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**M.A. [HISTORY]**

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**CONTEMPORARY WORLD SINCE 1945 A.D**

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## INTRODUCTION

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The second half of the twentieth century has seen many changes in political policies, the economy, religion, and technology. All of these have affected each other. The study of the history of humankind allows us to look back and learn from past accomplishments and mistakes. Although technology has allowed for incredible communication and reporting around the world, as individuals do we use this to our advantage and grow as better people? We continue to struggle with ingrained prejudices and ideals for other ethnic groups. As the movement for diversity continues to grow in today's society, our biggest problem we face in the future could be the disuniting of people.

This book focuses on two broad areas namely: *Post War Shakeup in Asia and Africa* and *Contemporary World Affairs*, which have a broad range of political economy; as well as the existing international and regional arrangements and institutions.

This book follows the self-instruction mode or the SIM format wherein each unit begins with an 'Introduction' to the topic followed by an outline of the 'Objectives'. The content is presented in a simple and structured form with 'Check Your Progress' questions for better understanding. At the end of the each unit a list of 'Key Words' is provided along with a 'Summary' and a set of 'Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises' for effective recap.

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# **BLOCK – 1**

## **THE AFTERMATH OF SECOND WORLD WAR**

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### **UNIT 1 WORLD AFTER THE WORLD WAR II**

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#### **Structure**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 World after the World War II
- 1.3 UNO
- 1.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 Key Words
- 1.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 1.8 Suggested Readings

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#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

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The Second World War, in its origins and events, was quite different from the first. There can be no doubt that the major responsibilities for the second tests heavily on one country, Germany, and one man, Adolph Hitler. The Second World War, like the first, began ostensibly about a quarrel concerning German national minorities in Eastern Europe. Minorities were used as livers. While Poland was invaded by the Germans, Europe faced war the second time in two generation. Many who had in their youth survived the battlefields of the First World War now had to mortgage a span of their middle years in the demands of the second. The First World War, the twenty years of uneasy peace keeping and the Second World War seemed in one sense to be part of a continuous single process. The history of the war belongs only in part to

the history of Europe, while paradoxically; the entire history of Europe was dominated by the war.

In the Second World War almost 40 million people including soldiers and non-combatants were killed it was a global war that lasted from 1939 – 1945. The vast majority of the world's countries – including all the great powers – eventually formed two opposing military alliances; the allies and the axis. It was the biggest and deadliest war in the history involving more than 30 countries. This war resulted in the loss of millions of human lives and billions of dollars. It ended on 2nd september1945. After the war the United Nations was set up to develop support between countries and to prevent further wars.

In this unit, you will read about the world after the World War II and the birth of United Nation Organisations.

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## 1.1 OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the situation of the world after Second World War.
- Discuss the formation of UNO

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## 1.2 WORLD AFTER THE WORLD WAR II

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The Second World War began in 1939 and lasted for six years. Major Powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged all over the world and the War was the most widespread war in human history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercises.

The Second World War was the outcome of a combination of numerous factors that made peaceful coexistence impossible, though several historians hold Hitler and his Nazi regime responsible for it. The Treaty of Versailles was unpopular in Germany. Likewise, Italian and Japanese nationalists were also unhappy with the outcome of the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919.

Mussolini had his eyes upon Abyssinia (Ethiopia) as a suitable area for Italian expansion, and since 1932, he had planned the invasion of that lone independent country in Africa. The struggle for raw materials, markets for exports and colonies for increasing population had partly

brought about the First World War in 1914. This struggle did not end after 1919, but rather became even more acute.

A highly militaristic and aggressive attitude prevailed among the leaders of Germany, Japan and Italy. Compounding this fact was the traditional militant attitude of these three nations that had a similar track record. In 1936, the fascist dictator of Italy and the Nazi dictator of Germany came together and signed a military assistance pact, known as the Rome-Berlin Pact. Shortly, Japan also joined the alliance, creating thereby the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

For three years, before Second World War broke out, attention of the European diplomats was focused on a policy shaped by Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, which came to be known as the "Policy of Appeasement".

Czechoslovakia was a multinational state formed in 1919. It contained troublesome minorities, including more than three million Sudeten Germans. The German wanted self-government and they were encouraged by Hitler who was determined to occupy this democratic country, created by the Treaty of Versailles.

Having occupied Czechoslovakia, Hitler seized from Lithuania the port of Memel, given to her by the Settlement of 1919. Not to be left behind, Mussolini, too, invaded Albania. The actions of the dictators violated several treaty obligations.

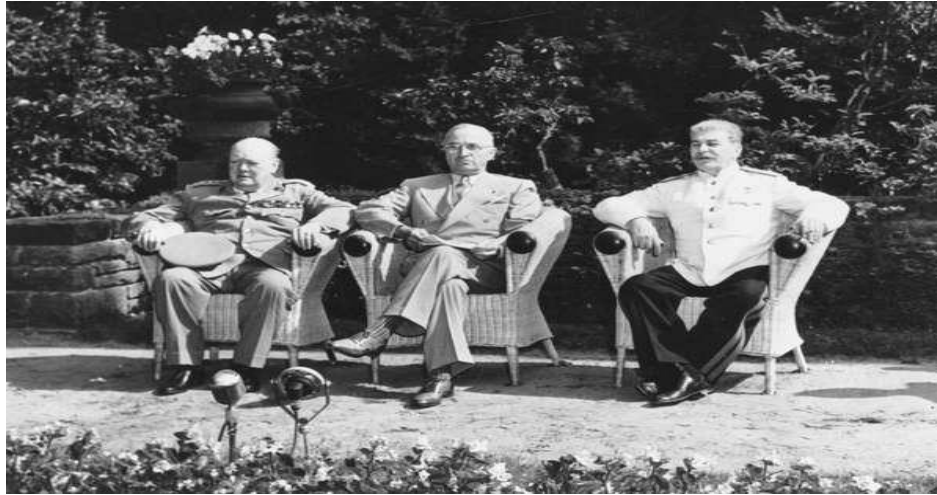
In the first phase of the War, Poland was crushed in three weeks and partitioned between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. The Russians, on their part, began to occupy the eastern areas of Poland.

Despite the feverish preparations, mobilization and "bracing for battle", nothing much happened on the Western Front for six months. The winter of 1939 witnessed what historians term, the "Phoney war". President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the US had declared his administration's opposition to communism, fascism and Nazism. However, in the realm of foreign policy, his administration continued to pursue the 'Policy of Neutrality'.

When the War broke out, Mussolini's Italy had announced her neutrality despite the Pact with Germany. But after the fall of France,

Mussolini was convinced that he must be present at the kill, if for no other reason than to be in a better position to assert his future claims.

In December 1941, 189 Japanese bombers 'swept in low out of the morning haze' and attacked American war ships in Pearl Harbour. In this surprise air-attack, the US Navy suffered tremendous loss. On 2 September 1945, President Truman officially declared the V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day).



**Churchill, Winston; Truman, Harry; Stalin, Joseph  
British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. Pres. Harry S. Truman  
and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin meeting at Potsdam, Germany, in  
July 1945 to discuss postwar order in Europe**

The Second World War affected the World more seriously when compared to the First World War. The economic, political and social consequences of the War were far reaching.

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## **1.3 UNO (UNITED NATION ORGANISATIONS)**

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### **1.3.1 Formation, Aims and Functions of the United Nations Organization**

Like the First World War, the Second World War also inspired the formation of an international organization on the model of the League of Nations, to preserve peace and promote international understanding.

The impact of the Second World War was felt by all 'countries and in almost all spheres of their social, economic, Political and cultural life.

But it did not solve the problem of which it had been waged. Hardly the War had ended, the Cold War began. Armament race was again intensified and the world was divided into two military blocs, thus, endangering international peace and tranquillity. The only hope that the humanity could have of avoiding another world conflict rested in the effectiveness of United Nations Organizations (UNO).

After several conferences and meetings of the “Big Three”, the UNO finally was born on 24 October 1945. The United States became the first country to ratify the Charter as the American Senate overwhelmingly approved their country’s membership. Also, the administration of President Truman provided the UNO headquarters in New York City. Even before attaining full Independence, Jawaharlal Nehru declared India’s full support to the world body.

### **1.3.2 Nature, Aim and Objectives of UNO**

In this section, you will come to know about the nature, aim and objectives of the United Nations Organization.

### **1.3.3 Nature of UNO**

The UNO was meant to be an entirely new departure, and in several respects, it did differ from the League of Nations. One notable feature of the new body was the absence of any provision linking it to a peace settlement. Yet, perhaps its most significant feature, both with respect to its essence and its structure, was its similarity to what in 1945 was seen “as an abortive precedent”. Evidently, the United Nations was not intended to be any more of a world government than the League of Nations had been. In fact, like the League, it was also depended on the consensus of its member-states. Moreover it acknowledged that the Great powers had a special role to play, In fact, the world body was completely under the sway of the US. In 1945, it was essentially an organization controlled and dominated by the Western powers, in spite of the Soviet Union.

### **1.3.4 Aims and Objectives of the UNO**

- ✓ The aims and objectives of the UNO have been elaborately mentioned in its Preamble. We may summarize them as under:
- ✓ To maintain international peace and security.

- ✓ By collective action, to remove threats to peace and suppress acts of aggression.
- ✓ To develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples.
- ✓ To promote respect for human rights without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.
- ✓ To encourage international cooperation in solving social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

### **1.3.5 Basic principles of the UNO are as follows:**

- ✓ Equality of all member-nations
- ✓ Membership is open to all peace-loving nations
- ✓ New members can be admitted by a 2/3 majority of votes of the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council.
- ✓ Each member is expected to fulfil its obligation in good faith.
- ✓ No member nation shall resort to force against any State and no other State shall support the Aggressor State.
- ✓ The UNO shall not intervene in internal or domestic affairs of any country.
- ✓ Action against an erring member shall be recommended by the Security Council to the General Assembly.

### **1.3.6 Principal Organs of the UNO**

Article 7 of the UN Charter has mentioned six main organs. They are: (i) The General Assembly, (ii) The Security Council, (iii) The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), (iv) The Trusteeship Council, (v) The Secretariat, and (vi) The International Court of Justice.

#### **• The General Assembly**

The General Assembly is a sort of legislative body of the UNO. All member-nations have representation in it; each member-state can send five representatives but has only one vote. It meets once in a year, though there can be a special session. The Assembly elects its own President and Vice President. Although normal issues require only a simple majority to decide, all “important questions” require a two-third majority.

#### **• Powers of the General Assembly**

- ✓ The important powers of the General Assembly are to:

- ✓ Discuss international problems fully and freely.
- ✓ Make recommendations to member-nations, to the Economic and Social Council, to the Security Council, and to the Trusteeship Council.
- ✓ Elect members of the organs of the UNO such as the Security Council, ECOSOC and International Court of Justice.
- ✓ With the prior recommendation of the Security Council, to suspend or expel any member nation persistently violating UN principles.
- ✓ Admit “peace-loving” nations to membership.
- ✓ Approve the budget of the UN and apportion the expenses among the member-nation.
- ✓ Propose amendments to the UN Charter, which would come into Effect when ratified by two-third of the member-nations, including the Permanent Members of the Security Council.
- ✓ Significantly, in 1945, out of the 51 member-nations of the UNO, 36 belonged to Europe and America, and only 15 to Asia, Australia and Africa. This enabled the US to maintain its influence effectively through its pro - Western allies over every decision of the General Assembly.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Where is the headquarter of the UNO located?
2. Who was the first general of the UNO?
3. How many non permanent members are there in the security council?

- **The Security Council**

The Security Council is the executive body of the UNO, and hence, it occupies an important position in the world organization. Article 23 of the UN Charter fixed the number of its members at eleven, five of whom were designated as the Permanent Members of the Council. They were the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and Nationalist China. The remaining were the non - Permanent members, elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years.

The Security Council meets more often and follows its own rules of procedure, including the selection of its President. Decisions on important issues require the affirmative vote of all the five Permanent members. Thus



by a negative vote (veto), any one of them could defeat a decision of the Security Council. However, abstention from voting by a Permanent member is not considered a veto.

- **Powers of the Security Council**

- ✓ The UN Charter has laid down the powers and responsibilities of the Security Council. Among its main responsibilities and powers, the important ones are as follows:
- ✓ Its primary responsibility is to maintain international peace and security. In the discharge of its obligation, the Security Council may investigate disputes that could endanger peace, make recommendations for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, or if necessary, call upon the UN member-nation to take economic or military action against an aggressor nation. All member nations are expected to carry out the divisions of the Council.
- ✓ It has jurisdiction in matters such as the admission of new members, Selection of the Secretary-General of the UN, and the judges of the International Court of Justice.
- ✓ The Council is empowered to exercise all vital functions of the UN
- ✓ Including the approval of the terms of the Trusteeship agreements and related matters.

The Security Council has Military Advisory committee to advise it regarding the use of armed force to preserve international peace.

It avails of the plans drawn up by disarmament Commission for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Security Council reflected the preponderance of the Great Powers in world politics. The superiority of the Great Powers was recognized by their possession of the veto. It was an important privilege in view of the fact that the Security Council alone could make divisions binding on member-states, in the primary area of responsibility i.e., international security. Moreover, the denial of similar power to the Non-Permanent members of the Council enabled any one of the Permanent

members to nullify their proposals, even if they were all in agreement on a particular issue.

Moreover, despite the enhanced position of the General Assembly, ultimate authority still lies with the Great Powers, who are the Permanent members of the Security Council.

- **The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)**

The economic and social functions of the UNO were placed in the hands of the Economic and Social Council, consisting of 18 members. This body presided over a broad range of activities, second only in importance to those directed by the Security Council. Its members are elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years.

The object of the ECOSOC has been to solve the international economic, social, educational, health and cultural problems. It was established for the purpose of promoting, encouraging and respecting human rights and freedom. Through its efforts, the UN has been trying to eliminate the underlying causes of war. It has been assisting the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council in matters relating to its area of operation. Since 1947, several regional economic commissions have been set up which come under the jurisdiction of the ECOSOC.

- **ECOSOC Commissions and Committees**

- ✓ To further its objectives, ECOSOC organized commissions and committees such as:
- ✓ The Commission on Human Rights seeks to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all persons.
- ✓ Other commissions and committees concerned with such problems as control of narcotics, prevention of crime, and improving the position of women.
- ✓ The ECOSOC also receives reports from such UN bodies as the UN Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the High Commissioner for Refugees and the UN Development Programme.

- **The Trusteeship Council**

The Trusteeship System was the outgrowth of the Mandate System of the League of Nations. Following the Second World War, the defeated powers were deprived of their colonies in Asia and Africa. The former colonies of Italy and Japan, together with the remaining mandates, were placed under the United Nations supervision as trust territories. Countries administering trusteeships pledged to prepare the peoples of the former colonies under their trusteeship for self-government under the supervision of the UN trusteeship Council.

The trust territories were divided into strategic and non-strategic areas. The former were placed under the control of the Security Council, and the latter under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. As trusteeships, Italy retained Italian Somaliland, Austria and New Guinea; the US received the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific. Besides, Cameroon, Togoland, Tanganyika, and some other territories were placed under the Trusteeship of as many as 12 nations such as the Big Five Powers, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium and Italy.

The Trusteeship Council consisted in equal number of nations administering and nations not administering trust territories. It also included all the Permanent members of the Security Council.

The following were the powers and functions of the Council:

- ✓ It considered reports submitted by the administering nations.
- ✓ It accepted and examined petition from the peoples of the trust territories.
- ✓ It sent, with the consent of the administering nation, an investigating committee, to inquire into the complaints of the peoples of the trust territories.
- ✓ It submitted to the General Assembly an annual progress report based on the replies received from the trustee nations to its questionnaires.
- ✓ It exercised supervision over the administration of trust territories.
- ✓ The main objective of the Council was the advancement of political, economic, social and educational life of the peoples with a view to

develop self-government in trust territories and eventually their independence.

- **The Secretariat**

The Secretariat is the administrative organ of the UNO. It's headquartered at New York. It is headed by the Secretary General. The personnel of the UN Secretariat are recruited from different member-nations, but the Secretary General and his staff are completely independent of the authority of any individual country in the discharge of their duties. The UN Charter enjoins the members-states to respect the international character of the Secretariat. The primary loyalty of the Secretariat is to the United Nations.

The Secretary General according to Article 97 of the UN Charter, is appointed for a five-year term by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He selects and directs his staff to perform the electrical and administrative work of the UNO. In addition, he is authorized to:

Bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter threatening world peace.

Perform any other task entrusted to him by the major organs of the UN, including diplomatic missions and directing the UN Emergency military forces.

In appointing the members of his staff, the Secretary General is expected to recruit them from as many different member-nations as possible and ensure the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. The Secretary General's position has a high potential for political influence. For instance, General Trygve Lie of Norway, the first Secretary General, played an active role in diffusing international tensions. The Secretary General, through his annual report and personnel equation with world leaders can create a climate favourable for international peace. It is rightly held that on him rests, to some measure, the effectiveness of the world body by advancing its aims and objects.

- **The International Court of Justice**

The International Court of Justice is an important organ of the UN. It replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of

Nations. It meets in the same building occupied by the Permanent Court of International Justice at Hague.

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 judges, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, for a term of nine years. The Court's jurisdiction extends to all states who agree to accept its verdicts. It has the power to:

- (a) Settle legal disputes between nations.
- (b) Give its advisory opinion to the UN organs on legal questions.

Nations submitting disputes to the Court agree in advance to accept its decisions, though it has been observed that often nations, including the US have shown the tendencies to flout its verdict. It may be remembered that only States, and not individuals, could approach the World Court.

- **Specialized Agencies of the Uno**

The UN Charter has also provided for the creation of certain Specialized Agencies to deal with the social, economic, cultural, scientific, educational and humanitarian activities of the World Body. Some of these have been associated with the ECOSOC for coordinating their activities with the UN. The Specialized Agencies are independent organizations with their own secretariats, Elective bodies and executive councils. Some of them predate the United Nations, and came into existence by inter-governmental agreement. They include most (but not all) nations as members. They secure their funds chiefly by voluntary contributions from member-nations. The Specialized Agencies created after the establishment of the UNO are given below.

(i) **The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):** Established in April 1944, by a conference of the Allied powers in London, the UNESCO has been doing remarkable work in the fields of education, natural and social sciences, cultural activities, mass communication, relief services, and technical aid to developing countries. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution mentions that 'since war being in the minds of men, it is in the mind of men that defences of peace must be constructed'. With this aim, it had, since its inception, undertaken various projects to raise educational standards,

exchange visits by experts, cultural exchanges to promote cooperation among countries, and to combat ignorance and prejudice.

(ii) **The International Labour Organization (ILO):** The ILO had been established in 1919 and was inherited by the UN from the League of Nations. Since 1919, it had been endeavouring to improve 1115 conditions of labour all over the world. Its experts have been serving in several countries in the varied fields of productivity, management development, social security, vocational guidance and training, imparting technical education to workers, teaching industrial hygiene and better industrial relations, training for the blind, etc. It also defines the minimum labour standards and assists countries in formulating Labour Laws.

(iii) **The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO):** The FAO has been concerned mainly with the perennial problem of “hunger” with a view to tackle this serious malady it had been making attempts to raise food production in the world and improve the nutrition levels in the underdeveloped and developing countries. It provides information to improve methods of cultivation and distribution of agricultural products. The FAO also has been assisting countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in pest control, use of better scientific farming, fisheries and forestry, thereby bringing the UN in active contact with the common people in different countries. ,

(iv) **The World Health Organization (WHO):** Created in July 1946 at New York, The WHO has done remarkable service to humankind by seeking to improve world health standards. It surveys health conditions, combat mass disease and epidemics like malaria and small pox, and helps nations to improve public health services. WHO’s campaigns against Cancer and Syphilis is well known. Besides, it has been rendering invaluable aid to the victims of earthquakes and other natural calamities.

(v) **The International Monetary Fund (IMF):** The IMF came into existence in 1944 as a result of the discussions between 44 countries at Bretton Woods Conference in the US. The aim of the Fund has been to help in promoting international trade. One of its important objectives has been to help nations to maintain stable currencies.

(vi) **The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank):** The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 also led to the creation of the World Bank with the avowed object of encouraging world economic progress by providing loans for large-scale rebuilding development projects, such a railroads, highways and electric power plants. However, from the very beginning, the activities of the Bank were influenced by political considerations. Moreover, it is under the commanding influence of the US.

(vii) **The United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF):** The UNICEF was established on 11 December 1946 with a view to provide relief to poverty-stricken children in the underdeveloped countries and arrange for their rehabilitation. Within a span of four years i.e., by 1950, it provided relief suppliers to more than 12 nations, irrespective of race, religion, nationality or political ideology.

The UNICEF’S immediate concern was to provide relief and secure rehabilitation for the unfortunate children; but soon the UNCEF realized that It was of vital importance to enhance the capacities of the governments of countries concerned to institute permanent programmes for child welfare and health. As David Thomson has pointed out: “... raising funds from governments and through public appeals, it fed over five million hungry or starving children in a dozen European countries and Asia. When created, the UNICEF was intended to meet an emergency, and perhaps was a temporary organization, but the problems of hunger proved so perennial that is still active in 1993”. In 1965, the UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Prize for its noble and humanitarian activities.

**Check Your Progress**

4. Mention any two consequences Second World War.
5. Expand UNO.

• **Other specialized agencies of the UNO**

Among the other specialized agencies of the UNO, we may mention the following:

(a) **The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICA)** which works to expand and improve civil vitiation and to standardize laws regarding use of airlines.

(b) **The Universal Postal Union (UPO)** provides international postal services including fixing uniform mail procedure for parcel, money orders, subscription to newspapers and magazines etc. It has its headquarters at Berne (Switzerland).

(c) **The World Meteorological Organisation (WMO)** was created for the purpose of coordinating data on weather and develop weather - forecasting services.

(d) **The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)** was set up in Geneva in 1964. Its purpose has been to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations by lowering the tariff barriers to enable the developing countries to actively engage in International Trade and Commerce.

No	Acronym	Agency	Headquarters	Year
1	FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	 Rome, Italy	1945
2	IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency	 Vienna, Austria	1957
3	ICAO	International Civil Aviation organization	 Montreal, Quebec, Canada	1947
4	IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	 Rome, Italy	1977
5	ILO	International Labour Organization	 Geneva, Switzerland	1946 (1919)
6	IMO	International Maritime Organization	 London, United Kingdom	1948
7	IMF	International Monetary Fund	 Washington, D.C., United States	1945 (1944)



No	Acronym	Agency	Headquarters	Year
8	ITU	International Telecommunication Union	 Geneva, Switzerland	1947 (1865)
9	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	 Paris, France	1946
10	UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization	 Vienna, Austria	1967
11	UNWTO	World Tourism Organization	 Madrid, Spain	1974
12	UPU	Universal Postal Union	 Bern, Switzerland	1947 (1874)
13	WBG	World Bank Group	 Washington, D.C., United States	1945 (1944)
14	WFP	World Food Programme	 Rome, Italy	1963
15	WHO	World Health Organization	 Geneva, Switzerland	1948
6	WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization	 Geneva, Switzerland	1974

### 1.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Birth of UNO and Cold War
2. United Nations Organizations (UNO).
3. New York.
4. Trygvelee.

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## 1.5 SUMMARY

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*Notes*

- Like the First World War, the Second World War also inspired the formation of an international organization on the model of the League of Nations, to preserve peace and promote international understanding.
- After several conferences and meetings of the “Big Three”, the UNO was born on 24 October 1945. The United States became the first country to ratify the Charter as the American Senate overwhelmingly approved their country’s membership.
- Article 7 of the UN Charter has mentioned six main organs. They are: (i) The General Assembly, (ii) The Security Council, (iii) The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), (iv) The Trusteeship Council, (v) The Secretariat and (vi) The international Court of Justice.
- The Security Council is the executive body of the UNO, and hence, it occupies an important position in the world organization. Article 23 of the UN Charter fixed the number of its members at eleven, five of whom were designated as the Permanent Members of the Council.
- The Security Council reflected the preponderance of the Great Powers in world politics.
- The Trusteeship System was the outgrowth of the Mandate System of the League of Nations. Following the Second World War, the defeated powers were deprived of their colonies Asia and Africa.

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## 1.6 KEYWORDS

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- **UN Charter:** It is a core constituent document of the United Nations and the United Nations System
- **Armament:** It is used to refer to weapons and bombs carried by an aircraft or other Military vehicle.
- **The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC):** The Economic and Social functions of the UNO were placed in the hands of the economic and social Council. This body presided over a broad range of activities, second only in importance to those directed by the Security Council.

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## 1.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the nature of the UNO.
2. List the aims and objectives of the UNO.
3. List the principal organs of the UNO.

### Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the powers and functions of the main organs of the UNO.
2. Explain the functioning of the various specialized agencies of the UNO.

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## 1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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- C.J.H. Hayes. (1953). *Modern Europe to 1870*. New York: Macmillan Company.
- C.D.M. Ketelbey. (1994). *A History of Modern Times from 1789*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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# UNIT-II

## CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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*Concept of International  
Relations*

*Notes*

### **Structure**

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 International Relations
- 2.3 Meaning of International Relations
- 2.4 Nature of International Relations
- 2.5 Diplomacy
- 2.6 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 Key Words
- 2.9 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 2.10 Suggested Readings

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### **2.0. INTRODUCTION**

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The study of relations among nations has fascinated scholars for several centuries. However, the term International was first used by Jeremy Bentham in the latter part of the eighteenth century, although its Latin equivalent *intergentes* was used a century earlier by Richard Zouche. Both of them had used this term in respect of that branch of law which was called law of nations, which later became 'international Law'. During the nineteenth and twentieth century's, international relations have grown rapidly. Today nation-states have become far too interdependent; and relations among them whether political or those related to trade and commerce, have developed into an essential area of knowledge.

In this unit, we are mainly concerned with the political relations among sovereign societies called Nations, or Nation-States.

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### **2.1. OBJECTIVES**

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After going through this unit, we will be able to

- Grasp the meaning and changing nature of International Relations.

- Understand the utility of the study of International Relations.

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## 2.2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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International Relations is concerned with relations across boundaries of nation-states. It addresses international political economy, global governance, intercultural relations, national and ethnic identities, foreign policy analysis, development studies, environment, international security, diplomacy, terrorism, media, social movements and more. It is a multidisciplinary field that does not restrict students to one approach and employs a variety of methods including discourse analysis, statistics and comparative and historical analysis.

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## 2.3. MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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The term International Relations (IR) may be used both for a 'condition' and a 'discipline'. Quincy Wright, for example, makes such a distinction. The official relations between sovereign countries are described as international relations, though according to him, "..... the word interstate would have been more accurate because in political science the state came to be the terms applied to such societies.' Viewed thus, international relations as 'condition' refers to the facts of international life, that is to say, the actual conduct of relations among nations through diplomacy based on foreign policy. It also includes actual areas of cooperation, conflict and war. According to Wright, IR should tell the "truth about the subject" i.e., how such relations are conducted and as a discipline IR should treat them in a systematic and scientific manner,

In other words, IR should focus on the study of all relations—political, diplomatic trade, academic among sovereign states which constitute the subject matter on international relations. The scope of IR should include study of "varied types of groups—nations, states, governments, peoples, regions, alliances, confederations, international organisations, even industrial organisations, cultural organisations, religious organisation" etc. which are involved in the conduct of these relations.

While Quincy Wright distinguished between international relations as a 'condition' and a 'discipline', there are other scholars like Palmer and Perkins who doubted its status as a discipline. They argued that History

and Political Science are the disciplines from which international relations has emerged. Writing about 40 years ago. Palmer and Perkins had opined : "Although international relations has emerged from its earlier status as a poor relation of political science, and history, it is still far from being a well-organised discipline."

One of the earlier scholars of international relations, Professor Alfred Zimmern had written before the Second World War that : "International Relations ..... is clearly not a subject in the ordinary sense of the word. It does not provide a single coherent body of teaching material ..... It is not a single subject but a bundle of subjects ..... of law, economics, political science, geography, and so on ,...." International Relations, according to Palmer and Perkins, was too subjective in character and content. In its early stages even E.H. Carr had described it as "markedly and frankly utopian." But the failure of the League of Nations and its collective security system led Carr to remark that it had become possible to embark on serious and critical analytical thought about international problems." This has been vigorously pursued by a number of scholars after the Second World War. Today, it will not be proper to describe International Relations as 'Utopian or deny' it the status of an independent subject of study. National interest is an important concern of every state. Planners and makers of foreign policy — cannot ignore correct perception of their country's national interests which must be protected at all costs. Hartman defines International Relations as a field of study which focuses upon the "processes by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states." Since national interests of different states are often in conflict, Morgenthau concludes that international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Therefore, power is the means through which nations promote their national interest.

