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THE INTERNATIONAL SETTING

Unit Structure:

1.1   COLD WAR

1.1.1   Introduction

Immediately after emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as super powers at the end of the Second World War, the world witnessed a different type of struggle for the position of hegemony between them. Great Britain was lost its stages super power, Germany was partitioned and Japan was the first casualty of Atomic weapons; Therefore, all of them were not capable enough to stamp their authority and compete with the United States and the Soviet Union for global supremacy. These developments left the United States and the Soviet Union, with monopoly of surplus power to take charge of shaping a new world order in the post Second World War period. But due to ideological differences and ambitions to dominate the world through their respective ideologies, the relations between the two became strained and soon took the shape of a long and tensed Cold War. This further resulted in the polarization of the world into two rival blocks, formation of number of new military alliances and counter alliances such as NATO and Warsaw Pact etc. Adherence to rival ideologies and harbouring of ambition to overpower each other soon created an atmosphere of mistrust between the two rival blocks and it added undesirable fuel to the fire by triggering off a mad race for Armaments between two super powers in particular and their block allies in general. Ultimately the Cold War was ended with the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991.

1.1.2   Meaning:

The lexical meaning of the term Cold War describes it as a state of political hostility between countries characterized by threats, propaganda, and other measures of open Warfare, in particular. The term was coined in 1947 by the US presidential adviser Bernard Baruch to describe the post -World II relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. The state of hostility that existed between the Soviet bloc countries and the Western powers from 1945 got intensified after 1949, when the Soviets developed atomic weaponry and a massive build-up of nuclear arms began. But the term was already used by an American philosopher and political theorist James Burnham in *The Managerial Revolution* (1941) and English writer George Orwell in his essay "You and the Atomic Bomb" published in the British newspaper *Tribune* in 1945. But the credit of coining the word goes

to Bernard Baruch as he described the situation between the United States and the Soviet Union and Warned the nation: "Let us not be deceived-we are today in the midst of a cold War. Our enemies are to be found abroad and at home. Let us never forget this: Our unrest is the heart of their success. The peace of the world is the hope and the goal of our political system; it is the despair and defeat of those who stand against us. We can depend only on ourselves." Subsequently the newspaper columnist Walter Lipmann popularised the concept of Cold War by turning it into an integrated part of the political language.

Thus, Cold War is nothing but a War without fighting or bloodshed, but a battle nonetheless. It refers to a stressed relationship between the East and the West, though War like but not escalated to actual hot War. It also indicates intense competition in political and economic fronts with the clash of conflicting ideologies of two super powers and their military blocs. Calvoscoressi has rightly remarked that Cold War was not an episode like other Wars, which had beginnings and ends, winners and losers. It signified a state of political affairs in the polarised world.

1.1.3 Origin of Cold War:

Although historians do not fully agree on the exact date of the beginning of the Cold War but an acceptable common time frame is the period between the 1947, the year Truman Doctrine was announced and the 1991, the year Soviet Union was collapsed. But, some scholars trace origin of Cold War as far back as the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Frederick L. Schuman in his book *The Cold War: Retrospect and Prospect* (1961) also was of the opinion that "At all events, what we have seen the cold War did not begin in 1945, in the aftermath of World War II. In a broader sense it began with the Menshevik Russian Revolution of 1917, within ten months after Russia's October Revolution. Soviet Union and the West were at War. The legacy of mutual fear and suspicion and hatred which nurtured the Cold War of the 1940s and 1950s originated in the hot War between East and West in 1918-1921."

The Cold War in Soviet block was officially considered as unilateral provocation by Capitalism and Imperialism of the Soviet Union and Socialist countries. Therefore, Soviet version attributes the origin of Cold War in Churchill's speech of 5 March 1946, wherein, he said: "If the western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of United Nations Charter, there influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely dominate them. If, however, they become divided or frail in their duty and if these important years are allowed to sleep away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm all of us". Paul Seabury in

his book *The Rise and Decline of Cold War* (1967) comments that to "date its origin is to suggest its central meaning". The majority of political scientists therefore treat the emergence of Cold War as a post Second World War phenomenon.

1.1. 4 Roots / Basis of Cold War:

Some political scientists conclude that Cold War is a product of mutual antagonism developed in post-World War II, between two super powers in particular and among their allies in general. They argue that the deficit of trust and consequent fears were the basis of this tension. The mutual fear and suspicion produced out of it resulted in hostile interaction between two super powers and their groups and both the sides were not willing to make any move to reduce tension. The fear and mistrust in Capitalist world was kept alive by the ultimate motive of Soviet Expansion and in Communist world by the fear of intentions of Imperialist to destroy communist regimes.

Cold War was rooted in incompatibilities of two competing ideologies. Differences between communism and capitalism were too much to work toward a long program of cooperation by the super powers. Capitalist were sceptical about intentions of Communists since they were trying to convert the entire world in to communist world. Capitalist were sacred of growing influence of communism because they viewed it as authoritarian, anti-democratic and therefore a threat to freedom and liberty throughout the world. President Eisenhower responded to this threat by saying that "we face a hostile ideology global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method". The ideological clash was turned out to be bitter since both sides recognised no virtue in conciliation or any cooperation with each other.

Some political analysts also trace the roots of Cold War in the mutual misunderstanding. According to them both the conflicting sides saw in their own program only no wrong and advantages and in the program of opponent only loathing. This gave rise to distrust and hatred towards each other.

The Soviet suspicion of United States was mainly due to America's refusal to establish diplomatic relations till 1933; refusal to inform about Manhattan project to develop atomic bomb,; failure to open up second front which made Stalin conclude that American policy was to let Russians and German destroy each other. Likewise USA nourished hostility towards Soviet Union based on increasing indications of growing Soviet antagonism. This feeling got consolidated due to Soviet unwillingness to permit democratic elections in countries liberated from the Nazis, their refusal to

participate in post War reconstruction in regions outside Soviet domination, maintenance of large Armed Forces after War and above all Soviet active participation in anti -American campaign. Whatever may be offered to explain the origin of Cold War, it can be said that the Cold War broke out because of ideological confrontations, post Second World War II complications and irreconcilability of vital interest of both super powers.

1.1. 5 Phases of Cold War:

The Cold War did not happen overnight. It passed through several phases which stimulated fear of communism, anxiety over nuclear devastation, and a growing alienation from and distrust of the government.

i) First Phase (1946-1949):
In an atmosphere of deficit of trust Western Block under the leadership of the United States of America had cultivated the idea that if collective pressure is exerted on Soviet Union, the communist regime would collapse like house of cards. With monopoly of atom bomb, the United States of America resorted to direct military intervention during this phase through Truman Doctrine of 1947. Economic integration of west European powers too was planned through Marshall Plan in the same year. This phase witnessed America practising the policy of intervention and defender of status quo. Anti Communist feeling which the USA attempted to propagate is a major feature of the first phase of Cold War. Soviet responded to America's policy of intervention and campaign with caution and suspicion. During this phase, German issue also immensely resulted in emergence of tension between the two blocks. Refusal of USA to give recognition to the Communist government of China and support extended to the Formosa government also added to the tension between two superpowers in particular and two rival blocks in general. To a large extent Cold War policies were devoted to maintaining a balance between the two powers, by containment of the other's sphere of influence and by offering support for resistance to the other's regime.

ii) Second Phase (1949-1953):
The second phase of Cold War witnessed the continuation of US policy of military and economic assistance to the European nations against Soviet Union. Tension between two super powers increased with United States signing security treaty with Australia and New Zealand and peace treaty with Japan in 1951. The Korean War that broke out during this period also aggravated already existing confrontation between USA and Soviet Union. The joint commission of America and Soviet Union established to resolve the Korean War issue could not succeed and the confrontation

continued. As a result American and Russian troops remained stationed on both sides of Korea. America launched intensified propaganda against communism by spending millions of dollars on it with an intention of limiting the growing influence of Communism in non-communist world. In this phase, Soviet Union also successfully developed Atom Bomb and broke the monopoly of US by entering in to nuclear race. During this phase although confrontation continued but world also witnessed few moments of cooperation between two rival blocks such as lifting of Berlin blockade etc.

iii)   Third Phase (1953-1957):

During the third phase of 1953 to 1957 America continued its policy of military and economic confrontation against the Soviet bloc. America established two new defence links with NATO by signing South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and the Middle East Defence Organisation (MEDO). America also attempted to expand its area of influence in the Middle East by extending the Truman Doctrine to the region. In all USA signed treaties with 43 countries and established number of military bases around the territory of Soviet Union and Socialist Countries. The tension between two super powers reached to climax with the entanglement of US in Vietnam War. To counter the growing influence of US through NATO, Soviet Union too concluded Warsaw Treaty with East European Socialist countries. It also concluded defence treaty with 12 states and also foiled American counter revolution attempt in Hungary. This phase also witnessed division of Germany into two- German Democratic Republic in Soviet bloc and Federal Republic of Germany into US bloc. Although both super powers successfully exploded Hydrogen bomb and were possibly prepared for an outbreak of War they acted with increasing caution and restraint. This initiated the much needed spirit of negotiations between them and also paved way for the first step towards defusing of tension *"Detente"* in the form of summit meeting at Geneva in 1955 in which both super powers had discussion on global issues.

iv)   Fourth Phase (1957-1962):

The fourth phase of Cold War was characterised by two opposite and extreme developments. On the one side attempts to work on peaceful coexistence were continued but on the other end the world witnessed the most dangerous historical event of Cuban Missile crisis (1962) that practically brought the entire world on the brink of possibility of nuclear War. In 1959 the communist revolution in Cuba resulted in Fidel Castro gaining power, supported by the Soviet Union led by President Khrushchev. Perceiving a communist Cuba as a threat, President Kennedy supported an invasion of the island by exiles in April 1961. The offensive, known as the 'Bay of Pigs', failed miserably. However, the world was saved from the

destruction of nuclear War following an agreement between Khrushchev and Kennedy by which USSR agreed to withdraw missile base in exchange for American guarantee for not invading Cuba. Although this phase was started with the indication of cooperative attitude displayed by both super powers but their friendly spirit was spoiled by the U-2 incident. The tension caused by U-2 incident got somewhat subsided by the General Summit of 1960 and the meeting between Khrushchev and Kennedy in 1961. Berlin crisis of 1961, terminating American access to Berlin and erecting Berlin wall by USSR, gave a major setback to the efforts of normalising relations between two super powers in the Europe. The crisis gave fresh urgency to fears of nuclear destruction.

v)   Fifth Phase (1962-1969):

In this phase, understanding of futility of nuclear weapons and worldwide awareness demanding ban on nuclear weapons dominated developments in international relations. The Partial Test Ban Treaty and Geneva Hot-line agreement of 1963to some extent brought back confidence and trust in the relationship of both super powers. Although unresolved Germany and Vietnam issues did not allow the tension to settle down completely, the need for peaceful coexistence once again brought forward demand of disarmament. To advocate the policy of coexistence Khrushchev met President Eisenhower and also proposed complete time bound disarmament before General Assembly of UN. The signing of partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1967 was considered as a mile stone in defusing the tension of Cold War, since provisions of the treaty proposed limited ban on the all nuclear tests in the atmosphere including territorial waters and High Seas. The Non-proliferation Treaty of 1968 proposed that Nuclear Capable countries were not to transfer their Nuclear weapons or control over them to ant Non- nuclear power or to provide knowledge in producing these weapons.

vi)   Sixth Phase- Detente (1969-1978):

The sixth phase of Cold War is mainly characterised by the activities that contributed towards easing of tension generated due to mutual distrust and antagonism shown by the super powers towards each other. In this phase, relationship between two super powers started becoming normal and bilateral visits, cultural exchanges, trade agreements, technology ventures gradually started replacing threats, Warning and clashes. This manifested change occurred mainly because of realization of futility of suicidal nuclear War and inevitability of mutual cooperation for coexistence. Ever increasing cost of continued Armament race also played its role towards the detente initiative. Foundation for introduction of detente was laid down by Khrushchev, when he pleaded for peaceful co-existence.

War like tension in Europe started receding mainly because of signing of Soviet Union treaty with Germany where in USSR agreed not to use force against her. Britain, USSR, USA and France soon joined in for reduction of tension by signing an agreement over Berlin. In 1972 both sides of Germany concluded treaty and promised to work for cooperation in different spheres. North and South Korea also contributed to the peace in the region by concluding agreement for peace and cooperation. Visit of Brezhnev in 1973 to US witnessed signing of four important agreements covering wide range of fields ranging from agriculture to cultural exchange and from transportation to Science and Technology. Both the powers also consented to work towards avoidance of nuclear War between themselves and also with others states. Long lasting peace in Europe was termed as policy priority. Commitment for cooperation and coexistence was also experienced between both powers at summit conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki in July, 1975. Participation of super powers in joint Apollo-Soyuz space mission materialised in the same year also strengthened the process of detente.

Sino-Soviet rift and US-China patch up added a new dimension to Cold War. Secretary of State of USA, Henry Kissinger's secret visit to China in 1971 followed by Shanghai Communiqué brought Cold War between China and USA virtually came to an end with the establishment of diplomatic relations by the way of exchange of ambassadors.

