhanced the involvement of developing countries in the decision-making process and in implementation of the projects. Since 1994, however, the World Bank has served as the Trustee of the GEF Trust Fund and provided administrative services.

As part of the restructuring, the GEF was entrusted to become the financial mechanism for both the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. In partnership with the Montreal Protocol of the Vienna Convention on Ozone Layer Depleting Substances, the GEF started funding projects that enable the Russian Federation and nations in Eastern Europe and Central Asia to phase out their use of ozone-destroying chemicals.

The GEF subsequently was also selected to serve as financial mechanism for three more international conventions: The Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (2001), the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (2003) and the Minamata Convention on Mercury (2013).

The Global Environment Facility (GEF) was established on eve of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, to help tackle our planet’s most pressing environmental problems. Since then, the GEF has provided $14.6 billion in grants and mobilized an additional $74.3 billion in financing for more than 4,000 projects. The GEF has become an international partnership of 183 countries, international institutions, civil society organizations, and private sector to address global environmental issues.

The GEF’s 18 implementing partners are: Asian Development Bank (ADB), African Development Bank (AFDB), Development Bank of Latin America (CAF), Conservation International (CI), Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), Foreign Economic Cooperation Office - Ministry of Environmental Protection of China (FECO), Food and Agriculture Organization of the United

Nations (FAO), Fundo Brasileiro para a Biodiversidade (FUNBIO), Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), West African Development Bank (BOAD), World Bank Group (WBG), World Wildlife Fund U.S. (WWF).

The GEF serves as financial mechanism for the following conventions:

- Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)
- Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs)
- UN Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD)
- Minamata Convention on Mercury
- The GEF, although not linked formally to the Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer (MP), supports implementation of the Protocol in countries with economies in transition.

The GEF administers the LDCF and SCCF which were established by the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the UNFCCC. The GEF also administers the Nagoya Protocol Implementation Fund (NPIF) that was established by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). In addition, the GEF Secretariat hosts the Adaptation Fund Board Secretariat.

Structure

The **GEF Assembly** is the governing body of the GEF in which representatives of all member countries participate. It meets every three to four years, and is responsible for reviewing and evaluating the GEF's general policies, the operation of the GEF, and its membership. The Assembly is also responsible for considering and approving proposed amendments to the GEF Instrument, the document that established the GEF and set the rules by which the GEF operates.

Ministers and high-level government delegations of all GEF member countries take part in the meetings. The Assembly combines plenary meetings and high-level panels, exhibits, side events and GEF project site visits. Prominent environmentalists, parliamentarians, business leaders, scientists, and NGO leaders discuss global environmental challenges within the context of sustainable development and other international development goals.

The **GEF Council** is the main governing body of the GEF. It functions as an independent board of directors, with primary responsibility for developing, adopting, and evaluating GEF programs. Council members representing 32 constituencies (16 from developing countries, 14 from

developed countries, and two from countries with transitional economies) meet twice each year for three days and also conduct business by mail. All decisions are by consensus. Council meetings are attended regularly by civil society organizations.

The **GEF Secretariat** is based in Washington, D.C. and reports directly to the GEF Council and Assembly, ensuring that their decisions are translated into effective actions. The secretariat coordinates the formulation of projects included in the work programs, oversees its implementation, and makes certain that operational strategy and policies are followed.

An independent **GEF Evaluation Office** is also in Washington, D.C. and reports directly to the GEF Council. Its goal is to improve accountability of GEF projects and programs and to promote learning, feedback, and knowledge sharing.

The Office has responsibilities in three main areas:

1. Evaluation – independently evaluating the effectiveness of GEF projects and programs.
2. Norms – establishing monitoring and evaluation standards.
3. Oversight - providing quality control for monitoring and evaluation by Implementing and Executing Agencies of GEF projects and programs.

GEF Agencies are responsible for creating project proposals and for managing GEF projects. GEF Agencies play key roles in managing GEF projects on the ground. More specifically GEF Agencies assist eligible governments and NGOs in the development, implementation, and management of GEF projects.

GEF Agencies are requested to focus their involvement in GEF project activities within their respective comparative advantages. In specific cases of integrated projects that include components where the expertise and experience of a GEF agency is lacking or weak, the agency is invited to partner with another agency and to establish clear complementary roles so that all aspects of the project can be well managed (GEF Instrument, Paragraph 28). The list below describes 10 GEF agencies that currently operating and their comparative advantage specifically related to adaptation to climate change:

Areas of work

The GEF work focuses on seven main areas, including biodiversity, climate change (mitigation and adaptation), chemicals, international waters, land degradation, sustainable forest management/REDD+,Ozone layer depletion.

Biodiversity: Biodiversity is under heavy threat. Reducing and preventing further biodiversity loss are considered among the most critical challenges to humankind. Of all the problems the world faces in managing "global goods," only the loss of biodiversity is irreversible. The GEF supports projects that address the key drivers of biodiversity loss which focus on the highest leveraging opportunities to achieve sustainable biodiversity conservation.