- **International Relations and International Politics**

The first Chair in International Relations was established at the university of Wales(U.K) in 1919. The first two occupants of the chair were eminent historians, Professors Alfred Zimmern and C.K. Webster. At that time, International Relations as a subject was little more than diplomatic history. During the

next seven decades this subject has changed in nature and content. Today the analytical study of politics has replaced descriptive diplomatic history. The term **International politics** is now used for the new discipline that has been emerging since the second world war. It is more scientific, yet narrow, as compared to **International Relations**.

The two terms are even now sometimes used as synonyms. But, they have two distinct areas, or content, of study. **Hans Morgenthau** believes that “the core of international relations is international politics“, but a clear distinction between the two is to be made. International Relations, according to him, is much wider in scope than International Politics. Whereas politics among nations is, as Morgenthau says, struggle for power, international relations includes political, economic and cultural relations. **Harold and Margaret Sprout** opine that international relations include all human behaviour on one side of a national boundary affecting the human behaviour on the other side of the boundary. International politics, on the other hand, deals with conflicts and cooperation among nations essentially at political level. As **Padelford and Lincoln** define it, international politics is the interaction of state policies within the changing pan of power relationship. Palmer and Perkins express similar views when they say that international politics is essentially concerned with the state system.

Since international relations includes all types of relationships between sovereign states, it is wider, and international politics is narrower in scope. As students of IR, we shall indeed examine political conflicts and cooperation among states. But, we shall also study other aspect of relations among nations as well including economic inter-action and tote of the non-state actor.

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## 2.4. NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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The context and nature of IR have undergone major changes after the Second World War. Traditionally, world politics was centered around Europe and relations among nations were largely conducted by officials of foreign offices in secrecy. The common man was hardly ever involved, and treaties were often kept Secret. Today public opinion has begun to play an important role in the decision-making process in foreign offices, thus,

changing completely the nature of international relations. Ambassadors, once briefed by their governments, were largely free to conduct relations according to the ground realities of the countries of their posting. Today, not only have nuclear weapons changed the nature of war and replaced erstwhile the balance of power by the balance of terror, but also the nature of diplomacy changed as well. We live in the jet age where the heads of state and government and their foreign ministers travel across the globe and personally establish contacts and conduct international relations. Before the First World War a traveller from India to Britain spent about 20 days in the sea voyage. Today, it takes less than 9 hours for a jet aircraft to fly from Delhi to London, telephones, fax machines, teleprinters and other electronic devices have brought all government leaders in direct contact. Hotline communications between Washington and Moscow, for example, keeps the top world-leaders in constant touch. This has reduced the freedom of ambassadors who receive daily instructions from their governments.

Decolonisation has resulted in the emergence of a large number of sovereign states. The former colonies of the European Powers, including India, have become important actors on the Stage of international relations. They were once silent spectators. Today, they participate in the conduct of world politics. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has created 15 members of the United Nations, instead of the previous three. Some of the very small countries like Nauru may have no power but they also have, an equal voice in the General Assembly. Four very small countries viz. Liechtenstein, San Marino, Monaco and Andorra were admitted to the UN, during 1990-93. The total number of UN members has gone up from 51 in 1945 to 185 in 1997. Thus, international relations are now conducted by such a large number of new nation-states. Besides, many non-state actors such as multinational corporations and transnational bodies like terrorist groups have been influencing international relation in a big way. With the collapse of the Soviet Union as a Super Power, the United States has emerged as the supreme monolithic power and can now dominate the international scene almost without any challenge. The Non-Alignment Movement ((NAM) still exists but with the dismemberment of one of its



founders (i.e : Yugoslavia) and the disappearance of rival power blocs, the role of the 'Third World' has changed along with that of NAM.

**Check Your Progress**

1. The term International Relations.
2. Explain the meaning of International Relations.

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## 2.5. DIPLOMACY

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Diplomacy is a subset of international relations that is typically focused more narrowly around the process of conducting negotiations between representatives of different nations or, in some cases, corporations from different countries.

- **What is Diplomacy?**

- ✓ Diplomacy is a principal activity of heads of states, governments and special bodies of external relations in implementation of goals, objectives of state's foreign policy, as well as protection of rights and interests of state abroad.
- ✓ It is a method to manipulate or influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence.
- ✓ It is a conduct of international relations through the intercession of professional diplomats with regard to issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics, culture, environment , and human rights.
- ✓ International treaties are usually negotiated by diplomats prior to endorsement by national politicians.
- ✓ In an informal or social sense, diplomacy is the employment of tact to gain strategic advantage or to find mutually acceptable solutions to a common challenge, one set of tools being the phrasing of statements in a non-confrontational or polite manner.
- ✓ The scholarly discipline of diplomatic, dealing with the study of old documents derives its name from the same source, but its modern meaning is quite distinct from the activity of diplomacy.

- **History of Diplomacy**

- ✓ Ancient India, with its epics, kingdoms and dynasties, had a long tradition of diplomacy.

- ✓ The diplomacy is mentioned in Indian epic like Ramayana and Mahabharata.
- ✓ Lord Rama, in the epic Ramayana, sent his envoy to Lanka to negotiate with his adversary before the war.
- ✓ It is also good to note that Lord Krishna, in the epic Mahabharata, acted as a divine diplomat and statesman between the Kuru and Pandava dynasties.
- ✓ The oldest treatise on statecraft and diplomacy, Arthashastra, is attributed to Chanakya, who was the principal adviser to Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty who ruled in the 3rd century BC.
- ✓ Arthashastra is a complete work on the art of kingship, with long chapters on taxation and on the raising and maintenance of armies.
- ✓ It graded state power with respect to five factors and emphasized espionage, diplomatic moreover, and contention by 12 categories of states within a complex geopolitical matrix.
- ✓ It also posited four expedients of statecraft (conciliation, seduction, subversion, and coercion) and six forms of state policy (peace, war, nonalignment, alliances, shows of force, and double-dealing).
- ✓ It also incorporates a theory of diplomacy, of how in a situation of mutually contesting kingdoms, the wise king builds alliances and tries to checkmate his adversaries.
- ✓ The envoys sent at the time to the courts of other kingdoms tended to reside for extended periods of time, and Arthashastra contains advice on the deportment of the envoy, including the trenchant suggestion that 'he should sleep alone'.
- ✓ The highest morality for the king is that his kingdom should prosper.

#### **Nature of Diplomacy**

- ✓ Diplomacy is not immoral
- ✓ Diplomacy is a means of International Relations
- ✓ Diplomacy is machinery for action
- ✓ Diplomacy acts through Settled Procedures
- ✓ Bilateral as well as Multilateral in Form

- ✓ Diplomacy handles all types of Matters
- ✓ Breakdown of Diplomacy always leads to Crisis
- ✓ Diplomacy operates both in times of Peace as well as War
- ✓ Diplomacy works in an environment characterised both by Conflict and Cooperation
- ✓ Diplomacy always works for securing national interests of the nation it represents
- ✓ Diplomacy is backed by National Power.

**Check Your Progress**

3. Who coined the term International Relations?
4. Define Decolonisation
5. Define Diplomacy.

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## 2.6. ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

### QUESTIONS

1. The way in which two or more nations interact with and regard each other, especially in the context of political, economic, or cultural relationships.
2. The term International Relations indicates the official relation among Sovereign nations.
3. Jeremy Bentham. It makes its first appearance in his 1789 book "Principles of Morals and Legislation".
4. Decolonization is defined as the act of getting rid of colonization, or freeing a country from being dependent on another country.
5. Diplomacy deals with the successful functioning of relationships between countries in an effective way.

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### 2.7. SUMMARY

- The term International was first used by Jeremy Bentham in the latter part of the eighteenth century, although its Latin equivalent *intergentes* was used a century earlier by Rijkman Zouche.
- The first Chair in International Relations was established at the University of Wales (U.K) in 1919. The first two occupants of the chair were eminent historians, Professors Alfred Zimmern and C.K. Webster.

- Decolonisation has resulted in the emergence of a large number of sovereign states. The former colonies of the European Powers, including India, have become important actors on the Stage of international relations
- Diplomacy is a subset of international relations that is typically focused more narrowly around the process of conducting negotiations between representatives of different nations or, in some cases, corporations from different countries.
- The diplomacy is mentioned in Indian epic like Ramayana and Mahabharata.

Lord Rama, in the epic Ramayana, sent his envoy to Lanka to negotiate with his adversary before the war

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## 2.8. KEY WORDS

- **Utopia** – modelled on or aiming for a state in which everything is perfect; idealistic.
- **Interdependence** – the dependence of two or more countries or things on each other.
- **Idealistic** – characterized by Idealism; unrealistically aiming for perfection.

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## 2.9. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

1. What is Diplomacy?
2. Write about International Politics
3. When was the first Chair in International Relations was established?

### Long Answer Questions

1. Describe International Relation and point out its nature.
2. Asses the role of diplomacy in International Relations.

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## 2.10. SUGGESTED READINGS

Dorothy Irving.(2007). *This Too Is Diplomacy*. Author House.

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# UNIT-III

## DIPLOMACY

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### Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Types of Diplomacy
- 3.3 Balance of power
- 3.4 Collective security
- 3.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 Key Words
- 3.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Suggested Readings

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### 3.0 .INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the concept of international relations. Its meaning and nature as well about the term diplomacy in recent context usage of the term. Diplomacy entails influencing the decisions and conduct of foreign governments and officials through dialogue, negotiation, and other nonviolent means.

In this unit you study about the kinds of Diplomacy, Balance of Power, and Collective Security.

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### 3.1 OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the types of Diplomacy.
- Discuss the importance of Collective Security.

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### 3.2 TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

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There are a variety of diplomatic categories and diplomatic strategies employed by organizations and governments to achieve their aims, each with its own advantages and disadvantages.

- **Appeasement**

Appeasement is a policy of making concessions to an aggressor in order to avoid confrontation.

- **Soft Power**

Soft power, sometimes called hearts and minds diplomacy, as defined by Joseph Nye, is the cultivation of relationships, respect, or even admiration from others in order to gain influence, as opposed to more coercive approaches.

- **Monetary Diplomacy**

Monetary diplomacy is the use of foreign aid or other types of monetary policy as a means to achieve a diplomatic agenda.

- **Gunboat Diplomacy**

Gunboat diplomacy is the use of conspicuous displays of military strength as a means of intimidation in order to influence others.

- **Public Diplomacy**

Public diplomacy is exercising influence through communication with the general public in another nation, rather than attempting to influence the nation's government directly.

This communication may take the form of propaganda, or more benign forms such as citizen diplomacy, individual interactions between average citizens of two or more nations.

- **Nuclear Diplomacy**

Nuclear diplomacy is the area of diplomacy related to preventing nuclear proliferation and nuclear war. One of the most well-known (and most controversial) philosophies of nuclear diplomacy is Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).

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### **3.3 BALANCE OF POWER**

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Balance of power, in international relations, the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side. States can pursue a policy of balance of power in two ways: by increasing their own power, as when engaging in an armaments race or in the

competitive acquisition of territory; or by adding to their own power that of other states, as when embarking upon a policy of alliances.

The term balance of power came into use to denote the power relationships in the European state system from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to World War I. Within the European balance of power, Great Britain played the role of the “balancer,” or “holder of the balance.” It was not permanently identified with the policies of any European nation, and it would throw its weight at one time on one side, at another time on another side, guided largely by one consideration—the maintenance of the balance itself. Naval supremacy and its virtual immunity from foreign invasion enabled Great Britain to perform this function, which made the European balance of power both flexible and stable.

The balance of power from the early 20th century onward underwent drastic changes that for all practical purposes destroyed the European power structure as it had existed since the end of the Middle Ages. Prior to the 20th century, the political world was composed of a number of separate and independent balance-of-power systems, such as the European, the American, the Chinese, and the Indian. But World War I and its attendant political alignments triggered a process that eventually culminated in the integration of most of the world’s nations into a single balance-of-power system. This integration began with the World War I alliance of Britain, France, Russia, and the United States against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The integration continued in World War II, during which the fascist nations of Germany, Japan, and Italy were opposed by a global alliance of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and China. World War II ended with the major weights in the balance of power having shifted from the traditional players in western and central Europe to just two non-European ones: the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was a bipolar balance of power across the northern half of the globe that pitted the free-market democracies of the West against the communist one-party states of eastern Europe. More specifically, the nations of western Europe sided with the United States in the NATO military alliance, while the Soviet Union’s satellite-allies in



central and eastern Europe became unified under Soviet leadership in the Warsaw Pact.

Because the balance of power was now bipolar and because of the great disparity of power between the two superpowers and all other nations, the European countries lost that freedom of movement that previously had made for a flexible system. Instead of a series of shifting and basically unpredictable alliances with and against each other, the nations of Europe now clustered around the two superpowers and tended to transform themselves into two stable blocs.

There were other decisive differences between the postwar balance of power and its predecessor. The fear of mutual destruction in a global nuclear holocaust injected into the foreign policies of the United States and the Soviet Union a marked element of restraint. A direct military confrontation between the two superpowers and their allies on European soil was an almost-certain gateway to nuclear war and was therefore to be avoided at almost any cost. So instead, direct confrontation was largely replaced by (1) a massive arms race whose lethal products were never used and (2) political meddling or limited military interventions by the superpowers in various Third World nations.

In the late 20th century, some Third World nations resisted the advances of the superpowers and maintained a nonaligned stance in international politics. The breakaway of China from Soviet influence and its cultivation of a nonaligned but covertly anti-Soviet stance lent a further complexity to the bipolar balance of power. The most important shift in the balance of power began in 1989–90, however, when the Soviet Union lost control over its eastern European satellites and allowed noncommunist governments to come to power in those countries. The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 made the concept of a European balance of power temporarily irrelevant, since the government of newly sovereign Russia initially embraced the political and economic forms favoured by the United States and western Europe. Both Russia and the United States retained their nuclear arsenals, however, so the balance of nuclear threat between them remained potentially in force.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand MAD
2. List the types of Diplomacy?

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### 3.4.COLLECTIVE SECURITY

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Collective security, system by which states have attempted to prevent or stop wars. Under a collective security arrangement, an aggressor against any one state is considered an aggressor against all other states, which act together to repel the aggressor.

Collective security arrangements have always been conceived as being global in scope; this is in fact a defining characteristic, distinguishing them from regional alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Both the League of Nations and the United Nations were founded on the principle of collective security.

Neither the League nor the United Nations were able to operate the principle successfully to prevent aggression because of the conflicts of interest among states, especially among the major powers. The existence of such conflicts has in fact been recognized in the institutionalized arrangements of the two world bodies themselves: under the Covenant of the League of Nations the response to aggression was left to the member states to decide (article 16, paragraph 3, as amended by interpretive resolutions adopted in 1921); and under the UN Charter any permanent member of the Security Council may veto collective action (article 27, paragraph 3).

- **Collective Security: Meaning, Nature, Features and Criticisms**

Collective Security system guarantees the security of each state of the world against any war or aggression which may be committed by any state against any other state. It is like an insurance system in which all the nations are bound to protect the victim of an aggression or war by neutralizing the aggression or war against the victim.

Collective Security is currently regarded as the most promising approach to international peace. It is regarded as a valuable device of crisis management in international relations. It is designed to protect

international peace and security against war and aggression in any part of the world.

UN Charter includes a system of collective security which is designed to meet an international crisis resulting from war or aggression or a threat of war or aggression in any part of the international system. Balance of Power has lost its relevance as a device of power management and Collective Security has gained recognition as a modern device of power management which can enable the international community to meet a crisis situations.

- **What is Collective Security?**

Collective Security is a device of crisis management which postulates a commitment on the part of all the nations to collectively meet an aggression that may be committed by any state against another. War or aggression is viewed as a breach of international peace and security and collective security stands for collective action by all the nations in defence of peace. Collective security stands for meeting any war or aggression by the creation of a global preponderance of power of all nations against the aggression.

Collective Security is also regarded as a deterrent against aggression in so far as it lays down that the collective power of all nations will be used to repel aggression or war against any state. It is based on the principle, ‘Aggression against any one member of the international community is an aggression against international peace and security. As such it has to be met by the collective efforts of all the nations’.

- **Definition of Collective Security:**

(1) “Collective Security is machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order.” —George Schwarzenberger

(2) “Collective Security clearly implies collective measures for dealing with threats to peace.” —Palmer and Perkins

(3) “In essence, Collective Security is an arrangement among states in which all promise, in the event any member of the system engages in certain prohibited acts (war and aggression) against another member, to come to latter’s assistance.” —Schleicher

In simple words, Collective Security system guarantees the security of each state of the world against any war or aggression which may be committed by any state against any other state. It is like an insurance system in which all the nations are bound to protect the victim of an aggression or war by neutralizing the aggression or war against the victim.

- **Nature of Collective Security**

Collective Security stands for preserving security through collective actions. Its two key elements are:

(1) Security is the chief goal of all the nations. Presently the security of each nation stands inseparably linked up with the security of all other nations. National security is a part of the international security. Any attack on the security of a nation is in fact an attack on the security of all the nations. Hence, it is the responsibility of all the nations to defend the security of the victim nation.

(2) The term 'collective', as a part of the concept of collective security, refers to the method by which security is to be defended in the event of any war or aggression against the security of any nation. The power of the aggressor has to be met with by the collective power of all the nations. All the nations are required to create an international preponderance of power for negating the aggression or for ending a war.

The underlying principle of Collective Security has been 'One for All and All for One'. Aggression or war against any one nation is a war against all the nations. Therefore all the nations are to act collectively against every War/Aggression.

- **Main Features/Characteristics of Collective Security**

**(1) A Device of Power Management**

Collective Security is a device of power management or crisis management. It seeks to preserve international peace through crisis management in the event of any war or aggression in the world.

**(2) It accepts Universality of Aggression**

Collective Security accepts that violations of the security of a nation are bound to occur and that wars and aggressions cannot be totally eliminated from international relations.

**(3) All Nations are committed to pool their power for ending Aggression**

Collective Security believes that in the event of a violation of international peace by any aggression in any part of the world, all the nations are committed to pool their power and resources for taking

**Check Your Progress**

3. Explain Gunboat Diplomacy?
4. Explain the meaning of Collective Security?
5. Define Palmer and Perkins sayings on Collective Security?

effective steps against every aggression for restoring international peace.

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### **3.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS**

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1. Mutually Assured Destruction
2. Monetary Diplomacy, Gunboat Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy, Nuclear Diplomacy, Appeasement, Soft power.
3. Gunboat Diplomacy is the use of conspicuous displays of military strength as a means of intimidation in order to influence others.
4. Collective security system guarantees the security of each state of the world against any war or aggression which may be committed by any state against any other state.
5. "Collective Security clearly implies collective measures for dealing with threats to Peace."

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### **3.6. SUMMARY**

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- Diplomacy entails influencing the decisions and conduct of foreign governments and officials through dialogue, negotiation, and other nonviolent means.
- Balance of power, in international relations, the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side.

- The balance of power from the early 20th century onward underwent drastic changes that for all practical purposes destroyed the European power structure as it had existed since the end of the Middle Ages.
- Collective security, system by which states have attempted to prevent or stop wars. Under a collective security arrangement, an aggressor against any one state is considered an aggressor against all other states, which act together to repel the aggressor.
- “Collective Security is machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order.” —George Schwarzenberger

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### 3.7. KEY WORDS

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**Collective security** - A system by which states have attempted to prevent or stop wars. Under a collective security arrangement, an aggressor against any one state is considered an aggressor against all other states, which act together to repel the aggressor.

**Appeasement** – In an international context is a diplomatic policy of making political or material concessions to an aggressive power in order to avoid conflict.

**Proliferation-** In the latter half of the 20th century, this term has been co-opted to mean the rapid spread of deadly weapons. In its politico-military context, proliferation most commonly refers to nuclear weapons, and sometimes covers all weapons of mass destruction—biological, chemical, and radiological as well as nuclear weapons.

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### 3.8. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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#### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about the types of Diplomacy?
2. Explain the meaning of Balance of Power
3. Explain briefly about the various definitions of Collective Security?

#### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically evaluate the characteristics of Collective Security?
2. What is Collective Security? How did it work since 1950?

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### 3.9. SUGGESTED READINGS

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Dorothy Irving.(2007). *This Too Is Diplomacy*. Author House.

George F. Kennan and John J. Mearsheimer.(2012). *American Diplomacy: Sixtieth-Anniversary Expanded Edition*. University of Chicago Press; Enlarged edition.

Nicholas Griffin. (2015). *Ping-Pong Diplomacy: The Secret History Behind the Game That Changed the World* . Skyhorse.

William Appleman Williams. (1962). *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* Delta. 2nd edition

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# **BLOCK – II**

## **POST WAR SHAKEUP IN ASIA AND AFRICA**

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*Nationalism In Asia And Africa*

*Notes*

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### **UNIT - IV**

## **NATIONALISM IN ASIA AND AFRICA**

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#### **Structure**

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Nationalism in Asia and Africa
- 4.3 Emergence of the New Nations in Africa
- 4.4 Rise of Asia – China, Japan, Indonesia
- 4.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 Key Words
- 4.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 4.9 Suggested Readings

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#### **4.0. INTRODUCTION**

In the previous unit you studied about the kinds of Diplomacy, Balance of Power, and Collective Security.

In this unit you study about the rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa and it led to the emergence of several new nations in Asia and Africa – china, Japan, Indonesia.

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#### **4.1 OBJECTIVES**

- To enhance the understanding the Rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa
- To study about the freedom movements in Southern Africa after the Second World War.

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#### **4.2 NATIONALISM IN ASIA AND AFRICA**

Before World War II whole of Asia and Africa was under. Two European powers namely, UK. and France. These had their Colonies in both these continents. Portugal also had some ‘colonies, but much less than



UK and France. Colonial powers fully exploited both manual and material resources of their colonies and prospered at their cost. Whereas the peoples of the colonies suffered, imperial power enjoyed. These became big powers because these possessed colonies. After World War II awakening came both in Africa and Asia for which several causes were responsible. Continued backwards of the people of the colonies, increasing illiteracy and unemployment; high handed and autocratic attitude of imperialists; ruthless exploitation of resources of the colonies; spread of communist philosophy etc. were some such causes. In these colonies strong nationalist movements started demanding full independence and right of self-determination. Imperialist Europe tried crush these movement with iron hands but repression does not led to suppression of nationalist movement. The result was gradually the colonies began to win freedom and started coming out of imperialist yokes. Whole of Asia and Africa has come out of European imperialist nations. Thus, Europe's influence in the traditional sense of colonialism has practically ceased.

African nationalism is a subjective feeling of kinship or affinity shared by people of African descent. It is a feeling based on shared cultural norms, traditional institutions, racial heritage, and a common historical experience. One enduring historical experience shared by nearly all Africans was colonial oppression, discussed in the previous chapter. Along with this sense of shared identity is a collective desire to maintain one's own cultural, social, and political values independent of outside control.

- **Modern African Nationalism**

After colonial rule had been firmly established, Africans continued to exhibit many forms of disaffection and resistance. Because Africa had been sliced into different colonies, as the resistance coalesced, organizations formed to protest various elements of colonial rule were often based on the territory under one colonial power (such as France, Britain, or Germany). Since it was virtually impossible for Africans to organize on a country-wide basis, regional or ethnic organizations became the most practical option. Because the colonizer was European and the colonized was African, such

organizations came to be seen, particularly by outsiders, almost entirely in racial terms. It served the colonial powers' interests for them not only to play ethnic groups against one another, but also to characterize the more militant or out-spoken ones as being anti-white. The factors that led to the rise of nationalism in Africa was

- *Colonial Oppression*
- *Missionary Churches*

Between 1945 and 1960, three dozen new states in Asia and Africa achieved autonomy or outright independence from their European colonial rulers.

There was no one process of decolonization. In some areas, it was peaceful, and orderly. In many others, independence was achieved only after a protracted revolution. A few newly independent countries acquired stable governments almost immediately; others were ruled by dictators or military juntas for decades, or endured long civil wars. Some European governments welcomed a new relationship with their former colonies; others contested decolonization militarily. The process of decolonization coincided with the new Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, and with the early development of the new United Nations. Decolonization was often affected by superpower competition, and had a definite impact on the evolution of that competition. It also significantly changed the pattern of international relations in a more general sense.

The creation of so many new countries, some of which occupied strategic locations, others of which possessed significant natural resources, and most of which were desperately poor, altered the composition of the United Nations and political complexity of every region of the globe. In the mid to late 19th century, the European powers colonized much of Africa and Southeast Asia. During the decades of imperialism, the industrializing powers of Europe viewed the African and Asian continents as reservoirs of raw materials, labor, and territory for future settlement. In most cases, however, significant development and European settlement in these colonies was sporadic. However, the colonies were exploited, sometimes brutally, for natural and labor resources, and sometimes even for military conscripts. In addition, the introduction of colonial rule drew

arbitrary natural boundaries where none had existed before, dividing ethnic and linguistic groups and natural features, and laying the foundation for the creation of numerous states lacking geographic, linguistic, ethnic, or political affinity.

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### **4.3 EMERGENCE OF THE NEW NATIONS IN AFRICA**

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Just after the end of the Second World War, nationalist organizations were formed in almost all countries of southern Africa (sub-Saharan Africa). The imperialist countries had realized that they would not be able to hold on to Africa for long.

- **Ghana and Guinea**

The first country to gain independence in southern Africa was Ghana (formerly Gold Coast). The struggle for freedom in Ghana was led by Kwame Nkrumah. He was an outstanding leader of African nationalism and played an important role in uniting the African people for freedom as well as for asserting their national sovereignty and independent role in world affairs.

In 1949, he formed the Convention People's Party. In 1956, this party won more than 70 per cent seats in the elections and on 6 March 1957 Ghana became independent. In 1958, Guinea became the first French colony in southern Africa to become independent.

- **The Africa Year**

In 1960, 17 countries of Africa became independent. This has given that year the title of the Africa Year'. Out of them, 13 had been French colonies. These 17 countries were Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Nigeria, Togo, Benin, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo (formerly 'French), Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Belgian Congo, it was renamed Zaire until 1997), Central African Republic, Somalia and Madagascar.

The wave of anti-imperialism that engulfed Africa in 1960 influenced even the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. During a tour of British colonies in Africa in March 1960, he spoke about the wind of change which was blowing throughout the continent and said, "Whether we like it or not this growth of national consciousness is a political fact and our national policies must take account of it".

- **The Struggle in Kenya**

British imperialism had long been trying to prevent this 'wind of change' from blowing. In Kenya the nationalist movement had been launched in the 1920s and one of its leaders who emerged into prominence was Jomo Kenyatta. In 1943, was formed the Kenya Africa Union which later became the Kenya African National Union which, besides Jomo Kenyatta, was led by Odinga Oginga.

In 1952, the Mau Mau rebellion broke out in Kenya. This rebellion was mainly a peasant rebellion of the Kikuyu tribe whose lands had been taken away by the British colonial authorities. Some Western writers have described Mau Mau rebels as terrorists who committed inhuman atrocities.

The British suppressed the rebellion with the use of brute force, killing about 15,000 Kenyans. In 1953, Kenyatta was arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on the charge of leading the Mau Mau rebellion.

The British were compelled to end their repression which had won them world-wide condemnation. In 1961, Kenyatta was freed. On 12 December 1964, Kenya became a republic with Jomo Kenyatta as its first President.

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#### **4.4. RISE OF ASIA – CHINA, JAPAN, INDONESIA**

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- **Indonesia**

In Indonesia, soon after the surrender of Japan, the Republic of Indonesia had been proclaimed by the nationalists. However, the Dutch, supported by British troops, came back to re-establish their rule and a war followed. The war ended in 1949 and on 27 December that year, Indonesia became independent.

Laos, one of the three countries comprising Indo-China, had proclaimed her independence in 1945. However, first French and later US intervention in Laos continued. The US intervention in Laos was ended in 1973. In Cambodia, the third country of Indo-China, also, the French returned after the defeat of Japan. The French finally left in 1953 and Cambodia became independent. In 1970, the US installed a puppet government there and the US war in Vietnam was extended to Cambodia.

- **Japan**

Japan was occupied by the US forces after her defeat in the war. A number of reforms were initiated in the political system of Japan and in the economy and society which laid the foundations of the post-war development of Japan.

The power of the big landlords was broken. Workers' unions were given freedom to function. The educational system was reformed and its misuse for inculcating militaristic and chauvinistic values was prevented.