The Detente did not result in resolution of all conflicting areas witnessed during Cold War period. Unresolved issue continued to force the two super powers to pursue the policy of containment of opponent. USA continued to support armed built up in Iran to retain its influence in Middle East, converted Diego Garcia in to military base to arrest soviet presence in the Indian ocean area. In response to US design of containment of opponent, Soviet Union submitted a proposal for Asian collective security. During Bangladesh Crisis of 1971 and the Egypt- Israel War of 1973 also, the two-super power extended support to the rival side.

vii)   Seventh Phase (1979- onwards):
 After the laps of the treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms signed in 1972, a new Strategic Arms Limitation treaty, popularly known as SALT II was signed in Vienna in 1979 by the super powers. It envisaged the determination of both the super powers in limiting the expansion of nuclear weapons with a goal in mind for general and complete disarmament. The prospects of ending the hostility of Cold War, was spoiled by Russian armed intervention in Afghanistan that aggravated the situation of uncertainty. The Russian intervention in Afghan crisis added a new

dimension to the process of detente and reactivated the forces of Cold War in the region.

The Cold War had far reaching implications in the international affairs. In the first place, it gave rise to fear psychosis that finally culminated in to mad race for manufacturing and acquisition of Weapons of Mass destructions. Cold War tension resulted in formation of various military alliances during peace times. Both the blocks formed alliances and counter alliances to contain the growing power of adversary. NATO, SEATO, CENTO, Warsaw pact are some of the prominent alliances formed during cold War period and added to the tension. Cold War immensely damaged the efforts toward attaining the ideal of one world. On account of mutual distrust both super powers often opposed each other at UN and thereby making smooth functioning of UN almost impossible. It rendered UN ineffective by discriminatory use of veto powers to oppose each other. Mad race of armament that triggered off due to cold War tension resulted in diversion of enormous resources to acquisition of sophisticated weapons by completely neglecting the demand of people for development.

1.2   DETENTE

1.2 1   Meaning: The period following the Cuban Missile crisis was a period of restraint and both the super powers took interest and initiated course of actions for easing of tension between them. This period is considered in the history of Cold War as Detente. Cuban missile crisis was an eye-opener for both the blocs and made them realised that with the growing parity of American and Soviet military capabilities, co-existence or non-existence is left as only alternative. Therefore, working toward easing of tension between two rival blocs became immediate necessity. President Jimmy Carter defined detente as the easing of tension between two nations and the evolution of new means by which two nations could live together in peace. Soviet looked at Detente as a peaceful co-existence between different political and social systems, as a need to prevent nuclear War and resolves dispute by peaceful means and mutually advantageous cooperation.   Although long lasting peace could not be established immediately but Detente did signal a departure from the posture of confrontation that previously characterised Soviet- American relations.

1.2. 2 Causes of Detente: Although attempts were made to ease out the growing tension before Cuban Missile crisis, but the spirit of cooperation could not be carried forward due to many unpleasant international developments such as suppression of Hungarian Revolution, Suez Crisis and German problem in which both blocs stood opposite to each other. But given the intensity of Cuban Missile crisis which almost had turned Cold War in to actual Hot

War, the two rival blocs were forced to rethink on their policies towards each other.

Some of the main compelling factors led to detente are:

Parity in the strategic capability of both the superpowers: US Air Command, Nuclear Submarines, Bombers and Missiles successfully deterred the ambitions of Red Army of Soviet Union. But as soon as this strategic surplus power of US was challenged by Soviet and established parity in the power, the fear of thermonuclear War forced both sides to build a determination to avoid any armed confrontation in future.

American Scenario of compulsions: Growing domestic public opinion against America's role as global policeman compelled America to initiate efforts towards Detente. For America detente was necessary to protect the US interest against Soviet Union's ambitions. The Vietnam fiasco had placed the US in a difficult condition at home. US military intervention, massive civil casualty caused raised criticisms from many quarters, including the American themselves. Therefore, American wanted to end the Vietnam War in an honourable way and thought that Soviet help was necessary as they were also actively involved in the War. Disintegration from Vietnam became the prime motivation for Nixon and Kissinger to work for Detente.

Russian Compulsions: After the death of Stalin in 1953 change in the policy of Soviet Union became evident especially during Khrushchev and Brezhnev Era as they adhered the policy of peaceful coexistence. Besides this, economic compulsion arising out of rising unemployment, shortage of wage-goods too forced Soviet to rethink on the issue of continuation in the Cold War tension. Demand for rising standard of living created pressure for reduction in massive scale of Arms expenditure and gradual withdrawal from all tension areas.

Rising power of China: Emergence of China as a major power on global politics forced both super powers to redesign their relations towards Sino- American rapprochement. Rise of China was seen as replacement to the established Communist influence of Soviet Union as it became the alternative source of assistance to the process of decolonisation in South East Asia and even in liberation of some east European countries like Albania and Romania. After China's first Atom bomb testing in 1964, Sino-Soviet rift became globally visible. The Bipolar world gradually started transforming in to Tri-polar. Sino –Soviet rift gave much needed opportunity to US to play its China card. US recognised Chinese government, initiated sports / ping pong diplomacy by sending its Table Tennis team to

china, Kissinger's secret visit followed by official visit of Nixon bring out US intention of using China against Soviet Union more clearly.

1.2.3 Implications of Détente: Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger initiated the process of easing of tension by advocating the strategy of linkages involving mutually acceptable relations in trade and commerce and thereby limiting the chances of conflicts and War. This strategy produced result as relations between two rival blocs started getting tense free. Détente period was characterised by initiation of several peace-making efforts such as exchange of visits by statesmen, cultural exchanges, trade agreements, exploring joint technological ventures, conscious steps towards disarmament in place of threat, Warning and confrontation. Détente witnessed several peace-making endeavours such as establishment of direct line of communication "Hot Line" between White house and Kremlin immediately after Cuban Missile Crisis, Signing of Partial Test Ban Treaty, Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Sea Bed Pact and Biological Warfare Treaty, Nixon visit to Moscow for concluding of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty I and Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II. Brezhnev reciprocated US initiative by paying visit to Washington in 1975 followed by Ford visit to Russia etc. Helsinki Conference in which certain principles were formulated for governing relationship between countries of two blocs also contributed to easing of tension. In space cooperation, too, Détente resulted in Apollo- Soyuz joint mission between US and Soviet Union. It also paved way for re-establishing and improving the US relationship with China.

1.2.4 End of Détente: Despite well-established understanding of the importance of coexistence and cooperation the spirit of Détente did not last long and several unpleasant developments erupted to take the world once again towards period of uncertainties and clashes. Some of the prominent events that defused the spirit of Détente are Brezhnev Doctrine as a Soviet response of justifying Soviet intervention to Prague Spring experienced in Czechoslovakia, the Indo-Pak War of 1965, War of liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, Israel- Arab War once again brought both rival blocks opposite to each other. Although all clashes are resolved with Armed conflict and dialogue but the spirit of Détente received a serious setback. The final blow to Détente came with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979; it also marked the beginning of New Cold War.

1.2.5 Emergence of New Cold War: Soviet invasion in Afghanistan was considered by US as most serious threat to world peace and has triggered the beginning of new Cold War. US responded to this threat by announcing Carter Doctrine which was intended to protect US interest in Persian Gulf by using military force if needed. After overthrowing Shah of Iran US made efforts to

secure bases in Kenya, Somalia and Oman in order to protect American interest in the regions of Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. To create pressure on Soviet Union America also tried to organise a worldwide boycott of Moscow Olympics and also suspended supply of grain to Russia. Denial of sanction to SALT II by American Senate also aggravated the tension between two super powers. Soviet's were sceptical about US involvement in Nicaragua, Grenada and Al Salvador. US on the other hand publicly expressed its displeasure on the Soviet activities in Angola and in Middle East region. The Confrontational Rhetoric between two super powers finally resulted in Brezhnev announcement to the development that "Soviet Union declares Detente with the USA as dead".

After Ronald Regan taking over office of the President of the US, continuation of confrontation was very much evident from his comments on the Russia when he declared that Russia "underlies all the unrest that is going on" and referred it as " Focus of evil in the modern world". In a period of uncertainties armament race resumed and disarmament talks became things of past. In response to US calling Russia as Evil Empire, Russia boycotted 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. In this provocative scenario, US proclaimed its Regan Doctrine and pledged to support anti-communist insurgents to overthrow Soviet supported communist governments in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua.

To add fuel to already burning situation President Reagan decided to take the War to the space. His Strategic Defence Initiative popularly known as Star War affected Super powers relations gravely. Though situation turned alarming like Cuban Missile Crisis but it did not escalated in to War due to new ideas introduced by President Mikhail Gorbachev in the area of foreign relations and domestic reforms. This paved way for new beginning of East West relations and gradually easing of tension between two super powers. This introduction of New Detente and disintegration of Soviet Russia ultimately put an end to Cold War.

Gorbachev taking over as a President of Soviet Union paved way for renewed East-West relations with conclusion of agreements on prevention of nuclear and conventional Wars. The summits in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow and the Malta marked the beginning of new era of cooperation between both Super Powers. Number of summits between Gorbachev and new American President Mr. George Bush (Sr.) also witnessed several agreements on arms control, trade and even on the crucial issue of German reunification and Gulf crisis. Most awaited breakthrough in US- Soviet relationship came in the Moscow summit of 1991 when Strategic Arms Reduction treaty (START) was signed for sizable reduction in the arsenal on both side. The Conventional forces in Europe Treaty resulted in withdrawal of Soviet presence in Europe.

Soviet Union also decided to withdraw its influence from Cuba, Afghanistan and Eastern Europe. All these initiatives indicated beginning of the end of Cold War.

Gorbachev's introduction of new ideas of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (political and economic restructuring) released such forces that finally resulted in disintegration of Soviet Union. Structural weakness in the economy, rigid planning process, inability to modernise, economic stagnation all contributed to the eruption of divisive forces in Russia. Glasnost and Perestroika both heavily undermined the role of Communist party and weakened control over media that finally resulted in public opinion and political control going out of control of Gorbachev. This was combined with demand for independence and secession from Soviet Union. Soviet Withdrawal with policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of East European allies gave momentum to political change in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Bulgaria and Romania also witnessed collapse of Communist regimes during same period. The climax was reached with the collapse of Berlin War. Finally, in December 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) got disintegrated. Thus the Cold War ended abruptly in 1991 after a series of internal reforms led to the break-up of the Soviet Union.

1.3. EAST EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1989: FALL OF COMMUNISM

1.3.1 Introduction: East European revolutions of 1989 basically refers to the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the end of the Cold War between two power blocs and the removal of the Iron Curtain between East and West Europe. Mainly, it was the discarding of Communism by all of the Eastern European states that were in the Soviet sphere of influence after World War II.

The seeds of the revolution were present in the East Europe from the very beginning, and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia in 1968 were pre-cursors to the Revolutions of 1989, which were the final cataclysm that ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union itself just two years later.

The revolution began in Poland with the creation of solidarity, the worker's movement that challenged the Communist government for authority. This was the first movement in the Eastern communist bloc that had not been brutally concealed. This exposed and de-legitimized the Communist rulers claim as representatives of the people's will. The climax of the situation arrived with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in East Germany. With the exception of Romania, the revolutions were largely peaceful as the communist governments offered only symbolic resistant to the agitations of the people for democratic reforms.

1.3.2 The arrival of "new thinking"

Although several Eastern bloc countries had attempted some abortive, limited economic and political reform since the 1950s, the advent of reform-minded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 signaled the trend toward greater liberalization. During the mid 1980s, a younger generation of Soviet apparatchiks, led by Gorbachev, began advocating fundamental reform in order to reverse years of Brezhnev era stagnation. The Soviet Union was facing a period of severe economic decline and needed Western technology and credits to make up to carry out the reforms. The costs of maintaining its so-called "empire"—the military, KGB, subsidies to foreign client states—further strained the moribund Soviet economy.

The first indication of major reform was witnessed in 1986 when President Gorbachev launched a policy of *glasnost* in the Soviet Union, and emphasized the need for *perestroika*. By the spring of 1989, the Soviet Union had not only experienced lively media debate, but had also held its first multi-candidate elections in the newly established Congress of People's Deputies. Though *glasnost* advocated openness and political criticism, at the time, it was only permitted in accordance with the political views of the Communists. The general public in the Eastern bloc were still threatened by secret police and political repression.

1.3.3 From East to West

Moscow's largest obstacle to improved political and economic relations with the Western powers remained the Iron Curtain of East European Communist Rule that existed between East and West. Having realized that Moscow could attract the Western economic support needed to finance the country's restructuring, Gorbachev urged his Eastern European counterparts to imitate *perestroika* and *glasnost* in their own countries. However, while reformists in Hungary and Poland got strengthened by the force of liberalization spreading from East to West, other Eastern bloc countries remained openly sceptical and demonstrated resistance to reform. Past experiences had demonstrated that although reform in the Soviet Union was manageable, the pressure for change in Eastern Europe had the potential to become uncontrollable. Believing Gorbachev's reform initiatives would be short-lived, orthodox Communist rulers like East Germany's Erich Honecker, Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov, Czechoslovakia's Gustáv Husák, and Romania's Nicolae Ceauescu openly decided to ignore the calls for change.

1.3.4 Reform in Poland and Hungary

By 1989, the Soviet Union had called off the Brezhnev Doctrine in favour of non-intervention in the internal affairs of its Warsaw Pact allies. Poland, followed by Hungary, became the

first Warsaw Pact member country to break free of Soviet domination. Labour turmoil in Poland during 1980 led to the formation of the independent trade union, Solidarity, led by Lech Wałęsa, which gradually became a political force. On December 13, 1981, Communist leader Wojciech Jaruzelski instituted a crackdown on Solidarity, declaring martial law in Poland, suspending the union, and temporarily imprisoning most of its leaders. However, by the late 1980s, Solidarity became sufficiently strong enough to frustrate Jaruzelski's attempts at reform, and nationwide strikes in 1988 forced the government to open a dialogue with Solidarity. In April 1989, Solidarity was again legalized and allowed to participate in parliamentary elections. The victory of Solidarity surpassed all predictions. Solidarity candidates captured all the seats they were allowed to compete for in the Lower House, while in the Senate they captured 99 out of the 100 available seats. At the same time, many prominent Communist candidates failed to gain even the minimum number of votes required to capture the seats that were reserved for them. A new non-Communist government, the first of its kind in Eastern Europe, was sworn into office in September 1989.