Climate change: Climate change from human-induced emissions of heat-trapping greenhouse gases (GHGs) is a critical global issue, requiring substantial action. These actions include investment to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, and adaptation to climate changes including variability. The early impacts of climate change have already appeared, and scientists believe that further impacts are inevitable. Many of the most serious and negative impacts of climate change will be disproportionately borne by the poorest people in developing countries. The GEF supports projects in

- Climate change mitigation: Reducing or avoiding greenhouse gas emissions in the areas of renewable energy; energy efficiency; sustainable transport; and management of land use, land-use change, and forestry.
- Climate change adaptation: Aiming at developing countries to become climate-resilient by promoting immediate and longer-term adaptation measures in development policies, plans, programs, projects, and actions.

Chemicals: Persistent organic pollutants (POPs) are pesticides, industrial chemicals, or unwanted by-products of industrial processes that have been used for decades but have more recently been found to share a number of disturbing characteristics, including:

- Persistence — they resist degradation in air, water, and sediments;
- Bio-accumulation — they accumulate in living tissues at concentrations higher than those in the surrounding environment;
- Long-range transport — they can travel great distances from the source of release through air, water, and migratory animals, often contaminating areas thousands of kilometers away from any known source.

The GEF supports projects in eliminating the production and use of specific POPs, taking measures to ensure that POPs wastes are managed and disposed of in an environmentally sound manner, identifying the sources and reducing releases of POPs byproducts.

International waters: Diversions of water for irrigation, bulk supply, and potable use, together with the pollution of common water bodies are creating cross-border tensions. These tensions also persist across the oceans,

with three-quarters of fish stocks being overfished, fished at their maximum, or in a depleted state. The GEF supports projects in helping countries work together to overcome these tensions in large water systems and to collectively manage their transboundary surface water basins, groundwater basins, and coastal and marine systems in order to share the benefits from them.

Land degradation: Land degradation is a major threat to biodiversity, ecosystem stability, and society's ability to function. Because of the interconnectivity between ecosystems across scales, land degradation triggers destructive processes that can have cascading effects across the entire biosphere. Loss of biomass through vegetation clearance and increased soil erosion produces greenhouse gases that contribute global warming and climate change. The GEF supports projects in reversing and preventing desertification/land degradation and in mitigating the effects of drought in affected areas in order to support poverty reduction and environmental sustainability.

Sustainable forest management / REDD+: Forests cover almost one-third of the world's land area. They have a unique potential to produce multiple global environmental benefits such as biodiversity conservation, carbon sequestration, and protection against desertification. Sustainably managed forests can enhance the provision of wood and non-timber forest products for about 1.6 billion people depending on forests for their livelihoods. Forest ecosystems are also expected to play a key role in helping people in developing countries to adapt to the effects of climate change. The GEF supports projects in forest conservation (primarily protected areas and buffer zones), sustainable use of forests (forest production landscapes, sustainable forest management), and addressing forests and trees in the wider landscape.

Ozone depletion: Increased UV-B radiation reaching the Earth would pose risks to human health and the environment. In response, countries negotiated and adopted the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer in 1985, and the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer in 1987. The GEF supports projects in developing countries and countries with economies in transition (CEITs) that are not eligible for funding under the Multilateral Fund of the Montreal Protocol, to implement activities to phase out ozone depleting substances (ODS) in a manner consistent with these countries' obligations under the Montreal Protocol.

CHAPTER – 29
HUMAN RIGHTS

Structure

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29.1 Introduction

The term 'human rights' is used to denote a broad spectrum of rights ranging from the right to life to the right to a cultural identity. They involve all elementary preconditions for a dignified human existence.

Human rights are both inspirational and practical. Human rights principles hold up the vision of a free, just, and peaceful world and set minimum standards for how individuals and institutions everywhere should treat people. Human rights also empower people with a framework for action when those minimum standards are not met, for people still have human rights even if the laws or those in power do not recognize or protect them.

Human rights are commonly understood as inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being. Human rights are universal and inalienable, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. They are universal because everyone is born with and possesses the same rights, regardless of where they live, their gender or race, or their religious, cultural or ethnic background.

They are inalienable because people's right can never be taken away. Indivisible and interdependent because all rights – political, civil, social, cultural and economic are equal in importance and none can be fully enjoyed without the others. They apply to all equally, and all have the right to participate in decisions that affect their lives. They are upheld by the rue of law and strengthened through legitimate claims for duty-bearers to be accountable to international standards.

29.2.Meaning

Human rights are those rights that all human beings derive from the dignity and worth inherent in them and that the human being is the central subject of human rights. In a way: "human rights are those minimal rights which every individual must have against the state or other public authority by virtue of his being a member of the human family, irrespective of any other consideration. Human rights are sometimes referred to as fundamental rights, basic rights, inherent rights, natural rights and birthrights.