In May 1947, a new constitution prepared mainly by the occupation authorities (the US), came into force.

It introduced a democratic parliamentary form of government and universal adult franchise in Japan. Though the institution of monarchy was retained, the emperor was divested of all his powers and was viewed as just "the symbol of the state". The new Japanese constitution renounced war as a national policy. It also prohibited Japan from having a standing army or navy. In 1952, the US occupation of Japan was ended, though by a security pact she retained the right to station her troops in Japan.

The country has been almost throughout ruled by the conservative Liberal Democratic Party which, in spite of many cases of corruption involving the prime ministers of the country, has been generally returned to power.

The second most popular party is the socialist party which advocates nationalization of industry and wants the security pact with the US scrapped which has aligned Japan with the US. The Japanese Communist Party also has a substantial following. These two parties along with others are opposed to any revival of militarism in Japan. The security pact with the US provoked countrywide protests in Japan when it was renewed in 1960.

Japan which advocated the revival of the greatness of Japan as a military power, and inculcation of the traditional values some of which are closely related to militarism.

Japan has, during the post-war decades, emerged as a great world economic power, challenging US supremacy in many areas of the

economy. Her economic growth is often referred to as a 'miracle'. Lacking most of the natural resources herself, she has made tremendous advances in technology which has become her main asset. In many fields of manufacture requiring high technology, she has surpassed every other country in the world.

As one of the economic 'giants' in the world today, she is closely allied with the most advanced capitalist economies of the West. In her foreign policy, she has generally followed the US. She started normalising her relations with China, formerly her main victim since her rise as a modern nation, in the early 1970s, and subsequently with the Soviet Union (and after her break-up, with Russia).

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, local nationalist movements in the former Asian colonies campaigned for independence rather than a return to European colonial rule. In many cases, as in Indonesia and French Indochina, these nationalists had been guerrillas fighting the Japanese after European surrenders, or were former members of colonial military establishments. These independence movements often appealed to the United States Government for support.

- **The Rise of China**

In 1999 the People's Republic of China celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding, marking the end of a period corresponding almost exactly to the second half of the 20th century, in which China was restored to its role as a major player in international politics. Given that for the first 50 years of the 20th century China served simply as an arena in which the imperialist powers fought for spheres of influence, this transformation is of significance not only for China but also for international politics in East Asia. However, it was not until the 1960s that China stepped onto the international political stage as a more independent power. In the 1950s China had officially - though not always actually - adhered to a policy of "leaning towards the Soviet Union," and promoted a "China-Soviet Union monolith" during the Cold War as part of the Eastern bloc. The end of the 1950s saw this stance change to one of Sino-Soviet rivalry, and China's first successful nuclear test in 1964 introduced into the bipolar Cold War structure a new orientation towards "multi-polarity."

China's independence grew more prominent in the 1970s, as rapprochement with the US in 1971 brought considerable changes to the international political framework of East Asia. From that time until the early part of the 1980s, China adopted a policy of "a single line" to align with the US and Japan to oppose the Soviet Union's drive for domination. The increasing independence of China's foreign policy from the 1960s through the 1970s did not, however, reflect a similar expansion of China's own strength as a nation. China was during this time still suffering the aftereffects of the Great Leap Forward of the 1950s, the subsequent Great Famine, and the widespread chaos stemming from the self-destructive Cultural Revolution that began in the mid-1960s. China under Mao Zedong sought rapprochement with the US for no other reason than a very keen awareness of the threat posed by the Soviet Union in light of the domestic disorder in China. Thus, the Chinese threat perception of the Soviet Union and the US Asian Strategy seeking an "honorable withdrawal" from Vietnam, coincided well, leading to the Sino-US rapprochement in 1971.

Deng Xiaoping, who after the death of Mao Zedong seized the reins of power, sought through a policy of "reform and opening to the outside world" to revolutionize the "self-reliance" economic approach that had been pursued theretofore. Beginning with the introduction of a "production by contract" system, he set out on a bold course to introduce into China elements of a market economy. This marked the country's first earnest attempts in the 20th century to establish the foundations for expanding its national strength. China began seeing the Soviet Union as somewhat less of a threat in the 1980s. Although the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan did cause considerable alarm, reinforcing the view of the Soviets as a danger to Chinese security, it was apparent thereafter that the USSR had become bogged down in Afghanistan. Causing greater unease for the Chinese was the new Reagan administration, and above all its Taiwan policy, amid the building of a strong "new Cold War" structure to counter the Soviet Union. China began around 1982 unilaterally to revise its policy of rapprochement with the US, aspiring to what it termed "an independent and autonomous foreign policy," and sought to put a certain distance between itself and the US. Another factor behind these changes

was that the China-Vietnam War, which had stemmed from an overwhelmingly powerful sense of the Soviet threat, had not gone as China had wished and, in fact, had for all practical purposes been a "defeat." China thus became more convinced that enhancing its own national power had to take precedence over pursuing an active foreign policy.

As China began making adjustments to its foreign policy, the new US-Soviet Cold War posed little direct threat, with China not particularly favoring either side. Over-dependence on the US might be seen as an attempt to intimidate the Soviet Union, and it might also leave China unable to speak out against US policy towards Taiwan. In any case, the success of the "reform and opening to the outside world" policy was Deng Xiaoping's highest priority, as he strove to increase the country's own strength. Apparently, China firmly believed that the "peaceful international environment" needed to achieve this aim could be established without drawing particularly close to the US. From that point on, China assumed a rather passive and reactive attitude towards foreign affairs.

The Tiananmen Square Incident of June 4, 1989, seriously impaired China in its pursuit of a peaceful international environment, as China found itself isolated internationally for about a year thereafter. Another factor setting China apart was its insistence that rule by the Communist Party would be maintained, by force if necessary, following the dramatic end to the Cold War in the latter half of 1989. There were those in the international community who hoped to sweep China into the subsequent wave of democratization, but the Japanese government and the Bush administration in the US feared that this would result in internal chaos, and both instead worked towards normalizing relations with China. As the country began normalizing its international relations, Deng Xiaoping at the beginning of 1992 again issued a dictate on reform and liberalization (during his inspection tour through the southern provinces of China), and the Chinese economy returned once more to rapid growth.

The growth of the Chinese economy in the 1990s allowed China for the first time in the 20th century to wield power as an important member of the international community on the sole basis of its own national power, free from alliances and partnerships with other countries.



The Chinese economy began to grow at an annual rate of more than ten percent from 1992, and in that same year, the IMF and the World Bank released estimates of per capita GDP for individual countries calculated using purchasing power parity, the results of which astonished the world. On an exchange rate basis, China's per capita GDP at the time was less than US\$500 but, using purchasing power parity, this figure climbs to about US\$2000. Thus, the actual per capita GDP of China was more than four times the level calculated through exchange rates; multiplying this new per capita GDP by the population of China, the result is an economy on par with Japan and other major countries. If the present rapid growth continues, the Chinese economy someday might even surpass that of the US in scale.

Besides economic growth, there are other indicators showing China's growing national might, some of which could generate concern in other countries. Publicly released figures reveal a surprising 15% annual increase in defense expenditures. There have also been press reports of China eagerly buying up a vast supply of the weapons that Russia has been selling off since the end of the Cold War. 1992 saw the promulgation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Its Territorial Seas and Adjacent Zones, and its activities in the Spratly Islands have sparked anxiety among the countries in Southeast Asia. Also noteworthy are the frequent proclamations of PLA naval personnel that their duty is the protection of the "maritime rights and interests" of China.

Given all of these trends, a perception of China as a threat has emerged in the post-Cold War era. Certainly there were those in the 1960s, even in Japan, who considered China a threat. The danger posed by China during this part of the Cold War, however, was an ideological one, which would at most constitute a threat through "indirect invasion." By contrast, the view of China as a threat in the 1990s arises entirely from the power and policies of China itself. Though not allied now with any other country, China's presence has become a concern to other countries, one important consequence of the reform and liberalization policy initiated by Deng Xiaoping.

What is one to make of the emergence of China in this fashion?

Since the mid-1990s this question has become a key focus of attention among policymakers in countries such as the US and Japan with ties to East Asia. In the US the debate has centered on whether to opt for engagement with China or for containment of China, with much argument over whether to classify China as a "strategic partner" or a "competitor." The following section will discuss the balance of military power between China and other countries, recent patterns of behavior exhibited by China, and other important elements.

### **The Military Balance Between China and Other Countries**

There is no method of describing or analyzing the balance of military power that will be suitably applicable in all cases. The balance will differ depending on the two countries being weighed against each other, while considerations of the ways in which these countries utilize military force leaves one comparing apples and oranges. Including into the mix comprehensive assessments of war-making capabilities (dynamic balance) makes the issue even more complex. Measuring the balance of military power between China and Vietnam or between China and the Philippines is far different from measuring the balance between China and Taiwan. Furthermore, US involvement on behalf of one side could change these bilateral balances considerably, and much could depend on how the Japan-US and US-South Korea alliances would function in light of such involvement.

However, Chinese military capability with regard to Taiwan, the US, Japan, and other countries does not seem to have been enhanced to the degree suggested in the mid-1990s by those observers who view China as a threat. Were China to resort to the use of nuclear weapons, of course, there would clearly be an overwhelming asymmetry in the military balance between China and Taiwan or between China and Japan, but this is not a factor that has only just arisen in the 1990s. In the area of nuclear weapons, though, there is also a tremendous imbalance between the US and China which has not changed for the past several decades.

There have admittedly been some changes in the balance between Taiwan and China. The purchase of Su-27 fighters from the Soviet Union without doubt improved China's air capabilities, but the F-16 and Mirage

2000 fighters introduced by Taiwan are far greater in number and importance. That China has begun extensive deployment of short- and medium-range ballistic missiles is noteworthy, but in cases where the option of employing weapons of mass destruction has been ruled out, the use of ballistic missiles would be of questionable significance and accomplish little.

With regard to capabilities that have not changed, there have been no demonstrable improvements made in China's amphibious assault capabilities. This means that, unless it could achieve overwhelming air superiority, China would find it extremely difficult to execute an amphibious assault across the Taiwan Strait; this fact has not changed. Any operation designed to land forces on Taiwan would require months of advance preparation, and with such build-ups almost immediately discernible in the modern age, the Taiwanese side would have plenty of time to prepare.

This analysis has thus far only looked at the military balance between China and Taiwan. Were the US to offer its assistance to Taiwan, the inconsequential degree to which the military balance has changed would become even more apparent. US involvement has made, and will continue for some time into the future to make, an amphibious assault on Taiwan by China a practical impossibility. China could still launch a ballistic missile offensive against Taiwan, but the counterstrike capability of the US - in cruise missiles and other weapons - greatly exceeds that of Taiwan.

Given the considerable possibility that the US would indeed stand on the side of Taiwan in a crisis, the military balance in the area of the Taiwan Strait is in no way clearly advantageous for China, i.e., China would have a low probability of achieving its objectives.

- **Patterns of Behavior in Chinese Diplomacy**

How should one regard the patterns of behavior in China's diplomacy in the midst of a growing perception of China as a threat? The analysis of military balance given above presumes to a great degree that military rationality would be the determining factor in China's course of action. Should the actual behavior of Chinese leaders diverge from military

rationality, however, even a stable military balance would not eliminate the possibility of war. Consequently, analyses of the balance of military power must be combined with analyses of the actual conduct of affairs by China in considering the prospects for the future.

With its attention primarily on domestic policies, China has in the 1990s exhibited a passive and reactionary pattern of behavior in foreign affairs. In actual fact, its preoccupation with domestic matters has been a quite consistent policy since efforts towards reform and liberalization begin in 1978. China has been very cautious, in action if not in rhetoric, about pursuing confrontation with other countries since its failure in the China-Vietnam War. This focus on domestic affairs has become an ingrained part of national policy because of the need for a peaceful international environment in order to implement reform and liberalization measures. It hardly need be said that the success of these measures is hoped for by those Chinese wishing to build a "rich country and a strong military". For Communist Party leaders, though, success has become a matter of life or death in attempting to maintain the legitimacy of one-party rule by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). To ensure "regime security," Chinese leaders want above all to avoid becoming embroiled in foreign issues that might adversely affect their domestic policies.

Nevertheless, external relations cannot be utterly ignored if the CCP is to retain legitimacy as a governing entity. With Marxism-Leninism having completely lost its appeal, legitimacy requires the CCP to serve as the acknowledged champion of Chinese nationalism, in addition to keeping the economy performing well through reform and liberalization. Any action by an outside party that might adversely affect the unity of China must therefore be met with a swift response. In light of this, the Taiwan issue is likely to become the most acute problem to be addressed. Looking at China's pattern of behavior in the 1990s, though, one can see that even in such nationalist issues as this, China has been passive and reactive. A careful inquiry into the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1996 reveals a reaction against the US visit of President Lee Teng-hui in the summer of 1995 and a reaction against moves towards "independence" within Taiwan. These reactions were tempered, however, as China could not take an overly hard

line and still successfully implement its own domestic policies. Calculating the strength sufficient enough to send a message to Taiwan and to the US Congress but not so great as to subject China to condemnation by the international community as a whole, the Chinese opted for military exercises and a missile test.

Those who see China as a threat frequently claim that China is a power seeking to "change the status quo". No doubt it does wish to change the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. It also wants to end the "hegemony" of the US within the international community. Given these wishes, there is some evidence supporting a view of China as a force trying to "change the status quo". It is also true, however, that maintaining a peaceful international environment that will allow its reform and liberalization efforts to succeed is also an important objective of China. Essential in such an environment is ensuring that capital and technology from countries worldwide are able to flow into China and that Chinese goods can be exported to other trading partners around the globe, and especially to the American and Japanese markets. China, in wishing to maintain this international environment, is a force supporting the status quo. The overall pattern of behavior of China in the 1990s, overlooking the rhetoric, shows China acting to maintain the status quo.

The most representative example of this can be found in China's policy towards North Korea. China's behavior indicates that its leaders do not particularly welcome the idea of North Korea either possessing nuclear weapons or developing missiles, nor do they have any desire to witness North Korea collapse as a nation. On the other hand, they do not wish to see North Korea at the mercy of the US. Consequently, in its policy towards North Korea, China has been basically cooperative towards the US, but not so cooperative as to allow US influence to grow overly strong. (Looking at the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis from the Chinese perspective, a ban on visits by the leaders of Taiwan to major countries was deemed part of the contemporary international status quo. China's forceful reaction was directed against the violation of this "status quo" by the US and Lee Teng-hui; on this matter at least, the PRC was in accord with the US State Department, who also opposed Lee's visit to the US.)

It may be possible to argue that China's aims are extremely long-term in nature, and its present policy of emphasizing domestic affairs itself is a long-term measure for achieving a "rich country and strong military" and that the current reactiveness and orientation of "maintaining the status quo will move to alter the status quo, once China comes to possess an overpowering military capability. However, such an assertion is meaningless as a policy position unless one considers China as a state to be fundamentally "evil." If one's opponent is "evil," then one would certainly not adopt policies that might help him "grow"; it might even be possible to crush him while he is still weak. If such is not the case, however, then as long as the other party does not behave in a manner injurious to one's own interests, one would not take actions against the other party; if the other party is cooperative, then one would be cooperative in return. Normal international relations of this nature are desirable. Maintaining such relations does not, however, preclude the need to keep a close and careful watch on the military capabilities of the other side. Any attempt by China to substantially upgrade its military capabilities as its economy expands can be observed from neighboring countries, at which point the issue can be appropriately addressed.

**Check Your Progress**

1. When did Indonesia become Independent?
2. When did the US occupation of Japan end?

• **The Impact of Taiwanese Democratization**

Would it be reasonable to suppose, then, that an armed conflict involving China would never occur in the surrounding area of East Asia? Given the complexities of international politics in modern East Asia, no conclusive answer can be immediately given to this question. As analyzed already, the military balance on both sides of the Taiwan Strait offers China little military rationale for initiating an armed conflict. But military rationality is not the only cause of an armed conflict might occur, and the possibility cannot be excluded that other circumstances might lead to the use of armed force.

Paradoxically, these "other circumstances" may possibly spur

changes in the "status quo" that China does not wish. The most conspicuous of these "other circumstances" is the change occurring within Taiwan, the phenomenon of "democratization." The impact of "democratization" itself is the key reason that the present Taiwan Strait issue cannot be simply reduced to one of military balance. While Taiwan was under the rule of Chiang Kai-shek or Chiang Ching-kuo, the likelihood of a military conflict erupting could be determined by focusing primarily on the balance of military power. Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo both believed in "one China" and could not conceive of an independent Taiwan; the problem in their view was their inability to launch counteroffensives against China and to gain US support for such a course of action. For its part, China did not have at its disposal the military might to reduce Chiang Kai-shek or Chiang Ching-kuo to submission, and thus the use of force against Taiwan was almost unthinkable. The formula of "one country, two systems" devised in the 1980s by Deng Xiaoping was put forth in the hope of striking of a deal with the Kuomintang towards the eventual realization of some form of "unification."

However, the democratization of Taiwan from the latter half of the 1980s through the 1990s has introduced into the Taiwan Strait an element unlike any heretofore. For a people who are now able to express their opinions freely, the more they lose their sense of identity as "Chinese" and the more they begin to see themselves as "Taiwanese," the more incomprehensible becomes the "status quo." Why is it, with democratization making headway worldwide, that a "country" which chooses its legislature and the head of its executive branch in free elections, and which lives under the rule of law, is unable to establish official diplomatic relations with the vast majority of countries in the world? Why is it that a democratically elected leader is unable to visit most of the world's nations as a representative of his own "country"? One can hardly think of any response based on reasoned principles to such questions. "You are unlucky" certainly does not satisfy the Taiwanese.

Continuing the status quo in the Taiwan Strait that has been in place since the 1970s is becoming increasingly difficult as a result of the democratization of Taiwan. Any moves stemming from this

democratization to change this status quo, though, are absolutely unacceptable to China at present. As a consequence, a number of extremely complex factors beyond simple military balance now play into the likelihood of the use of military force. As mentioned earlier, it seems unimaginable for the time being that China would elect to use military force against Taiwan, given the current military balance. Depending on the political dynamics within Taiwan, though, there could arise circumstances that China would find intolerable and to which it would feel compelled to respond with some manner of military action. Even in such instances, though, it is still difficult to imagine, with the military balance being what it is, China launching an all-out assault on Taiwan. The costs would be far too high, and China would not readily be able to achieve its objective of occupying Taiwan. This does not mean, however, that other military options - for example, a blockade of Taiwan's major ports, the occupation of the islands of Kinmen (Quemoy) and Matsu, or a ballistic missile strike - are completely out of the question. Still, these military actions would be pointless if indeed China's goal is the occupation of Taiwan. These same actions are not completely unthinkable, though, if the goal is to repudiate or force a retraction of a declaration of "Taiwanese independence," or to punish Taiwan for the same. The possibility cannot be dismissed, therefore, that China may conclude that it can carry out such operations, without suffering serious consequences, if these actions are limited in scope and if the US does not become fully involved.

In other words, one cannot simply look at the balance of military power in assessing the current situation in the Taiwan Strait. Of course, it is by no means certain that actions intended to be limited would remain limited to the very end. In some situations, it is very possible that a limited use of military force could escalate following retaliation by Taiwan or involvement by the US military. Even if the situation does not escalate militarily, the international environment in the region could clearly deteriorate, leading to sanctions against China and a freezing of economic relations, which would deal a serious blow to the Chinese economy. If the Chinese leadership bears in mind this possibility, a declaration of independence by Taiwan might even be allowed to pass without a military



response, though there is no guarantee of this; the leadership could conclude instead that public opinion in the US and other countries would be more critical of an unnecessary declaration of "independence" by Taiwan than of China's reaction. If such a calculation is made, Taiwanese "independence" might set off a knee-jerk military reaction by China, regardless of the military balance at the time.

Of course, it is reasonable to assume that the citizens of Taiwan, recognizing this possibility, would not elect leaders who would declare Taiwanese "independence". It bears stressing again here, though, that factors beyond military balance have emerged which alter the likelihood of the use of military force, and that the significance of these factors grows larger day by day. What is certain is that, once the use of military force has begun, there is no telling in what direction the situation will develop, and the worst-case scenario of a large-scale war in the Taiwan Strait is not beyond the realm of possibility.

**Check Your Progress**

3. Expand GNU?
4. Expand OAU?
5. When did OAU formed?

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## **4.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS**

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1. December 22<sup>nd</sup> 1949
2. 1952
3. Government of National Unity
4. Organization of African Unity
5. 1963

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## **4.6. SUMMARY**

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- ✓ Before World War II whole of Asia and Africa was under. Two European powers namely, UK. and France. These had their Colonies in both these continents. Portugal also had some 'colonies, but much less than UK and France.
- ✓ Chinese military capability with regard to Taiwan, the US, Japan, and other countries does not seem to have been enhanced to the degree

suggested in the mid-1990s by those observers who view China as a threat

- ✓ one cannot simply look at the balance of military power in assessing the current situation in the Taiwan Strait

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#### 4.7. KEY WORDS

**OAU** - The Organisation of African Unity was an intergovernmental organization established on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with 32 signatory governments. One of the main heads for OAU's establishment was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

**Unipolarity** - In international politics is a distribution of power in which one state exercises most of the cultural, economic, and military influence.

**Berlin Blockade** - It was one of the first major international crises of the Cold War (24 June 1948 – 12 May 1949). The was an attempt in 1948 by the Soviet Union to limit the ability of France, Great Britain and the United States to travel to their sectors of Berlin, which lay within Russian-occupied East Germany

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#### 4.8. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

##### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about the emergence of Indonesia?
2. Explain about the rise of Japan
3. Explain briefly about the causes for nationalism in Africa?

##### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the emergence of china after Second World War?
2. Evaluate the impact of rise of nationalism in Africa and Asia?

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#### 4.9. SUGGESTED READINGS

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# UNIT - V

## RISE OF AFRICAN STATES

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### Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 India
- 5.3 Rise of African States
- 5.4 Disintegration of the colonial system
- 5.5 Neocolonialism
- 5.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 Keywords
- 5.9 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 5.10 Suggested Readings

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### 5.0.INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the Nationalism in Asia and Africa and Rise of China , Japan and Indonesia.

In this unit you study about the Rise of African States, Disintegration of the colonial system and Neocolonialism

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### 5.1OBJECTIVES

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- Explaining the understanding of the Rise of African states.
- To study the concept of Neo colonialism.

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### 5.2. INDIA

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In India, as in Vietnam and many other colonies, the growth of modern nationalism is intimately connected to the anti-colonial movement. People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle with colonialism. The sense of being oppressed under colonialism provided a shared bond that tied many different groups together. But each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently, their experiences were varied, and their notions of freedom were not always the same. The Congress under Mahatma Gandhi tried to forge these groups together within one movement. But the unity did not emerge without conflict.

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### 5.3. RISE OF AFRICAN STATES

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- **End of Colonial Rule in Africa**

Most of the remaining British colonies in Africa became independent in the 1960s. These included Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika and Zanzibar) and Sierra Leone in 1961, Uganda in 1962, Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi (formerly Nyasaland) in 1964, Gambia in 1965, and Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho in 1968.

Ruanda (present Rwanda) and Burundi which had been under Belgian rule since the end of the First World War became independent in 1962. By the end of the 1960s, most countries of Africa had become free. The countries where the struggle for independence continued beyond the 1960s was the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands. All these countries became free in the 1970s. Namibia (South West Africa) which had been ruled as a colony by South Africa since the end of the First World War became independent on 21 March 1990.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand UDI
2. Expand PPP?
3. Who led PPP?

- **Zimbabwe**

Another country which had to undergo a long period of struggle before she became independent was Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia). She had been a British colony but the White settlers there, under the leadership of Ian Smith, captured power in 1965.

They were alarmed at the prospect of the country being granted independence which would have meant Black majority rule. A White minority government was established there on the pattern of South Africa and with South African support and it declared what it called the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). Most countries of the world at the instance of the United Nations and the Commonwealth imposed sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. A powerful guerrilla movement grew in Southern Rhodesia. It was aided by the neighbouring African states, the Non-Aligned Movement and the socialist countries. Realising that they

could never succeed in suppressing the war of national independence, in spite of South Africa's support, the White minority government gave up.

In 1980, elections were held in Southern Rhodesia in which everyone—Black and White alike—had one vote. The nationalist parties swept the polls and the country became independent with a new name, Zimbabwe. The government there was headed by Robert Mugabe who became the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement at its conference held in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, in 1986.

One of the major forces which accelerated the process of the eradication of imperialist rule in Africa was the Organisation of African Unity. It was set up in 1963 at a Pan-African Conference held in Addis Ababa. Its role in the 1960s was particularly crucial in promoting African nationalism.

- **Colonial Powers' Efforts to Retain Their Influence**

The transition to independence in the countries mentioned above has in no case been smooth. In most cases, the colonial powers have tried to retain their influence even while conceding independence to their colonies. In some countries, particularly when the colonial countries or their supporters thought that the colonial rule was being replaced by governments dominated by radical leaders, they tried to intervene more directly.

- **Guyana**

In 1953, under a new constitution, elections were held in British Guiana (now Guyana) in which the Progressive People's Party (PPP) won 18 of the 25 seats. The party, led by Dr Cheddi Jagan and Forbes Burnham, had been the main anti-imperialist party in Guyana and drew its support from all sections of the population, mainly people of Indian origin and Black people. Cheddi Jagan became the prime minister and he started implementing, a radical social and economic programme.

However, after about four months the government was dismissed and the constitution suspended. British troops landed there and the leaders of the PPP—Jagan and Burnham—were arrested. All this was done in the name of repelling' communism. After that, the British fomented ethnic conflicts in Guyana and the PPP was split.

In the 1957 elections, Dr Jagan's party again won and intensified the demand for independence. In the 1961 elections his party again won a majority, but the government was denied financial help and ethnic disturbances and violence were fomented.

In the 1964 elections, Bumham's party—he had broken away from the PPP—polled less votes than the PPP but by allying with another party, he became the Prime Minister of Guyana. In 1966, Guyana became independent with Bumham as prime minister (and later as president). In the 1992 elections, Dr Chhedi Jagan was elected president.

- **Democratic Republic of Congo**

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire and much earlier called the Belgian Congo), the freedom movement was led by Patrice Lumumba who had set up the National Congolese Movement (MNC). On 30 June 1960, Congo became independent with Lumumba as the prime minister. However, soon after, the governor of the province of Katanga, supported by Western companies which controlled the vast mineral (copper) resources of the province, announced the secession of the province from Congo.

A number of mercenaries were employed to support the secession. On the request of the government of Congo, United Nations troops were sent to Congo to end the secession and the foreign interventions. However, they failed to protect Lumumba, who was murdered.

Later, however, they succeeded in ending the secession of Katanga. In 1965, Colonel Mobutu who headed the army of Congo captured power and became the president of the country, which was renamed Zaire. Lumumba was regarded as one of the greatest leaders of the nationalist resurgence in Africa and his murder, it is believed, had been planned by the US intelligence agency, CIA. Mobutu's authoritarian rule continued till 1997, when he was overthrown.

In 1996, a genocidal war broke out between the Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda, with Mobutu supporting the Hutus. Kabilas, who had the support of various opposition groups and of the Tutsis, overthrew Mobutu in 1997 and became the president. He had also secured the help of foreign

companies by giving those rights over the country's natural resources. He was assassinated in 2001 and was succeeded by his son.

Similar efforts were made in Angola where a government led by Agostinho Neto was formed after independence. However, this government was sought to be overthrown by the US and South Africa aiding and arming rival groups of Angolans.

The South African troops also entered Angolan territory and fought against the Angolan troops. Angola requested Cuba's help in resisting foreign invaders and attempts at destroying Angola's independence were thwarted. After many years, agreements were reached on- the ending of foreign intervention in Angola and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from there.

- **South West Africa**

It is not surprising that the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) which led Namibia's struggle for independence was a member of the Non-Aligned Movement since long before Namibia became independent in 1990.

- **South Africa: The Emergence as a Democratic Nation**

The most vicious system of racial oppression was set up in South Africa. The system of racial segregation, called apartheid, was enforced in the country by the government of the White minority led by Daniel Malan, who came to power in 1948, and by the successive governments.

The non-Whites, over 80 per cent of the population, were denied the right to vote, strikes were banned, Africans were deported from some specified areas, education was segregated, mixed marriages were declared illegal (and immoral) and all dissent was banned under what was called the Suppression of Communism Act.

Some of the greatest works of world literature, and not just political writings, were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Strict restrictions were imposed on the movement of Africans and they were required to carry a pass permitting them to do so. South Africa left the Commonwealth when the policy of apartheid came under attack at the conference of the Prime Ministers of Commonwealth countries.