Following Poland's success story, Hungary was next to overthrow the communism in governance. Although Hungary had achieved some lasting economic reforms and limited political liberalization during the 1980s, major reforms only occurred following the replacement of János Kádár as General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1988. That same year, the Parliament adopted a "democracy package," which included trade union pluralism; freedom of association, assembly, and the press; a new electoral law; and a radical revision of the constitution, among others.

In October 1989, the Communist Party convened its last congress and re-established itself as the Hungarian Socialist Party, which still exists today. In a historic session from October 16 to October 20, the parliament adopted legislation providing for multi-party parliamentary elections and a direct presidential election. The legislation transformed Hungary from a People's Republic into the Republic of Hungary, guaranteed human and civil rights, and created an institutional structure that ensured separation of powers among the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of government.

On 6 October and 7 October, Gorbachev visited East Germany to mark the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, and urged the East German leadership to accept reform. A famous quote of him was "He who is too late is punished by life." However, the Erich Honecker remained rigid to any internal reform. Faced with ongoing civil unrest, the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) deposed Honecker and replaced him with Egon Krenz.

The Kremlin's willingness to abandon East Germany after fall of Berlin Wall marked a dramatic shift by the Soviet superpower and a fundamental paradigm change in international relations, which until 1989 had been dominated by the East-West divide running through Berlin itself.

1.3.5 The Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia

The "Velvet Revolution" was a non-violent revolution in Czechoslovakia that saw the overthrow of the Communist government. On November 17, 1989 (Friday), riot police suppressed a peaceful student demonstration in Prague. With the collapse of other Communist governments, and increasing street protests, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia announced on November 28 that it would relinquish power and dismantle the single-party political system. On December 10, President Gustáv Husák appointed the first largely non-Communist government in Czechoslovakia since 1948, and resigned. Alexander Dubček was elected speaker of the federal parliament on December 28 and Václav Havel the President of Czechoslovakia on December 29, 1989. Dubček and Havel were two of the most trusted men in Czechoslavakia; the former had been the leader of the period of liberalization known as the Prague Spring which had led to the Soviet invasion in 1968 while the latter, a prominent playwright had been the leader of the Czech civil rights organization, Charter 77.
In December and the following months, the Communist Party lost much of its membership (especially those who joined it only as a vehicle for promoting their business, academic, or political career). The federal parliament introduced key laws for promoting civil rights, civil liberties, and economic freedom. The first free elections were scheduled for June 1990. One of the consequences of the revolution was the Dissolution of Czechoslovakia). After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War I the country had been formed under the leadership of Thomas Masaryk. While initially to exist as two equal entities within the state structure, the Czech part soon came to dominate–a fact that Nazi Germany exploited during World War II. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, Czech pre-eminence was reasserted during the era of Soviet domination. After the Velvet Revolution, the country divided into two states on January 1, 1993.

1.3.6 Upheaval in Bulgaria

On November 10, 1989—the day after the Berlin Wall was breached—Bulgaria's long-serving leader Todor Zhivkov was ousted by his Politburo. Moscow apparently approved the leadership change, despite Zhivkov's reputation as a slavish Soviet ally. Yet, Zhivkov's departure was not enough to satisfy the growing pro-democracy movement. By the time the impact of Mikhail Gorbachev's reform program in the Soviet Union was felt in Bulgaria in the late 1980s, the Communists, like their leader, had

grown too feeble to resist the demand for change for long. In November 1989 demonstrations on ecological issues were staged in Capital Sofia, and these soon broadened into a general campaign for political reform. The Communists reacted by deposing the decrepit Zhukov and replacing him with Petar Mladenov, but this gained them only a short respite. In February 1990 the Party voluntarily gave up its claim on power and in June 1990 the first free elections since 1931 were held, won by the moderate wing of the Communist Party, renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Although Zhukov eventually faced trial in 1991, he escaped the violent fate of his northern comrade, Romanian President Nicolai Ceausescu.

1.3.7 The Romanian Revolution

Unlike other Eastern European countries, Romania had never undergone even limited de-Stalinization. In November 1989, Ceausescu, then aged 71, was re-elected for another five years as leader of the Romanian Communist Party, signalling that he intended to ride out the anti-Communist uprisings sweeping the rest of Eastern Europe.

Returning from Iran, Ceausescu ordered a mass rally in his support outside Communist Party headquarters in Bucharest. However, to his shock, the crowd booed as he spoke. At first the security forces obeyed Ceausescu's orders to shoot protesters, but on the morning of December 22, the Romanian military suddenly changed sides. Army tanks began moving towards the Central Committee building with crowds swarming alongside them. The rioters forced open the doors of the Central Committee building in an attempt to get Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, in their grip, but they managed to escape via a helicopter waiting for them on the roof of the building.

Although elation followed the flight of the Ceausescu, uncertainty surrounded their fate. On Christmas Day, Romanian television showed the Ceausescu facing a hasty trial, and then suffering summary execution. An interim National Salvation Front Council took over and announced elections for April 1990. The first elections were actually held on May 20, 1990.

1.3.8 Aftermath of the upheavals

Sometimes called the "Autumn of Nations" was a revolutionary wave that swept across Central and Eastern Europe in the autumn of 1989, ending in the overthrow of communist states within the space of a few months.

The political upheaval began in Poland, continued in Hungary, and then led to a surge of mostly peaceful revolutions in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Romania was the

only Eastern-bloc country to overthrow its communist regime violently and execute its head of state.

By the end of 1989, revolts had spread from one capital to another, ousting the regimes imposed on Eastern Europe after World War II. Even the isolationist Stalinist regime in Albania was unable to stem the tide. The Revolutions of 1989 greatly altered the balance of power in the world and marked (together with the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union) the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the Post-Cold War era. Gorbachev's abrogation of the Brezhnev Doctrine was perhaps the key factor that enabled the popular uprisings to succeed. Once it became evident that the feared Red Army would not intervene to crush dissent, the Eastern European regimes were exposed as vulnerable in the face of popular uprisings against the one-party political system and power of secret police.

1.4. END OF THE COLD WAR

On December 3, 1989, the leaders of the two world superpowers declared an end to the Cold War at a summit in Malta. In July 1990, the final obstacle to German reunification was removed when West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl convinced Gorbachev to drop Soviet objections to a reunited Germany within NATO in return for substantial German economic aid to the Soviet Union.

On July 1, 1991, the Warsaw Pact was officially dissolved at a meeting in Prague. At a summit later that same month, Gorbachev and U.S. President George H.W. Bush declared a US–Soviet strategic partnership, decisively marking the end of the Cold War. President Bush declared that US–Soviet cooperation during the 1990–1991 Gulf War had laid the groundwork for a partnership in resolving bilateral and world problems.

Collapse of the Soviet Union

As the Soviet Union rapidly withdrew its forces from Eastern Europe, the spill over from the 1989 upheavals began reverberating throughout the Soviet Union itself. Agitation for self-determination led to first Lithuania, and then Estonia, Latvia declaring independence. Disaffection in other Soviet republics, such as Georgia and Azerbaijan, was countered by promises of greater decentralization. More open elections led to the election of candidates opposed to Communist Party rule.

Glasnost had inadvertently released the long-suppressed national sentiments of all peoples within the borders of the multinational Soviet state. These nationalist movements were further strengthened by the rapid deterioration of the Soviet

economy, whereby Moscow's rule became a convenient scapegoat for economic troubles. Gorbachev's reforms had failed to improve the economy, with the old Soviet command structure completely breaking down. One by one, the constituent republics created their own economic systems and voted to subordinate Soviet laws to local laws.

In an attempt to halt the rapid changes to the system, a group of Soviet hard-liners represented by Vice-President Gennadi Yanayev launched a coup overthrowing Gorbachev in August 1991. Russian President Boris Yeltsin rallied the people and much of the army against the coup and the effort collapsed. Although restored to power, Gorbachev's authority had been irreparably undermined. In September, the Baltic States were granted independence. On December 1, Ukrainian voters approved independence from the Soviet Union in a referendum. On December 26, 1991, the Soviet Union was officially disbanded, breaking up into fifteen constituent parts, thereby ending the world's largest and most influential Communist state, and leaving China to that position.

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1.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Discuss the ideological context of the Cold War.
2) Write a note on Détente.
3) Which factors led to the collapse of Soviet Union and what was its impact.

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2

INTERNATIONAL SETTING : INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC & DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Unit Structure :

2.0   OBJECTIVES

- To understand the Bretion Woods System.
- To understand North South in IR.
- To understand politics of Trade in 20th Century.
- To understand the concept of Globalization.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The devastation caused by World War II had cataclysmic effect on the world politics. It resulted in defeat of Nazism and

fascism, massive loss of life and property, technologically driven warfare, invention of nuclear weapons and many other things. The allied powers amidst the war were contemplating on need to create durable institutions to maintain peace and security in the world. The United Nation, was created in 1945, as an intergovernmental body to minimize the occurrence of war by respecting the principle of sovereign equality of states and the primary responsibility was given to the Security Council. At the same time it was felt that durable peace is possible if the comity of nations is able to maintain stable economic growth. So toward the end of the second World War, in July 1944, representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Soviet Union and 40 other countries met at Bretton Woods, a resort in New Hampshire, to lay the foundation for the post-war international financial order. Such a new system, they hoped, would prevent another worldwide economic cataclysm like the Great Depression that had destabilized Europe and the United States in the 1930s and had contributed to the rise of Fascism and the war. Therefore, the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, as the Bretton Woods conference was officially called, created the International Monetary Fund (the IMF) and the World Bank to prevent economic crises and to rebuild economies shattered by the war. The Bretton Woods strategy addressed what were considered to be the two main causes of the pre-war economic downturn and obstacles to future global prosperity—the lack of stable financial markets around the world that had led to the war and the destruction caused by the war itself. A third institution called International trade organization was also discussed in the conference to promote free trade but instead a new institution called General agreement on Trade and Tariff was set up.

2.2 INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

The International Monetary Fund along with the world bank were created at the Bretten woods Conference in 1944.The IMF was formed to maintain the qualified Gold Standard system of exchange rates between the western countries and the United States and to prevent the rise of economic nationalism that was one of the cause of world war II. Initially, there were twenty members of the IMF. In the 1960s many countries from the third world also took membership of the fund and after 1991 several former communist states became the members of the IMF. Today there are 187 member countries.

2.3 STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF IMF

Board of Governors is the body composed of finance ministers or head of the central bank of the member states. It meets once a

year and the members try to achieve consensus on major policies of the fund.

Executive Board looks after the day to day operations of the fund and is managed by twenty four persons. The world's major economic and political powers—the United States (the IMF's largest shareholder), Great Britain, Japan, Germany, France, China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia—each have permanent seats on the executive board, while the 16 other directors are elected for two-year terms by groups of countries divided roughly by geography, e.g., Caribbean, Africa, Southeast Asia, etc.

Managing Director The managing director is elected for a renewable term of five years. Traditionally the managing director has always been a European.

Functions
1) Facilitate the cooperation of countries on monetary policy, including providing the necessary resources for both consultation and the establishment of monetary policy in order to minimize the effects of international financial crises.

2) Assist the liberalization of international trade by helping countries increase their real incomes while lowering unemployment.

3) Help stabilize exchange rates between countries. Especially after the global depression of the 1930s, it was considered vital to establish currencies that could hold their value, serve as mediums of international exchange, and resist any speculative attacks.

4) Maintain a multilateral system of payments that eliminates foreign exchange restrictions. Countries are thus free to trade with each other without worrying about the effects of interest rates and currency depreciation on their payments.

5) Provide a safeguard to members of the IMF against balance of payments crises, i.e., when governments cannot balance the money they have with the money they owe to other countries. IMF members can have the confidence to adjust the imbalances in their national accounts without resorting to painful measures that would hamper their prosperity, such as devaluing their currency in relation to other countries'.

6) Try to reduce the effects of volatility in countries' balance of payments accounts, the IMF helps assure that global trade and financial relationships can continue at a steady rate without the risks of global depressions like that of the 1930s.

7) After 1971 US suspended the Qualified Gold Standard system and Flexible Exchange rate system was introduced and to maintain the latter IMF added new function of surveillance by inserting Article IV under which the IMF shall oversee the international monetary and exchange rate policies of the members.

2.4 IMPACT OF IMF

The IMF is a self sustaining organization and the operating budget comes from quota that members contribute on joining. The G7 countries have largest quota in the IMF and hence more voting power to decide the policies. After 1960 IMF introduced new currency called Special Drawing Rights (SDR) which can be used for transactions among the members.

The initial role of the IMF was short term stabilization of countries facing balance of payment crisis (a situation when a country does not have enough dollars to pay for its import bill).The first loan IMF gave was to France in 1956 and it played limited role due massive funding by US in the form of Marshall fund to the war torn European countries. Its role increased after 1970s due to debt crisis that started in the third world. Post 1950 third world countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America followed import substitution model of growth which was based on promotion of domestic industries and government investment in economy. Later in 1960s several East Asian countries known as Tiger economies followed export led growth model. In the 1970s there economic turbulence like oil crisis, fall in export prices of commodities, rise in interest rate on debts owed by third world. All these led to indebtedness of the third world and they turned to IMF for rescue. The IMF prescribed policies known as structural adjustment which included reduced domestic consumption, tax increase, reduced government spending and trade liberalization. The market fundamentalism imposed by IMF led to huge unrest in the third world such as increased poverty, scaling down of social programmes by the government, high inflation and unemployment etc. In 1990s IMF policies caused crisis in Mexico, Argentina, Russia, Thailand, and Malaysia. Stiglitz cites the flawed program of privatization in post-communist Russia which helped enrich a corrupt oligarchy and the elimination of food subsidies for the poor in Indonesia that resulted in riots in Russia.