The features of human rights are they are universal incontrovertible and subjective. Human rights are universal means they belong to each of us regardless of ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, age, religion, political conviction or type of government. They are incontrovertible means they are absolute and innate. Human rights are subjective means they are properties of individual subjects who possess them because of their capacity of rationality, agency and autonomy. The notion of universality has been criticized for its blindness towards the issues of cultural differences. When human rights are guaranteed by a written constitution they are known as fundamental rights because a written constitution is the fundamental law of the state.

29.3 Definition of human rights

According to S. Kim, human rights are "claims and demands essential to the protection of human life and the enhancement of human dignity, and should therefore enjoy full social and political sanctions".

Subhash C Kashyap opined human rights are those “fundamental rights to which every man inhabiting any part of the world should be deemed entitled by virtue of having been born a human being”.

Milne defined “human rights are simply what every human being owes to every other human being and as such represent universal moral obligation”.

According to Nickel, human rights are norms which are definite, high priority universal and existing and valid independently of recognition or implementation in the customs or legal system of particular countries.

Dr. Justice Durga Das Basu defines “Human rights are those minimal rights, which every individual must have against the State, or other public authority, by virtue of his being a ‘member of human family’ irrespective of any consideration. Durga Das Basu’s definition brings out the essence of human rights.

The Protection of Human Rights Act 1993 states” Human Rights mean rights relating to life liberty, equality and dignity of the individuals guaranteed by the constitution or embodied in the International Covenants and enforceable

by courts in India."

The United Nation Centre of Human Rights defines Human Rights as "those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings"

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights which adopted on 1948defineshuman rights as "rights derived from the inherent dignity of human person".

In spite of the complications involved in defining what human rights are, there are sincere attempts to comprehend their nature. To define the expression 'human rights' in simple terms, human rights constitute those very rights which one possess precisely because of being a human. In other words, there are some rights, which are necessary prelude for the well being of humans. Human rights are the basic rights that provide meaning and purpose to the very human existence. To possess human rights one need not to do anything special than be born as a human being. In this sense, human rights are claims of the individual for such conditions as are essential for the fullest realisation of the innate characteristic which nature has bestowed on every human being.

Kant divided the rights into natural rights and positive rights. He used the term 'natural rights' in different meaning. For Kant, right is natural in the sense that it is an attribute of pure reason or a product of pure reason. They are based on the will of individuals as individuals. Kant divided natural rights into innate rights and acquired rights. By an 'innate rights' Kant meant 'one that belongs to everyone by nature, independently of any juridical act.' On the other hand an 'acquire right' requites such an act. This 'innate right' belongs to every human being by virtue his humanity, where as, the acquired right do not belong to us by virtue of our humanity. Unlike innate right**,** these rights can be regulated or even curtailed by law.

Another important and significant feature of human rights is that they are not earned, bought or inherited, nor are they created by any contractual authority unlike fundamental rights. Differences of sex, race, language and colour do not affect the possession of these rights. Similarly, the differences of property, social origins, political ideas or religious beliefs do not change or affect the human rights. None can be deprived of realizing these very basic rights just because he or she belongs to economically weaker section of the society, or to a religion or religious sect, which is numerically weak.

The colour of one's skin may be white or black, the level of one's mental make-up may be high or low, his or her way of life may be modem or primitive to the core, yet the fact remains that essentially all of us belong to the

species of human race. This fact cannot be dismissed by any stretch of imagination. Contrary to this preamble, we quite often witness the violation of human rights of those who are economically poor, socially backward, and those who belongs to religious minority. Even the discrimination against the race and gender is also very commonly witnessed.

Human rights are essential for the complete development of human personality, and for human happiness. They are indispensable for physical and mental enlistment of human race as such. These rights are inalienable because the enlightened conscience of the community would not permit the surrender of these rights by any person even of his own volition. These rights are inviolable because they are not only vital for the development of human personality, but also to lead a dignified human life. In the absence of these rights human beings would be reduced to the level of animals.

Human rights are applicable to each and everyone who is living in this world. For example, right to live, this is not only applicable to people of India, people of Pakistan, people of Sri Lanka and so on. It is extended to through out the world. Right to live, right to equality, right to expression and thought, right to freedom, right to have faith, are the rights, which concern every human being. Human rights are based on mankind's increasingly demand for a decent and civilized life in which the inherent dignity of each human being will receive respect and protection.

29.4 Objectives of Human Rights:

a. To promote interdependence among countries in all areas of cooperation by identifying country's common strengths and opportunities which will help reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for people whilst developing a knowledge-based society within country and enhancing community and people empowerment;

b. To expand the trade and financial market within country and increase the bargaining power of Asian countries in lieu of competition and, in turn, enhances country's' economic competitiveness in the global market;

c. To ultimately transform the continent into community, capable of interacting with the rest of the world on a more equal footing and contributing more positively towards mutual peace and prosperity.