The system of apartheid created widespread revulsion everywhere and most countries banned all relations with South Africa. The United Nations



called for the imposition of military and economic sanctions against South Africa and under pressure from world opinion and from their own people, the Western countries also began to apply these sanctions.

However, despite the condemnation of her policies, South Africa, for a long time, was not deterred from pursuing her inhuman policy with a brutality comparable only to that of the Nazis. In 1960, an anti-apartheid rally at Sharpeville was dispersed by resorting to brute force. Later, many other acts of brutal repression took place.

By the early 1960s, most leaders of the anti-apartheid movement were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The others worked to overthrow the oppressive regime either from underground or from other countries.

The struggle against apartheid and the White minority rule was led for many decades by the African National Congress (ANC) which had been formed in 1912. In 1955, a Congress of the People was held which adopted “The Freedom Charter”. This Charter laid down the basic objectives of the South African people’s struggle. The Charter declared:

*“We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people that our people have been robbed of their birth right to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birth right without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together —equals, countrymen and brothers— adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.”*

The African National Congress had so far followed a policy of peaceful non-violent struggle. In the face of the brute force with which all peaceful protest was suppressed, it decided to launch an armed struggle. It trained

its guerrillas and soldiers inside South Africa and in the independent states of Africa. Some of the prominent leaders of the ANC had been able to escape arrest.

A powerful underground movement was built up and many daring acts of sabotage were committed. In its struggle the ANC received full support from the African states, the Non-Aligned Movement and the socialist countries in its struggle.

With her almost total isolation in the world and the growing strength of the struggle inside the country, the White rulers of South Africa were forced to open negotiations to end the policy of apartheid. Nelson Mandela, who was the vice-president of the ANC, was released from jail in 1990 after about 26 years.

He had become the indomitable symbol of the struggle of the South African people. When he visited India in October 1990, he was given the honour of Head of State. He was also awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding. Nelson Mandela's release was followed by the lifting of ban on ANC and repeal-of many apartheid laws. Subsequently, agreement was reached to put an end to the system of racial oppression and for holding democratic elections on the basis of one person one vote.

No event in recent history has been acclaimed the world over as much as the elections and the formation of a new government in South Africa. In April 1994, the first ever democratic elections were held in that country. The ANC swept the polls and in May 1994, Nelson Mandela became the president of the first non-racist democratic government of South Africa.

This is known as the Government of National Unity (GNU) and almost every major political party of South Africa is represented in it. The emergence of a democratic South Africa can be truly considered a glorious event in recent world history. With this, the liberation of Africa was complete.

The independent states of Africa have played a crucial role in strengthening the struggles for freedom in Africa. In 1963, they set up the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) with "the eradication of all forms of colonialism from the continent of Africa" as one of its purposes. The

freedom movements also received the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

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#### **5.4. DISINTEGRATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM**

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Before World War II whole of Asia and Africa was under. Two European powers namely, UK. and France. These had their Colonies in both these continents. Portugal also had some 'colonies, but much less than UK and France. Colonial powers fully exploited both manual and material resources of their colonies and prospered at their cost. Whereas the peoples of the colonies suffered, imperial power enjoyed. These became big powers because these possessed colonies. After World War II awakening came both in Africa and Asia for which several causes were responsible. Continued backwards of the people of the colonies, increasing illiteracy and unemployment; high handed and autocratic attitude of imperialists; ruthless exploitation of resources of the colonies; spread of communist philosophy etc. were some such causes. In these colonies strong nationalist movements started demanding full independence and right of self-determination. Imperialist Europe tried crush these movement with iron hands but repression does not led to suppression of nationalist movement. The result was gradually the colonies began to win freedom and started coming out of imperialist yokes. Whole of Asia and Africa has come out of European imperialist nations. Thus, Europe's influence in the traditional sense of colonialism has practically ceased.

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#### **5.5. NEOCOLONIALISM**

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Though old colonialism has come to an end, yet Europe has still considerable influence over her old colonies which are poor and developing nationalism. These need vast resources for the development of the new born independent state and in fact for its very existence. These are dependent even for feeding their people and for industrialization and technical know-how. This compels them to sign all sort of agreements with advanced European nations which are prepared to extend all sort of help to these nations, both financial, militarily and technical. This type of extension of influence and hold over the poor and developing nations by affluent western nations is known as new colonialism.

**Check Your Progress**

4. Expand MNC?
5. Expand SWAPO?

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## **5.6. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS**

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1. Unilateral Declaration of Independence
2. Progressive People's Party
3. Dr Cheddi Jagan and Forbes Burnham
4. National Congolese Movement
5. South West Africa People's Organisation

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## **5.7. SUMMARY**

- ✓ Before World War II whole of Asia and Africa was under. Two European powers namely, UK. and France. These had their Colonies in both these continents. Portugal also had some 'colonies, but much less than UK and France.
- ✓ Chinese military capability with regard to Taiwan, the US, Japan, and other countries does not seem to have been enhanced to the degree suggested in the mid-1990s by those observers who view China as a threat
- ✓ one cannot simply look at the balance of military power in assessing the current situation in the Taiwan Strait

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## **5.8. KEY WORDS**

**OAU** - The Organisation of African Unity was an intergovernmental organization established on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with 32 signatory governments. One of the main heads for OAU's establishment was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

**Unipolarity** - In international politics is a distribution of power in which one state exercises most of the cultural, economic, and military influence.

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Great Britain and the United States to travel to their sectors of Berlin, which lay within Russian-occupied East Germany

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## 5.9. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about the emergence of Indonesia?
2. Explain about the rise of Japan
3. Explain briefly about the causes for nationalism in Africa?

### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the emergence of china after Second World War?
2. Evaluate the impact of rise of nationalism in Africa and Asia?

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## 4.9. FURTHER READINGS

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# UNIT - VI

## THE IDEA OF REGIONALISM

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### Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 The Idea of Regionalism
- 6.3 EEC
- 6.4 European Union
- 6.5 The Arab League
- 6.6 The Organisation of African Union
- 6.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 6.8 Summary
- 6.9 Keywords
- 6.10 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 6.11 Further Readings

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### 6.0 INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about India, Rise of African States, Disintegration of the Colonial System, Neocolonialism

In this unit you study about the idea of regionalism and its development of various new unions such as European Union (EU), European Economic Community (EEC), Arab League or League of Arab States, The Organisation of African union (OAU).

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### 6.1. OBJECTIVES

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- Consolidating relations among Arab countries.
- To analyze the OAC greater unity, cohesion and solidarity between the African countries and African nations.

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### 6.2. THE IDEA OF REGIONALISM

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In international relations, regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose combined with the creation and implementation of institutions that express a particular identity and shape collective action within a geographical region. Regionalism is one of the three constituents of the international commercial system. The first coherent regional initiatives began in the 1950s and 1960s, but they accomplished little, except in Western Europe with the establishment of

the European Community. Some analysts call these initiatives "old regionalism". In the late 1980s, a new bout of regional integration began and continues still. A new wave of political initiatives prompting regional integration took place worldwide during the last two decades. Regional and bilateral trade deals have also mushroomed after the failure of the Doha round.

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### 6.3 EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC)

The European Union can be classified as a result of regionalism. The idea that lies behind this increased regional identity is that as a region becomes more economically integrated, it will necessarily become politically integrated as well. The European example is especially valid in this light, as the European Union as a political body grew out of more than 40 years of economic integration within Europe. The precursor to the EU, the European Economic Community (EEC) was entirely an economic entity.

European Community **European Community (EC)**, previously (from 1957 until Nov. 1, 1993) **European Economic Community (EEC)**, byname **Common Market**, former association designed to integrate the economies of Europe. The term also refers to the "European Communities," which originally comprised the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC; dissolved in 2002), and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). In 1993 the three communities were subsumed under the European Union (EU). The EC, or Common Market, then became the principal component of the EU. It remained as such until 2009, when the EU legally replaced the EC as its institutional successor.

The EEC was created in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome, which was signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. The United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland joined in 1973, followed by Greece in 1981 and Portugal and Spain in 1986. The former East Germany was admitted as part of reunified Germany in 1990.

The EEC was designed to create a common market among its members through the elimination of most trade barriers and the establishment of a common external trade policy. The treaty also provided

for a common agricultural policy, which was established in 1962 to protect EEC farmers from agricultural imports. The first reduction in EEC internal tariffs was implemented in January 1959, and by July 1968 all internal tariffs had been removed. Between 1958 and 1968 trade among the EEC's members quadrupled in value.

Politically, the EEC aimed to reduce tensions in the aftermath of World War II. In particular, it was hoped that integration would promote a lasting reconciliation of France and Germany, thereby reducing the potential for war. EEC governance required political cooperation among its members through formal supranational institutions. These institutions included the Commission, which formulated and administered EEC policies; the Council of Ministers, which enacted legislation; the European Parliament, originally a strictly consultative body whose members were delegates from national parliaments (later they would be directly elected); and the European Court of Justice, which interpreted community law and arbitrated legal disputes.

Members revamped the organization several times in order to expand its policy-making powers and to revise its political structure. On July 1, 1967, the governing bodies of the EEC, ECSC, and Euratom were merged. Through the Single European Act, which entered into force in 1987, EEC members committed themselves to remove all remaining barriers to a common market by 1992. The act also gave the EEC formal control of community policies on the environment, research and technology, education, health, consumer protection, and other areas.

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## **6.4. EUROPEAN UNION**

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By the Maastricht Treaty (formally known as the Treaty on European Union; 1991), which went into force on November 1, 1993, the European Economic Community was renamed the European Community and was embedded into the EU as the first of its three "pillars" (the second being a common foreign and security policy and the third being police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters). The treaty also provided the foundation for an economic and monetary union, which included the creation of a single currency, the euro. The Lisbon Treaty, ratified in November 2009, extensively amended the governing documents of the EU.



With the treaty's entry into force on Dec. 1, 2009, the name European Community as well as the "pillars" concept were eliminated.

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## **6.5. THE ARAB LEAGUE**

**Arab League**, also called **League of Arab States (LAS)** regional organization of Arab states in the Middle East, formed in Cairo on March 22, 1945. The founding member states were Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan (now Jordan), Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. Other members are Libya (1953); Sudan (1956); Tunisia and Morocco (1958); Kuwait (1961); Algeria (1962); Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates (1971); Mauritania (1973); Somalia (1974); the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO; 1976); Djibouti (1977); and the Comoros (1993). (When Yemen was a divided country, from 1967 to 1990, the two regimes were separately represented.) Each member has one vote on the League Council, decisions being binding only on those states that have voted for them.

The aims of the league in 1945 were to strengthen and coordinate the political, cultural, economic, and social programs of its members and to mediate disputes among them or between them and third parties. The signing on April 13, 1950, of an agreement on joint defense and economic cooperation also committed the signatories to coordination of military defense measures.

In its early years the Arab League concentrated mainly on economic, cultural, and social programs. In 1959 it held the first Arab petroleum congress and in 1964 established the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO). Also in 1964, despite objections by Jordan, the league granted the PLO observer status as the representative of all Palestinians. This was upgraded to full membership in 1976.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the later involvement, at the request of Saudi Arabia, of Western countries—mainly the United States—in ridding Kuwait of Iraqi presence caused a deep rift in the league. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Morocco, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Lebanon, Djibouti, and Somalia endorsed the

presence of foreign troops in Saudi Arabia, and all but the last three had some degree (however slight) of military involvement in the war.

The Arab League was forced to adapt to sudden changes in the Arab world when popular protests known as the Arab Spring broke out in several countries in the Middle East and North Africa in late 2010 and early 2011. In March 2011 the Arab League voted to support the imposition of a no-fly zone over Libya to protect opponents of the regime of Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi from air attacks by loyalist forces. The no-fly zone evolved into a wider international military intervention that contributed to Qaddafi's overthrow in August.

In early November the Arab League announced that it had reached an agreement with the Syrian government to end its bloody ten-month campaign against peaceful protesters in Syria. Less than two weeks later, amid reports that the Syrian forces had continued to kill protesters in spite of the agreement, the Arab League voted to suspend Syria's membership.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand EC
2. Expand EEC
3. Expand LAS

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## **6.6. THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNION**

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was postcolonial Africa's first continent-wide association of independent states. Founded by thirty-two countries on May 25, 1963, and based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, it became operational on September 13, 1963, when the OAU Charter, its basic constitutional document, entered into force. The OAU's membership eventually encompassed all of Africa's fifty-three states, with the exception of Morocco, which withdrew in 1984 to protest the admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, or Western Sahara. The OAU was dissolved in 2002, when it was replaced by the African Union.

The process of decolonization in Africa that commenced in the 1950s witnessed the birth of many new states. Inspired in part by the philosophy of Pan-Africanism, the states of Africa sought through a political collective a means of preserving and consolidating their

independence and pursuing the ideals of African unity. However, two rival camps emerged with opposing views about how these goals could best be achieved. The Casablanca Group, led by President Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) of Ghana, backed radical calls for political integration and the creation of a supranational body. The moderate Monrovia Group, led by Emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) of Ethiopia, advocated a loose association of sovereign states that allowed for political cooperation at the intergovernmental level. The latter view prevailed. The OAU was therefore based on the “sovereign equality of all Member States,” as stated in its charter.

- **Aims and Objectives**

Article 2 of the OAU Charter stated that the organization’s purposes included the promotion of the unity and solidarity of African states; defense of their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; and the eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa. Member states were to coordinate and harmonize their policies in various areas, including politics and diplomacy, economics, transportation, communications, education, health, and defense and security. Article 3 of the OAU Charter included among its guiding principles the sovereign equality of all member states, noninterference in the internal affairs of states, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the emancipation of dependent African territories. Although the organization’s primary motivation initially was the liberation struggle and the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of African states, the OAU later expanded its scope of activities to encompass economic cooperation and the protection of human rights.

- **Principal Institutions**

The OAU’s Assembly of Heads of State and Government was the organization’s supreme organ. It normally met once a year, in a different capital city, although it could also meet in extraordinary session. Although each state had one vote, the assembly tended to operate by consensus. Except for internal matters, its resolutions were nonbinding.

The Council of Ministers, composed of government ministers (usually foreign ministers), normally met twice a year or in special session.

Subordinate to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the council's principal responsibility was preparing the assembly's agenda. The council implemented the assembly's decisions and adopted the budget. In practice it emerged as the OAU's driving force.

The General Secretariat was headed by a secretary-general, appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The secretariat was responsible for the administration of the OAU. The secretary-general was initially envisaged as an apolitical administrator, but over time the office assumed a proactive role, including acquiring the power under the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention to resolve disputes. The General Secretariat became mired in controversy in 1982 when the decision was taken to admit the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to the organization. Morocco challenged the legality of this decision as it claimed that the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic was not a state. Since 1975 Morocco had occupied most of Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony, and was engaged in a war against the Polisario Front, which had declared the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic an independent state in 1976 and was fighting for its liberation. The United Nations is still trying to settle this dispute.

The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration, established as the OAU's dispute settlement mechanism, had jurisdiction over disputes between member states only. Member states, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, and the Council of Ministers could refer disputes to the commission, but only with the prior consent of the states concerned. The commission never became operational because African governments were distrustful of third-party adjudication.

- **Additional Institutions**

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, established under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1982), became operational in 1987. Based in Banjul, Gambia, and composed of eleven individuals, the commission is a treaty monitoring body with the specific mandate of promoting and protecting human and peoples' rights. Particularly important is its competence to hear complaints from individuals and nongovernmental organizations concerning alleged

violations by parties to the Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. After an uncertain beginning, the commission is becoming a more effective defender of human and peoples' rights. The commission now functions under the auspices of the African Union and shares responsibility for the protection of human rights with the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights.

The African Court on Human and Peoples' rights was established under a protocol to the Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in 1998 that came into force in 2004. The court's jurisdiction over human rights treaties is broad in scope. The Commission, African Intergovernmental Organizations, and participating states can submit cases to the Court, as can individuals and nongovernmental organizations with the permission of the accused state. Its judgments are binding, but it can also give advisory opinions.

The Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution was founded in 1993 with the task of finding political solutions to disputes between OAU member states. Its primary objective was the anticipation and prevention of conflicts, with emphasis on the adoption of anticipatory and preventative measures, especially confidence-building measures. The mechanism operated subject to the fundamental principles of the OAU, especially with regard to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states and the principle of noninterference in their internal affairs. The mechanism's role was therefore subject to the consent and cooperation of the warring parties. The mechanism was able to mediate in various civil conflicts and participate in election monitoring, but it never acquired the capacity to provide peacekeeping forces.

- **Evaluation**

The OAU had a mixed record. Its greatest success was in relation to decolonization. Other achievements included making significant contributions to the development of international law, especially in the fields of refugee law and human rights law, where several important treaties were adopted under OAU auspices, although in practice progress was slow and uneven. A court of human rights was envisaged, but the OAU was dissolved before it was established. Efforts were made to

promote economic cooperation, and in 1991 it was decided to set up an African economic community, which in time was intended to lead to a customs union, a common market, and African monetary union. Little progress was made.

Overall, the failures of the OAU outweighed its successes. Arguably, its major failing was its inability to bring peace, prosperity, security, and stability to Africa. The OAU was found wanting in its responses to the tyrannies and kleptocracies ruining Africa, a deficiency that undermined its credibility. Its powers were too weak and its influence inadequate to deal with the internal and external conflicts, poor governance, human rights abuses, poverty, and underdevelopment from which much of Africa suffered. The OAU was also considered incapable of meeting the challenges of globalization. By the end of the century, reform so comprehensive was required that it was decided to start afresh with a new organization, the African Union, devoted to the political and economic integration of Africa based on respect for democratic values, good governance, the rule of law, and human rights.

**Check Your Progress**

4. Expand ALECSO
5. Expand OAU

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## **6.7. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

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1. European Community
2. European Economic Community
3. League of Arab States
4. Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization
5. Organization of African Unity

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## **6.8.SUMMARY**

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- ✓ In international relations, regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose combined with the creation and implementation of institutions that express a particular identity and shape collective action within a geographical region.

- ✓ **Arab League**, also called **League of Arab States (LAS)** regional organization of Arab states in the Middle East, formed in Cairo on March 22, 1945.
- ✓ The African Court on Human and Peoples' rights was established under a protocol to the Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in 1998 that came into force in 2004.

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## 6.9.KEYWORDS

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**European Union** - The European Union is a political and economic union of 28 member states that are located primarily in Europe

**Arab League** - The Arab League, formally the League of Arab States, is a regional organization of Arab states in and around North Africa, the Horn of Africa and Arabia. It was formed in Cairo on 22 March 1945 with six members: Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Yemen joined as a member on 5 May 1945

**Regionalism** - In national politics (or low politics), **regionalism** is a political notion which favors regionalization—a process of dividing a political entity (typically a country) into smaller regions, and transferring power from the central government to the regions. Opposite process is called notarization.

## 6.10.SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about the various European Union?
2. Explain the aims and objectives of OAU?
3. Explain briefly about the principle institutions of OAU?

### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the emergence of European Union?
2. Evaluate the various organisations formed in the Middle East?

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## 6.11. SUGGESTED READINGS

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Amate, C. O. C. (1986). *Inside the OAU: Pan-Africanism in Practice*. London: Macmillan.

El-Ayouty, Yassin, ed. (1994). *The Organization of African Unity after Thirty Years*. Westport. CT: Praeger.

Elias, Taslim Olawale. (1964). *The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration of the Organisation of African Unity*. *British Yearbook of International Law* 40: 336–54.

Elias, Taslim Olawale. (1965). *The Charter of the Organization of African Unity*. *American Journal of International Law*.

*The Idea Of Regionalism*

*Notes*



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## BLOCK – III

### THE COLD WAR YEARS

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## UNIT 7 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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### Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Objectives
- 7.2 NAM
- 7.3 Commonwealth of Nations
- 7.4 OAS
- 7.5 OPEC
- 7.6 ASEAN
- 7.7 SAARC
- 7.8 IBSA
- 7.9 BRICS
- 7.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 7.11 Summary
- 7.12 Key Words
- 7.13 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 7.14 Further Readings

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### 7.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit you studied about the idea of regionalism and its development of various new unions such as European Union (EU), European Economic Community (EEC), Arab League or League of Arab States, The Organisation of African union (OAU).

In this unit you study about the various International Organisations such as NAM, Common Wealth Nations, OAS, OPEC, ASEAN, SAARC, IBSA, and BRICS.

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### 7.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyze the various international organizations and its functions.
- Discuss about the works of International Organizations on world peace.

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## 7.2NAM

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The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was established by the newly independent States who came from the colonial system after prolonged struggle. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which later led to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and people and also led to the foundation of tens new sovereign States.

### Historical Background

After World War II, two superpowers emerged, the US and the former USSR. At the same time, imperialism was on the wane and the nations were gaining independence in Asia and Africa. The superpowers sought to win over as many small independent nations as possible. This led to a cold war between the former USSR, which led the socialist countries, and the USA, which posed as the leader of free democracies.

India decided in the circumstances not to commit itself to any big power. At this juncture, at the Asian Relations Conference in March 1957, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru put forth the novel concept of non alignment for the common aspirations of the newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa. According to him: 'For too long, we, the people of Asia, have been petitioner in western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet. We do not intend to be playthings of others.' Hence in order to maintain the freedom of India and other independent nations, the concept of the NAM was evolved.

### Founder Members of NAM

The credit of evolving the concept goes to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The other contributors were:

- Marshal Tito-President of Yugoslavia
- Dr Sukarno-President of Indonesia
- G. A. Nasser-President of Egypt

During formation of NAM, two conferences are very important which are given below:

**Bandung Conference:** A conference of the like-minded countries was held in April 1955 in Indonesia (Bandung). It became the forum for the birth of the NAM.

**Brioni Conference:** The principles adopted at the Bandung Conference were given a practical shape at Brioni Yugoslavia) in July 1956, in an informal meeting between the three leaders, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Marshall Tito Col. Nasser.

### Basic Principles of the NAM

- ✓ The principles adopted at the Bandung Conference and led at the first summit meeting were:
- ✓ Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- ✓ Mutual non-aggression
- ✓ Mutual non-interference in each other's affairs
- ✓ Equality and mutual benefit
- ✓ Peaceful co-existence
- ✓ Later these principles are collectively known as Panchsheel and are the basic guidelines for the functioning the NAM.

### NAM Conferences

Meet	Year	Venue	Number of Countries participated
1st	September 1961	Belgrade (Yugoslavia)	25
2nd	October 1964	Cairo (Egypt)	47
3rd	September 1964	Lusaka (Zambia)	54
4th	September 1973	Algiers (Algeria)	73
5th	August 1976	Colombo (Sri Lanka)	88
6th	September	Havana (Cuba)	94

	1979		
7th	March 1983	New Delhi (India)	100
8th	September 1986	Harare (Zimbabwe)	101
9th	September 1989	Belgrade (Yugoslavia)	102
10th	September 1992	Jakarta (Indonesia)	108
11th	October 1995	Cartagena	109
12th	September 1998	Durban (South Africa)	112
13th	September 2003	Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)	116
14th	September 2006	Havana (Zimbabwe)	115
15th	July 2009	Sham EI Sheikh (Egypt)	118
16th	August 2012	Tehran (Iran)	120
17th	2015	Caracas (Venezuela)	-----

### Organizational Structure and Membership

There are 10 'Bandung Principles' that the candidate country has to follow to attain membership of NAM. These are listed here under.

- ✓ Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- ✓ Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- ✓ Recognition of the movements for national independence.
- ✓ Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
- ✓ Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

- ✓ Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations,
- ✓ Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
- ✓ Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- ✓ Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.
- ✓ Respect for justice and international obligations.

Hence, more or less the requirements for membership of the NAM coincide with key beliefs of the United Nations.

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### **7.3 COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS**

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The Commonwealth of Nations is an association of independent sovereign states, most of which are former colonies once governed by the United Kingdom as part of the British Empire. It was once known as the British Commonwealth (or British Commonwealth of Nations), and many still call it by that name, either for historical reasons or to distinguish it from the many other commonwealths around the world. The Queen of the United Kingdom, Elizabeth II, is the Head of the Commonwealth; this title, however, does not imply any political power over member nations.

The Commonwealth is primarily an organization in which countries with diverse economic backgrounds have an opportunity for close and equal interaction. The primary activities of the Commonwealth are designed to create an atmosphere of economic cooperation between member nations, as well as the promotion of democracy and good governance in them.

The Commonwealth is not a political union of any sort, and does not allow the United Kingdom to exercise any power over the affairs of the organization's other members. While some nations of the Commonwealth, known as Commonwealth Realms, recognize the British Monarch as their head of state (and thus in theory still have some limited political ties to London), the majority do not.

## **Origins**

The Commonwealth is the successor of the British Empire; in 1884, while visiting Adelaide, South Australia, Lord Rosebery had described the changing British Empire, as its former colonies became more independent, as a “Commonwealth of Nations”. The formal organisation of the Commonwealth has its origins in the Imperial Conferences of the late 1920s (conferences of British and colonial prime ministers had occurred periodically since 1887), where the independence of the self-governing colonies and especially of dominions was recognized, particularly in the Balfour Declaration at the Imperial Conference in 1926, when the United Kingdom and its dominions agreed they were “equal in status, in no way subordinate one to 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 relationship was eventually formalized by the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

The Commonwealth has grown massively in the last few decades. Above, the 10 representatives in 1956, below, the over 50 members in 2000

After World War II, the Empire was gradually dismantled, partly owing to the rise of independence movements in the then-subject territories (most importantly in India under the influence of the pacifist Mohandas Gandhi), and partly owing to the British Government’s strained circumstances resulting from the cost of the war. The word “British” was dropped in 1946 from the title of the Commonwealth to reflect the changing position. Burma (1948) and South Yemen (1967) are among the few former colonies/protectorates that did not join the Commonwealth upon independence. Perhaps the world’s best-known group of former British colonies, the United States, is not a member of the Commonwealth, as US independence predates the institution by over a hundred years. The Republic of Ireland was a member but left the Commonwealth upon becoming a republic in 1949.

The issue of republican status within the Commonwealth was only resolved in 1950 when it was agreed according to a formula proposed by Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent that India should remain a

Commonwealth member despite adopting her present republican constitution. This decision, set out in the London Declaration, provided for members to accept the British monarch as Head of the Commonwealth regardless of their domestic constitutional arrangements, and is now considered by many to be the start of the modern Commonwealth.

As the Commonwealth grew, the United Kingdom and the former “white Dominions” became informally (and often derisively) known as the White Commonwealth, particularly when they differed with poorer, predominantly non-white Commonwealth members over various issues at Commonwealth Heads of Government meetings. Accusations that the “White Commonwealth” has different interests than African Commonwealth nations in particular, as well as charges of racism and colonialism, were frequent during debates concerning Rhodesia in the 1970s, the imposition of sanctions against apartheid-era South Africa in the 1980s and, more recently, over the issue of whether to pressure for democratic reforms in Nigeria and then Zimbabwe.

The Commonwealth encompasses a population of approximately 1.8 billion people, making up about 30% of the world’s total. India is the most populous member, with a billion people at the 2001 census, while Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nigeria each contain more than 100 million people. Tuvalu, by contrast, the smallest has only 11,000 inhabitants. The land area of the Commonwealth nations equals about a quarter of the world’s land area, with Australia, Canada—the world’s second-largest nation by area—and India each having more than 2.5 million square kilometres. Membership is normally open to countries which accept the association’s basic aims. Members are required to have a present or past constitutional link to the United Kingdom or to another Commonwealth member. Consequently, not all members have had direct constitutional ties to the United Kingdom: some South Pacific countries were formerly under Australian or New Zealand administration, while Namibia was governed by South Africa from 1920 until independence in 1990. Cameroon joined in 1995 although only a fraction of its territory had formerly been under British administration through the League of Nations mandate of 1920–46 and United Nations Trusteeship arrangement of 1946–61.

## **Organisation and objectives**

Queen Elizabeth II is the nominal Head of the Commonwealth. Some members of the Commonwealth recognize the Queen as head of state. These members are known as Commonwealth Realms; however, the majority of members are republics, and a handful of others are indigenous monarchies. The role of Head of the Commonwealth is best likened to that of a ceremonial president-for-life. In constitutional terms, this position is neither a hereditary monarchy nor an elective presidency. As a result it is not clear whether the current heir apparent to the British and many other Commonwealth thrones, Prince Charles, will automatically assume the position of Head of the Commonwealth or whether another head of state within the Commonwealth might be asked to assume that position.

Since 1965 there has been a London-based Secretariat. The organisation is celebrated each year on Commonwealth Day, the second Monday in March.