2.5 WORLD BANK

The World Bank is the name that has come to be used for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) founded at Bretton Woods. As the World Bank expanded beyond its initial scope and purpose of rebuilding Europe after the Second World War, the World Bank grew through the creation of four

additional organizations. Together, these five financial organizations comprise the World Bank Group, namely the IBRD, the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). The IBRD and the IDA focus mainly on public sector monetary policy and provide low-interest loans, interest-free credit, and grants to developing countries. Additionally, they work to affect the policies of governments by providing macroeconomic policy advice, research, and technical advice. The remaining three institutions that belong to the World Bank Group focus more on private market interactions, providing funding, insurance, and dispute resolution for private sector projects.

2.6 STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

Executive Directors Twenty-four executive directors oversee the daily operations of the World Bank, including five permanent spots given to the United States, Japan, Great Britain, Germany, and France. The remaining 19 directors are elected by all member nations.

President The World Bank is led by its president. In April 2012, the Bank announced that Dr. Jim Yong Kim, a U.S. public health expert and head of Dartmouth College, would serve as its next president for a five-year term. Vice presidents manage World Bank affairs in six regions—Africa, East Asia & Pacific, Europe and Central Asia, Latin America & the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, and South Asia—and in other functional units such as Finance, Poverty Reduction, Infrastructure, and Private Sector Development

Functions
The World Bank operates by providing loans in two different ways.
First, investment loans are granted for projects that will produce goods or services or public works to help economic and social development.

Second, adjustment loans are granted for programs to support reforms to government policies. Like IMF loans, World Bank loans are conditioned on the World Bank's approval of the investment plans and schedule for the project and repayment of the loans. The World Bank funds its loans by raising money on the international bond market, issuing bonds in its name to large institutional international investors, such as banks and pension funds. As a non-profit institution, however, the World Bank does not take any profit on the results of its fundraising. Instead, it uses its profits to subsidize its lending back to the countries whose projects its finances. Only about half of the World Bank's funding comes

from grants by members, and the rest comes from the World Bank's own operations

2.7 IMPACT OF WORLD BANK POLICIES

World Bank has been involved in many projects around the world since its inception. In the 1960s the focus of the World Bank was to help the third world countries in the development of physical infrastructure like dams, roads, ports and industrial projects. Very little focus was given on the development of social projects.

In the 1950s it was assumed that rapid industrialization was necessary to bring faster economic growth and poverty alleviation in the third world. This unilinear growth model ignored the social costs involved like displacement due to dams etc. When Robert McNamara became the President of the World Bank there was shift to programme based funding. The International Development Agency took the role of bringing social development like schools, sanitation, health, women etc in the third world countries.

In the 1980s there was rise of neo liberalism which believed in the role of market in bringing economic growth. In US Reagan government and in the UK Thatcher government implemented the neo liberal policies. These policies were adopted by both IMF and World Bank in the late 1980s and it was called as Washington consensus. The world Bank identified its policies with IMF sponsored structural adjustment programme.

Like the IMF, the World Bank has been criticized for its part in promoting the Washington Consensus through its close participation with the IMF in lending only to programs that were heavily conditioned. For example, according to 50 Years Is Enough, the World Bank's policies are indistinguishable from the IMF's in that they often go to austerity plans that reform economic policies by suffocating the poor and inviting corporate exploitation. In addition, several unique factors contribute to dislike and distrust of the World Bank. The World Bank is often accused of ignoring the environmental and social impact of projects it supports. For example, the World Bank helped fund Brazil's Polonoroeste development program, inaugurated in the Amazonian state of Rondonia in 1981. By improving the main highway into the forest, subdividing the land, and granting ownership of the land to settlers, the program caused an intense migration and land rush that resulted in the wide-spread destruction of the rainforest. The World Bank also funded a dam-building project in India that resulted in the forced resettlement of people the Narmada River Valley between 1978 and 1993. As dams were built on the river, territories that have been populated since pre-historic times were lost to man-made reservoirs, causing resentment and social turmoil, for which

the World Bank was blamed. Similarly, the World Bank has been attacked for funding the Western Poverty Reduction Project in China that opponents of Chinese control of Tibet say will resettle 37,000 ethnic Chinese in the territory of Tibet.

The coming of James Wolfensohn as World Bank president in 1990s brought changes in the priorities of the bank and it adopted Comprehensive Development Programme that expanded the role of the Bank to deal with issues like corruption, institution building, environment and human rights. In the year 2000 United Nation launched Millennium Development Goals; promoting universal education, gender equality, reducing child and maternal mortality rates, reversing spread of HIV or malaria ,environment protection etc. World bank is working with other funding agencies to implement these goals.

2.8 NORTH SOUTH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The terms north and south are used in scientific as well as political discourse to describe the relation between the rich and industrialized countries on one hand and the less industrialized countries on the other hand. The distinction between the north and south is not spatial because several countries in the southern hemisphere e.g. Australia are highly industrialized similarly some countries in the north hemisphere can be poor and less developed. The north and south distinction developed after the second world war and relates to the levels of development that can be measured in terms of gross domestic product, per capita income, life expectancy, mortality rates etc. The World Bank now classifies countries into high income, middle income and low income based on the gross national income. In their earlier reports gross domestic product was used for classification. Similarly countries were classified as first world (capitalist), second world (communist) and third world (the rest of the countries). After the collapse of communism we refer to developed and developing world. In political analysis the north south relations are based on conflicting interests arising from the history of colonialism and imperialism.

Many newly independent states that emerged after second World War blamed the western countries for their poverty and backwardness and demanded just and equitable international economic order that would enable their economic growth. But since the institutions like World Bank, International Monetary Fund and General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs were securing the political and economic interests of the western countries (developed world) the developing countries started organizing themselves politically to put forth their demands. The non alignment movement, G77, UNCTAD and United Nation General Assembly became the avenues where the developing countries raised their demands for

economic and political justice. Therefore the terminologies like North and South gained significance in the context of political contestation that was happening between developed and developing world.

2.9 THEORIZING NORTH SOUTH

The emergence of decolonized states after second world created interest in the field of academic world and policy makers. Many research centers were opened in US universities to understand socio economic problems of the developing world and what strategies they should follow to achieve progress. In US there emerged school of thought known as modernization theory which explained the reasons for the slow development of south. Modernization theory rest on the premise that in order to develop, the developing countries need to overcome traditional institutions and values and it is in the interest of the developing world to co operate with the developed countries of the north to achieve rapid progress. In the 1960s and 70s many modernization thinkers proposed certain degree of state intervention in the economy but in the 1980s there advocated role of market to achieve economic growth.

Contrary to the modernization theory argued that oppression and exploitation of the south by the north has contributed to the underdevelopment of the south. The forms and mechanisms of this exploitation are manifested in the structures of international trade and finance, role of multinational corporations etc. Assuming that the unequal relationships and exchanges between North and South lead to global polarization and increasing poverty within the South, dependency theory calls for delinking from the northern based institutions.

2.10 EMERGENCE OF SOUTH AS POLITICAL FORCE

The southern countries realized that it was necessary to create solidarity among them at the political level in order to deal with the north and to achieve all round development. The Bandung conference of 1955 where the heads of 29 states from Asia and Africa came together, marked the active beginning of the South in international affairs. The idea of Non Alignment as a forum to represent the interest of the south was taking shape. The exponents of Non Alignment movement like Nehru, Nasser and Tito felt that entangling in the Cold War politics would hinder their economic growth and undermine political sovereignty. Hence a separate forum was necessary for the countries of Asia , Africa and Latin America. In 1961 ,the first conference of the non aligned states was held in Belgrade and within few years Non Alignment

became strong force in United Nation. The south through this forum started demanding fair principles international trade between north and south. To achieve this United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was founded in 1964. UNCTAD marked the beginning of continous cooperation of developing countries with the formation of Group of 77 whose membership rose to 131by 1990s. The South realized that existing international trade, commerce, finance related institutions and practices are structurally designed in the interest of north and south can never achieve parity with north in terms of economic growth and development and hence the south started raising demand for overhaul of the economic order based on the principles of fairness and equity. This was called as New International Economic Order.

2.11 HISTORY OF NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The demand for reforms in the international economic structure was articulated from 1960s. As a result of the pressure built by the third world countries, the UNCTAD was established in 1964.It was to serve as a platform for articulation of demands for better trade relations and just development. The developing countries were disillusioned with the international monetary and trading system.

The IMF and the GATT had marginalized the third world. The energy crisis of the 1970s was eye opener for both developed and the developing countries. The urgent need of the third world was to create a just and democratic economic order. The group of G77 was formed to ensure remunerative prices for the raw materials supplied to the developed world. Efforts for the management of development related problems of the third world were made during the first development decade by different agencies like UNDP, UNCTAD, IDA.

After the Lusaka Summit of 1970 of the NAM, the developing countries forcefully presented their case in the UN General Assembly in 1970 on the occasion of the consideration of the Second Development Decade. The developing countries sought for higher rate of development with the help of the UN. In the Algiers Summit of NAM (1973) emphasis was laid on the unlimited rights of the developing countries to regulate their natural resources and ,if necessary nationalized them. After the oil crisis of 1973 there was unprecedented crisis in the third world. In this background the then NAM Chairman President Boumedienne requested for a special session of the UN General Assembly which was convened in 1973.

2.12 DEMAND FOR NIEO

The sixth special session of the general assembly adopted a resolution on May 1, 1977 and gave call for NIEO. The resolution demanded fair and just economic system. A reference was made to Article 55 of the UN Charter which makes the UN responsible for creation of proper conditions of economic progress and development. It says:

The UN shall promote
   a. Higher standard of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
   b. Solutions of international economic ,social, health, and related problems

NIEO does not seek charity from the developed world.

Willy Brandt Commission Report
A conference was held in 1975 to work out cooperation between the developed and the developing world. The idea of the conference was to introduce a mechanism for the introduction of NIEO. The Paris meet was attended by 27 countries which included 19 developing countries and 6 industrialized nations. Thus it came to be known as North South dialogue. The Paris conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC) met for 19 months but produced modest results.. Meanwhile the UN General Assembly in 1975 stressed that the overall objective of NIEO was to increase the capacity of developing countries. The idea of collective self reliance among the developing countries becomes the central plank of NIEO.

When Paris conference failed to produce any substantial results the UN in 1977 appointed independent commission on International Development Issues. The Commission was headed by former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and was composed of 18 experts including LK JHa (India), Olof Palme (Sweden). The commission came to be known as Brandt Commission.

The UN resolution for New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action (1974) were the bases of Brandt Commission negotiations. It produced   A 304 PAGES REPORT. The commission recommended 'Programme for Survival' involving drastic changes in the global economy. It was comprehensive and dealth with disarmament, refugees, environment, ecology, population, food etc.

The principal theme of the Brandt was mutuality of North-South interest and called for joint efforts for common goal post. The report did not evoke much interest in the north though the G7

summit of 1980 (Venice) welcomed it. In March 1980 the G 77 demanded decisive measures towards NIEO. They demanded massive resource and technology transfer from the north to the south. However, in June 1980 the Geneva Accord initiated by the 101 countries created a 750 million dollar fund under the auspices of UNCTAD –V for stabilizing the raw material prices

2.13 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND GLOBALIZATION

By the end of 1980s there was tectonic shift in international politics and economy. The Cold War was coming to an end with the collapse of Berlin wall in 1989 and disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991. The ideology of neo liberalism was taking strong roots in western world and the west by spreading the same to the developing world. The rise of Washington Consensus- policies of World Bank and International Monetary Fund known as structural adjustment programme etc became the agencies of neo liberal policies. Further a new trading regime was forming known was Uruguay round that ultimately culminated into World Trade Organization 1995.Developing countries had to bargain their interest in WTO which was more democratic than GATT. However, negotiations failed on critical issues like agriculture, patents, subsidies etc during various WTO round like Doha round of 2002. Interestingly, some of the developing countries like Brazil, India, China and South Africa became beneficiaries of globalization and they evolved organizations BRICS as South- South cooperation in 1990s. The Industrialized G8 group realized the growing political and economic strength of developing countries and they open the door to them and the group was expanded to G 20.The turning point came in 2008 when there was sub prime crisis in US the heart of global capitalism. The crisis later spread to European Countries. Now there is greater demand to restructure the global economy on the principles of equity and justice.

2.14 POLITICS OF TRADE

Today global trade is very much a product of history, a history that at times has been convoluted and unpredictable. Historian Robbie Robertson claims that there have been three waves of globalization. The first wave started when European explorers like Christopher Colombus and Vasco da Gama discovered new land that subsequently developed trade relations with Europe. The second wave inaugurated after the invention of steam engine that fuelled the process of industrialization .The third wave came after second world war especially f=after the coming of post industrial society.

The invention of steam engine led to large scale industrialization in Europe as these countries produced goods on a large scale and allowed it to transport to distant lands. Along with industrial economy there was growth and development finance and international payment system. The colonization of Asia, Africa and Latin America by Europe enabled spread of capitalism in farfetched regions of the world and created huge source of raw materials that fed the engines of capitalism.