29.5 Development of Human Rights

The human rights which we are enjoying today is developed though varies stages. The important landmarks in the development of human rights are the following documents and struggles.

Magna Carta

The Magna Carta, also known as the Great Charter, of 1215 is the most significant constitutional document of all human history. The main theme of it was protection against the arbitrary acts by the king. The 63 clauses of the Charter guaranteed basic civic and legal rights to citizens, and protected the barons from unjust taxes. The English Church too gained freedom from royal interferences. King John of England granted the Magna Carta to the English barons on 15th June 1215. The king was compelled to grant the Charter, because the barons refused to pay heavy taxes unless the king signed the charter. In reality, the Magna Carta was merely a compromise of the distribution of powers between king and his nobles.

Influence of Social contract theory

The influence of social contract theory in the development of the Human Right was more profound in scope as well as in its impact. The doctrine of social contract was closely linked with the theory of natural law because the basis upon which the natural law theories were formulated was the same for the social contract also. These doctrines became popular during 16th and 17th century through the writings of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Thomas Hobbes wrote his book Leviathan in 1651. According to Hobbes man entered into social contract and put the natural state to end. This contracted to the creation of common wealth or state. And the ruler was also the outcome of that contract. Since the ruler did not take part in the contract he was not bound to observe the conditions of the contract. After the contract the civil society came in to existence. According to Hobbes, the people surrounded all their power to the king through the contract, except the right of self-preservation. Hobbes was an exponent of absolute monarchy.

John Locke wrote two books. They are 'Essays Concerning Human Nature' and 'Essays on civil government'. According to Locke, man entered into two contracts that are social and political. The social contract led to the creation of the society and the political contract led to the formation of the government. Locke believed that people did not transfer all their rights to the king through the contract. The king was given only the right to life, the right to property and the right to security. So the king is only trustee. The people reserve the right to dethrone the king if he fails to safeguard the security of the people.

Rousseau wrote the book 'the Social Contract'. According to Rousseau, people transferred all their rights to society and put the natural order to an end. Rousseau regarded the real will of the society as the General Will. He

considered General Will as sovereign. This General Will forms the basis of government. Rousseau regarded government is an institution functioning under the General Will of the people.

The English Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights was signed in England in 1689, after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. After the Glorious Revolution, the power of the king was reduced and the British parliament declared its supremacy over the crown in clear terms. Soon after the coronation of William and Marry; the new rulers after revolution, summoned the convention parliament, accepted the declaration of the rights and passed it into law in the form of the "Bill of Rights". The English Bill of Rights declared that the king has no overriding authority. Principles like Limited monarchy and parliamentary supremacy etc. was declared during that period. The Bill of Rights states that

1. The King of England should be an Anglican.
2. The king should not exercise suspending or dispending power.
3. No standing Army should be maintained without the consent of the parliament.
4. No taxation without the consent of the parliament.
5. Parliament is the sole authority to decide who should rule England;
6. The people should have the right to send petition to the king;
7. Annual grants were to be given to the king by the parliament;
8. Arbitrary courts are to be abolished;
9. Parliament was to be freely elected and the members were to have freedom of speech.

The toleration Act passed by the parliament granted religious freedom to the people.

American Declaration of Independence

America was the colony of Britain .There were 13 colonies in America. These colonies were revolted against England for their independence. The main reason for the revolt was that the British government was of the view that the colonies also should share in the expenses incurred in their administration. With this view the British government started to take various regulatory measures under which it introduced certain new taxes. This resulted into militant opposition by the American people. They argued that, since they did not have their representatives in British parliament, it had no right to impose taxes upon them. The state declared independence in 1776. The Declaration of Independence was done on July 4th 1776.

The declaration of independence has great significance inthe history of mankind as it justified the right to revolt against a government that no longer guaranteed the man's natural and inalienable rights. But at the time of drafting the constitution in 1787 they did not include the bill of rights in the constitution. They did it in 1791by adopting ten amendments to the constitution .These amendments are known as Bill of Rights and form part of their constitution.

US Bill of Rights

The U.S. Constitution was enacted on 17th September 1787. The most conspicuous defect of the original constitution was the omission of a Bill of Rights concerning private rights and personal liberties. Madison, therefore proposed as many as twelve amendments in the form of Bill of Rights. Ten of these were ratified by the State legislatures. These ten constitutional amendments came to be known as the Bill of Rights. The overall theme of the Bill of Rights is that the citizen be protected against the abuse of power by the officials of the States.

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

The Declaration of the Rights of Man was a product of French Revolution. The fall of Bastille and the abolition of feudalism, serfdom and class privileges by the National Assembly ushered France into a new era. The slogan of the revolution was liberty, equality and fraternity. The French revolution gave a fatal blow to absolute monarchy and a deathblow to feudalism and led to the establishment of French Republic. All the special privileges were abolished and the society came to be organized on the basis of equality. The French revolution enabled the people to enjoy different kinds of rights. The revolution established the novel ideas of Liberty equality and fraternity. The government should be not only "for the people" but also "by the people".