The Commonwealth has long been distinctive as an international forum where highly developed economies (the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, New Zealand) and many of the world's poorer countries seek to reach agreement by consensus. This aim has sometimes been difficult to achieve, as when disagreements over Rhodesia in the 1970s and over apartheid South Africa in the 1980s led to a cooling of relations between Britain and African members. The main decision-making forum of the organisation is the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), where Commonwealth presidents or prime ministers assemble for several days to discuss matters of mutual interest. CHOGM is the successor to the Prime Ministers' Conferences and earlier Imperial Conferences and Colonial Conferences dating back to 1887. There are also regular meetings of finance ministers, law ministers, health ministers, etc.

The most important statement of the Commonwealth's principles is the 1991 Harare Declaration, which dedicated the organisation to democracy and good government, and allowed for action to be taken against members who breached these principles. Before then the Commonwealth's



collective actions had been limited by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other members.

### **Contemporary Concerns of Commonwealth**

The Commonwealth has often been likened to an English gentlemen's club, and the issue of membership – who is and who is not a member of the organisation – often seems to be more important, and certainly attracts much more attention, than what the organisation actually does. This is because the main benefit of membership is the opportunity for close and relatively frequent interaction, on an informal and equal basis, between members who share many ties of language, culture, and history.

In its early days, the Commonwealth also constituted a significant economic bloc. Commonwealth countries accorded each others' goods privileged access to their markets ("Commonwealth Preference"), and there was a free or preferred right of migration from one Commonwealth country to another. These rights have been steadily eroded, but their consequences remain. Within most Commonwealth countries, there are substantial communities with family ties to other members of the Commonwealth, going beyond the effects of the original colonization of parts of the Commonwealth by settlers from Britain. Furthermore, consumers in Commonwealth countries retain many preferences for goods from other members of the Commonwealth, so that even in the absence of tariff privileges, there continues to be more trade within the Commonwealth than might be predicted. On the United Kingdom's entry to the European Union, the Lomé Convention preserved some of the preferential access rights of Commonwealth goods to the UK market.

In more recent decades there has been a mutual decline of interest in each other, and the Commonwealth's direct political and economic importance has declined. Britain has forged closer relationships with other European countries through the European Union; Britain's entry was widely felt as a betrayal by citizens of the "Old Commonwealth" whose economies had been developed on the assumption of access to British markets. Similarly, former British colonies have forged closer relationships with non-Commonwealth trading partners and closer geographic neighbours. Reaction to immigration from the new Commonwealth

countries into Britain in the 1950s and early 1960s led to the restriction of the right of migration. The Commonwealth today mainly restricts itself to encouraging community between nations and to placing moral pressure on members who violate international laws, such as human rights laws, and abandon democratically-elected government. Key activities today include training experts in developing countries and assisting with and monitoring elections.

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#### **7.4 OAS (ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES)**

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It was established in 1948 following the Ninth International Conference of American States in Bogota, Colombia. The OAS succeeded the Union of American Republics and its secretariat, the Pan American Union, which had been set up in 1910. Twenty-one governments participated in the establishment of the OAS and ratified their membership in the organization in the 1950s. They were Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the United States of America, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

In 1962, because of its pro-Soviet leanings in the Cold War, the Cuban government was formally prevented from participating in OAS meetings and activities. However, the OAS charter had no provision by which a government could be expelled. This meant that Cuba retained its status as a *de jure* member. The former British Caribbean colonies of Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago joined the OAS in the 1960s. They were followed in the 1970s and 1980s by the additional former British Caribbean colonies of Dominica, Saint Lucia, Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, as well as by Suriname, formerly a Dutch colony. In the 1990s Canada and the former British colonies of Belize and Guyana joined the OAS.

The primary activity of the OAS, following its establishment in the early years of the Cold War, has been around issues of conflict resolution and collective security. Changes in orientation or emphasis over time are reflected in the four formal amendments to the Charter of the Organization of American States (COAS) since it was written in 1948. The first amendments, the 1967 Protocol of Buenos Aires, resulted from the desire

of a number of governments in Latin America to enhance the social and economic provisions of the charter and weaken those provisions related to political and security questions, with which the United States was most concerned. In the 1970s the OAS also began to try to play a greater role in the protection of human rights. While not involving any changes to the COAS, this inclination led to the establishment of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 1978.

The second set of amendments to COAS, the Protocol of Cartagena de Indias of 1985, involved a reaffirmation of the principle of nonintervention and the amplification of the role of the organization's secretary-general in negotiating peace settlements. This restatement of non-intervention was a response on the part of a number of members to the Falklands-Malvinas War in 1982, the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983, and U.S. activities directed at the government of Nicaragua in the 1980s. With the end of the Cold War, the OAS began also to place more emphasis on promoting democracy. For example, the Protocol of Washington in 1992 involved amending the original charter to strengthen the ability of the OAS to suspend a member country when its democratically elected government was "overthrown by force." The Protocol of Managua of 1993 involved a fourth series of amendments, which were aimed at enhancing the OAS's role in regional economic integration and development. This protocolled to the creation of the Inter-American Council for Integral Development (IACID) in 1996.

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## **7.5OPEC**

The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is a group consisting of 14 of the world's major oil-exporting nations. OPEC was founded in 1960 to coordinate the petroleum policies of its members and to provide member states with technical and economic aid. OPEC is a cartel that aims to manage the supply of oil in an effort to set the price of oil on the world market, in order to avoid fluctuations that might affect the economies of both producing and purchasing countries. Countries that belong to OPEC include Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela (the five founders), plus the United Arab Republic, Libya, Algeria, Nigeria, and five other countries.

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## 7.6 ASEAN

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The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an intergovernmental organization aimed primarily at promoting economic growth and regional stability among its members.

There are currently 10 member states: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia and Vietnam.

ASEAN was founded half a century ago in 1967 by the five Southeast Asian nations of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. This was during the polarized atmosphere of the Cold War, and the alliance aimed to promote stability in the region. Over time, the group expanded to include its current 10 members.

Regional cooperation was further extended with the creation of the ASEAN Plus Three forum in 1997, which included China, South Korea and Japan. And then the East Asia Summit, which began taking place in 2005 and has expanded to include India, Australia, New Zealand, Russia and the United States.

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an economic and political organisation of eight countries in Southern Asia. In terms of population, its sphere of influence is the largest of any regional organisation: almost 1.5 billion people, the combined population of its member states.

It was established on December 8, 1985 by India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Maldives and Bhutan. In April 2007, at the Association's 14th summit, Afghanistan became its eighth member. In the late 1970s, Bangladeshi President Ziaur Rahman proposed the creation of a trade bloc consisting of South Asian countries. The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was again mooted in May 1980.

The foreign secretaries of the seven countries met for the first time in Colombo in April 1981. The Committee of the Whole, which met in Colombo in August 1981, identified five broad areas for regional cooperation. New areas of cooperation were added in the following years.

The objectives of the Association as defined in the Charter are to promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their

quality of life, to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potential; to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia; to contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems; to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields; to strengthen cooperation with other developing countries; to strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest; and to cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

The Declaration on South Asian Regional Cooperation was adopted by the Foreign Ministers in 1983 in New Delhi. During the meeting, the Ministers also launched the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) in nine agreed areas, namely, Agriculture; Rural Development; Telecommunications; Meteorology; Health and Population Activities; Transport Postal Services Science and Technology; and Sports, Arts and Culture.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand NAM
2. Expand OPEC

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## **7.7 SAARC**

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established when its Charter was formally adopted on 8 December 1985 by the Heads of State or Government of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Afghanistan was added to the regional grouping at the behest of India on November 13, 2005, and became a member on April 3, 2007. With the addition of Afghanistan, the total number of member states were raised to eight (8). In April 2006, the United States of America and South Korea made formal requests to be granted observer status.

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## **7.8 IBSA**

India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA) was Established in June 2003, as a coordinating mechanism amongst three emerging

countries(India, Brazil, South Africa), three multi ethnic and multicultural democracies, which are determined to: contribute to the construction of a new international architecture, bring their voice together on global issues, deepen their ties in various areas. Trade between IBSA partners has increased significantly since the Forum's inception and indications are that the target of US\$ 25 billion by 2015 will be readily achieved.

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## 7.9 BRICS

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The BRIC countries label refers to a select group of four large, developing countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China).The term "BRIC" was coined in 2001 by then-chairman of Goldman Sachs Asset Management, Jim O'Neill, in his publication Building Better Global Economic BRICs. The foreign ministers of the initial four BRIC states (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) met in New York City in September 2006 at the margins of the General Debate of the UN General Assembly, beginning a series of high-level meetings. A full-scale diplomatic meeting was held in Yekaterinburg, Russia, on 16 June 2009. The BRICS Leaders' Summit is convened annually.

The four BRIC countries are distinguished from a host of other promising emerging markets by their demographic and economic potential to rank among the world's largest and most influential economies in the 21st century (and by having a reasonable chance of realizing that potential). Together, the four original BRIC countries comprise more than 2.8 billion people or 40 percent of the world's population, cover more than a quarter of the world's land area over three continents, and account for more than 25 percent of global GDP.

**Check Your Progress**

3. Expand ASEAN
4. Expand BRICS
5. Expand SAARC

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## 7.10. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

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1. Non-Aligned Movement
2. Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

3. Association of Southeast Asian Nations
4. Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
5. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

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## 7.11. SUMMARY

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- The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was established by the newly independent States who came from the colonial system after prolonged struggle
- India decided in the circumstances not to commit itself to any big power. At this juncture, at the Asian Relations Conference in March 1957, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru put forth the novel concept of non alignment for the common aspirations of the newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa.
- The Commonwealth of Nations is an association of independent sovereign states, most of which are former colonies once governed by the United Kingdom as part of the British Empire.
- OAS was established in 1948 following the Ninth International Conference of American States in Bogota, Colombia. The OAS succeeded the Union of American Republics and its secretariat, the Pan American Union, which had been set up in 1910.
- The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is a group consisting of 14 of the world's major oil-exporting nations.

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## 7.12. KEY WORDS

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**Charter** - The grant of authority or rights, stating that the granter formally recognizes the prerogative of the recipient to exercise the rights specified.

**Non-Intervention** - A principle of international law that restricts the ability of outside nations to interfere with the internal affairs of another nation. At its core, the principle is a corollary to the right of territorial sovereignty possessed by each nation.

**Summit** - Summit is an international meeting of heads of state or government, usually with considerable media exposure, tight security, and a prearranged agenda.

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## 7.13. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about the various International Organisations formed up after second world war?
2. Explain the basic principles of NAM
3. Explain briefly about the origin of Common Wealth Nations?

### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the historical background of NAM?
2. Evaluate the various organisations formed in Asian Countries?

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## 7.14. FURTHER READINGS

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## UNIT-VIII

# DISARMAMENT TREATIES

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### Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
  - 8.1 Objectives
  - 8.2 Arms Race
  - 8.3 Disarmament Treaties
  - 8.4 The Impact of Nuclear Weapons on International Politics
  - 8.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
  - 8.6 Summary
  - 8.7 Key Words
  - 8.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
  - 8.9 Further Readings
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### 8.0 INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the various International Organisations such as NAM, Common Wealth Nations, OAS, OPEC, ASEAN, SAARC, IBSA, and BRICS.

In this unit you study about the Arms race such as NPT, SALT- I, SALT – II, START – I, START - II, CTBT. Even discuss about the impact of Armament race.

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### 8.1. OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss about the basic principles of Arms race in world politics
  - Examining the various disarmament treaties and its impact on international politics.
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### 8.2. ARMS RACE

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Arms race, a pattern of competitive acquisition of military capability between two or more countries. The term is often used quite loosely to refer to any military buildup or spending increases by a group of countries.

- **Arms Races Since The Early 20th Century**

The Cold War nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union is another example of a 20th-century arms race. The United States' use of nuclear weapons to end World War II led to a

determined effort by the Soviet Union to acquire those weapons, leading to a long-running nuclear arms race between the two superpowers. The Soviet Union conducted its first nuclear test in 1949. At the end of 1956, the United States had 2,123 strategic warheads and the Soviet Union had 84. Those numbers increased rapidly over the subsequent 30 years. The U.S. arsenal peaked in 1987 at 13,002 warheads, the Soviet Union two years later at 11,320. The end of the Cold War by the early 1990s effectively ended that arms race.

Arms races may involve a more general competitive acquisition of military capability. This is often measured by military expenditure, although the link between military expenditure and capability is often quite weak. Such more general arms races are often observed among countries engaged in enduring rivalries, which may sometimes appear to follow each other's military spending levels, especially during periods of heightened tension. Examples of such arms races include India-Pakistan, Israel-Arab states, Greece-Turkey, and Armenia-Azerbaijan.

### **Disarmament**

Disarmament is the act of reducing, limiting, or abolishing weapons. Disarmament generally refers to a country's military or specific type of weaponry. Disarmament is often taken to mean total elimination of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms. General and Complete Disarmament was defined by the United Nations General Assembly as the elimination of all WMD, coupled with the "balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security."

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## **8.3. DISARMAMENT TREATIES**

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Disarmament has become a more urgent and complicated issue with the rapid development of nuclear weapons capable of mass destruction. Since the explosion of the first atomic bombs in 1945, the previous contention that armaments races were economically inexpedient and led inevitably to war was replaced by the argument that the future use of nuclear weapons in quantity threatened the continued existence of

civilization itself. During the post-World War II period, there were discussions at several levels with a view to the limitation and control of armaments. Efforts ranged from continuous talks at the United Nations to such discussions among nuclear powers as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) of the 1970s and the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) of the 1980s. *See also* arms control.

- **NPT (Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons)**

The NPT is a landmark international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The Treaty represents the only binding commitment in a multilateral treaty to the goal of disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States. Opened for signature in 1968, the Treaty entered into force in 1970. On 11 May 1995, the Treaty was extended indefinitely. A total of 191 States have joined the Treaty, including the five nuclear-weapon States. More countries have ratified the NPT than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement, a testament to the Treaty's significance. The Treaty is regarded as the cornerstone of the global nuclear non-proliferation regime and an essential foundation for the pursuit of nuclear disarmament. It was designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, to further the goals of nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament, and to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy

To further the goal of non-proliferation and as a confidence-building measure between States parties, the Treaty establishes a safeguards system under the responsibility of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Safeguards are used to verify compliance with the Treaty through inspections conducted by the IAEA. The Treaty promotes cooperation in the field of peaceful nuclear technology and equal access to this technology for all States parties, while safeguards prevent the diversion of fissile material for weapons use.

The provisions of the Treaty, particularly article VIII, paragraph 3, envisage a review of the operation of the Treaty every five years, a

provision which was reaffirmed by the States parties at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference. The 2015 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, ended without the adoption of a consensus substantive outcome. After a successful 2010 Review Conference at which States parties agreed to a final document which included conclusions and recommendations for follow-on actions, including the implementation of the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East, the 2015 outcome constitutes a setback for the strengthened review process instituted to ensure accountability with respect to activities under the three pillars of the Treaty as part of the package in support of the indefinite extension of the Treaty in 1995. The preparatory process for the 2020 Review Conference is currently underway.

- **SALT & SALT II**

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) were two rounds of bilateral conferences and corresponding international treaties involving the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War superpowers, on the issue of arms control. The two rounds of talks and agreements were SALT I and SALT II.

Negotiations commenced in Helsinki, Finland, in November 1969. SALT I led to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and an interim agreement between the two countries. Although SALT II resulted in an agreement in 1979, the United States Senate chose not to ratify the treaty in response to the Soviet war in Afghanistan, which took place later that year. The Soviet legislature also did not ratify it. The agreement expired on December 31, 1985 and was not renewed.



**Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev signing the SALT II  
treaty, June 18, 1979, at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna.**

- **START I**

START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) was a bilateral treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms. The treaty was signed on 31 July 1991 and entered into force on 5 December 1994.

The treaty barred its signatories from deploying more than 6,000 nuclear warheads atop a total of 1,600 inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and bombers. START negotiated the largest and most complex arms control treaty in history, and its final implementation in late 2001 resulted in the removal of about 80 percent of all strategic nuclear weapons then in existence. Proposed by United States President Ronald Reagan, it was renamed START I after negotiations began on the second START treaty.

- **START II**

START II (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) was a bilateral treaty between the United States of America and Russia on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. It was signed by United States President George H. W. Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin on 3 January 1993, banning the use of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs) on intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Hence, it is often cited as the De-MIRV-ing Agreement. Despite negotiations, it never entered into effect. It was ratified by the U.S. Senate on 26 January 1996 with a vote of 87-4. Russia ratified START II on 14 April 2000, but on 14 June 2002, withdrew from the treaty in response to U.S. withdrawal from the ABM Treaty (Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty).

The talks led to the STARTs, or Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties, which consisted of START I (a 1991 completed agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union) and START II (a 1993 agreement between the United States and Russia, which was never ratified by the United States), both of which proposed limits on multiple-warhead

capacities and other restrictions on each side's number of nuclear weapons. A successor to START I, New START, was proposed and was eventually ratified in February 2011

- **CTBT**

The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) is the Treaty banning all nuclear explosions - everywhere, by everyone. The Treaty was negotiated at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. It opened for signature on 24 September 1996. Since then, the Treaty has reached near-universality. 182 countries have signed the Treaty – the last country to do so was Trinidad and Tobago on 8 October 2009 which also ratified the Treaty on 26 May 2010. 154 countries have ratified the Treaty – most recently Ghana on 14 June 2011.

The CTBT is the last barrier on the way to develop nuclear weapons. It curbs the development of new nuclear weapons and the improvement of existing nuclear weapon designs. When the Treaty enters into force it provides a legally binding norm against nuclear testing. The Treaty also helps prevent human suffering and environmental damages caused by nuclear testing.

Between 1945 and 1996 when the CTBT was adopted, over 2000 nuclear tests were conducted by the United States (1000+), the Soviet Union (700+), France (200+), the United Kingdom and China (45 each). Three countries have carried out nuclear explosions after the 1996: India and Pakistan in 1998, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in 2006 and 2009. The Treaty's entry into force depends on 44 specific States that must have signed and ratified the Treaty. These States had nuclear facilities at the time the Treaty was negotiated and adopted. As of August 2011, 35 of these States have ratified the Treaty. Nine States still need to do so: China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan and the United States. India, North Korea and Pakistan have not yet signed the Treaty.

Article XIV of the CTBT states that if the Treaty has not entered into force three years after the date of the anniversary of its opening for signature, a conference may be held upon the request of a majority of

ratifying States. Such a conference is held to examine to what extent the requirements for entry into force have been met, and to decide on measures to accelerate the ratification process. Previous Conferences on Facilitating the Entry into Force of the Treaty were held in 1999, 2003 and 2007 in Vienna, and 2001, 2005, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015 and 2017 in New York.

In years between conferences held pursuant to Article XIV of the Treaty, Foreign Ministers of CTBT Member States particularly dedicated to the entry into force of the CTBT usually meet in the margins of the General Debate of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York. The next such CTBT Ministerial Meeting is scheduled to take place in September 2018.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand NPT
2. Expand SALT

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## **8.4. THE IMPACT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.**

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The fourteen impact of nuclear weapons on international relations:

1. Impact on International Power Structure:
2. A Dangerous dimension to Cold War during 1995-90:
3. Overkill capacity of the Nuclear Powers:
4. Defenselessness of the Non-nuclear States:
5. Change in the concept of War:
6. A new basis of National Power:
7. Difficulty in the use of Power:
8. Decline of Balance of Power:
9. Balance of Terror in International Relations:
10. Change in the role of Diplomacy:
11. A new peace in International Relations:
12. Difficulties in the way of Disarmament:
13. Decline of the Nation-State:
14. Threat of Nuclear Hegemony and Blackmail:

Even today nuclear weapons constitute a major determinant of relations between nuclear powers and non-nuclear nations. The USA has

been maintaining its status as a sole surviving super power with a high level of nuclear capability, but at the same time it is forcing other states to sign treaties like the NPT and CTBT. In-fact all the P-5 states (Five recognized N- powers) want the non-nuclear powers to accept non-proliferation require. The politics of nuclear weapons forms an important dimension of contemporary international relations.

**Check Your Progress**

3. Expand START
4. Expand CTBT
5. Expand ICBM

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## 8.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

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1. Non-Proliferation Treaty
  2. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
  3. Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
  4. Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
  5. Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
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## 8.6. SUMMARY

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- Arms race, a pattern of competitive acquisition of military capability between two or more countries.
- The Cold War nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union is another example of a 20th-century arms race.
- Disarmament is the act of reducing, limiting, or abolishing weapons. Disarmament generally refers to a country's military or specific type of weaponry.
- The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) were two rounds of bilateral conferences and corresponding international treaties involving the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War superpowers, on the issue of arms control. The two rounds of talks and agreements were SALT I and SALT II.
- START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) was a bilateral treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America



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## 8.7. KEY WORDS

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**Non-Proliferation** - The prevention of an increase or spread of something, especially the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons.

**START I** - Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty was a bilateral treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms.

**Armament Race** - An arms race occurs when two or more nations participate in interactive or competitive increases in "persons under arms" as well as "war material".

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## 8.8. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about the Disarmament Treaties?
2. Explain about NPT?
3. Explain briefly about the bilateral conferences of SALT?

### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the historical background of CTBT?
  2. Evaluate the impact of Nuclear Weapons on International politics?
- 

## 8.9. SUGGESTED READINGS

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# UNIT-IX

## BIPOLAR POLITICS

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### Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 Bipolar Politics
- 9.3 The Cold War
- 9.4 Its Impact in International Relations:
- 9.5 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Key Words
- 9.8 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises.
- 9.9 Suggested Readings

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### 9.0 INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the rise of Arms race and it led to several treaties to decrease the production levels of arms race like NPT, SALT- I, SALT – II, START – I, START - II, CTBT. Even discuss about the impact of Nuclear weapons on International politics.

In this unit you study about the bipolar politics and it led to the cold war its causes, stages, and its impact in International Relations.

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### 9.1 OBJECTIVES

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- Understand the causes and timeline of the Cold War.
- Recognize the core conflict between Communism and Democracy/Capitalism.

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### 9.2 BIPOLAR POLITICS

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The end of the Second World War did not signal a return to normality; on the contrary, it resulted in a new conflict. The major European powers that had been at the forefront of the international stage in the 1930s were left exhausted and ruined by the war, setting the scene for the emergence of two new global superpowers. Two blocs developed around the Soviet Union and the United States, with other countries being forced to choose between the two camps.

The USSR came out of the war territorially enlarged and with an aura of prestige from having fought Hitler's Germany. The country was given a new lease of life by its heroic resistance to the enemy, exemplified by the victory at Stalingrad. The USSR also offered an ideological, economic and social model extending as never before to the rest of Europe. Furthermore, the Red Army, unlike the US army, was not demobilised at the end of the war. The Soviet Union thus had a real numerical superiority in terms of men and heavy weapons.

The United States was the great victor of the Second World War. Its human and material losses were relatively low, and even though the US Army was almost completely demobilised a few months after the end of hostilities, the United States remained the world's leading military power. Its navy and air force were unrivalled, and until 1949 it was the only country with the capacity to produce nuclear weapons. It also confirmed its status as the world's leading economic power, in terms of both the volume of trade and industrial and agricultural production. The US now owned more than two thirds of the world's gold reserves and the dollar became the primary international currency.

The conflicts of interest between the new world powers gradually multiplied, and a climate of fear and suspicion reigned. Each country feared the newfound power of the other. The Soviets felt surrounded and threatened by the West and accused the United States of spearheading 'imperialist expansion'. For their part, the Americans were concerned at Communist expansion and accused Stalin of breaching the Yalta Agreement on the right of free peoples to self-determination. The result was a long period of international tension interspersed with dramatic crises which, from time to time, led to localised armed conflicts without actually causing a full-scale war between the United States and the USSR. From 1947, Europe, divided into two blocs, was at the heart of the struggle between the two superpowers. The Cold War reached its first climax with the Soviet blockade of Berlin. The explosion of the first Soviet atomic bomb in the summer of 1949 reinforced the USSR in its role as a world power. This situation confirmed the predictions of Winston Churchill, who,

in March 1946, had been the first Western statesman to speak of an ‘Iron Curtain’ that now divided Europe in two.

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### 9.3 THE COLD WAR

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During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union fought together as allies against the Axis powers. However, the relationship between the two nations was a tense one. Americans had long been wary of Soviet communism and concerned about Russian leader Joseph Stalin’s tyrannical rule of his own country. For their part, the Soviets resented the Americans’ decades-long refusal to treat the USSR as a legitimate part of the international community as well as their delayed entry into World War II, which resulted in the deaths of tens of millions of Russians. After the war ended, these grievances ripened into an overwhelming sense of mutual distrust and enmity.

Postwar Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe fueled many Americans’ fears of a Russian plan to control the world. Meanwhile, the USSR came to resent what they perceived as American officials’ bellicose rhetoric, arms buildup and interventionist approach to international relations. In such a hostile atmosphere, no single party was entirely to blame for the Cold War; in fact, some historians believe it was inevitable.

- **The Cold War: Containment**

By the time World War II ended, most American officials agreed that the best defense against the Soviet threat was a strategy called “containment.” In his famous “Long Telegram,” the diplomat George Kennan (1904-2005) explained the policy: The Soviet Union, he wrote, was “a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with the U.S. there can be no permanent *modus vivendi* [agreement between parties that disagree].” As a result, America’s only choice was the “long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.” “It must be the policy of the United States,” he declared before Congress in 1947, “to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation...by outside pressures.” This way of thinking would shape American foreign policy for the next four decades.

- **The Cold War: The Atomic Age**

The containment strategy also provided the rationale for an unprecedented arms buildup in the United States. In 1950, a National Security Council Report known as NSC-68 had echoed Truman's recommendation that the country use military force to contain communist expansionism anywhere it seemed to be occurring. To that end, the report called for a four-fold increase in defense spending.

In particular, American officials encouraged the development of atomic weapons like the ones that had ended World War II. Thus began a deadly "arms race." In 1949, the Soviets tested an atom bomb of their own. In response, President Truman announced that the United States would build an even more destructive atomic weapon: the hydrogen bomb, or "superbomb." Stalin followed suit.

As a result, the stakes of the Cold War were perilously high. The first H-bomb test, in the Eniwetok atoll in the Marshall Islands, showed just how fearsome the nuclear age could be. It created a 25-square-mile fireball that vaporized an island, blew a huge hole in the ocean floor and had the power to destroy half of Manhattan. Subsequent American and Soviet tests spewed radioactive waste into the atmosphere.

The ever-present threat of nuclear annihilation had a great impact on American domestic life as well. People built bomb shelters in their backyards. They practiced attack drills in schools and other public places. The 1950s and 1960s saw an epidemic of popular films that horrified moviegoers with depictions of nuclear devastation and mutant creatures. In these and other ways, the Cold War was a constant presence in Americans' everyday lives.

- **The Cold War Extends to Space**

Space exploration served as another dramatic arena for Cold War competition. On October 4, 1957, a Soviet R-7 intercontinental ballistic missile launched Sputnik (Russian for "traveling companion"), the world's first artificial satellite and the first man-made object to be placed into the Earth's orbit. Sputnik's launch came as a surprise, and not a pleasant one, to most Americans. In the United States, space was seen as the next frontier, a logical extension of the grand American tradition of exploration,

and it was crucial not to lose too much ground to the Soviets. In addition, this demonstration of the overwhelming power of the R-7 missile—seemingly capable of delivering a nuclear warhead into U.S. air space—made gathering intelligence about Soviet military activities particularly urgent.

In 1958, the U.S. launched its own satellite, Explorer I, designed by the U.S. Army under the direction of rocket scientist Wernher von Braun, and what came to be known as the Space Race was underway. That same year, President Dwight Eisenhower signed a public order creating the, a federal agency dedicated to space exploration, as well as several programs seeking to exploit the military potential of space. Still, the Soviets were one step ahead, launching the in April 1961.

That May, after Alan Shepard become the first American man in space, President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) made the bold public claim that the U.S. would land a man on the moon by the end of the decade. His prediction came true on July 20, 1969, when Neil Armstrong of NASA's Apollo 11 mission, became the first man to set foot on the moon, effectively winning the Space Race for the Americans.

U.S. astronauts came to be seen as the ultimate American heroes. Soviets, in turn, were pictured as the ultimate villains, with their massive, relentless efforts to surpass America and prove the power of the communist system.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Name the US president signed NTBT?
2. Name the two blocks emerged after Second World War?