2.15 WORLD TRADE IN 20TH CENTURY

In the first half of the 20th century Great Britain became hegemonic power and it imposed Gold Standard exchange rate system known as Gold Bullion on the world. The Pound was pegged to Gold and hence huge demand was created for gold to carry global trade. The outbreak of World War I led to fall in Europe's share of trade and Britain lost its economic hegemony. On other side US was emerging as economic power house. Unfortunately the Great Depression of 1929 caused massive turmoil in world economy and free trade came to halt as most countries imposed trade restrictions in the form of tariff.US enacted Smoot Hawley Act of 1930 imposing tariff on twenty thousand imported goods and thus inviting retaliatory measures by other countries against US. World economy and trade was in doldrums. The inter war period (1914-29) brought qualitative changes in world trade. Food and agriculture lost its dominance while minerals and oil was gaining significance. There was huge demands for capital goods and consumer goods. This new structure of global trade made colonies and Latin American countries dependent on western countries.

In the first half of 20th century world trade was shaped by the politics of colonial powers and the colonies had little sy in this system. Since trade was carried in gold there was rushed to exploit gold from the colonies similarly western countries were plundering the raw materials of the colonies. During world war I there was growth in heavy industries in colonies to meet the demands of war. In India cotton textile mills boomed during this period

2.16 RISE OF BRETTONWOODS

Towards the end of World War II, US and its allies met at Bretton Woods to design the new architecture of world economy. The three pillars of the economy were World Bank, International Monetary Fund and General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT). GATT aimed to promote free trade. Initially, instead of GATT International Trade Organization (ITO) was proposed but many conservative US politicians and corporations opposed ITO as

they found it impinging on US sovereignty. US Congress refused to ratify ITO and in its place a GATT was created. Notably, GATT was created without formal charter. Some important principle of GATT Trade liberalization, most favored nation status, reciprocity and transparency. Gatt mostly governed manufactured goods which were important of the western countries and agriculture was not included in it which was important for the developing countries. The developing countries realizing the unjust nature of GATT preferred import substitution policies to seal off themselves from the vagaries of global trade. After US dollar became the reserve currency also known as Qualified Gold Standard. One ounce of gold was pegged to 35 dollars and currencies of the world were measured against it. Since the value of dollar remained fixed and US was the most powerful economy and it had the luxury to print dollars in large quantities. Though US spoke about open and free trade it didn't practice in reality.US liberally pumped billions of dollars (Marshall Plan) for economic reconstruction of Europe and it also open it market for the Japanese goods – concession which US didn't extend to the developing world.

In 1970s there were crisis in global economy like oil embargo imposed by Gulf countries, Vietnam war, recession in US economy etc send the value of dollar plummeting and US countered it by delinking its dollar from gold . After 1971 the qualified gold standard was dismantled and managed   floating rates were introduced. All this shows that world trade was highly influenced by the politics of the rich countries. In 1970s the developing countries organized themselves politically in forums like NAM, G77 and UNCTAD and gave a call for New International Economic Order.In 1980s many developing countries were facing debt crises and they rushed to International Monetary fund for rescue. IMF prescribed structural adjustment programmes that included privatization, trade liberalization, budget cuts, entry to multinational corporations etc. Structural adjustment brought untold disaster in the developing countries like inflation, job losses, end of welfare state, environmental problems etc.

2.17 GLOBALISATION AND TRADE

The end of Cold War ushered the era of globalization which in simple words can be defined as integration of world economy. A new trading regime came into force known as World Trade Organization in 1995 to promote free trade. It has some 150 members and is considered more democratic than the GATT. In WTO the definition of service was broadened. Sectors like like health, education, environment, tourism, cultural and sporting activities are defined as services. In other word all these things will have commercial value. Critics say that WTO is promoting marketisation and commoditization of society. Developing countries

are forced to privatized sectors that were earlier considered as state responsibility. WTO has created provision known as Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights where by countries must make laws that protect patented goods and services. These provisions were pushed in the WTO by the powerful multi national corporations. Similarly Western countries are demand that developing countries should open their market to western countries and MNCs but they refused to open their market to agricultural products exported by the developing countries. However, there are some developing countries like India, Brazil, South Africa, China have become beneficiaries of globalization and they have created counter force in WTO. Several round of WTO from Seattle to Doha have failed to addressed the issues raised by developing world. The issue of climate change has gained significance in the past to decade's. Rio Summit related to climate change was held in 1992 and in 2012 Rio plus 20 was also held. Developing countries are demanding just principles on issue of climate change. It is the west which is historically responsible for global warming but it refuses to owe the responsibility. Justice demands that west should provide green technology to the developing world at cheaper rates to developing world so that the latter can bring economic development of their society with minimum damage to the environment. But developed world has brought green technology under TRIPS provisions which makes these technologies expensive for the developing world.

The global meltdown of 2008 has caused ripples in the global trade. There is now greater neeed to introduce principles of equity and fairness in the realm of global trade.

2.18 LET US SUM UP

2.19 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the factors for the rise of Brettenwoods system.
2. Explain the role of IMF and its impact on developing countries.
3. Give a critical review of the functions and policies of world bank.
4. Analyze the issue of North South in International Relations.
5. What is NIEO? Examine the success and failure of NIEO.
6. Explain the issue politics of trade.

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3

THEORIES AND APPROACHES

Unit Structure

3.0 OBJECTIVES

This chapter outlines:

- The foundation of the discipline of the International Relations

- Idealism and Realism as major theory

- How these theories can resolve the conflicts and understand the behaviours of the state and non- state actors.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The theories of the International Relations (IR) have always remained a problematic question for the scholars of International Politic and sociology. Because the term theory is not merely limited to its 'scientific' of positivist formulations but also the very process of theorizing itself. Therefore, it would be necessary for us to understand the theories of international relations as a foundation to understand its structure and functions.

The dynamics and actors of the international politics are always influenced by some theoretical or ideological considerations. The enterprise of theoretical investigation is at its minimum one directed towards criticism towards identifying, formulating, refining and questioning the general assumption on which the everyday discussion of international politics.

3.2 IDEALISM

Idealism is as close to complete opposite to realism. Frequently associated with the Kantian perspective of world politics and rooted in European enlightenment thought. Idealism is firmly convinced about the possibility of achieving durable international peace through cooperation between states. At the core of this theory is the importance of rules and the formal and informal institutions in which such regulations are embedded. Idealism is also differentiated in various theoretical strands. The first is concerned with the relevance of economic interdependence and prosperity as major tools for discouraging states from using force against each other (complex interdependence theory). The second approach (usually attributed to Woodrow Wilson – the American President of League of Nations fame) regards the spread of democracy – considered more peaceful than other forms of government – as the best antidote to the war (democratic peace theory). Finally, institutional theory, according to which the anarchy that affects the international arena can be successfully overcome thanks to the promotion of long-term state interests (such as security) in a shorter period of time through the use of international institutions such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the United Nations (UN) (the so-called systems of collective security). Among scholars, the most notable academic figures in idealism are Robert Keohane, John Ikenberry, Michael Doyle, Bruce Russett, Inis Claude and Robert Axelrod.

Idealism seeks to project value, order, liberty, justice and toleration into international relations. Initially, it was believed that

'idealism' or 'liberal internationalism constituted the first school of theory of International Relations. Idealism was a way of thinking in which some higher or better state is projected as a 'way of judging conduct or of indicating action. Liberal intellectuals believed 'the world to be profoundly other that it should be, and who have faith in power of human reason and human action so to charge it that the inner potential of all human beings can be more fully realized. The liberal idealists believe that warfare was an unnecessary and outdated way of settling disputes between states. In addition, the realist thinker like E. H. Carr before the Second World War, attempted to define the dualism between the idealism and realism. Nevertheless, the domestic and international institutions are required to protect and nurture these values. To the idealist, war and conflict were products of outmoded forms of human organization." (Seabury: 1978)

3.2.1 Definitional Dimensions

Thus, idealism has four-dimensional definition:

a. All citizens are juridically equal and possess certain basic rights to education, access to a free press and religious tolerance.

b. The legislative assembly of the state possesses only the authority invested in it by the people, whose basic rights it is not permitted to abuse.

c. A key dimension of the liberty of the individual is the right to own property, including productive forces.

d. Idealism contends that the most effective system of economic exchange is one that is largely market – driven and not one that is subordinate to bureaucratic regulations and control, either domestically or internationally.

Thus, the realm of theories of international relations cover varied notion of theorization. The basic premises for theorization of International Relations cover following areas:

3.2.2 Basic Principles

1. These theories explain laws, which identify invariant or probable association as discussed by Kenneth Waltz in neo – 'realism' or 'structural' realism.

2. Hollis and Smiths defines it as a process of abstract, generalize and string to connect between the theory and practice.

3. The tradition of speculation about relations between states and their interest.

4. To understand the ideological critique of the present which opens up alternative future paths to change, freedom and human autonomy.

5. It also tries to figure out and measure the roles of the non – state actors, like MNCs terrorist organizations, NGOs, etc.

Thus without a clear understanding of the theoretical frame, the study of IR would be misleading and vague. It is concerned with the relations between the nations of the world, which in effect means, a concession to state centric realism. This frame of IR exhaustively covers the relationships, actors, empirical issues and ethical and philosophical issues in the world.

To invoke the famous phrase of Stanley Hoffmann's 'international affairs have been nemesis of idealism.' The essence of idealism is self-restraints, moderation, compromise and peace.' whereas, the essence of international politics is exactly the opposite: troubled peace, at best, of the state of war (Hoffmann).

Immanuel Kant and Jeremy Bentham were two of the leading liberals of the Enlightenment. Both of them reacted to the barbarity of international relations or what Kant said, 'the law state of savagery'. In his work,' '*Theory of International Politics,'* Kenneth Waltz has attacked the idealism and pluralism for causing the decline of the state authority in the international arena.

An important aspect of the within idealism, which has become more effective in our globalized world, when it is put to advocate interventionist foreign policies and stronger international institutions, and those who incline and stronger international institutions.

3.3 POLITICAL REALISM

Thucydides is considered as the father of classical political theorists. During medieval era, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau have propagated the though of political realism. it is based upon the assumption that the relations between nation - states exist fundamentally in a "state of nature" which is defined as "anarchy". It was a condition in which the war between the nation states was the ultimate reality.

Thomas Hobbes described the human nature as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." Because states have no higher authority over them, such as a world government to restrain them, anarchy means that states as collective entities were on their own in the international arena to work out how to live with one another.

Twentieth century was full of political and ideological rise across the world. Communism, capitalism, liberalism, idealism and realism held the main realm of the ideological world. The ideological streams were applied to analyze the decision making of inter - state actors making the foreign policies, that would advance the interests of the nation - states. Thus the realm of power politics and *realpolitik* is often dominated by the political realism or political idealism.

Theorist Joseph Nye puts it, is one of three basic forms of international politics. The other two being a "world imperial system" and a "feudal system." In the former, "one government controls most of the world with which it has contact," e.g., the Roman Empire; the British Empire." (Nye : 2007)

If so, then nation-states must always prepared for war, and, indeed, history reveals that increasing military strength, if not superiority, is basic to political realists. For military might alone wins wars. As Jervis points out, however, this is not to say that realists like war, for "many realists study the causes of war in the hope of reducing the chances of future conflict." (Robert Jervis and others : 1999)

3.3.1 Realism and the state and sovereignty:

Realism in the modern era highlights the importance of the 'Nation - States' and it 'sovereign' existence. It has its origin in the 'Treaty of Westphalia' 1648, which has started an era of modern nation state. The state and state sovereignty are seen today in an almost absolute sense by realists. "The doctrine of sovereignty asserts the incontestable right of the central power to make and enforce laws for people who will fall within recognized territorial borders." (Ibid., p. 310.)

The realists believe that national interests must be given priority over the internationalism or idealism. A state is thought to act according to the logic of its national interests, and especially in defense of them when its survival is at stake.

Hans Morgenthau, the European philosophical father of twentieth-century political realism, saw "interests defined in terms of power." Morgenthau, whose Politics Among Nations is considered the definitive text of Political realism in the 20th century, went so far as to say that "[w]ithout such a concept a theory of politics … would be altogether impossible." (Morganthau: 1993, p. 5.)

3.3.2 Conflict between nations states :

Further complications arise because nations have differing interests, and interests change over time due to changing domestic or international circumstances. And because a realist sees the state as the primary actor in international relations, are often accused of using international institutions as yet another arena for acting out state power. From a constructivist point of view, however, for instance, although the state remains a key actor, international institutions can act as important restraining agencies on a state's power, particularly on its foreign policy, perhaps, in order to seek joint gains for the common international good, rather than just for the good of the one state.

3.3.3 Realism and Balance of power

Another non-negotiable principle of political realism is balance of power, which has been the most relied on arrangement for ordering relations between states to put the brakes on forms of anarchy. Typically, two or more states or groups of states will act in concert (politically, economically, or militarily) to try to hold in check a powerful state or a group of states from gaining predominance and dictating to the others. The "balance of power and policies aiming at its preservation," he wrote, "are not only inevitable but are an essential stabilizing factor in a society of sovereign nations; and the instability of the international balance of power is not due to the faultiness of the principle but to the particular conditions under which the principle must operate in a society of sovereign nations." (Morganthau, Politics, see chapters 11-13.)

3.3.4 Diplomacy

Within political realism, as with all other conceptual models of international relations, diplomacy is crucial. For the realist, diplomacy is controlled by the aforementioned concepts (the anarchical state of nature; the sovereign state; balance of power; national interests). Realist leaders, however, are not prevented from seeking relations with ideological adversaries when it is in the interest of the state to do so, although relations of this sort will be stressed, as they were between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Morganthau called diplomacy "The brains of national power," meaning that realist diplomacy "is the art of bringing the different elements of the national power to bear with maximum effect upon those points in the international situation which concern national interest most directly." (Ibid., p.155.)