On 4th August 1789, the National Assembly proclaimed the Rights of Man and of the Citizens. The Rights were formulated in 17Articles.The following rights that man and citizen have been recognized, among others, in the French declaration.

1. Men are born and remain free equal in rights.
2. The aim of all political association is to preserve the natural right of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. Sovereignty rests essentially in the nation.
4. Liberty consists in the ability to do whatever does not harm another; hence the existence of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those

which assure to other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights. Law can determine these limits.

5. No man can be indicted, arrested or detained except in cases determined bylaw.
6. All men should be presumed innocent until judged guilty.
7. No one may be disturbed for his opinion, even in religion, provided that their manifestation does not trouble public order as established by law.
8. Free communication of thought and free opinion is one of the most precious rights of the man. Every citizen may therefore speak; write and print freely own his own responsibility.
9. Taxes can be levied only with the consent of the citizens.
10. Society has the right to hold accountable every public agent of administration.
11. Property being a sacred right, no one may be deprived of it except for an obvious requirement of public necessity, certified by law and then on condition of a just compensation in advance.

The Russian Revolution

The Russian was the greatest social uprising of the world since the French Revolution. Russian revolution took place in 1917. It was the first successful communist revolution of the world. The revolt was against the naked exploitation of the masses by the autocratic ruler and the wealthy feudal nobles. The revolution brought a though change in the political, social and economic life of the people and established the first proletariat government of the world. H.G. Wells concerned it as "the greatest event after the advent of Islam".

It is true that the French Declaration proclaiming liberty, equality and fraternity for all. But liberty and equality were soon proving to be empty slogans for poor peasants and factory workers. Hence, beginning the mid-nineteenth century, the demand for social security and social justice, in addition to civil and political rights, appeared in the forefront of socialist movement. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917) went a step further. It emphasized that economic and social rights were as important as the civil and political rights. Many economic and social rights had been included in the soviet constitution.

It is gratifying to note that the socialist revolution in Russia introduced socio-economic dimensions to the concept of rights, which were neglected in the events and documents of English, American and French revolutions. While the three revolutions emphasized the first generation (civil and political) rights,

the October Revolution of Russia popularized socio-economic rights; such as right to work, social security, protection of the family, right to adequate standard of living, right to education, health and right to join trade unions. These are second-generation rights or positive rights.

Declaration of International Rights of Man, 1929.

After World War I, questions about human rights and fundamental freedoms began to be raised. In 1929, the Institute of International Law adopted the Declaration of International rights of Man. The Declaration declared that fundamental rights of citizen, recognized and guaranteed by several domestic constitutions, especially those of the French and the U.S.A constitutions, were in reality meant not only for citizens of the states but for all men all over the world, without any consideration.

The UN Charter, 1945.

The United Nations Charter was drafted, approved and unanimously adopted by all the delegates of the 51 states, who attended the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. The UN Charter contains provisions for the promotion and protection of human rights. The importance of the Charter lies in the fact that it is the first official document in which the use of 'human rights' is, for the first time traceable and which also recognized the respect for fundamental freedom.

29.6 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a declaration adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December, 1948 at Palais de Chaillot, Paris. This declaration provided comprehensive protection to all individuals against all forms of injustice and human rights violations.

The UDHR defines specific rights, civil, political, economic, and social as well as cultural. It defines the rights to life, liberty, and security, fair trial by law, freedom of thought, expression, conscience, association and freedom of movement. It emphasizes right to equal pay for equal work, right to form and join trade unions, right to health care, education, adequate rest etc.

Human rights violations occur when actions by state (or non-state) actors abuse, ignore, or deny basic human rights (including civil, political, cultural, social, and economic rights). Furthermore, violations of human rights can occur when any state or non-state actor breaches any part of the UDHR treaty or other international human rights or humanitarian law.

In efforts to eliminate violations of human rights, building awareness and protesting inhumane treatment has often led to calls for action and sometimes improved conditions. The UN Security Council has interceded with

peace keeping forces, and other states and treaties (NATO) have intervened in situations to protect human rights

To seek respect for human rights and freedoms the world over on the basis of respecting the norms of international law;

To protect the rights and interests of Russian citizens and compatriots abroad on the basis of international law and operative bilateral agreements. The Russian Federation will seek to obtain adequate guarantees for the rights and freedoms of compatriots in states where they permanently reside and to maintain and develop comprehensive ties with them and their organizations;

To develop international cooperation in the humanitarian exchange area;

To expand participation in international conventions and agreements in the human rights area;

To continue bringing legislation of the Russian Federation in conformity with Russia's international obligations.

Preamble of the Declaration

The Preamble of the Declaration states the spirit and significance of the Declaration. if the mankind and its creators (namely, states) follow the Declaration in true spirit, it is easy to achieve peace, security through friendship and prosper together. This spirit has been stated in the Declaration as

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human right should be protected by the rule of law.