- **The Cold War: The Red Scare**

Meanwhile, beginning in 1947, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) brought the Cold War home in another way. The committee began a series of hearings designed to show that communist subversion in the United States was alive and well.

In Hollywood, HUAC forced hundreds of people who worked in the movie industry to renounce left-wing political beliefs and testify against one another. More than 500 people lost their jobs. Many of these “blacklisted” writers, directors, actors and others were unable to work again for more than a decade. HUAC also accused State Department

workers of engaging in subversive activities. Soon, other anticommunist politicians, most notably Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957), expanded this probe to include anyone who worked in the federal government.

Thousands of federal employees were investigated, fired and even prosecuted. As this anticommunist hysteria spread throughout the 1950s, liberal college professors lost their jobs, people were asked to testify against colleagues and “loyalty oaths” became commonplace.

- **The Cold War Abroad**

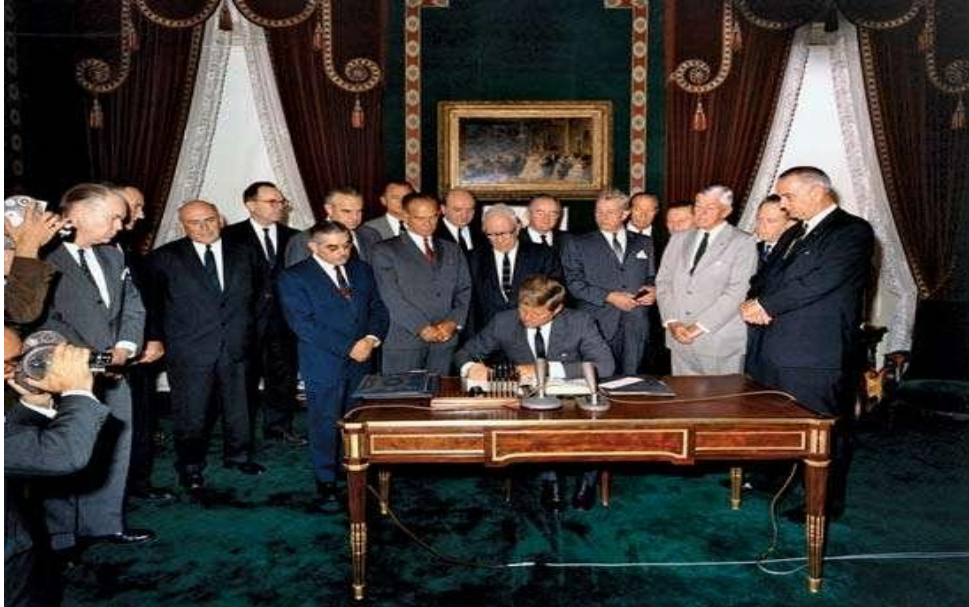
The fight against subversion at home mirrored a growing concern with the Soviet threat abroad. In June 1950, the first military action of the Cold War began when the Soviet-backed North Korean People’s Army invaded its pro-Western neighbour to the south. Many American officials feared this was the first step in a communist campaign to take over the world and deemed that non intervention was not an option. Truman sent the American military into Korea, but the Korean War dragged to a stalemate and ended in 1953.

In 1955, The United States and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) made West Germany a member of NATO and permitted it to remilitarize. The Soviets responded with the Warsaw Pact, a mutual defense organization between the Soviet Union, Albania, Poland, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria that set up a unified military command under Marshal Ivan S. Konev of the Soviet Union.

Other international disputes followed. In the early 1960s, President Kennedy faced a number of troubling situations in his own hemisphere. The Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and the Cuban missile crisis the following year seemed to prove that the real communist threat now lay in the unstable, postcolonial “Third World.”

Nowhere was this more apparent than in Vietnam, where the collapse of the French colonial regime had led to a struggle between the American-backed nationalist Ngo Dinh Diem in the south and the communist nationalist Ho Chi Minh in the north. Since the 1950s, the United States had been committed to the survival of an anticommunist government in the region, and by the early 1960s it seemed clear to

American leaders that if they were to successfully “contain” communist expansionism there, they would have to intervene more actively on Diem’s behalf. However, what was intended to be a brief military action spiraled into a 10-year conflict.



**U.S. President John F. Kennedy signing the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty,  
October 7, 1963.**

### **The Close of the Cold War**

Almost as soon as he took office, President Richard Nixon (1913-1994) began to implement a new approach to international relations. Instead of viewing the world as a hostile, “bi-polar” place, he suggested, why not use diplomacy instead of military action to create more poles? To that end, he encouraged the United Nations to recognize the communist Chinese government and, after a trip there in 1972, began to establish diplomatic relations with Beijing. At the same time, he adopted a policy of “détente”—“relaxation”—toward the Soviet Union. In 1972, he and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev (1906-1982) signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which prohibited the manufacture of nuclear missiles by both sides and took a step toward reducing the decades-old threat of nuclear war.

Despite Nixon’s efforts, the Cold War heated up again under President Ronald Reagan (1911-2004). Like many leaders of his generation, Reagan believed that the spread of communism anywhere threatened freedom everywhere. As a result, he worked to provide financial



and military aid to anticommunist governments and insurgencies around the world. This policy, particularly as it was applied in the developing world in places like Grenada and El Salvador, was known as the Reagan Doctrine.

Even as Reagan fought communism in Central America, however, the Soviet Union was disintegrating. In response to severe economic problems and growing political ferment in the USSR, Premier Mikhail Gorbachev (1931-) took office in 1985 and introduced two policies that redefined Russia's relationship to the rest of the world: "glasnost," or political openness, and "perestroika," or economic reform.

Soviet influence in Eastern Europe waned. In 1989, every other communist state in the region replaced its government with a non communist one. In November of that year, the Berlin Wall—the most visible symbol of the decades-long. Cold War—was finally destroyed, just over two years after Reagan had challenged the Soviet premier in a



speech at Brandenburg Gate in Berlin: “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.” By 1991, the Soviet Union itself had fallen apart. The Cold War was over.

**People from East and West Berlin gathering at the Berlin Wall on November 10, 1989, one day after the wall opened.**

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## 9.4 ITS IMPACT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

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The cold war divided the world into two nuclear armed camps and one neutral one, it maintained the status quo that existed in Germany, and it also paved the way the emergence of new nation states, the rise of those newly born states attracted the intention of the two powers, and super rivalry was played out in order to keep and maintain sphere of interest. With end of bipolarity a period of peace and stability and balance of power has ended, and left the US the only hegemony power in the world.

### Check Your Progress

3. Where did the first H-bomb test held?
4. Name the soviet International Ballistic Missile Launched in 1957?
5. Who designed the Explorer I, US own satellite?

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## 9.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

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1. John F.kennedy
2. United States of America (USA) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
3. Marshall Islands
4. Sputnik
5. US rocket Scientist Wernher Von Braun

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## 9.6. SUMMARY

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- The end of the Second World War two blocs developed around the Soviet Union and the United States, with other countries being forced to choose between the two camps.
- The containment strategy also provided the rationale for an unprecedented arms buildup in the United States. In 1950, a National Security Council Report known as NSC-68 had echoed Truman's recommendation that the country use military force to contain communist expansionism anywhere it seemed to be occurring.
- In 1958, the U.S. launched its own satellite, Explorer I, designed by the U.S. Army under the direction of rocket scientist Wernher von Braun, and what came to be known as the Space Race was underway.

- The cold war divided the world into two nuclear armed camps and one neutral one, it maintained the status quo that existed in Germany.

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## 9.7. KEY WORDS

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**Containment** - The action or policy of preventing the expansion of a hostile country or influence.

**H Bomb** - Another term for hydrogen bomb. An immensely powerful bomb whose destructive power comes from the rapid release of energy during the nuclear fusion of isotopes of hydrogen (deuterium and tritium), using an atom bomb as a trigger.

**Sputnik 1** - The first artificial Earth satellite.[7] The Soviet Union launched it into an elliptical low Earth orbit on 4 October 1957

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## 9.8. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

4. Write a short note about the Bipolar Politics?
5. Explain about USSR during Cold war years?
6. Explain briefly about the contribution of USA for the development of Space Science?

### Long Answer Questions

3. Critically examine the causes and stages of cold war periods?
4. Evaluate the impact of cold war on International Relations?

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# UNIT-X

## SUPER POWER RIVALRY

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### Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Objectives
- 10.2 Super Power Rivalry
- 10.3 End of the Cold War
- 10.4 Collapse of the Soviet Union.
- 10.5 Answers to Check Your Progress  
Questions
- 10.6 Summary
- 10.7 Key Words
- 10.8 Self Assessment Questions and  
Exercises
- 10.9 Suggested Readings

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### 10.0. INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the bipolar politics and it led to the cold war its causes, stages, and its impact in International Relations.

In this unit you study about the super power rivalry between USA and USSR, collapse of USSR and it led to the end of Cold war.

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### 10.1 OBJECTIVES

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- Summarize the Soviet-era leadership of Joseph Stalin and Mikhail Gorbachev
- Assess the strengths and shortcomings of the contending explanations for the Cold War's end.

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### 10.2 SUPER POWER RIVALRY

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During World War II the global community saw the allegiance of the “United States”, ” France”, the “Soviet Union” in addition to “Great Britain”. These states at the time of this international conflict were however nonetheless the planets most powerful governing bodies. These states formed an alliance to not only bring about an end to the tyranny of Adolph Hitler and the Nazi Faction but bring about piece for the German

people in addition to a containment strategy for the impending aggression from Japan and Italy.

- **Two Rivalling Ideologies**

The events which transpired after 1945 are regarded as a turning point in the twentieth century for humanity as a result of the fact that this ordeal led to the creation of one of the world's most dangerous nuclear arms, the "Atomic bomb".

The emergence of America and the "Soviet Union" as global 'super powers' after "World War II" not only set in motion the events under which the Cold War transpired, but brought about the clash of the opposing ideologies known as "Communism" and "Capitalism". A global 'Superpower' does however refer to an incredibly powerful state, nation or group of countries with the ability to not only affect international politics but the policies of weaker and less developed states.

- **What is a Superpower**

The political term 'Superpower' rotates around superiority with regard to economic, political and military status in comparison to weaker and less developed countries. It is as a result of this fact that Superpowers are of vital importance with regard to the regulation of global interaction. After World War II ended both the USA and USSR sought to increase their global dominance through the spread of their ideologies; it is as a consequence of this confrontation that a bipolar world was placed upon the earth. The effects of these 'Superpowers' battle for global ascendancy can be noted today through the implementation of "Communism" or "Capitalism" as a political system in not only new-fangled but less developed countries.

- **The Cold War**

The "Soviet Union" after 1945 wished to spread the concept of an economy which was controlled by the state so that wealth may be shared equally amongst citizens, whilst the "USA" endorsed the concept of a free economy. However once the "Soviet Union" developed strong links with "eastern Europe" as well as several developing countries the "USA" began to support a number of right wing despots in order to reduce "Soviet" influence and reduce the spread of communism as a political ideology, hence began the "Cold War". The "Cold War" took place from 1947–1991

and consisted of a battle for not only global governance but nuclear artillery. In 1959 the state of Cuba became “Communist” with regards to the social, political and economic ideals of not only it’s territory but populace .



- **The Domino Theory**

This occurrence lead the USA to use the Domino Theory as a means to justify aggressive actions towards the Soviets, additionally the headship of the “Soviet Union” placed nuclear weapons within this constituency. The Domino theory was however a premise created by president Dwight Eisenhower in 1954 which stated if one country where to fall to the influence of “Communism” then the rest would soon follow. As a result of this corollary John F Kennedy fearing not only “Communist” spread but an attack from the nuclear weapons situated in “Cuba” sent Warships to surround the diminutive “State”. President Kennedy hoped this blockade would pressure the Soviet Union into removing their missiles from “Cuba”. The conflict between these two states brought about the threat of Nuclear War and planetary devastation for not only the global community but civilization as a whole. Although the “Soviet Union” and “United States” did not battle openly during the Cold War this confrontation resulted in these rivalling “Superpowers” continually antagonizing each other through opinionated manoeuvres and armed coalitions. In addition to the fact that this clash brought humanity to the brink of a nuclear warfare

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### 10.3.END TO THE COLD WAR

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According to Lisa King as result of America's aspiration to not only combat but contain the spread of "Communism" in February 1946 Joseph Stalin affirmed in a speech that the contradictions of the Capitalism will destroy states who implement this political ideology whilst the ideals and principals of Communism as a political system will reign supreme. The Cold War was however in addition to these particulars also a battle for allies this can be noted through the formation of the Americans "NATO" offensive and the "Soviet Unions Warsaw Pact". Nevertheless in the early 1970's the headship of the Soviet Union proclaimed a policy of détente and sought to institute disarmament negotiations with the "West" due to the fact that their economy was crumbling as a result of military expenses. Once Mikhail Gorbachev assumed headship over the Soviet Union he introduced the "Glasnost" and "Perestroika" policies, these two strategies where aimed at the recreation of communiqué between the "Soviet Union" and the "West". The "Glasnost" or openness policy was a placement technique aimed at reflecting the "Soviet Union's" willingness to allow American ideas and products into the now called "Russia". On the other hand the "Perestroika" policy was a economic system that allowed a limited market incentive for the Soviet Union populace.

Ultimately although the allegiance of these two Superpowers brought about an end two the tyranny of "Adolph Hitler", this union marked the start of a battle that would continue for the next four decades. Hence fourth in conclusion although both the United States and Soviet Union both claimed the title of global Superpowers in today's 21st century America has since won this battle for not only political ideologies but of superior economic and social conditioning.

Throughout the 1980s, the Soviet Union fought an increasingly frustrating war in Afghanistan. At the same time, the Soviet economy faced the continuously escalating costs of the arms race. Dissent at home grew while the stagnant economy faltered under the combined burden. Attempted reforms at home left the Soviet Union unwilling to rebuff challenges to its control in Eastern Europe. During 1989 and 1990, the Berlin Wall came down, borders opened, and free elections ousted

Communist regimes everywhere in eastern Europe. In late 1991 the Soviet Union itself dissolved into its component republics. With stunning speed, the Iron Curtain was lifted and the Cold War came to an end.

*"The end of the Cold War is our common Victory"*  
-Mikhail Gorbachev, January 1992.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand GATT?
2. Expand MAD?
3. Name the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union during 1985?

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## 10.4. COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

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- **Collapse of the Soviet Union**, sequence of events that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union on December 31, 1991. The former superpower was replaced by 15 independent countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

- **The Coup Against Gorbachev**

That the Soviet Union was disintegrating had been subtly apparent for some time, but the final act began at 4:50 PM on Sunday, August 18, 1991. Soviet Pres. Mikhail Gorbachev was at his dacha in the Crimean resort of Foros when he was contacted by four men requesting an audience. They were his chief of staff, Valery Boldin; Oleg Baklanov, first deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. defense council; Oleg Shenin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU); and Gen. Valentin Varennikov, chief of the Soviet Army's ground forces. They were accompanied by KGB Gen. Yury Plekhanov, chief of security for party and state personnel. Their unexpected arrival aroused Gorbachev's suspicions, and, when he tried to use the phone, it was dead. They had come to demand, in the name of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the U.S.S.R., that Gorbachev sign a document declaring a state of emergency and transferring power to his vice president, Gennady Yanayev. They were taken aback when Gorbachev refused and rebuked them as treasonous blackmailers.



Gorbachev and his family were placed under house arrest by Gen. Igor Maltsev, commander-in-chief of the Soviet Air Defense Troops. Both Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, later stated that they had fully expected to be killed. Although outside communication had been cut off, Gorbachev was able to get word to Moscow and confirm that he was fit and well. Members of Gorbachev's personal bodyguard remained loyal throughout the episode, and they were able to fashion a simple receiver so that the imperiled president could learn what was happening beyond the walls of the dacha. BBC and Voice of America broadcasts kept Gorbachev abreast of the coup's progress and international reaction to it.

Just after 6:00 AM Moscow time on August 19, TASS and Radio Moscow proclaimed that "ill health" had prevented Gorbachev from executing his duties and that, in accordance with Article 127-7 of the Soviet constitution, Yanayev had assumed the powers of the presidency. Yanayev headed an eight-member Emergency Committee. Its other members were Baklanov; Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the U.S.S.R. KGB; Premier Valentin Pavlov; Minister of Internal Affairs Boris Pugo; Vasily Starodubtsev, chairman of the Farmers' Union; Aleksandr Tizyakov, president of the U.S.S.R. Association of State Enterprises; and Minister of Defense Marshal Dmitry Yazov. They soon issued Resolution No. 1, which banned strikes and demonstrations and imposed press censorship. There was also an address to the Soviet people claiming that "mortal danger hangs over our great fatherland."

The planned signing on August 20 of a new union treaty that would have weakened central control over the republics appeared to explain the timing of the coup. A sharp attack on the union treaty by Anatoly Lukyanov, chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, was distributed by TASS early on August 19. The U.S.S.R. Cabinet of Ministers met later that morning, and most of the ministers supported the coup. All but nine newspapers were banned.

Tanks appeared on the streets of Moscow, and the city's population immediately began attempting to dissuade troops from obeying orders. Protesters began gathering around the White House, the Russian parliament building, and started erecting barricades. At 12:50 PM Russian

Pres. Boris Yeltsin climbed atop a tank in front of the White House, condemned the coup and called for an immediate general strike. He later issued a presidential edict declaring the coup illegal and the plotters “criminals” and “traitors.” Russian officials were not to obey the orders of the Emergency Committee. At 5:00 PM Yanayev and the other coup leaders held a press conference. Yanayev claimed that the country had become “ungovernable” but hoped that his “friend President Gorbachev” would eventually return to his post. The president was “very tired” and was being “treated in the south,” Yanayev explained. He appeared visibly nervous, and his hands trembled during the presentation.

Yeltsin appealed to the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, Aleksey II, to condemn the coup. The patriarch criticized Gorbachev’s detention and anathematized those involved in the plot. Meanwhile, in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), Lieut. Gen. Viktor Samsonov declared himself chairman of the Leningrad State of Emergency Committee and placed the city under military control. However, Leningrad’s mayor, Anatoly Sobchak, returned from Moscow by air, aided by KGB agents who opposed the coup. Sobchak rallied the opposition and appealed to soldiers to hand over officers who had helped organize the coup. In the process, he won over Samsonov, who promised not to move troops into the city. In Moscow some elite tank regiments defected and took up defensive positions around the White House.

On August 20 Yeltsin issued a presidential edict stating that he was taking control of all military, KGB, and other forces in Russian territory. U.S. Pres. George H.W. Bush telephoned Yeltsin and assured him that normal relations with Moscow would resume only after Gorbachev was back in office. That night fighting broke out between troops and demonstrators near the White House, and three protesters were killed. The expected assault on the White House did not materialize, however, and it became clear that the coup leaders’ orders were not being obeyed. Belatedly, on August 21, the CPSU Secretariat demanded a meeting between Gorbachev and Yanayev. The coup collapsed, and the plotters were arrested while trying to flee. The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet reinstated Gorbachev and annulled all the decrees of the Emergency Committee.

Yeltsin decreed that all enterprises in Russia were under his government's control.

- **Aftermath of the Coup**

The coup failed for several reasons. Army and KGB officers declined to carry out orders to storm the White House. The plotters appeared to have no contingency plan to cope with Gorbachev's refusal to cooperate. The failure to arrest Yeltsin before he got to the White House was crucial, because he was able to rally support from there. Muscovites turned out in the thousands to defend their democratically elected president, and Moscow police did not enforce the plotters' edicts. The "gang of eight" had not grasped that democratization had made public opinion important and that the population would no longer meekly obey orders from above. The plotters, almost all ethnic Russians, represented the interests of the military-industrial complex.

**Check Your Progress**

4. Name the policy reform made by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.
5. When did USSR disintegrated and renamed as?

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## 10.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
2. Mutual assured destruction (MAD)
3. Mikhail Gorbachev
4. Perestroika and Glasnost
5. 26 December 1991, Socialist Soviet

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## 10.6. SUMMARY

- During World War II the global community saw the allegiance of the "United States", "France", the "Soviet Union" in addition to "Great Britain".
- The emergence of America and the "Soviet Union" as global 'super powers' after "World War II" not only set in motion the events under which the Cold War transpired, but brought about the clash of the opposing ideologies known as "Communism" and "Capitalism".

- The political term 'Superpower' rotates around superiority with regard to economic, political and military status in comparison to weaker and less developed countries.
- During 1989 and 1990, the Berlin Wall came down, borders opened, and free elections ousted Communist regimes everywhere in eastern Europe.
- In late 1991 the Soviet Union itself dissolved into its component republics. With stunning speed, the Iron Curtain was lifted and the Cold War came to an end.

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## 10.7. KEY WORDS

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**Détente** - Détente is the easing of strained relations, especially in a political situation, through verbal communication. The term in diplomacy originates around 1912 when France and Germany tried, without success, to reduce tensions. Most often the term is used for a phase of the Cold War.

**Glasnost** - In the Russian language the word Glasnost has several general and specific meanings. It has been used in Russian to mean "openness and transparency" since at least the end of the eighteenth century

**Perestroika** - Perestroika literally means Restructuring was a political movement for reformation within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the 1980s and is widely associated with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his glasnost policy reform

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## 10.8. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND

### EXERCISES

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#### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about the Berlin Blockade?
2. Explain about the various economic plans assisted to Germany.
3. Explain briefly about the Disintegration of Russia.

#### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the causes for the end of the Cold War.
2. Evaluate the impact of Russia after 1991.

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## 10.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

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## **BLOCK IV**

# **CONTEMPORARY WORLD AFFAIRS**

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*The Concept Of Unipolar  
World.*

*Notes*

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## **UNIT – XI**

# **THE CONCEPT OF UNIPOLAR WORLD.**

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### **Structure**

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Objectives
- 11.2 Reunion of Germany
- 11.3 WTO
- 11.4 Globalization
- 11.5 The concept of Unipolar world.
- 11.6 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
- 11.7 Summary
- 11.8 Key Words
- 11.9 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 11.10 Further Readings

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### **11.0. INTRODUCTION**

In the previous unit you studied about the super power rivalry it led to the collapse of the USSR and the end of cold war.

In this unit you study about reunion of Germany, the birth and functions of WTO, Globalization and the emergence of Unipolar world.

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### **11.1. OBJECTIVES**

- To enhance the understanding of the role and importance of the WTO in the MTS.
- To study the different dimensions of the phenomenon of globalization.

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### **11.2.REUNION OF GERMANY**

Since 1945(After Second World War), when Soviet forces occupied eastern Germany, and the United States and other Allied forces occupied the western half of the nation at the close of World War II, divided Germany had come to serve as one of the most enduring symbols of the Cold War.

Some of the most dramatic episodes of the Cold War took place there. The Berlin Blockade (June 1948–May 1949), during which the Soviet Union blocked all ground travel into West Berlin, and the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 were perhaps the most famous. With the gradual waning of Soviet power in the late 1980s, the Communist Party in East Germany began to lose its grip on power. Tens of thousands of East Germans began to flee the nation, and by late 1989 the Berlin Wall started to come down.

Shortly thereafter, talks between East and West German officials, joined by officials from the United States, Great Britain, France, and the USSR, began to explore the possibility of reunification. Two months following reunification, all-German elections took place and Helmut Kohl became the first chancellor of the reunified Germany. Although this action came more than a year before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, for many observers the reunification of Germany effectively marked the end of the Cold War.

### **Berlin Wall, October 1990, Saying "Thank You, Gorbi"**

#### **11.3. WTO**

In a nutshell, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is an international organisation aiming to reduce all barriers to trade.

It achieves this by acting as a forum for countries to constantly re-negotiate to remove blocks they have on trade. These re-negotiations are called Rounds.

Barriers to trade include tariffs (taxes) on products or services coming into a country, as well as added tariffs/taxes that a foreign product or service might pay within a country.



Barriers also include other blocks on trade like licencing or packaging requirements or subsidies that a government might give to an industry like agriculture or the arts.

Set up in 1995, the WTO is a young organisation. Before this the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) co-ordinated international trade but did so without a permanent organisation to support it.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand WTO?
2. When did the WTO formed?

- **How the WTO runs**

Unlike other International Economic Organisations like the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank Group, each country has one vote though decisions are generally made by consensus. (The exception is the EU which has a block vote of 28, soon to be 27.)

The WTO has 164 members. The EU is the only organisation to be a member of the WTO. All EU member states are also individual members but they always vote as the EU bloc. All other members are states or, like Hong Kong, have separate membership of the WTO to their status within a country.

- **Trading on WTO terms**

The WTO does not have a set of minimum tariffs or rules with which each country must comply. Instead, it has two main elements.

First, it requires each country to set out a list of its tariff rates for each product and service. Each tariff set for a product and service is subject to negotiation with each other member of the WTO. Whether another member seeks to negotiate these tariffs depends upon whether they have an interest in that product.

For large trading states like the USA, China or Brazil these lists or schedules can be extremely long. The EU has a single schedule for all its members and it is quite extensive. Second, the WTO requires states to apply their individual schedules, and non-tariff rules on packaging or licencing etc., in a non-discriminatory way.



- **Most-Favoured Nation and National Treatment rules**

This non-discrimination breaks down into two basic rules. The first, Most-Favoured Nation, means you must give whatever your best treatment is for foreign products coming into your country to all members of the WTO. For example, if a country cut the tariff on imports of copper from 10% to 5% for exporters from one country, it would have to charge 5% to every other country as well.

The second basic rule, National Treatment, means that you must give your best internal conditions to foreign products or services. For example, if you do not require domestic products to have a warning as to sugar content in food you cannot require it of foreign products. These requirements are set out in detail in the WTO's core treaties: GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) and TRIPs (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights).

But there is a big exception. If you are in a customs union or free trade area, for instance you can treat products and services from the customs union better than you treat other WTO members. The EU is an example of a customs union.

#### **What happens if a country breaks WTO rules?**

The WTO also has a busy Dispute Settlement Body (DSB). Here countries can take cases against other countries they think violate WTO rules.

Some DSB hearings are public but they are generally held in private. The findings of the DSB are publicly available. The EU and the United States followed by China, India, Brazil and Argentina are the most common participants in disputes. When a country is found in violation of WTO rules it is required to change its laws to comply with them.

If countries choose not to do so, the winning state can take retaliatory action in the form of trade sanctions such as introducing higher tariffs.

The main purpose of the WTO is to be a forum for negotiation. However, negotiation Rounds can take a very long time. The latest Round called Doha, which started in 2001, recently ended with minimal success.

While the WTO is seen by its members to work well, it is worth bearing in mind that its negotiations are long and arduous. As an organisation, it facilitates world trade but it does not set the tariff or tax rates that make trading expensive. Its members and their willingness to negotiate with each other dictates how successful or not the organisation will be in the future.



**The World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference of 1998, in  
the Palace of Nations (Geneva, Switzerland).**

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## **11.4. GLOBALIZATION**

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As a central concept in the present day international scenario, globalization is hard to define. Still, scholars have made attempts to provide a basic understanding of the concept. The concept has got inextricably linked with the process of transformation touching upon every aspect of social, political and economic development around the globe. It can be seen as a process by which the population of the world is increasingly bonded into a single society. In the social front, globalization signifies closer interaction of people and homogenization of culture and values and the world being transformed into a ‘global village’. Politically, it refers to the complex networks of global governance and shared political values resulting in the development of a tendency towards homogenization of global political culture. Economically, it is manifested in the form of liberalization tendencies, privatization, deregulation leading to a free market regime. On a greater plane, globalization has posed challenges to

the raison d'être of the states—the dominant actors in international relations.

According to Deepak Nayyar, eminent academic and administrator, Globalization can be more precisely defined as a “a process associated with increasing economic openness, growing economic independence and deepening economic integration between countries of the world economy”.

The central point is that under the forces of globalization, the greater part of social life is determined by global processes in which it seems as if national cultures, national economies and national borders are fast integrating under one universal umbrella. The term ‘globalization’ encompasses various aspects including expanded international trade, telecommunications, monetary coordination, Multinational corporations, cultural exchanges of new types and scales, migration and refugee flows, and relations between the world’s rich and poor countries.

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### **11.5. THE CONCEPT OF UNIPOLAR WORLD.**

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Unipolarity in international politics is a distribution of power in which one state exercises most of the cultural, economic, and military influence. Almost from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day it is common to call the world “unipolar”, “tripolar” or “multipolar”. Such vocabulary is used in the international relations theory — it describes the power balance in the world politics and is the result of various complexly organized hierarchical systems — countries and civilizations. On the one hand the technical progress can be considered as the cause of a structured state and, on the other — population growth, biological and social nature of humans and the existence of people’s desire for communication.