3.3.5 A classic realist foreign policy

The foregoing short descriptions of several prominent conceptual pieces of international relations and foreign policy as they are understood by realists do not even begin to address the complexity of their political ideology, but hopefully it should be enough for non-specialists to get a feel for it.

Historians and political theorists consider statesman and premier realist thinker George Kennan, who was a Truman Democrat, as the father of containment doctrine. Kennan spoke Russian and several European languages and was an expert on Soviet ideology. It is known as Sovietologist in international relations.

It is instructive that this realist foreign policy was bipartisan. This outlook involved, of course, an implicit assumption that the rest of the world naturally desired the system of democratic capitalism, liberal values, and economic trade enjoyed by the West." These wise men, the authors write, "viewed the Soviets in the way a businessman might regard a competitor: concessions and appeasement would not serve to buy good-will, but it was possible to achieve a realistic modus vivendi that included cooperation on mutual interests."

3.3.6 Difference between Realism And Idealism

Holsti writes that whereas realists see war as a natural state of affairs, idealists tend to view conflict "as a consequence that can be attributed to historical circumstances, evil leaders, flawed sociopolitical systems, or inadequate international understanding and education." (Holsti: 54) Or, as a leading constructivist thinker, Alexander Wendt summed it up in the title of his often cited 1992 article: "Anarchy is what states make of it."

The state and balance of power. In other words, whereas realism tends to see balance-of-power arrangements as the broadest extent to which inter-state relations are possible, idealism imagines much wider possibilities for cooperative arrangements among states. Although many idealists would not sacrifice the concept of state sovereignty, they tend to see the state in more relative terms; the state is thus able to work more selflessly, such as with other states and international institutions like the UN.

Idealism's more optimistic view of human nature also gives it a broader frame of reference for national interests. It means "states act in their national interests" is a truism even for idealists. Liberals argue that this is particularly true if the international system is moderate, and not purely anarchic. Idealism's more optimistic view

of human nature also gives it a broader frame of reference for national interests. After the collapse of Soviet Union and 9 /11 attack on US, the world order has completely changed. Therefore, the fragile world environment creates weakness and limits for the both idealism and realism.

Check your progress

1. What is idealism? discuss it main features.

2. describe National interest with reference to realism.

3. What are the main features of realism?

3.4 CONSTRUCTIVISM

Recently developed by the seminal work of Alexander Wendt, constructivism takes beliefs and values as crucial elements in determining a reality that is socially constructed – as supposed to idealism and realism which take such things for granted. Thus, social practice, discourse and interaction among the participants of the international realm (both state and non-state actors) are the fundamental drivers of this ongoing and maieutic process in which the emerging norms and values shape their own interests and identities. Without offering any predictions, but focusing on an attempt to explain the reasons for political change, the constructivist perspective looks at power not as an irrelevancy but as a subjective product of ideas and identities. The definition of "power" – according to the constructivist interpretative framework – is influenced by the cultural and the historical context in which it is analysed. Similarly, Wendt argues that the realist conception of anarchy does not adequately explain why conflict occurs between states. The real issue, in fact, is how anarchy is perceived in Wendt's words, "anarchy is what states make of it".

3.5 APPROACHES TO STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Approaches are a point of view, a perspective, or a method of interpreting any issue, theory, or subjects of International Relations (IR). There are various approaches to the study of IR. It emanates from the ideological and realist position of the scholars and the actors in IR. The main approaches to the study of IR are behavioral approach, scientific approach, system approach and traditional approach. However, the first three dominate the IR in contemporary world. We can study them as under.

3.5.1 Behavioural Approach to the Study of IR

Behavioural Approach emerged as the leading method to the study of International Relations after 1950s. Prominent scholars like, Hans Morgenthau, Robert Dahl and Kaplan led made it a very important tool to the study of the bahaviour of the nations and politics between the nations. This approach is influenced by the socio. Anthropological and psychological perspectives to explain the dynamics and phenomenon of international politics and actors. Through this approach, we can understand the people and organizations in a better way. It precisely deals with the the questions, why people behave in the way they do?

Main features of behaviouralism can be enumerated as following:

1. Robert Dahl says, *"Historically speaking, the behavioural approach was a protest movement within political science".* It was a dissatisfaction against the prevailing traditional method to the study of International Relations. After IInd World War the entire world had undergone a significant change. The new world was confronted with the issues of Cold – War, reconstruction, economic development in order to build a new international order. The emerging world order was divided (at least economically) in to Developed, Developing and Under – Developed nation- states. The newly emerging nations produced a different set of problems, which could not be addressed through the Legal and Organizational efforts. Therefore, the theory of behviouralism emerged as an important way to study them. Otherwise, it would not be possible for the discipline to draw attention of policy-makers and serious students. Miraculous innovations were taking place and social scientists, specifically sociologists, were applying them. Economists were also opined the same idea.

2. The aim of behaviouralism is to understand and explain about 'what' 'ought to be'. It differentiates between two obvious factors and actors. In order to find out what is it is necessary to be pragmatic and empirical and not to be normative. This approach relies upon the data collected from the field or different sources. Further, after a meticulous understanding of data it explains the policy premise of the data based on the political bahaviour of the nations. It applies advanced scientific methods and sophisticated techniques to find out the reality. We can therefore say that behaviouralism embraces scientific approach and methodological analysis. The purpose of behaviouralism is predominantly scientific.

3. In strictest term there is a clear distinction between the two. Behaviourism implies, "a schoolof psychology that takes the objective observation of behavior as measured by responses to stimuli". The response to stimuli constitutes the foundation of

study of behaviourism. It is also the subject of psychology. But, behaviouralism is a sub-field of political science and it studies the political behaviour of individuals. The political behaviour must be observable whereas stimuli or response to it may not be observable.

4. Despite its emphasis on the reality and prevailing situation, behaviouralism does not reject historical knowledge. Since the knowledge of history, it constitutes the bahavioural situation of a particular era, which helps the nations to take advantage or not to repeat the past mistakes. i.e. USSR decided to remain absent during the Security Council meeting to decide war on aggressor North Korea and US utilized the opportunity to get through the proposal without fearing a Veto. Since then Russia did not remain absent during such important meetings.

5. Behaviouralists can easily utilize them for their analysis. Truman was a great exponent of behavioural approach and he did not hesitate to recognize the importance of conventional method. Robert Dahl also supports Truman's views. Behaviouralism does not insist upon separation from the past.

6. Behavioural approach to the study of international politics embraces interdisciplinary methods of other sciences and it is interesting to note that this has brought political science in close relation to economics, sociology, psychology, and anthropology. This has led to bringing the politics close to many areas. In traditional approach there was no place of scientific methods in political science.

7. Behaviouralism emphasizes on a comprehensive approach to understand and analyse the data and facts. The behaviouralists do not stop by collecting data and facts. They scrupulously and meticulously analyses them, construct general conclusions, and make policy suggestions.

Criticism of Behaviouralism

We find the following observation of a well-known critic: "Behaviouralism calls for a closer attention to methodological niceties, to problems of observations and verification, to the task of giving operational meaning to political concepts, to quantification and testing, to eliminating productive intervening variables."

It has been claimed by the behaviouralists that this approach provides a clear and scientific guideline to the study of politics. Not only this, behaviouralism does not like to fragment the subject. It treats it in a comprehensive way. Apparently, political science is associated with only political facts and behaviour and it has no relation with other subjects and various manifestations of government. However, broadly speaking, political science cannot

be separated from other social sciences and even various branches of government.

Behaviouralism is not based on speculation. What it says everything is based on facts and data. One may not agree without the conclusions. However, the behaviouralists are helpless because their conclusions are based on data. So behaviouralism is different from speculative subjects. It has no association with moralism and normative approach. Behaviouralist claims that he does not say anything on the basis of his liking or disliking.

Behaviouralism, positivism and empiricism are closely connected. In fact, it is very difficult to analyse behaviouralism without empiricism and positivism. Empiricism means verification of statements and conclusions by empirical data and facts. If any statement fails to stand the test of data or verification that is subject to rejection.

Behaviouralism has nothing to do with philosophical analysis of political theory. Another aspect of empiricism is experience. Experience, again, is not without data or facts. Men learn something from past activities and that is experience. This experience guides man in his future course of action. So we can say that the two important pillars of behaviouralism are positivism and empiricism. Though, some political scientists have expressed their reservations about behaviouralists' sole dependence on empirical data and positivism. The concept (behaviouralism) is still treated as an empirical political theory.

3.5.2 System Theory :

3.5.3 Decision Making Theory in International Relations :

Decision-making is usually defined as a process or sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, search for information, definition of alternatives and the selection of an actor of one from two or more alternatives consistent with the ranked preferences. Decision making theory is a theory of how rational individuals should behave under risk and uncertainty. It uses a set of axioms about how rational individuals behave which has been widely challenged on both empirical and theoretical

ground.The theory of decision making was articulated by Joseph Snyder and his colleagues nearly fifty years ago (Hagon, 2001: 1).

Decision making theory and foreign policy making is intertwined process. In the 1980s the neo –realist and neo – liberal views dominated the foreign policy process of states. Decision making can provide a method of thinking and analysis of conflict – cooperation, war – peace policy making in International Relations (IR).

Decision making theory suggests that people matter in IR. When the IR order is threatened, decision – makers respond to the 'systematic imperative'. Even when a threat to war is imminent, decision – makers collectively, readily strategies to deal with it focusing on the national security as the goal of the foreign policy for responding to the threat.

According to Joe Holsti, 'decision – making models are of three types:
i.   Bureaucratic – Organizational model.
Decision making in a bureaucratic organisation is the political character of bureaucracies and certain aspects of organizational behavior. The members in such organisation have different values, aims and interests, which is often in conflict. The difference in decision making process arises because of the parochial self – interest of the bureaucracy.

ii. Small group politics model
This model of decision making process is dominated by a small group of full time politicians in power. They take collective decisions, which are often deliberated and shall be in the national interest. They employ the ideas from sociology, social – psychology and political – psychology a tool of analysis. This model believes in employing experts from various walks of life to share their expertise to make a right decision.

iii. Traditional model
This model is typically based upon the personality effects of the leadership of the nation. Charismatic leaders like Nehru had a strong control over the foreign affairs and policy in India. Therefore, if the leader is strong then we can expect a strong and firm decision on many policy matters.

All the above models play a vital role in administration, presentation and implementation of the decision made by the policy makers in IR.

3.5.4 Game Theory in International Relations :

Game theory is "the study of mathematical models of conflict and cooperation between intelligent rational decision-makers." **Game theory** is mainly used in economics, political science, and psychology, as well as logic, computer science and biology. It is a method to understand the hidden equations and motive of various actors, factors and issues in the International Relations (IR).This theory was founded by John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern who published the book The Theory of Games and Economic Behavior in 1944. Game theory mainly tries to 'predict others' reaction to the decision they make.

Game Theory was introduced in politics in late 1950s. The scholars and policy makers found it to be very useful tool of analysis. Economists discovered how powerful the tool of game theory is much later in 1980s especially through a program called Nash equilibrium refinement. However the students and scholars of IR do not extensively use game theory.

To illustrate, no student who ignores Nash equilibrium can pass a microeconomics course yet no such condition exists for an IR student. The source of the difference is the tolerance for and the use of mathematics in economics.

Therefore, Game theoryis an interactive decision making theory in IR. It helps the decision makers to understand the behaviours and possible reactions of other players. It is very useful in the situation of interdependence of the states.

Game – Theory in IR is applied in the form of models and possible situations. Main models of game theory are:

i. Extensive

In Extensive model, the analyst thinks in terms of states as an actor or factor. They consider the actions available, sequence of states, actors, events etc. Then it looks into the available information's, conditions and preferences and possible outcome of the policy of the decisions.

ii. Strategic

Strategic Model of the game theory looks at every event only from players, strategies and outcomes approach. Sometimes it gives preference to strategy over outcome.

iii. Coalitional models

Coalition models are the abstract level of analysis. In this the coalition of players and issues, its timings, resources added through coalition matters the most.

Example : North Korean (NK) nuclear program generates global suspicion and concern. This is a treat to the South Korean (SK), Japan and US interest in this area. It is perceived that if NK does not stops its nuclear programme, then Japan, SK and US might start a joint military operation against NK. Attacker can guess the power of retaliation of NK and plan accordingly. China is the major power in this region, hence it would not like the outsiders to enter Korean peninsula, and it might extend tacit support to NK against the joint attack. We can qualify the above interaction as constituting a game, that is, a situation of strategic interdependence. Each decision maker acts in function of actions the other (or others) can take.

The main advantage of game theory emerges from very disciplined and planned interactions in IR. They persuade their national interest by actions, preferences and basic assumption in terms of strategies.

In gist, the creativity of modelers is of utmost importance in using game theory. Nevertheless, the game theorist has an upper hand: she can be certain that the model implies the explanation provided that assumptions are justified and she correctly derives conditions for equilibrium, equilibria or even no equilibrium. In addition, she can also develop her analysis in a deductive and a rigorous manner so that her findings inform users of other approaches.

Take, for example, the problem of NKs nuclear activities constituting yet another source of friction between NK and SK and Japan, and, opt for the simplest possible model at strategic level: a 2 × 2 game. Assume Japan has two strategies: attack and do not attack. Assume also that NK has two strategies: stop nuclear research and do not stop. Hence, we have two players and each player has two strategies. The outcome matrix becomes:

		Japan	
		Attack	**Do not attack**
North Korea	Stop	Outcome 1	Outcome 2
	Continue	Outcome 3	Outcome 4

To obtain a game matrix we need to specify both countries' preferences over these outcomes.