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger

freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge.

Now, therefore, the General Assembly Proclaims

This universal declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.
3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.
4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.
5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.
7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of the Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.
8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.
10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.
11. Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.
13. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.
14. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.
15. Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.
16. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.
17. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.
18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.
19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression: this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.
20. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

21. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.
23. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.
24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.
25. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.
26. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
27. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.
29. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.
30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

29.7 Indian Constitution and Human Rights

The framers of the Indian Constitution were very much influenced by the concept of human rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and guaranteed many of those rights in our constitution part III and part IV, though separate, carry the common theme of human rights. When Human rights are guaranteed by a written constitution they are known as fundamental rights. Fundamental rights are the modern name for what has been traditionally known as natural rights.

Fundamental rights are dealt in part IIIrd of the constitution, while directive principles of state policy are in part IVth in the constitution. While civil and political rights have been incorporated in the part IIIrd of the constitution, economic social and cultural rights have been incorporated in part IVth of the constitution.

There are six categories of fundamental rights. They are;-

1. Right to equality-Article 14 to 18
2. Right to freedom –Article 19-22
3. Right against exploitation Article 23&24
4. Right to religion Article 25-28
5. Cultural and educational rights Article 29,30
6. Right to constitutional remedies Article 32

Article 19 clause 1sub clause (f) and article 31 has been taken away from the part III of the constitution by the 44th amendment act of 1978.

1 .**Right to equality**

a. Equality before law and equal protection of law.(Art .14)

b. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion caste etc. (Art. 15)

c. Equality of opportunity to employment. (Art.16)

d. Abolition of untouchibility. (Art. 17)

e. Abolition of tittles (Art. 18)

2.**Right to freedom** (Art.19)

a. Freedom of speech and expression

b. Freedom to assemble peacefully

c. Freedom to form association and union

d. Freedom to move anywhere in India

e. Freedom to settle in any part of the country

f. Freedom to do any job or profession

g. Protection in respect of conviction for offences (Art.20)

h. Right to life and personal liberty, Art21

(21A is related to the right to education to the children at the age group of 6-14. It was included though the 86th amendment act of 2002. It implemented though the act of 2009; the right of children for free and compulsory education).

i. Protection against arrest and detention in certain cases (Art.22)

3. **Right against exploitation**

a. Prohibition of Traffic in human beings and forced labour. (Art23)

b. Prohibition of employment of children in hazardous employment. (Art24)

4. **Right to freedom of religion**

a. Freedom of conscience and the right to profess practice and propagate religion(Art.25)

b. Freedom to manage religious affairs (Art. 26)

c. Freedom of payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion. (Art.27)

d. Freedom as to attendance at religious instruction in certain educational institutions. (Art 28)

5. **Cultural and educational rights of the minorities**

a. Protection of language script or culture of minorities (Art.29)

b. Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions.(Art30)

6**. Right to constitutional remedies** (Art32)

This is one of the most important right in the constitution. Without this right the other right may remain in words without proper enforcement. The right to constitutional remedies helps us to enjoy the fundamental rights and can move to the court for the enforcement of the rights though the writ petitions. There are mainly five kinds of writs. They are:-

1. Writ of Habeas Corpus
2. Mandamus
3. Certiorari
4. Quo-warranto
5. Prohibition

The scope of fundamental rights is wide enough to encompass the new generation human rights. The courts while interpreting the rights have introduced new rights into the category. For example, the court stated that right to life means right to live with human dignity not mere animal existence. So it demands clean environment, food, water, education etc. However the rights conferred by the constitution are not absolute. IN the interest of the unity and integrity of the nation and in order to secure public good these rights can be reasonably restricted. The state can impose restrictions over the enjoyment of the fundamental rights in the interest of the sovereignty, integrity and security of the state, public order, morality, decency, health, friendly relation to foreign states etc. More over an emergency proclamation under Article 352 will curtail the individual liberties provided under Article 19. The provision for Preventive Detention is also a challenge to human rights protection under fundamental rights

Socio, economic and cultural rights-(Directive Principles of State Policy)

The Directive Principles of State Policy are ideals, directions and rights aimed at establishing an economic and social democracy which is pledged in the preamble of the constitution. The idea of DPSP was borrowed from the Irish constitution. The importance of the DPSP is evident in the words of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who stated that DPSP as the manifesto of aims and aspirations. DPSP enshrined in the part IV of the constitution. It sets out the ideals and objectives related with social economic and cultural upliftment. The Directive Principles of State Policy enshrines socio-economic rights which are part of the human rights. These rights can be classified in to three categories

1. Directives in the nature of ideals of the state.
2. Directives shaping the policy of the state.
3. Non-justifiable rights of the citizens.