Gradually has come the time which is not alien to such processes like: growing importance of the state, formation of complex international relations and the assertion of many doctrines and documents, when politics gets its modern guise and the boundary between the “recognized” and “unrecognized”, the “official” and “unofficial” becomes increasingly clear. It is believed that in a unipolar world the main political, economic, cultural and social vectors are defined by one of the most influential states of the world. Thus, one civilization leads on the highest level, leaving others far

behind, but at the same time exerting some influence on the rest of the world.

Modern continents exist for a couple of tens of millions of years and their total area is 510 million square kilometers. Despite the fact that mankind as a species is very young (at least in comparison with the Earth, supercontinents or dinosaurs) in different periods certain empires dominated on Earth, which, as a rule, occupied most of the territory.

After the cold war with the Soviet Union as well as from the moment of its collapse, the United States can also be regarded as an empire. Although it is common to call the modern world multipolar, the special importance of the state cannot be questioned. In many ways the US is the center of a unipolar world because of its largest army on Earth (1.301 million people as well as 811 thousand in reserve) which held about twenty large-scale operations since the fifties of the last century to the present day, and the number of countries that host the US forces is up to 150.

**Check Your Progress**

3. Where did the headquarters of WTO situated?
4. Name the present CEO of WTO?
5. Define Globalization?

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## **11.6. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS**

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6. World Trade Organization (WTO)
7. The WTO officially commenced on 1 January 1995 under the Marrakesh Agreement, signed by 123 nations on 15 April 1994, replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which commenced in 1948.
8. Geneva, Switzerland
9. Roberto Azevedo
10. Globalization is considered by some as a form of capitalist expansion which entails the integration of local and national economies into a global, unregulated market economy.

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## 11.7. SUMMARY

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- At the close of World War II, divided Germany had come to serve as one of the most enduring symbols of the Cold War.
- The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is an international organisation aiming to reduce all barriers to trade.
- The WTO has 164 members. The EU is the only organisation to be a member of the WTO. All EU member states are also individual members but they always vote as the EU bloc.
- The WTO also has a busy Dispute Settlement Body (DSB). Here countries can take cases against other countries they think violate WTO rules.
- The term 'globalization' encompasses various aspects including expanded international trade, telecommunications, monetary coordination, Multinational corporations, cultural exchanges of new types and scales, migration and refugee flows, and relations between the world's rich and poor countries.

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## 11.8. KEY WORDS

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**Globalization** - Is the process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments worldwide. As a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, globalization is considered by some as a form of capitalist expansion which entails the integration of local and national economies into a global, unregulated market economy.

**Unipolarity** - In international politics is a distribution of power in which one state exercises most of the cultural, economic, and military influence.

**Berlin Blockade** - It was one of the first major international crises of the Cold War (24 June 1948 – 12 May 1949). The was an attempt in 1948 by the Soviet Union to limit the ability of France, Great Britain and the United States to travel to their sectors of Berlin, which lay within Russian-occupied East Germany

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## 11.9. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

7. Write a short note about the Berlin Blockade?
8. Explain about the WTO?
9. Explain briefly about the concept of Globalization?

### Long Answer Questions

5. Critically examine the aims and objectives of WTO?
6. Evaluate the impact of Germany reunion to the International Relations?

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## 11.10. SUGGESTED READINGS

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# UNIT - XII

## CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL ISSUES

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### Structure

12.0	Introduction
12.1	Objectives
12.2	Contemporary political Issues
12.3	Role of the U.S.A. in World Affairs
12.4	Korean War
12.5	Vietnam War
12.6	Answers to Check Your Progress
12.7	Summary
12.8	Keywords
12.9	Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
12.10	Suggested Readings

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### 9.0 INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the reunion of Germany, the birth and functions of WTO, Globalization and the emergence of Unipolar world.

In this unit you study about the Contemporary political Issues like Role of the U.S.A in World Affairs, and wars such as Korean War, Vietnam War.

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### 12.1 OBJECTIVES

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- To enhance the understanding of the role of USA in the world affairs
- To study the different dimensions of the phenomenon of wars that took place at south Asian Nations.

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### 12.2 CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL ISSUES

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As physical borders between nations become less meaningful and both personal and commercial interests become more globalized, international political issues become more common and more complex. Some nations struggle with maintaining their historical economic and social structure in

the face of the spreading Western culture and democracy. Others join the world economy and must establish themselves as a player in the era of global trade.

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### **12.3 ROLE OF THE U.S.A. IN WORLD AFFAIRS**

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George Washington's Farewell Address in 1789 contained one major piece of advice to the country regarding relations with other nations: "avoid entangling alliances." Those words shaped United States foreign policy for more than a century. Today some Americans think that Washington's words are still wise ones, and that the United States should withdraw from world affairs whenever possible. In truth, however, the United States has been embroiled in world politics throughout the 20th century, and as a result, foreign policy takes up a great deal of government's time, energy, and money.

In the years after World War II, the United States was guided generally by containment — the policy of keeping communism from spreading beyond the countries already under its influence. The policy applied to a world divided by the Cold War, a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union.

- **Foreign Policy Goals**

- ✓ To investigate the nature of current United States foreign policy, the logical source is the State Department, whose job it is to define and direct it. Foreign policy goals include the following:
  - ✓ Preserving the national security of the United States
  - ✓ Promoting world peace and a secure global environment
  - ✓ Maintaining a balance of power among nations
  - ✓ Working with allies to solve international problems
  - ✓ Promoting democratic values and human rights
  - ✓ Furthering cooperative foreign trade and global involvement in international trade organizations
  - ✓ Examining these goals closely reveals that they are based on cooperation with other nations, although "preserving the national security of the United States" implies possible competition and conflict.



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## 12.4 KOREAN WAR

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On June 25, 1950, the Korean War began when some 75,000 soldiers from the North Korean People's Army poured across the 38th parallel, the boundary between the Soviet-backed Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the north and the pro-Western Republic of Korea to the south. This invasion was the first military action of the Cold War. By July, American troops had entered the war on South Korea's behalf. As far as American officials were concerned, it was a war against the forces of international communism itself. After some early back-and-forth across the 38th parallel, the fighting stalled and casualties mounted with nothing to show for them. Meanwhile, American officials worked anxiously to fashion some sort of armistice with the North Koreans. The alternative, they feared, would be a wider war with Russia and China—or even, as some warned, World War III. Finally, in July 1953, the Korean War came to an end. In all, some 5 million soldiers and civilians lost their lives during the war. The Korean peninsula is still divided today.

- **The Two Koreas**

“If the best minds in the world had set out to find us the worst possible location in the world to fight this damnable war,” U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson (1893-1971) once said, “the unanimous choice would have been Korea.” The peninsula had landed in America's lap almost by accident. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Korea had been a part of the Japanese empire, and after World War II it fell to the Americans and the Soviets to decide what should be done with their enemy's imperial possessions. In August 1945, two young aides at the State Department divided the Korean peninsula in half along the 38th parallel. The Russians occupied the area north of the line and the United States occupied the area to its south.

By the end of the decade, two new states had formed on the peninsula. In the south, the anti-communist dictator Syngman Rhee (1875-1965) enjoyed the reluctant support of the American government; in the north, the communist dictator Kim Il Sung (1912-1994) enjoyed the slightly more enthusiastic support of the Soviets. Neither dictator was content to remain on his side of the 38th parallel, however, and border skirmishes were

common. Nearly 10,000 North and South Korean soldiers were killed in battle before the war even began.

- **The Korean War and the Cold War**

Even so, the North Korean invasion came as an alarming surprise to American officials. As far as they were concerned, this was not simply a border dispute between two unstable dictatorships on the other side of the globe. Instead, many feared it was the first step in a communist campaign to take over the world. For this reason, nonintervention was not considered an option by many top decision makers. (In fact, in April 1950, a National Security Council report known as NSC-68 had recommended that the United States use military force to “contain” communist expansionism anywhere it seemed to be occurring, “regardless of the intrinsic strategic or economic value of the lands in question.

“If we let Korea down,” President Harry Truman (1884-1972) said, “the Soviet[s] will keep right on going and swallow up one [place] after another.” The fight on the Korean peninsula was a symbol of the global struggle between east and west, good and evil. As the North Korean army pushed into Seoul, the South Korean capital, the United States readied its troops for a war against communism itself.

At first, the war was a defensive one—a war to get the communists out of South Korea—and it went badly for the Allies. The North Korean army was well-disciplined, well-trained and well-equipped; Rhee’s forces, by contrast, were frightened, confused, and seemed inclined to flee the battlefield at any provocation. Also, it was one of the hottest and driest summers on record, and desperately thirsty American soldiers were often forced to drink water from rice paddies that had been fertilized with human waste. As a result, dangerous intestinal diseases and other illnesses were a constant threat.

By the end of the summer, President Truman and General Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964), the commander in charge of the Asian theater, had decided on a new set of war aims. Now, for the Allies, the Korean War was an offensive one: It was a war to “liberate” the North from the communists.

Initially, this new strategy was a success. An amphibious assault at Inchon pushed the North Koreans out of Seoul and back to their side of the 38th parallel. But as American troops crossed the boundary and headed north toward the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and Communist China, the Chinese started to worry about protecting themselves from what they called “armed aggression against Chinese territory.” Chinese leader Mao Zedong (1893-1976) sent troops to North Korea and warned the United States to keep away from the Yalu boundary unless it wanted full-scale war

**Check Your Progress**

1. When the Korean War did take place?
2. Name the commander in charge of Asian Theatre?
3. Who send the troops to North Korea?

- **No Substitute for Victory”?**

This was something that President Truman and his advisers decidedly did not want: They were sure that such a war would lead to Soviet aggression in Europe, the deployment of atomic weapons and millions of senseless deaths. To General MacArthur, however, anything short of this wider war represented “appeasement,” an unacceptable knuckling under to the communists.

As President Truman looked for a way to prevent war with the Chinese, MacArthur did all he could to provoke it. Finally, in March 1951, he sent a letter to Joseph Martin, a House Republican leader who shared MacArthur’s support for declaring all-out war on China—and who could be counted upon to leak the letter to the press. “There is,” MacArthur wrote, “no substitute for victory” against international communism.

For Truman, this letter was the last straw. On April 11, the president fired the general for insubordination.

- **The Korean War Reaches a Stalemate**

In July 1951, President Truman and his new military commanders started peace talks at Panmunjom. Still, the fighting continued along the 38th parallel as negotiations stalled. Both sides were willing to accept a ceasefire that maintained the 38th parallel boundary, but they could not agree on whether prisoners of war should be forcibly “repatriated.”

Finally, after more than two years of negotiations, the adversaries signed an armistice on July 27, 1953. The agreement allowed the POWs to stay where they liked; drew a new boundary near the 38th parallel that gave South Korea an extra 1,500 square miles of territory; and created a 2-mile-wide “demilitarized zone” that still exists today.

- **Casualties of the Korean War**

The Korean War was relatively short but exceptionally bloody. Nearly 5 million people died. More than half of these—about 10 percent of Korea’s prewar population—were civilians. (This rate of civilian casualties was higher than World War II’s and Vietnam’s.) Almost 40,000 Americans died in action in Korea, and more than 100,000 were wounded.

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## 12.5 VIETNAM WAR

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During the cold war period the Vietnam issue also complicated the problem. It is located in the eastern part of the Indo-China peninsula. It consists of Annam, Tongking and Cochin China, Cambodia and Laos. During the early 20th Century they were the colonies of Britain.

The opposition shown by the Vietnamese were all suppressed. In 1941 Ho-Chi-Min, the communist leader formed an organisation for the liberation of Vietnam. It was known as Vietmin. It fought to remove the French rule.

- **II World War and Vietnam**

In the II World War when France surrendered to Germany, in 1940 Japan annexed Vietnam. The people of Vietnam treated the Japanese as foreigners. But the war of Independence continued. On 11, March 1945 the Japanese gave freedom to Vietnam. Bao-Tai was made as its ruler. But Japan surrendered on 11, March 1945. On 2nd September 1945 the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was created. Hanoi became its capital and Ho-chi-Min was its President.

- **The decision of the Potsdam Conference : (1945)**

The leaders of the allied powers, met at Potsdam, decided that North Vietnam and South Vietnam should be kept by the Chinese and British armed forces respectively. So the Chinese submitted their area to Vietnam and the British to the French.

- **Civil war (1946-54)**

The French wanted to bring the entire Vietnam under its control. They did not recognise the Republic of Vietnam under Ho-Chi-Min. But Russia, China and other communist countries approved it. America, Britain and West European countries did not recognize it. After the II world war there emerged a cold war between the U.S.A. and USSR and that had its own echo over the divided force of Vietnam also. France which decided to capture North Vietnam continued the war for eight long years. But they could not succeed even with the help of the Americans. In 1954 the Vietnam army besieged the Dien-Bien-phu fort. After 55 days it fell. So the French sued for peace.

- **Geneva Conference (I 954)**

To solve the Vietnam issue this conference was convened. Russia, China, Britain, France, USA etc, took part in it. The Indian representative V.K.Krishnamenon turned out a tremendous task for the success of it. The following decisions were taken.

(1) France agreed to leave that area.

(2) Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam etc. attained freedom. Laos and Cambodia became neutral countries.

(3) Vietnam was divided into two. While Ho Chi Min was in charge of North Vietnam, Bao Dai rule was controlled by South Vietnam.

(4) After 1956 it was decided to form a national government after plebiscite.

(5) A Board consisting of India, Poland and Canada was appointed.

- **Civil war again**

The Geneva conference did not create a permanent peace. No election was conducted. Both the powers accused each other. In South Vietnam which came under Diem's rule it was a despotic rule. Being a Catholic Christian he was opposed by the Buddhists. There prevailed chaos and confusion. In the South Vietnam a new Nationalist front under the name 'Vietcong' was convened. They opposed the ruler.

- **American intervention .**

During cold war America adopted the policy to avoid the spread of communism. It had a vigilant watch over the spread. So it came forward to support Dien Bien Phu against the communists. It was an echo of the effects over Laos, Cambodia, Thailand etc. So it sent army and weapons to that area. 18,000 advisers were also sent. But the communist intrusion could not be avoided. The American air crafts bombed the cities. The Viet kongs attacked the warships of America at Tonkin gulf. So North Vietnam was attacked by America. At My Lai 567 persons died. The Americans could not control the communist supported North Vietnam.

- **Opposition to American support**

The entire world looked at the efforts of north Vietnam with admiration. Majority of the world nations supported Vietnam. America could not succeed in the war. America's Vietnam policy was criticised and opposed. The American's felt that their country is wasting their money and energy at Vietnam.

- **Paris Peace Talks. (1968 - 1973]**

American President Johnson wanted peace talks after stopping the war. Due to the efforts of the U.N. General Secretary U Thant peace talks started. In USA Nixon became President. In North Vietnam Ho Chi Min died and he was succeeded by Dr. Dhas. On 27, January 1973 peace was signed. The American army left Vietnam. War was stopped. It was decided to unite Vietnam.

- **Vietnam verification (1 975)**

In 1974 North Vietnam and Vietkongs attacked South Vietnam against the peace of Paris. America condemned this and did not stop the war. During April 1975 Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam fell. It was called as Ho chi Min Nagar. On 24, June 1976 both were united. Hanoi became its capital.

- **Results of the Vietnam war:**

- (1) It was a failure of the army and diplomacy of USA.
- (2) America cannot control the spread of communism in South West Asia.

(3) The historical truth that no national power of people may be suppressed.

(4) It caused a heavy damage to men and material on both sides.

(5) The prestige of America was reduced

(6) UNO did not play any role in it.

**Check Your Progress**

4. Name the US President during 1950?

5. Which city was called as Ho Chi Min Nagar?

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## 12.6. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. June 25th 1950
2. General Douglas MacArthur
3. Mao Zedong
4. President Truman
5. Saigon

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## 12.7. SUMMARY

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- ✓ George Washington's Farewell Address in 1789 contained one major piece of advice to the country regarding relations with other nations: "avoid entangling alliances."
- ✓ In the years after World War II, the United States was guided generally by containment — the policy of keeping communism from spreading beyond the countries already under its influence.
- ✓ During the cold war period the Vietnam issue also complicated the problem. It is located in the eastern part of the Indo-China peninsula. It consists of Annam, Tongking and Cochin China, Cambodia and Laos. During the early 20th Century they were the colonies of Britain.

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## 12.8. KEYWORDS

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**Communism** - a theory or system of social organization in which all property is owned by the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs

**38th parallel north** - The 38th parallel north formed the border between North and South Korea prior to the Korean War

**The Seventeenth parallel** - It was the provisional military demarcation line between North and South Vietnam established by the Geneva Accords of 1954.

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## 12.9. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Contemporary Political  
Issues

Notes

### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about US Foreign goals?
2. Explain about the causes of Korean War?
3. Explain briefly about the results of Vietnam War?

### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the causes and consequences of Korean and Vietnam War?
2. Evaluate the impact of US in the world affairs?

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## 12.10. SUGGESTED READINGS

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## UNIT - XIII

# INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

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### Structure

- 13.0 Introduction
- 13.1 Objectives
- 13.2 Congo Affair
- 13.3 Cuban Crisis
- 13.4 Indo–China conflict
- 13.5 Arab – Israel Conflict
- 13.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 13.7 Summary
- 13.8 Keywords
- 13.9 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 13.10 Suggested Readings

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### 13.0. INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the Contemporary political Issues like Role of the U.S.A in World Affairs, and wars such as Korean War, Vietnam War.

In this unit you study about the Congo affair, Cuban crisis, Indo–china conflict, Arab – Israel conflict.

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### 13.1. OBJECTIVES

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- To analyze the actions of the United States, the Soviet Union and Cuba during the Cuban missile crisis.
- To study the struggle between the Israelis and the Palestinians is one of the most enduring and explosive of all the world's conflicts.

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### 13.2. CONGO AFFAIR

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The Congo Civil War, or Congo Crisis, was a complex political tumult that began just days following Belgium's granting of Congolese independence in 1960. Lasting four years, the associated violence claimed an estimated 100,000 lives including the nation's first Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, and UN Secretary Dag Hammarskjöld, who was killed in a plane crash as he attempted to mediate the crisis. Escalating with the secession of the southernmost province of Katanga, the

conflict concluded five years later with a united Congo emerging under the dictatorship of Joseph-Désiré Mobutu.

On June 30, 1960, Belgium negotiated post-colonial mining rights in declaring an independent Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Yet within days, soldiers of the Congolese army mutinied, demanding increased pay and the removal of white officers from their ranks. When Belgium intervened militarily, more soldiers rebelled. Many of these soldiers gravitated toward the radical nationalist Prime Minister Patrice Emery Lumumba.

Then, dominated by Belgian business interests, the mineral-rich Katanga province under the leadership of Moïse Kapenda Tshombe seceded from the DRC with Belgian support. Congolese President Joseph Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba asked and received a peacekeeping force from the United Nations (UN).

The conflict also became the site of a dangerous Cold War “proxy” contest between western powers led by the United States and the Soviet Union-led Communist bloc. Under pressure from western nations and in exchange for UN support, President Kasavubu purged his government of radical elements including Prime Minister Lumumba. The ultra-nationalist Lumumba, though supported by the Congolese, was viewed by Western business leaders as an obstacle to their continued investments in Congolese diamond mines. Fearing Lumumba was secretly a Communist, the United States was particularly adamant about his removal from power.

Lumumba responded by firing Kasavubu as both leaders claimed control over the country, and Army Chief of Staff Joseph Mobutu in turn orchestrated a military coup d'état which ousted the two leaders. Mobutu's government was supported by western governments. The Soviet Union and other Communist nations supported Lumumba who ultimately was killed by Katangan rebels.

With his chief rival removed, Mobutu pledged nominal support to President Kasavubu and the two led the successful effort to end the Katanga secession. UN forces eventually recaptured all of Katanga province. In 1964, a new rebellion began in the Eastern Congo when armed fighters (“Simbas”) began to spread across the region. Ironically,

Moïse Tshombe, who had led the secessionist Katanga province, was made prime minister with the mandate to defeat these rebels and end other regional revolts. The Simbas were defeated in November 1964.

One year later, Mobutu seized power from President Kasavubu after having persuaded Western leaders that he was the most effective leader in the fight against communism. Kasavubu and Tshombe were exiled as Mobutu set up a one-party dictatorship, controlling the nation until 1997. Nonetheless, for the first time since independence, all of the country was ruled by one government.

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### 13.3. CUBAN CRISIS

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During the Cuban Missile Crisis, leaders of the U.S. and the Soviet Union engaged in a tense, 13-day political and military standoff in October 1962 over the installation of nuclear-armed Soviet missiles on Cuba, just 90 miles from U.S. shores. In a TV address on October 22, 1962, President John Kennedy (1917-63) notified Americans about the presence of the missiles, explained his decision to enact a naval blockade around Cuba and made it clear the U.S. was prepared to use military force if necessary to neutralize this perceived threat to national security. Following this news, many people feared the world was on the brink of nuclear war. However, disaster was avoided when the U.S. agreed to Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's (1894-1971) offer to remove the Cuban missiles in exchange for the U.S. promising not to invade Cuba. Kennedy also secretly agreed to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey.

- **Discovering the Missiles**

After seizing power in the Caribbean island nation of Cuba in 1959, leftist revolutionary leader Fidel Castro (1926-2016) aligned himself with the Soviet Union. Under Castro, Cuba grew dependent on the Soviets for military and economic aid. During this time, the U.S. and the Soviets (and their respective allies) were engaged in the Cold War (1945-91), an ongoing series of largely political and economic clashes. The two superpowers plunged into one of their biggest Cold War confrontations after the pilot of an American U-2 spy plane making a high-altitude pass over Cuba on October 14, 1962, photographed a Soviet SS-4 medium-range ballistic missile being assembled for installation.

President Kennedy was briefed about the situation on October 16, and he immediately called together a group of advisors and officials known as the executive committee, or ExCom. For nearly the next two weeks, the president and his team wrestled with a diplomatic crisis of epic proportions, as did their counterparts in the Soviet Union.

- **A New Threat to the U.S.**

For the American officials, the urgency of the situation stemmed from the fact that the nuclear-armed Cuban missiles were being installed so close to the U.S. mainland—just 90 miles south of Florida. From that launch point, they were capable of quickly reaching targets in the eastern U.S. If allowed to become operational, the missiles would fundamentally alter the complexion of the nuclear rivalry between the U.S. and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which up to that point had been dominated by the Americans.

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev had gambled on sending the missiles to Cuba with the specific goal of increasing his nation's nuclear strike capability. The Soviets had long felt uneasy about the number of nuclear weapons that were targeted at them from sites in Western Europe and Turkey, and they saw the deployment of missiles in Cuba as a way to level the playing field. Another key factor in the Soviet missile scheme was the hostile relationship between the U.S. and Cuba. The Kennedy administration had already launched one attack on the island—the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961—and Castro and Khrushchev saw the missiles as a means of deterring further U.S. aggression.

- **Weighing the Options**

From the outset of the crisis, Kennedy and Ex-Com determined that the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba was unacceptable. The challenge facing them was to orchestrate their removal without initiating a wider conflict—and possibly a nuclear war. In deliberations that stretched on for nearly a week, they came up with a variety of options, including a bombing attack on the missile sites and a full-scale invasion of Cuba. But Kennedy ultimately decided on a more measured approach. First, he would employ the U.S. Navy to establish a blockade, or quarantine, of the island to prevent the Soviets from delivering additional missiles and military

equipment. Second, he would deliver an ultimatum that the existing missiles be removed.

In a television broadcast on October 22, 1962, the president notified Americans about the presence of the missiles, explained his decision to enact the blockade and made it clear that the U.S. was prepared to use military force if necessary to neutralize this perceived threat to national security. Following this public declaration, people around the globe nervously waited for the Soviet response. Some Americans, fearing their country was on the brink of nuclear war, hoarded food and gas.

- **Showdown at Sea**

A crucial moment in the unfolding crisis arrived on October 24, when Soviet ships bound for Cuba neared the line of U.S. vessels enforcing the blockade. An attempt by the Soviets to breach the blockade would likely have sparked a military confrontation that could have quickly escalated to a nuclear exchange. But the Soviet ships stopped short of the blockade.

Although the events at sea offered a positive sign that war could be averted, they did nothing to address the problem of the missiles already in Cuba. The tense standoff between the superpowers continued through the week, and on October 27, an American reconnaissance plane was shot down over Cuba, and a U.S. invasion force was readied in Florida. (The 35-year-old pilot of the downed plane, Major Rudolf Anderson, is considered the sole U.S. combat casualty of the Cuban missile crisis.) “I thought it was the last Saturday I would ever see,” recalled U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (1916-2009), as quoted by Martin Walker in “The Cold War.” A similar sense of doom was felt by other key players on both sides.

- **A Deal Ends the Standoff**

Despite the enormous tension, Soviet and American leaders found a way out of the impasse. During the crisis, the Americans and Soviets had exchanged letters and other communications, and on October 26, Khrushchev sent a message to Kennedy in which he offered to remove the Cuban missiles in exchange for a promise by U.S. leaders not to invade Cuba. The following day, the Soviet leader sent a letter proposing that the

USSR would dismantle its missiles in Cuba if the Americans removed their missile installations in Turkey.

Officially, the Kennedy administration decided to accept the terms of the first message and ignore the second Khrushchev letter entirely. Privately, however, American officials also agreed to withdraw their nation's missiles from Turkey. U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy (1925-68) personally delivered the message to the Soviet ambassador in Washington, and on October 28, the crisis drew to a close.

Both the Americans and Soviets were sobered by the Cuban Missile Crisis. The following year, a direct "hot line" communication link was installed between Washington and Moscow to help defuse similar situations, and the superpowers signed two treaties related to nuclear weapons. The Cold War was far from over, though. In fact, another legacy of the crisis was that it convinced the Soviets to increase their investment in an arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of reaching the U.S. from Soviet territory.

**Check Your Progress**

1. Expand DRC?
2. Name the Cuban president during 1956?

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### 13.4. INDO-CHINA CONFLICT

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India was having cordial relations with China from time immemorial. It had flourishing commercial contact. The spread of Buddhism in China enhanced the prestige of India. The Kuomintane leader Chiang Kai Sheik supported India's freedom movement. When there was a civil war in China between the Kuomintang and communists India maintained neutrality. In 1949 Communist China won the war. India recognised the government headed by Mao Tse Tung.

- **Period of peace and cordiality (1950 - 1960)**

India was the first non-communist country which recognised communist China. In the security council of UNO India fought for the place of communist China.

In 1950 the Chinese army invaded Tibet. Independent Tibet was annexed by China by aggressive war. Anyhow in 1954 India accepted the sovereignty of China over Tibet.

Panchasheela is another principle which brought India and China nearer to each other. In 1954 Prime Minister Nehru and Chinese Prime Minister Chow-En-lai signed this agreement of peace and friendship.

1. The nations should recognise the sovereignty and territorial integrity of others.

2. Non-aggression

3. Non-interference with the internal affairs.

4. Equality

5. Peaceful co-existence.

After that China was allowed to have trade centers at Delhi, Calcutta, Calimang etc in India. India was allowed to open a trade centre at Gangtok of Tibet. India refused to become a member of the SEATO, the anti-communist organisation created by America. In international issues India maintained neutrality. Between 1950-55 Korean war India's stand was appreciated by China. With regard to Apartheid and cultural aspects both have uniform stands. In the Bandung conference of 1955 both the countries worked in union with each other.

- **Differences**

There are some differences between India and China. The five-year plans and India's progress and development made China to be an enemy of India. China's great leap forward scheme met with a failure. In 1959 the Tibetans rose in rebellion against the Chinese government. China suppressed that by force. The arrival of Dalai Lama into India as refugee and India's stand on it infuriated China.

- **Border Dispute**

China started to give problems in the border areas. Indian territories were shown as Chinese territories in the map. Though China gave an evasive reply at the beginning, finally it stressed that they are Chinese territories. It refused to accept the Mac Mohan line as its border. It also claimed its right over Aghaichin region. In 1959 nine Indians were killed in

the border. To reduce the tension both the Prime Ministers met at Delhi. But no decision was arrived at.

- **Indo Chinese war of 1962**

In 1962 China undertook a complete military attack. As it was decided that there will be no possibility of war between India and China, India did not take any serious defense efforts in the north. So India had to retreat. America came to the support of India. Russia maintained neutrality. Then China stopped the war and withdrew from the Indian territories. Countries like Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, Ghana, Indonesia etc. supported the stand of India. The Colombo plan was created for peace. India accepted that. But China did not say any thing. In the wars of Pakistan with India in 1965 and 1970 China supported the cause of Pakistan and rendered military help.