Serdar Ş. Güner has illustrated the above model as following:
The most convenient way to model the interaction is to specify players' preferences along their primary and secondary objectives. Assume that NK main objective is to become a nuclear

power and Japan's main objective is the inverse. Supposing that a Japanese attack cannot destroy all NK facilities, NK mostly prefers outcomes 3 and 4 as compared to outcomes 1 and 2. The decision "stop" prevents NK to attain its most preferred objective. Thus, for NK, we have {outcome 3, outcome 4} > {outcome 1, outcome 2}. Suppose also that NK prefers outcome 4 to outcome 3 and outcome 2 to outcome 1 as it prefers no Japanese attack; its secondary objective. These assumptions generate the following preference ordering for NK: outcome 4 > outcome 3 > outcome 2 > outcome 1.

It can be a challenging exercise for students to change players' primary and secondary objectives yielding a new game. The model asks for additional justifications or amendments; it does not represent the only possible stylization. Nevertheless, it is possible that the equilibrium does not change as a result of new assumptions. This would inform the modeler about the impact of different assumptions upon explanations. Consequently, game theory, as a deductive method, generates the joy and the suspense (may I say the thrill?) of obtaining new explanations for international interactions by changing game rules and assumptions.

3.6 NEO REALISM

3.7 DPENDENCY THEORY

Dependency theory of development is an international relations theory that examines the relationships and interactions often between Global North and Global South states, where the Global South states are often reliance on the Global North for trade, economic aid, etc. According to Viotti and Kauppi (2013) explain dependency in the following way: *"Low-income countries of the South economically subordinated to the advantage of high-income countries of the First World or North; in class analytical terms, workers and peasants subordinated and exploited by capital-owning classes, the bourgeoisie"* (Viotti : 2013, 521).

The main focus of this theory is to describe the ways classes and groups in the developed and developing counties in the world.

Underdevelopment and poverty in the third-world nations are a result of economic, social, and political structures within countries that have been deeply influenced by their international economic relations. The global capitalist order within these societies have emerged is, after all, a global capitalist order that reflects the interests of those who own the means of production" (Smith & Owens, 2011: 253). Osvaldo Sunkel (1969) emphasizes the various, economic, cultural, and political levels of control or international influence upon the Global South state (in Ferrara, 1996).

History of Dependency Theory :
Dependency theory has its roots in Karl Marx's work on economic structuralism and the economic relationships between economically rich and economically poor states. Karl Marx argues that the world system, and international relations are driven by economic power and exploitation. Namely, the economically rich take advantage of the economically poor, through their control of the economy. While they are looking to make profits for themselves they are doing so at the expense of the poor individuals and / or countries.

As Baylis, Smith, & Owens (2011) write: "An egregious example of the new protectionism was the Multifiber Arrangement of 1973, which placed restrictions on the textile and apparel imports from developing countries, blatantly violating the GATT principle of non-discriination" (250).

Thus it is an historical condition that shapes the world economic order.

The domination of developed countries over the *institutions* like International Monitory Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organization (WTO), Market and underdeveloped countries resulted into the growth the dependency factor. The Growth of underdeveloped countries depends upon the economic expansion of the developed countries.

The main features of the of dependency theory are as follows:

1. Relation Dominant and Dependent :
First, dependency characterizes the international system as comprised of two sets of states into *dominant and dependent* nations. They are also regarded as the *core and periphery.* Here the developed nations behave like a dominant elder brother over the underdeveloped nations. The dominant states are the advanced industrial nations in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The dependent states are those states of Latin America, Asia, and Africa which have low *per*

capita GNPs and which rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings.

2. Importance of External Economic Forces:

The developed countries act as an external dominant power over the underdeveloped countries. They try to influence the economic policy and developmental activities within the dependent states. It includes external forces include multinational corporations (MNCs), international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad.

3. Intense but Unequal status:

Third, the definitions of dependency all indicate that the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. It promotes the deep rootes historical process of promoting the interest of capitalist nations at the cost of poor nations.

Critics of Dependency Theory :

The Dependency theory if often criticized for its imperialist nature. Critics of dependency theory argue that there is too much emphasis on economic imperialism to explain domestic and international relations in the world today.

Secondly, the Dependency theory is criticized for supporting exploitative international economic forces, what dependency theory scholars are failing to do is offer more insight, analysis, and weight to the idea of domestic (and international) politics as an explanatory factor for conditions within a state (or states) today.

Thirdly, the advocates of the systems theory often argue that the world his highly complex, and to merely suggest that the world issues can be explained the by international economic relationships between the Global North and Global South is inaccurate. So, other factors that may deserve mention are: local political and economic rivalries and competitions for power, the role of domestic corruption and nepotism, as well as other factors (and decisions) that may have led to an inability to develop economically at rates expected (or rates that leaders or others in society may have been hoping for). In addition, even if international states have interests and are involved in the politics of the Global South, to suggest that they are merely economic, and not political in nature, may be missing a large part of the explanation of current domestic and international affairs; one must look at how international power matters, and how Global North (and other states) are concerned with these notions of

power and politics (as this is a very important driving force), and not merely economic interests (Smith, 1981).

3.8 TRANSNATIONALISM

3.9 REFERENCES

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Unit 4
CONCEPTS
SIGNIFICANCE OF POWER, COLLECTIVE
SECURITY PEACE KEEPING, NON
ALIGNMENTS

Unit Structure

4.0 POWER : INTRODUCTION

It is very difficult to define the concept power because of it is not static and it keeps on changing with the change in time, place,

person and source. Broadly, it is said that power is the factor that enable one actor to manipulate another actor's behaviour against its preferences. Relalist always believe in real politic. The realists look at world politics from human nature point of view. The conventional assumption is that power gives state ability to promote and protect national interests and shape the rules governing international system. It means power is not only the ability to influence others but also to control outcomes so as to produce results that would not have occurred naturally. State have power with respect to each other and with respect to those actor within the state.

According to Hans J. Morgen international politics is struggle for power. Because power give ability to promote protect national interests. He to talks about six principle in his book "Politics Among Nations. The struggle for power and peace, 1948." They are as follows.

a)   Politics is governed by objective laws which have its roots in human.
b)   Each state looks after its national interest which is defined in terms of power.
c)   National interest which are defined in terms of national power are not static and keep on changing with space of time, culture, socio-economic and political condition of states.
d)   Universal moral principles are not applicable to the state action. Individual morality and state morality cannot be mixed up for the state action.
e)   Political realism refuses any universal moral law to meet the moral aspiration of a state.
f)   Political realist maintain autonomy in political sphere similar to economist in economic sphere, lawyer in legal sphare etc.

Therefore, those political thinker who have studied human nature from selfish perspective like Thomes Hobbes in Leviathan, Machiavelli in The Prince, Chanakya in Arthashastra in nothing but vindication of power. In international politics, power is central eliment. In international system, all states desire to dominate existing human associations. The realists belived that whatever be the goal and objectives of government, the immediate aim of all state action is to obtain and increase power.

4.1 TYPES OF POWER

4.1.1 Hard Power:
The is general consensus on the opinion that the hard power is associated with military might. Therefore, America is called hard

power and it has shown its capability in number of cases. The Kosovo was created as an independent country from 'Serbia by American led NATO forces. The military might of the America has been shown in the case of war on terror after the 9/11 attack on World Trade Centre (WTC). The influence of the American military seems greater than any European Country. Hard power is coercive and realist always prefer hard power. Bismark's famous statements that, "The Policy cannot succeed through speeches ….. and songs; it can be carried out only through blood and iron." To Mao Zedong, "Power flows from the barrel of gun". Machiaveli says it is better to be feared than loved, men loved at their own pleasure and fear at the pleasure of the prince. All above statements are expression of hard power. All states need to be prepared for changing nature of the conflicts. Military might cannot be solution to asymmetrical conflicts and non state actors operating in conflict zone. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, USA held on over whelming advantage in conventional warfare as it has demonstrated in Iraq in 1991 at the cost of only 148 American dead. But the war on terror after the 9/11 attack is not completely own. There are several thousands casualties of the American forces. However, America could mange to dismantled the infrastructure of the major terrorist organisation but it could not able to eliminate completely.

Technology has always has effect on military power. Technology always need to replace with advance one so that a state can maintain certain distance ahead of others. When Donald Rumsfeld became secretary of America, he pursued military transformation that relied on new technologies. A combination of high tech airpower and limited special forces allied to worked well in Afghanistan.

4.1.2 Soft Power:
The term soft power is coined by Joseph S. Nye. According to him, soft power of a country rest heavily on three basic resources, culture, political values and its foreign policies. Culture is the pattern of social behaviours by which groups transmit knowledge and values. Some aspect of human culture are universal, some are national and others are related to particular groups or sects. In the course of its practices these values influence behaviour and thinking pattern of other societies. Cultural exchange programmes, movies, advertisement etc. are means of the expression of different kinds of cultural values. Soft power is the capacity to persuade others to do what one wants. According to NYE, persuasive power is based on attraction and an emulation and associated with intangible power resources such as culture ideology, and institutions. Once Chinese foreign minister described Chinese students in the United States : "Our experiences made use see that there are alternative ways for China to develop and for us to lead our personal lives. Being in the United States made us

realize that things in China can be different. The spread of American culture within the Eastern bloc during cold war and the process of (European Union) EU enlargement are indices of soft power. To become a member of EU, a state need good record in certain areas such as human rights protection, women rights as Turkey has made certain changes in its human rights policies.

When we compare it with China and India, it is always said India is soft power and China as hard power. Even though, both countries have rich heritage of culture but both have adopted different paths of development, In international politics, to be a soft power, a state needs to have credibility and firmness on its stand on certain principles. Our cultural diplomacy such as Prime Minister Narendra Modi's is address to the UN General Assembly in September, 2014 urged that United Nations to support the promotion of yoga around the world, calling yoga in invaluable gift to our ancient tradition. Mr. Modi argued that yoga embodies unity of mind and body; thought and action : restraint and fulfilment. The UN general assembly declared June 21 as annual International Day for Yoga. To add more importance to the soft power, Indian council for cultural Relations has set up 22 cultural centres in 19 countries whose activities ranging from film, festivals to book fairs and exhibitions are aim at to present an image of India as plural multicultural society. The former India a diplomat Sashi Tharoor have recently argued that if India is perceived as superpower, it was not just through trade, and politics but also through its ability to share its culture with world through food, music, technology and Films.

4.1.3 Hard Versus Soft Power:

We cannot assure either of the power works all the time. Some time hard power works, some times soft power works. For example, if you want change perception of particular community about certain things or if you want to change minds of a youth about smoking and drugs, it cannot be changed with hard power. Only persuasion and telling the consequences of smoking or taking drugs can change the minds of the individual. But if any state has attacked the other, here needs an application of hard power. Soft power applies use attraction, persuasion to change the behaviour others or existing preferences. It is the use of argument to influence the beliefs and action of others without the threat of force. Rational arguments appealing to facts, beliefs about causality, and normative premises are mixed with framing the issues in attractive ways and use of emotional appeals.

4.1.4 Economic Power:

Economic power is a combination of all power. Without economic progress, a nation cannot make development in other sphere be it military, industry, skill development, technology or human development. A state must be economically sound to make

development in all other spheres. Economic sources can produce soft power as well as hard power. Economic aid, sanctions also have both hard and soft power dimensions. Natural resources largely contribute to the economic power. After 2005, the rise in oil and gas prices boosted the political influence of oil producing countries like Russia, Venezuela, and Iran which has suffered from oil shock in 1990s. There countries used oil as an important tool to have influence over those oil depend countries as soft power. Big countries like America give direct foreign aid and influences internal as well as external policy of the aid recipient countries.

4.1.5 Population as Power:

Population is another element that also contribute to the national power. Huge population, specially young and skilled population is always sources of power. But some times large population can also becomes weakness if the government is unable to produce skill workers and generate the employment. For demographic devedent, a state needs to create favourable conditions so that huge population can be converted in to the national asset / power. For this, political leadership is very important. Strong, visionary, ability to take decision in critical situation are very important qualities of a political leader. Their successful decision create impact on the power of the states. The knowledge of international politics, diplomacy are dependent on the ability of political leadership. An able leader can greatly contribute to boosting of national morale during the times of crisies, such as the Nepal earthquake tragedy. Nepal is getting assistance from all over the world but people are so discouraged and they are not able to come out of the trauma to start over life again. It is only their leaderships which can boost their morale. In such a crisis time, mental support is more important than money.

4.1.6 Smart Power:

Smart power is another tool of power that is adopted by states to deal with the international situations. The Smart Power refers to the combination of hard and soft power. This approach not only put emphasis on strong military but also emphasise on diplomacy, economic assistance, alliances and strategies. This approach is adopted becase of it is not necessary that all the time military alone can define the interest of the state. Joseph Nye, Former Assistant Secretary of Defence is of the opinion that to deal with threats like terrorism and asymmetric war cannot be dealt by either of the power but combination of the both hard and soft power.

Thus there are several actors and factors of the power. Ideology, Technology,   Political structure are also contributing factors to the power. These factors can change with the change in time and place.