1. **Directives in the nature of ideals of the state.**

a. The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing a social order permeated by social .economic and political justice Art38 (1): to minimize inequality in income ,status facilities and opportunities amongst individual and groups Art38(2).

b. The state shall endeavor to secure just and human conditions of work: a living wage, a decent standard of living and social and cultural opportunities for all workers (Art43).

c. The state shall endeavor to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living and to improve public health. (Art 47).

d. The state shall direct its policy towards securing equitable distribution of the material resource of the community and prevention of concentration of wealth and means production. Art (39 (b),(c).

e. The state shall endeavor to promote international peace and co-operation (Art51)

2. **Directive shaping the policy of the state**

a. To establish economic democracy and justice by securing certain economic rights.

b. To secure a Uniform Civil Code for the citizens. (Art.44).

c. To provide free and compulsory primary education (Art.45)

(Now this concept is a fundamental right and included in the Article 21A).

d. To prohibit consumption of liquor and intoxicating drugs except for medical purposes. (Art47).

e. To develop cottage industries (Art.43).

f. To organize agriculture and animal husbandry on modern lines (Art48).

g. To prevent slaughter of useful cattle's i.e. cows, calves and other milch and draught cattle. (Art48).

h. To organize village panchayats as units of self-governments (Art40).

i. To Promote educational and economic interest of weaker sections and to protect them from social justice.(Art.46).

j. To protect and improve the environment and safeguard forests and wild life (Art 48A)

k. To protect and maintain places of historic or artistic importance.(Art49).

l. To separate the Judiciary from the executive.(Art50)

3. **Non-justiciable rights of the citizens.**

a. Right to adequate means of livelihood. Art 39(a).

b. Right of both sexes to equal pay for equal work (Art 39(d).
c. Right against economist exploitation.
d. Right of children and the young to be protected against exploitation and to opportunities for healthy development, consonant with freedom and dignity. Art 39(f).
e. Right to equal opportunity for justice and free legal aid Art 39A.
f. Right to work (Art41).
g. Right of public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and other cases of undeserved want (Art41).
h. Right to a living wage end conditions of ensuring decent standard of life for workers (Art 43).
i. Right of workers to participate management of industries (Art 43A).\
j. Right to children to free and compulsory education Art 45.

Articles 39A, 44A, were included in the DPSP by 43nd amendment act of the constitution. By the 44th amendment, the Janatha Government introduced section 2 in Article 38 which speaks for minimizing inequality in income and status not only among individuals but also among groups.

The part 1V of the Indian constitution related to the Directive Principles of State Policy, which is much more exhaustive than the Universal Declaration. In short we can say that the India fully followed International Bill on Human Rights and Indian constitution protects such rights, according to the philosophy of Universal Declaration. India constituted the National commission for Human Rights for the redresses of grievances of human rights violations. The commission's role is appreciated by the peoples of India and other human rights organizations working abroad.

29.8 National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)

There are governmental and non-governmental agencies and institutions have been working for the protection of the human rights. Universal human rights standards and norms have been incorporated within the domestic law of most countries. Various international instruments have also been ratified by the countries, either by inculcating though legislation or by understanding to directly comply with the obligations contain there in by way of automatic adoption. The existence of laws that protect human rights is not sufficient if there are no processes and institutions to ensure the effective realization of those rights.

The protection of Human Right Act of 1993 demands for the constitution of a National Human Rights Commission, State Human Rights Commission and Human Rights Courts. A national human right institution can

be described as an independent organization that is established by the government according to specific legislation with an aim to promote and protect human rights at national level. It has been described as one of the fundamental building blocks on human rights protection.

NHRC defining human rights as 'the rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the constitution or embodied in the international covenants – that is ICCPR and ICESER- and enforceable by courts in India'. The NHRC of India was the first such commission constituted in the South Asian region.

Structure

The protection of the Human Rights Act provides that the National Human Rights Commission consist of 5 members including the chairman. It consists of :-

a. A chairperson who has been a Chief Justice of supreme court.
b. One member, who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court.
c. One member, who is or has been the chief justice of the High Court. practical experience in matters relating to human rights.
d. The chair persons of the National Commission for Minorities, the National Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and the National Commission for Women shall be deemed to be the members of the commission for the discharge of certain functions.

There shall be a Secretary General who shall be the chief executive officer of the commission and shall exercise such powers and discharge such functions of the commission as it may delegate to him. The headquarters of the commission shall be at Delhi.

The Chairperson and other members shall be appointed by the president by warrant under his hand and seal; provided that every appointment under this sub-section shall be made after obtaining the recommendations of committee consisted of :-

a. The Prime Minister-Chairperson.
b. Speaker of the house of the people- member.
c. Minister in charge of the ministry of home affairs in the government of India-member.
d. Leader of the opposition in the house of the people-member.
e. Leader of the opposition in the council of states-member.
f. Deputy Chairman of the council of states-member

Functions

The functions and powers of the NHRC are outlined below-

1. Inquiry and investigation

The NHRC may inquire into and investigate complaints of human rights violations, their abetment or the negligence in the prevention of such violations by a public servant. Such enquiry may undertake through its own initiative (Suo motto) or based on a petition presented by a victim or any person on his / her behalf. These suo motto powers are particularly relevant in situation that involves persons belonging to the marginalized sections of society who do not have the financial or social resources to lodge individual complaints. The NHRC has thus the power to take its own initiative and protect the rights of these people.