- **Peace efforts of India**

Though China has opposed India, India still continues to follow the policy of non-alignment. It insisted that communist China should be included in the Security Council. In 1979 the Janatha government wanted to settle the issue. Diplomatic relations were revived among the two countries. The Indian Foreign Minister Vajpayee went to China in 1979 to have peace talks. In 1988 Rajiv Gandhi visited China and brought a turning point.

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## 13.5. ARAB ISRAEL CONFLICT

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Arab-Israeli wars, series of military conflicts between Israeli and various Arab forces, most notably in 1948–49, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982, and 2006.

- **1948–49: Israel's War Of Independence And The Palestinian Nakbah**

In November 1947 the United Nations (UN) voted to partition the British mandate of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state (see United Nations Resolution 181). Clashes broke out almost immediately between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. As British troops prepared to withdraw from Palestine, conflict continued to escalate, with both Jewish and Arab forces committing belligerences. Among the most infamous events was the attack on the Arab village of Dayr Yāsīn on April



9, 1948. The news of a brutal massacre there by Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang forces spread widely and inspired both panic and retaliation. Days later, Arab forces attacked a Jewish convoy headed for Hadassah Hospital, killing 78.

On the eve of the British forces' May 15, 1948, withdrawal, Israel declared independence. The next day, Arab forces from Egypt, Transjordan (Jordan), Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon occupied the areas in southern and eastern Palestine not apportioned to the Jews by the UN partition of Palestine and then captured east Jerusalem, including the small Jewish quarter of the Old City. The stated purpose of the invasion was to restore law and order in light of British withdrawal, citing incidents such as that at Dayr Yāsīn, and a growing refugee crisis in neighbouring Arab countries. The Israelis, meanwhile, won control of the main road to Jerusalem through the Yehuda Mountains ("Hills of Judaea") and successfully repulsed repeated Arab attacks. By early 1949 the Israelis had managed to occupy all of the Negev up to the former Egypt-Palestine frontier, except for the Gaza Strip.

Between February and July 1949, as a result of separate armistice agreements between Israel and each of the Arab states, a temporary frontier was fixed between Israel and its neighbours. In Israel, the war is remembered as its War of Independence. In the Arab world, it came to be known as the Nakbah ("Catastrophe") because of the large number of refugees and displaced persons resulting from the war.

- **1956: Suez Crisis**

Tensions mounted again with the rise to power of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, a staunch Pan-Arab nationalist. Nasser took a hostile stance toward Israel. In 1956 Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, a vital waterway connecting Europe and Asia that was largely owned by French and British concerns. France and Britain responded by striking a deal with Israel—whose ships were barred from using the canal and whose southern port of Elat had been blockaded by Egypt—wherein Israel would invade Egypt; France and Britain would then intervene, ostensibly as peacemakers, and take control of the canal.

In October 1956 Israel invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. In five days the Israeli army captured Gaza, Rafah, and Al-'Arīsh—taking thousands of prisoners—and occupied most of the peninsula east of the Suez Canal. The Israelis were then in a position to open sea communications through the Gulf of Aqaba. In December, after the joint Anglo-French intervention, a UN Emergency Force was stationed in the area, and Israeli forces withdrew in March 1957. Though Egyptian forces had been defeated on all fronts, the Suez Crisis, as it is sometimes known, was seen by Arabs as an Egyptian victory. Egypt dropped the blockade of Elat. A UN buffer force was placed in the Sinai Peninsula.

- **1967: Six-Day War**



**Israeli armoured troop unit entering Gaza during the Six-Day War,  
June 6, 1967.**

Arab and Israeli forces clashed for the third time June 5–10, 1967, in what came to be called the Six-Day War (or June War). In early 1967 Syria intensified its bombardment of Israeli villages from positions in the Golan Heights. When the Israeli Air Force shot down six Syrian MiG fighter jets in reprisal, Nasser mobilized his forces near the Sinai border, dismissing the UN force there, and he again sought to blockade Elat. In May 1967 Egypt signed a mutual defense pact with Jordan.

Israel answered this apparent Arab rush to war by staging a sudden air assault, destroying Egypt's air force on the ground. The Israeli victory

on the ground was also overwhelming. Israeli units drove back Syrian forces from the Golan Heights, took control of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, and drove Jordanian forces from the West Bank. Importantly, the Israelis were left in sole control of Jerusalem.

- **1973: Yom Kippur War**

The sporadic fighting that followed the Six-Day War again developed into full-scale war in 1973. On October 6, the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur (thus “Yom Kippur War”), Israel was attacked by Egypt across the Suez Canal and by Syria on the Golan Heights. The Arab armies showed greater aggressiveness and fighting ability than in the previous wars, and the Israeli forces suffered heavy casualties. The Israeli army, however, reversed early losses and pushed its way into Syrian territory and encircled the Egyptian Third Army by crossing the Suez Canal and establishing forces on its west bank.

Israel and Egypt signed a cease-fire agreement in November and peace agreements on January 18, 1974. The accords provided for Israeli withdrawal into the Sinai west of the Mitla and Gidi passes, while Egypt was to reduce the size of its forces on the east bank of the canal. A UN peacekeeping force was established between the two armies. This agreement was supplemented by another, signed on September 4, 1975. On May 31, 1974, Israel and Syria signed a cease-fire agreement that also covered separation of their forces by a UN buffer zone and exchange of prisoners of war.

On March 26, 1979, Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty formally ending the state of war that had existed between the two countries for 30 years. Under the terms of the Camp David Accords, as the treaty was called, Israel returned the entire Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, and, in return, Egypt recognized Israel’s right to exist. The two countries subsequently established normal diplomatic relations.

- **1982: Lebanon War**

On June 5, 1982, less than six weeks after Israel’s complete withdrawal from the Sinai, increased tensions between Israelis and Palestinians resulted in the Israeli bombing of Beirut and southern Lebanon, where the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had

a number of strongholds. The following day Israel invaded Lebanon, and by June 14 its land forces reached as far as the outskirts of Beirut, which was encircled, but the Israeli government agreed to halt its advance and begin negotiations with the PLO. After much delay and massive Israeli shelling of west Beirut, the PLO evacuated the city under the supervision of a multinational force. Eventually, Israeli troops withdrew from west Beirut, and the Israeli army had withdrawn entirely from Lebanon by June 1985.

- **2006: Second Lebanon War**

In July 2006 Hezbollah launched an operation against Israel in an attempt to pressure the country into releasing Lebanese prisoners, killing a number of Israeli soldiers in the process and capturing two. Israel launched an offensive into southern Lebanon to recover the captured soldiers. The war lasted 34 days but left more than one thousand Lebanese dead and about one million others displaced. Several Arab leaders criticized Hezbollah for inciting the conflict. Nevertheless, Hezbollah's ability to fight the Israel Defense Forces to a standstill won it praise throughout much of the Arab world

**Check Your Progress**

3. Name the US Secretary of Defence during October 1962?
4. When did the Indo- china war take place?
5. Expand PLO?

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## 13.6.ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

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1. Democratic Republic of the Congo
  2. Fidel Castro
  3. Robert McNamara
  4. 20 Oct 1962 – 21 Nov 196
  5. Palestine Liberation Organization
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## 13.7. SUMMARY

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- ✓ The Congo Civil War, or Congo Crisis, was a complex political tumult that began just days following Belgium's granting of Congolese independence in 1960.
- ✓ India was having cordial relations with China from time immemorial. It had flourishing commercial contact.

- ✓ In 1956 Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, a vital waterway connecting Europe and Asia that was largely owned by French and British concerns
- ✓ On June 5, 1982, less than six weeks after Israel's complete withdrawal from the Sinai, increased tensions between Israelis and Palestinians resulted in the Israeli bombing of Beirut and southern Lebanon, where the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had a number of strongholds.

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### 13.8. KEY WORDS

**Cuban Missile Crisis-** The Cuban Missile Crisis, also known as the October Crisis of 1962, the Caribbean Crisis, or the Missile Scare, was a 13-day confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union initiated by the American discovery of Soviet ballistic missile deployment in Cuba

**Arab–Israeli conflict** – The Arab–Israeli conflict refers to the political tension, military conflicts and disputes between Arab countries and Israel, which climaxed during the 20th century.

**LICOPA affair** – It was a diplomatic conflict between the People's Republic of Congo (Congo-Brazzaville) and Zaire (present-day Democratic Republic of Congo) during the Cold War in the early 1970s

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### 13.9. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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#### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about Cuban Missile crisis?
2. Explain about the Congo affair?
3. Write a short note about India China relation during 1962?

#### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the causes and consequences Cuban crisis to International relations?
2. Evaluate the impact of Arab – Israel Conflict?

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## 13.10.SUGGESTED READINGS

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Kirsten E. Schulze. (2013). *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Routledge.

M. L. Sali.(1998). *India-China Border Dispute: A Case Study of the Eastern Sector*. APH Publishing.

Norman Shakespeare . (2015). *The Congo Affair* . eBookIt.com.

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*Contemporary Political  
Issues*

*Notes*

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# UNIT - XIV

## TERRORISM

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### Structure

14.0	Introduction
14.1	Objectives
14.2	Iran–Iraq conflict
14.3	Gulf War
14.4	Organization of Islamic Countries
14.5	International Terrorism
14.6	War on Terrorism
14.7	Answers to Check Your Progress
14.8	Summary
14.9	Keywords
14.10	Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
14.11	Suggested Readings

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### 14.0. INTRODUCTION

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In the previous unit you studied about the Congo affair, Cuban crisis, Indo–china conflict, Arab – Israel conflict.

In this unit you study about the Iran–Iraq conflict, gulf war and organization of Islamic countries, international terrorism and war on Terrorism.

### 14.1. OBJECTIVES

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- To analyze the analyze the reason for Iran – Iraq war
  - Explain treaty-based crimes relevant for prosecuting acts of terrorism, whether at the national or international level.
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### 14.2. IRAN-IRAQ WAR

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Iran-Iraq War, (1980–88), prolonged military conflict between Iran and Iraq during the 1980s. Open warfare began on September 22, 1980, when Iraqi armed forces invaded western Iran along the countries' joint border, though Iraq claimed that the war had begun earlier that month, on September 4, when Iran shelled a number of border posts. Fighting was ended by a 1988 cease-fire, though the resumption of normal diplomatic relations and the withdrawal of troops did not take place until the signing of a formal peace agreement on August 16, 1990.

The roots of the war lay in a number of territorial and political disputes between Iraq and Iran. Iraq wanted to seize control of the rich oil-producing Iranian border region of Khūzestān, a territory inhabited largely by ethnic Arabs over which Iraq sought to extend some form of suzerainty. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein wanted to reassert his country's sovereignty over both banks of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, a river formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers that was historically the border between the two countries. Saddam was also concerned over attempts by Iran's Islamic revolutionary government to incite rebellion among Iraq's Shīʿite majority. By attacking when it did, Iraq took advantage of the apparent disorder and isolation of Iran's new government—then at loggerheads with the United States over the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehrān by Iranian militants—and of the demoralization and dissolution of Iran's regular armed forces.

In September 1980 the Iraqi army carefully advanced along a broad front into Khūzestān, taking Iran by surprise. Iraq's troops captured the city of Khorramshahr but failed to take the important oil-refining centre of Ābādān, and by December 1980 the Iraqi offensive had bogged down about 50–75 miles (80–120 km) inside Iran after meeting unexpectedly strong Iranian resistance. Iran's counterattacks using the revolutionary militia (Revolutionary Guards) to bolster its regular armed forces began to compel the Iraqis to give ground in 1981. The Iranians first pushed the Iraqis back across Iran's Kārūn River and then recaptured Khorramshahr in 1982. Later that year Iraq voluntarily withdrew its forces from all captured Iranian territory and began seeking a peace agreement with Iran. But under the leadership of Ruhollah Khomeini, who bore a strong personal animosity toward Saddam, Iran remained intransigent and continued the war in an effort to overthrow the Iraqi leader. Iraq's defenses solidified once its troops were defending their own soil, and the war settled down into a stalemate with a static, entrenched front running just inside and along Iraq's border. Iran repeatedly launched fruitless infantry attacks, using human assault waves composed partly of untrained and unarmed conscripts (often young boys snatched from the streets), which were repelled by the superior firepower and air power of the Iraqis. Both nations



engaged in sporadic air and missile attacks against each other's cities and military and oil installations. They also attacked each other's oil-tanker shipping in the Persian Gulf, and Iran's attacks on Kuwait's and other Gulf states' tankers prompted the United States and several western European nations to station warships in the Persian Gulf to ensure the flow of oil to the rest of the world.

The oil-exporting capacity of both nations was severely reduced at various times owing to air strikes and to pipeline shutoffs, and the consequent reduction in their income and foreign-currency earnings brought the countries' economic-development programs to a near standstill. Iraq's war effort was openly financed by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other neighbouring Arab states and was tacitly supported by the United States and the Soviet Union, while Iran's only major allies were Syria and Libya. Iraq continued to sue for peace in the mid-1980s, but its international reputation was damaged by reports that it had made use of lethal chemical weapons against Iranian troops as well as against Iraqi-Kurdish civilians, whom the Iraqi government thought to be sympathetic to Iran. (One such attack, in and around the Kurdish village of Halabjah in March 1988, killed as many as 5,000 civilians.) In the mid-1980s the military stalemate continued, but in August 1988 Iran's deteriorating economy and recent Iraqi gains on the battlefield compelled Iran to accept a United Nations-mediated cease-fire that it had previously resisted.

The total number of combatants on both sides is unclear; but both countries were fully mobilized, and most men of military age were under arms. The number of casualties was enormous but equally uncertain. Estimates of total casualties range from 1,000,000 to twice that number. The number killed on both sides was perhaps 500,000, with Iran suffering the greatest losses. It is estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 Kurds were killed by Iraqi forces during the series of campaigns code-named Anfal that took place in 1988.

In August 1990, while Iraq was preoccupied with its invasion of Kuwait (see Persian Gulf War), Iraq and Iran restored diplomatic relations, and Iraq agreed to Iranian terms for the settlement of the war: the

withdrawal of Iraqi troops from occupied Iranian territory, division of sovereignty over the Shatt al-‘Arab waterway, and a prisoner-of-war exchange. The final exchange of prisoners was not completed until March 2003.

**Check Your Progress**

1. When did Iran – Iraq war took place?
2. Expand NATO?
3. Expand OIC?

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### **14.3. GULF WAR**

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Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered the invasion and occupation of neighboring Kuwait in early August 1990. Alarmed by these actions, fellow Arab powers such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt called on the United States and other Western nations to intervene. Hussein defied United Nations Security Council demands to withdraw from Kuwait by mid-January 1991, and the Persian Gulf War began with a massive U.S.-led air offensive known as Operation Desert Storm. After 42 days of relentless attacks by the allied coalition in the air and on the ground, U.S. President George H.W. Bush declared a cease-fire on February 28; by that time, most Iraqi forces in Kuwait had either surrendered or fled. Though the Persian Gulf War was initially considered an unqualified success for the international coalition, simmering conflict in the troubled region led to a second Gulf War—known as the Iraq War—that began in 2003.

- **Background of the Persian Gulf War**

Though the long-running war between Iran and Iraq had ended in a United Nations-brokered ceasefire in August 1988, by mid-1990 the two states had yet to begin negotiating a permanent peace treaty. When their foreign ministers met in Geneva that July, prospects for peace suddenly seemed bright, as it appeared that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was prepared to dissolve that conflict and return territory that his forces had long occupied. Two weeks later, however, Hussein delivered a speech in which he accused neighboring nation Kuwait of siphoning crude oil from the Ar-Rumaylah oil fields located along their common border. He insisted that Kuwait and Saudi Arabia cancel out \$30 billion of Iraq’s foreign

debt, and accused them of conspiring to keep oil prices low in an effort to pander to Western oil-buying nations.

In addition to Hussein's incendiary speech, Iraq had begun amassing troops on Kuwait's border. Alarmed by these actions, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt initiated negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait in an effort to avoid intervention by the United States or other powers from outside the Gulf region. Hussein broke off the negotiations after only two hours, and on August 2, 1990 ordered the invasion of Kuwait. Hussein's assumption that his fellow Arab states would stand by in the face of his invasion of Kuwait, and not call in outside help to stop it, proved to be a miscalculation. Two-thirds of the 21 members of the Arab League condemned Iraq's act of aggression, and Saudi Arabia's King Fahd, along with Kuwait's government-in-exile, turned to the United States and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for support.

- **Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait & Allied Response**

U.S. President George H.W. Bush immediately condemned the invasion, as did the governments of Britain and the Soviet Union. On August 3, the United Nations Security Council called for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait; three days later, King Fahd met with U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney to request U.S. military assistance. On August 8, the day on which the Iraqi government formally annexed Kuwait—Hussein called it Iraq's "19th province"—the first U.S. Air Force fighter planes began arriving in Saudi Arabia as part of a military buildup dubbed Operation Desert Shield. The planes were accompanied by troops sent by NATO allies as well as Egypt and several other Arab nations, designed to guard against a possible Iraqi attack on Saudi Arabia.

In Kuwait, Iraq increased its occupation forces to some 300,000 troops. In an effort to garner support from the Muslim world, Hussein declared a jihad, or holy war, against the coalition; he also attempted to ally himself with the Palestinian cause by offering to evacuate Kuwait in return for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. When these efforts failed, Hussein concluded a hasty peace with Iran so as to bring his army up to full strength.

- **The Gulf War Begins**

On November 29, 1990, the U.N. Security Council authorized the use of “all necessary means” of force against Iraq if it did not withdraw from Kuwait by the following January 15. By January, the coalition forces prepared to face off against Iraq numbered some 750,000, including 540,000 U.S. personnel and smaller forces from Britain, France, Germany, the Soviet Union, Japan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, among other nations. Iraq, for its part, had the support of Jordan (another vulnerable neighbor), Algeria, the Sudan, Yemen, Tunisia and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

Early on the morning of January 17, 1991, a massive U.S.-led air offensive hit Iraq’s air defenses, moving swiftly on to its communications networks, weapons plants, oil refineries and more. The coalition effort, known as Operation Desert Storm, benefited from the latest military technology, including Stealth bombers, Cruise missiles, so-called “Smart” bombs with laser-guidance systems and infrared night-bombing equipment. The Iraqi air force was either destroyed early on or opted out of combat under the relentless attack, the objective of which was to win the war in the air and minimize combat on the ground as much as possible.

- **War on the Ground**

By mid-February, the coalition forces had shifted the focus of their air attacks toward Iraqi ground forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq. A massive allied ground offensive, Operation Desert Sabre, was launched on February 24, with troops heading from northeastern Saudi Arabia into Kuwait and southern Iraq. Over the next four days, coalition forces encircled and defeated the Iraqis and liberated Kuwait. At the same time, U.S. forces stormed into Iraq some 120 miles west of Kuwait, attacking Iraq’s armored reserves from the rear. The elite Iraqi Republican Guard mounted a defense south of Al-Basrah in southeastern Iraq, but most were defeated by February 27.

- **Aftermath of the Persian Gulf War**

Though the Gulf War was recognized as a decisive victory for the coalition, Kuwait and Iraq suffered enormous damage, and Saddam Hussein was not forced from power. Intended by coalition leaders to be a

“limited” war fought at minimum cost, it would have lingering effects for years to come, both in the Persian Gulf region and around the world. In the immediate aftermath of the war, Hussein’s forces brutally suppressed uprisings by Kurds in the north of Iraq and Shi’ites in the south. The United States-led coalition failed to support the uprisings, afraid that the Iraqi state would be dissolved if they succeeded. In the years that followed, U.S. and British aircraft continued to patrol skies and mandate a no-fly zone over Iraq, while Iraqi authorities made every effort to frustrate the carrying out of the peace terms, especially United Nations weapons inspections. This resulted in a brief resumption of hostilities in 1998, after which Iraq steadfastly refused to admit weapons inspectors. In addition, Iraqi force regularly exchanged fire with U.S. and British aircraft over the no-fly zone.

In 2002, the United States (now led by President George W. Bush, son of the former president) sponsored a new U.N. resolution calling for the return of weapons inspectors to Iraq; U.N. inspectors reentered Iraq that November. Amid differences between Security Council member states over how well Iraq had complied with those inspections, the United States and Britain began amassing forces on Iraq’s border. Bush (without further U.N. approval) issued an ultimatum on March 17, 2003, demanding that Saddam Hussein step down from power and leave Iraq within 48 hours, under threat of war. Hussein refused, and the second Persian Gulf War—more generally known as the Iraq War—began three days later.

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#### **14.4.ORGANISATION OF ISLAMIC COUNTRIES**

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The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is the second largest inter-governmental organisation after the United Nations, with the membership of 57 states, covering four continents. The OIC is the collective voice of the Muslim world to ensure and safeguard their interest on economic socio and political areas. The OIC has Institutions, which implement its programmes. Its Headquarters is in Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

It is an international organization with the primary objective of safeguarding the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony.

**Origin:** It was established in 1969 after attack on Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

- **Membership:** It is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations with a membership of 57 states. Of these, 47 are Muslim Majority countries. Observer countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Central African Republic; Thailand; Russia and Turkish Cypriot State.
- **Headquarters (HQ):** Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

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## 14.5. INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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The history of terrorism, however can be traced to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. When two Jewish groups the Zealots and the Sicarii were formed to launch terrorist campaigns against the Roman occupation of Judea. In 666 CE, a radical Muslim group the Kharjites carried out routine assassinations of Muslim leaders who were found to be at fault by them. The ‘Assassins’ were another Muslim terrorist group, which was active during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The ‘Hashashin’ was another such group of medieval Islam.

The Nardonaya Volya (the Peoples Will) of the nineteenth century was one of the first modern kind of terrorist groups and it targeted the Czarist officials for assassinations to arouse social revolt. The assassinations of Czar Alexander [I in 1881 and that of Archduke Franz Ferdinand iii 1914 are some of the noteworthy events of the nineteenth century where violence was used by some political groups especially by the anarchists and the nationalists to achieve their goalsm The 1920s witnessed an active right-wing terrorism among the German Nazis and the Italian Fascists to intimidate political enemies and attract public attention. However, the functioning of some groups in Eastern Europe, unlike the present terrorists, were almost like that of criminal gangs. Similarly, the contras of Nicaragua associated with the anti-communist dictatorship in Haiti, Argentina and Mozambique relied heavily on the right-wing ‘death-squads’. They were active throughout the 1980s but their functioning was more or less like the criminal gangs. But the irony is that the West working with their Cold War calculations seemed to tolerate terrorism by such gangs regarding it as a lesser menace than the threat of communism.

Therefore, President Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush (Sr.) regarded the contras and the Mujahideen guerillas of Afghanistan as 'freedom fighters' and at present the paradox is that against the backdrop of 9/11, the USA is fighting the War on T error in Afghanistan and Iraq. Personal interpretation plays a critical role in assessing modern terrorism. Terrorist to one is often a 'freedom fighter' to another. Sometimes, other terms are also euphemistically used such as separatists, liberator, revolutionary, militants, guerilla, rebel, Jihadi or fedayeen or any other terms in other languages by either the terrorists themselves or, by their supporters, or protectors or by the victim states.

It is on the basis of such personal interpretation that guerilla warfare or movements against the colonial rule became the dominant form of terrorism after the Second World War in the developing world which were dubbed as legitimized movements by the political leaders of this part of the world. A plethora of examples are available to support such argument. Irgun and Stern Gang used terrorism against the British rule in Palestine. Algerian revolutionaries systematically assassinated the French police officers during the 1950s and the anti-British 'Mau Mau' activities in Kenya during the same period are a few to add to the list. The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa too was engaged in bombings and other acts of terrorism against the system of apartheid and racial segregation policy of the Whites.

Apart from that, the 1980s witnessed the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in several Muslim countries, which became the harbinger of Islamic terrorism on a global scale affecting the safety, security and sovereignty of the nation states. In 1992, Algeria witnessed Islamic revolt when a military takeover of the independent government in Algeria had denied the Islamicists, engaged in aircraft hijackings, a parliamentary victory in Algeria. Acts of violence and counter-violence on the part of Islamicists started against the local governments in Israeli occupied territories and Egypt clearly revealed that the terrorists' target was the Western-style secular governments in this part of the world. This reflected their unacceptability and intolerance towards the Western model of democracy. Facing the challenges of globalization and spread of liberal

democratic ideals, this intolerance grew more virulent and got its ultimate expression on 11 September 2001 when two planes crashed into the WTC Twin Towers-the symbol of US pride and prudence-another crashed into the Pentagon and the other missed the White House by sheer luck. This was followed by an all out 'War on Terror' on the part of the United States and its allies in Afghanistan and Iraq. But this has back lashed in the form of a series of terrorist attacks since then on the United States and its allies, globally. Thus terrorism has transcended from the local character and has assumed perilous proportions and transnational character at an alarming pace.

War on terrorism, term used to describe the American-led global counterterrorism campaign launched in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

In its scope, expenditure, and impact on international relations, the war on terrorism was comparable to the Cold War; it was intended to represent a new phase in global political relations and has had important consequences for security, human rights, international law, cooperation, and governance.

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## **14.6. WAR ON TERRORISM**

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The war on terrorism was a multidimensional campaign of almost limitless scope. Its military dimension involved major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, covert operations in Yemen and elsewhere, large-scale military-assistance programs for cooperative regimes, and major increases in military spending. Its intelligence dimension comprised institutional reorganization and considerable increases in the funding of America's intelligence-gathering capabilities, a global program of capturing terrorist suspects and interning them at Guantánamo Bay, expanded cooperation with foreign intelligence agencies, and the tracking and interception of terrorist financing. Its diplomatic dimension included continuing efforts to construct and maintain a global coalition of partner states and organizations and an extensive public diplomacy campaign to counter anti-Americanism in the Middle East. The domestic dimension of the U.S. war on terrorism entailed new antiterrorism legislation, such as the USA PATRIOT Act;



new security institutions, such as the Department of Homeland Security; the preventive detainment of thousands of suspects; surveillance and intelligence-gathering programs by the National Security Agency (NSA), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and local authorities; the strengthening of emergency-response procedures; and increased security measures for airports, borders, and public events.

**Check Your Progress**

4. Where did the headquarters of OIC situated?
5. Expand ANC|?

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## **14.7.ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS**

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1. September 22, 1980 Fidel Castro
2. North Atlantic Treaty Organization
3. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation
4. Jeddah, Saudi Arabia
5. The African National Congress

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## **14.8.SUMMARY**

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- ✓ Iran-Iraq War, (1980–88), prolonged military conflict between Iran and Iraq during the 1980s.
- ✓ The oil-exporting capacity of both nations was severely reduced at various times owing to air strikes and to pipeline shutoffs, and the consequent reduction in their income and foreign-currency earnings brought the countries' economic-development programs to a near standstill
- ✓ The history of terrorism, however can be traced to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. When two Jewish groups the Zealots and the Sicarii were formed to launch terrorist campaigns against the Roman occupation of Judea.
- ✓ The war on terrorism was a multidimensional campaign of almost limitless scope. Its military dimension involved major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, covert operations in Yemen and elsewhere, large-scale military-assistance programs for cooperative regimes, and major increases in military spending.

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## 14.9.KEY WORDS

**OIC** - The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation is an international organization founded in 1969, consisting of 57 member states, with a collective population of over 1.8 billion as of 2015 with 53 countries being Muslim-majority countries

**Gulf War** - The **Gulf War** (2 August 1990 – 28 February 1991), codenamed **Operation Desert Shield** (2 August 1990 – 17 January 1991) for operations leading to the buildup of troops and defense of Saudi Arabia and **Operation Desert Storm** (17 January 1991 – 28 February 1991) in its combat phase, was a war waged by coalition forces from 35 nations led by the United States against Iraq in response to Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait arising from oil pricing and production disputes. The war is also known under other names, such as the Persian Gulf War, First Gulf War, Gulf War I, Kuwait War, First Iraq War or Iraq War

**International terrorism** - In November 2004, a Secretary-General of the United Nations 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"

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## 14.10.SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note about Iran – Iraq conflict?
2. Explain about the Gulf wars?
3. Write a short note about international Terrorism?

### Long Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the various phases of Gulf war?
2. Evaluate the impact of International Terrorism to International Relations?

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## 14.11. SUGGESTED READINGS

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Benja Man. (1981). *International Terrorism: Challenge and Response Transaction.*

L. Ali Khan. (2006). *A theory of International Terrorism.* Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Ben Saul.(2014). *Research Handbook on International Law and Terrorism.* Edward Elgar Publishing.

Jussi M. Hanhimäki. (2013). *An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences.* Routledge.