The NHRC has been vested with the powers similar to those available to civil courts while trying a suit. This means the commission can summon and enforces the attendance of any person; examine under oath; require documents and items to be produced before the commission; receive evidence as affidavits; requisition and public record from any court or office and examine witness and documents.

Upon the completion of an inquiry, the NHRC may make recommendations to the government or the authority concerned for the initiation of proceedings for prosecution or any other action as it deems fit . It may also approach the supreme court or the high court for a direction, order or writ, as that court may consider necessary.

2.Inspection

The NHRC can undertake inspections and make recommendations on living conditions in jails and other institutions. It may also monitor existing legal and constitutional mechanism for protecting human rights and measures for effective implementation, and suggest mechanism that ought to be instituted to better protect human rights.

3. Intervention in court proceedings

The NHRC may intervene, with the courts permission, in proceedings involving human rights violation. For example the NHRC has effectively intervened in a case of gross violation of human rights in the Best Bakery case in which serious questions were raised about the fairness of the criminal justice system.

4. Sensitization

The NHRC is mandated to sensitize the government to its constitutional obligations to accede and honour international human rights treaties. The NHRC is also entrusted with spreading human rights literacy and awareness and encouraging the efforts of non-governmental organizations and institutions working in the field of human rights.

In addition to these functions, NHRC encourage the effort of nongovernmental organizations and institutions working in the field of human rights. It study treaties and other international instruments on human rights and make recommendations for their effective implementation. NHRC undertake and promote research in the field of human rights. It also reviews the factors including acts of terrorism that inhibit the enjoyment of human rights and recommend appropriate remedial measures**.**

The commission required to submit an annual report to the central as well as the state governments concerned. It can also submit special reports on any matter of urgency or important .The protection of human rights act 1993 also provides for the establishment of state human rights commission to be constituted by the respective state governments.

State Human Rights Commission –SHRC

The Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 recommends the constitution of National Human Rights Commission along with State Human Rights Commission in States for better protection of human rights.

Constitution of State Human Rights Commissions

1. A State Government may constitute a body to be known as them (name of the State) Human Rights Commission (e.g. Maharashtra Human rights Commission) to exercise the powers conferred upon, and to perform the functions assigned to, a State Commission under this chapter.
2. The State Commission shall, with effect from such date as the State Government may by notification specify, consist of—

a. A Chairperson who has been a Chief Justice of a High Court.

b. one Member who is, or has been, a Judge of a High Court or District Judge in the State with a minimum of seven years experience as District Judge.

c. one Member to be appointed from amongst persons having knowledge of, or practical experience in, matters relating to human rights.

3. There shall be a Secretary who shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the State Commission and shall exercise such powers and discharge such functions of the State Commission as it may delegate to him.

4. The headquarters of the State Commission shall be at such place as the State Government may, by notification, specify.

5. A State Commission may inquire into violation of human rights only in respect of matters relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List II and List lll in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution:

   i. Provided that if any such matter is already being inquired into by the commission or any other Commission duly constituted under any law for the time being in force, the State Commission shall not inquire into the said matter:

   ii. Provided further that in relation to the Jammu and Kashmir Human Rights Commission, this sub-section shall have effect as if for the words and figures "List ll and List lll in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution", the words and figures "List lll in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution as applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and in respect of matters in relation to which the Legislature of that State has power to make laws" had been substituted.

6. Two or more State Governments may, with the consent of a Chairperson or Member of a State Commission, appoint such Chairperson or, as the case may be, such Member of another State Commission simultaneously if such Chairperson or Member consents to such appointment:

Provided that every appointment made under this sub-section shall be made after obtaining the recommendations of the Committee referred to in sub-section (1) of section 22 in respect of the State for which a common Chairperson or Member, or both, as the case may be, is to be appointed.

The provision relating to procedures of commission, functions, powers, investigation, inquiry into complaints and follow-up actions on inquiries are common for NHRC and SHRC.

Human Rights Courts

The protection of human rights act 1993 under section 30 provides for the setting up of Human Rights Courts for the purpose of the speedy trial of the offences arising out of the violation of human rights. For the said purpose of the state government may with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of the high court, by notification specify for each district a court of session to be Human rights court. There is also a provision for appointment of a public prosecutor for conducting cases in the Human rights court. The NHRC has recommended the establishment of human rights court in every state. So we can say that the India fully followed International bill on human rights and Indian constitution

protects such rights, according to the philosophy of universal declaration. India constitutes the National commission of human rights for the redressal of grievances of human right violations. We hope that the constitution of India and NHRC will helpful to protect and maintain the dignity of people of India.

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