4.2 COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Wars and conflicts are fundamental problems in international politics which in reality motivated creation of international organisation for global governance. Over the last fifty years the nature of was and conflicts has changed significantly so the functioning of the international organisation. Intra state conflicts or within states also led to collaps of many weak states and caused millions of deaths across. When an individual state is not able to deal with such situation, collective security is an alternative to restore the preface and punish the belligerent state or an organisation. According to George Schwarzeberger, collective security is a, "Machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order". It means that collective security is a measure to deal with threat to peace. Van Dyke says collective security is a system in which number of states are bound to engage in collective efforts on behalf of each other's individual security.

After the second world war, the global leadership realized the importance of peace and stability. Therefore, at global level United Nation was created in 1945. Some regional organisations also came up to serve the purpose of peace and stability such as NATO, OSCE, CIS in Europe; ASEAN, ARF in Asia; Arab League, GCC in Middle East; AU, ECOWAS in Africa; OAS in Latin America. In the United Nations Charter, the Art. 1, paragraph 1, States that it is the purpose of United Nations to maintain international peace and security and to that end it will take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. The charter also forbids any state to resort force and impose its will on others, poses threat to national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The United Nations is also empowered to take collective action against any state which committed crime against humanity. The acts like attack on civilian population, enslavement, forcible transfer of population, imprisonment or severe deprivation of physical liberty, posture, rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, persecution of any group based on political, racial, religious, nationality or cultural grounds can be base to take collective action against the concerned state on humanitarian ground.

4.2.1 Case of Collective Security:

4.2.1.1 Korea:

When North Korean forces invaded South Korea in June 1950. In September 1950, UN forces led by U. S. took collective action against the North Korea's actions as an act of breach to peace. By the end of the month, UN forces liberated Seoul and

restored the status quo that existed before the war. The Koreans War had long lasting consequences for the entire region. Though if failed to unify the country, the United Statues achived its larger goals including preserving and promoting NATO interest.

4.2.2.2 Gulf War:

Iraq had invaded Kuwait in 1990 which triggered UN to take action against Iraq. United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions on Iraq including Resolution 678 which authorizes member states to use necessary means to reserve the occupation of Kuwait and restore peace and security in the region. Iraq was asked to withdraw it forces from Kuwait but it did not do so. Lastly military operation was launched under the Resolution 678 and Art. 42 of the charter. U.S. led military action in Gulf widely regarded strong United Nations after post cold war The Resolution 678 also required Iraq to compensate victims for losses or damages using money from the sale of oil.

4.3 CRITICS ON COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The sole purpose of the UN is to maintain international peace and security, though it is not free from the criticsm. Some times UN Security Council is very selective in taking the action against those state which have / had posed threat to international peace. For example, before Bangladesh was liberated from Pakistan, the Pakistan army commited very brutal atrocities on the then East Pakistan People. It ranges from rape, murder, loot and poising pounds to burning down the houses of the religious minorities. Over one million people were migrated to India to save their lives. Indian government was requesting to take action against Pakistan on humanitarian ground but UN did not take it.

Another criticism about the collective security is that the decision making body doe not give proper representation. Therefore, the decisions on collective security are taken according to the convinience of the great powers and ignored small states. It is moral and legal responsibility of the UN to play the role of guardianship of the world community. It must take prevention and pro active stops to stop the spread of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and work for confidence building measures among the member states.

The role of UNSC is also criticised on the ground of economic sanction. When UNSC passes such resolution of economic sanctions on any state, UNSC has to take into account the consequences that are going to face by common people of the state. The essential things such as medicine, food etc. should not be affected by the economic sanctions.

4.3.1 Peacekeeping:

Peacekeeping was the major innovation approach to promote peace during cold war. It involves deployment of unarmed or light armed military personal between belligerent parties. The United Nations defines peacekeeping as an operation involving military personal but without enforcement of power undertaken by UN to maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict. Peacekeepers have become an indispensable tool in UN peace achievement efforts. Whether monitoring cease-fire agreements, separating the parties to conflict or monitoring elections, UN peacekeeping forces have served an important role from very beginning. The VI chapter of the UN charter provides peaceful settlement of conflicts and chapter VII provides enforcement of military. The key distinction between enforcement and peacekeeping lies in the use of force and consent of the parties to the conflict. Peacekeepers use military force as last resort and that is only in self defence. Today, there are over 1,20,000 peace keeping personal worldwide. Their work ranges from stregenthening government ministries in South Sudan to Supporting Elections in Haiti from protecting civilians in Eastern Congo to maintaining ceasefire lines along the Golan Heights (in Syria). The Department of peacekeeping Operation has 16 different mission around the world. Its budget in 2012 was $7.06 billion which is less than 0.5 per cent of the world's total spending on military.

4.3.2 Peacekeeping Operations:

4.3.2.1 Cambodia:

The United Nations Transitional Authority took peacekeeping operation in Cambodia in 1991-93. The operation called for 15,900 military personal, 3,600 civilian police and 1,020 civil administration' personnel from more than 30 countries. The United Nations Transitional Authority went far beyond that of traditional peacekeeping, and comprehensive efforts towards building and social reconstruction as part of peace building and to end the armed conflict. It has also performed functions like that of electoral, civil administration, police, human rights, rehabilitation and reconstructions.

The October1991 Paris agreement was strongly supported by UN, ASEAN also played key role to isolated Vietnam for its invasion of Cambodia in 1978. U.S. and Soviet Cooperation led China and Vietnam to support ceasefire among the rival forces. The agreement ended twenty year war in Cambodia. However, the UN Transitional Authority was unable to achive complete ceasefire, demobilization of forces. Therefore, it was difficult to carry out all aspect of civil mission, peacekeeping and peacekeeping mission, in Cambodia. The UN Transition authority had spent $1.8 billion

during its mission in Cambodia till it conducted successful 1993 election. But, soon after, in 1997 military seized power from elected government.

4.3.2.2 Namibia:

Namibia is a country that was colony of the Germany until defeat by South Africa in 1915. South Africa rated Namibia until the Security Council confirmed the illegality of South Africa's presence in the territory in 1970. But to before this conflict started between nationalist organisation in Zambia and South African Defence forces which is also known as Namibian war of Independence in 1966, On January 30, 1976, the Security Council adopted, Resolution 385 which declared that free election should be held under the supervision and control of UN. The United Nations Commission for Namibia and South Africa agreed on the proposal in 1978. The mission was titled United Nations Transition Assistance Group also referred as UNTAG. The mission aimed to assist the special representative to ensure independence and Free and Fair Election in Namibia. The representative should ensure that all troops should confined to certain bases and South African forces should withdraw for Namibia. All discriminatory laws to be repealed, political activists to be released, law and order need to be impartially maintained. Ultimately Namibia gained independence in March 1990 and joined United Nations as independent country in April 1990.

4.3.2.3 UN Military Observers in India and Pakistan:

Since Jammu and Kashmir has become bone of contention between India and Pakistan, the United Nations military observers also could not do so much to normalize the situations on the border. The Security Council of United Nations on the complaint of Government of India Concerning the dispute over the territory of Jammu and Kashmir passed Resolution 47 in 1948. The resolution says that Pakistan should withdraw from the areas which it capture in 1948. The Indian army should withdraw and maintain function of the civil affairs. If recommended to the government of India and Pakistan to restore peace in Jammu and Kashmir and provide full freedom to the civilians. The UN military observer given the responsibility to strictly observe the situation and write to the Secretary General.

As of 28 February, 2015 the UN peacekeeping workforce consist of 92,140 serving troops and military observes, 12,528 are police personal, 5,289 international civilian personnel, 11,803 Local Civillion Staff and 1,800 UN volunteers, In this mission 128 countries contributed military and police personnel because UN does not have its own military force so it depends on contribution from member status.

4.4 NON-ALIGNMENT:

The term non-alignment has been described by different authorities differently. To some it is isolationism, to some it is neutrality, non-involvement and unilateralism. But generally it is kind of behaviour in international politics which keep you away from lighter of the block of international politics. Non-alignment aims at to keep away from the international conflict issue. But it does mean that not to take any position on any issue. Non-alignment certainly take position under exceptional situation of the international politics based on merit.

The Non-Alignment movement (NAM) was founded during cold war. The main objective of NAM to decolonisation and political independence of the Asia, Africa and Latin American people. The Bandung conference of the 29th Afro-Asion countries was important steps in the direction of formation of NAM. In this process, a key role was played by G. Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia who later become the founder of the NAM. At present there are over 110 members of the NAM.

In the Ban dung conference following ten principles were adopted.

1) Respect of fundamental human rights and UN Charter.

2) Respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

3) Recognisation of the equality among all races and equality among all nations.

4) Non-intervention into the internal affairs of the other country.

5) Respect of right of every nation to defend itself, either individually or collectively in conformity with the UN.

6) No use of collective defence pasts to benefit the specific interests of any of the great powers. No use of pressures by any country against other countries.

7) Refraining from carrying out threat or aggression against territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8) Peaceful solution of all international conflicts in conformity with UN Charter.

9) Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.

10) Respect & justice and international obligation of slave countries. Non-aligned countries always paid great attention to the problem of uneven economic development of the world.

For this NAM countries formed UNCTAD and they were also instrumental in the formation of G 77. Non-Aligned countries, time and again strongly criticised racial discrimination.

Some times non-alignment moment also subject to the criticism of non relevance. It is said that after the end of the cold war and disintegration of Soviet Union, Non-alignment has lost all its relevance. The core objective of the NAM was decolonisation which is already fulfilled so there is no space for NAM to play vital role in international politics. It is true that there is no colonial state and NAM emerged during the cold war period, but it does not mean that there is no issue in international politic where NAM cannot play vital role. With changed global situation and changed nature of issues, NAM has also been talking about global issues like climate change, terrorism, drugs trafficking, human trafficking, gender issues, (WMD) weapons of mass destruction, nuclear proliferation, natural disaster, war, destruction, hunger, poverty, disputes and so on.

4.4.1 Role & NAM in International Politics:

The NAM is always subject to the criticism that it is not playing the role which was expected by the founding fathers. Various countries adopted the principle of non-alignment but some countries have joined military alliances of the major powers and were also involved in many disputes such as Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, Cambodia, Namibia, Pakistan, Western Sahara etc. The members of the NAM have not been able to solve the international dispute. Similarly, the NAM has failed to check the arms race and keep under the strict supervision. However, the contribution made by NAM cannot be ignored so easily. Its membership has been increased from first conference attended only by 29 countries to more than 110 countries. The continuous increase in membership is self explanatory. The non-aligned countries greatly contributed to the easing of cold war and encouraged newly independent countries to keep away from power blocs. The non-align at countries promoted an ideology of mutual co-existence, decolonisation and freedom. The most important role which non-alignment can play in the changed global situation is to protect economic in trust of the poor countries. Today, most of the world trade is taking place in dollar. The result of it is declining value of the currency of the developing countries. The 16th NAM summit held in Iran took up the issue of monopolization of the financial mechanism in the world by U.S. dollars. Therefore, one solution can be that there is likely to have common currency among the NAM countries so that the value of NAM countries will increase. And as they are large in number, the western countries could not do any thing if NAM countries do it firmly.

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4.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1) Discuss the concept of power in International Politics.
2) Define Collective Security and explain its features.
3) Write a note on NAM and its relevance to International Politics.

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5

APPROACHES TO PEACE: DIPLOMACY, INTERNATIONAL LAW, UNITED NATIONS, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

Unit Structure

5.0   OBJECTIVE

In this chapter we intend to get introduced to the approaches to peace as adopted by the international community. We will begin with the meaning of the concept of peace and throw light on some of its dimensions. It is from there that we will proceed to briefly discuss four major approaches to the peace, diplomacy, international law, United Nations, and arms control and disarmament. The intention is to get introduced to various dimensions and mechanisms of international peace.

5.1   INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the idea of security has been associated with freedom from physical harm or manifest violence. Therefore, in the international relations, national interest which is often described in terms of national security required military preparedness and arms production. In the post cold war period the concept of security has been altered to include the elements other than the physical violence. The concept is now developed comprehensively to address manifest as well as structural violence as causes of insecurity. The efforts for peace in contemporary international relations are guided by our understanding of the linkages between notions of security and violence.

National security in traditional sense leads to race for more advanced and most destructive armaments. The production and possession of nuclear weapons, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDS) along with chemical and biological weapons threatens the very existence of humanity and world peace. Having witnessed the devastation caused by nuclear weapons during Second World War in particular and overall effect of two World Wars in general, the international community engages itself in efforts for maintaining peace and security through various means. In the present unit we will attempt to understand the approaches to peace in international relations.

5.2   PEACE

Peace as the desirable condition for human existence always remains objective of human quest. It is imperative to understand the meaning of peace in details before introducing various approaches to peace in international relations.

5.2.1 EARLY IDEAS:

Knowing that conflict and violence are the obstacles for human well being and growth of civilizations, the idea of peace generated enormous interest and thorough deliberation   in the history of human kind. Almost unanimously all intellectual traditions denounced war as undesirable for peaceful living. Regarding the attainment of the objective of peace and its nature by humans' two broad trends can be identified. Firstly, religions underline the abstract and spiritual dimensions of the peace. Accordingly need for harmonious living with other fellow humans and with other living and non-living things; link between a spiritual life and action for

social justice; tranquility between inner state of mind and harmonious interpersonal relationship; and natural goodwill, unconditional love, wholeness and individual well-being as well as cessation of hostilities are some of the prerequisites of the peace. Secondly, in order to sustain the conditions of peace and prevent the outbreak of violence, the non-religious philosophical traditions emphasis more on material conditions and institutional framework. Avoidance of civil disturbances, stable relationship among various units of society, maintenance of law and order, acceptance of contractual nature of the institution of State, control over the power of the state to curb the social oppression and exploitation and establishment of egalitarian social order are some of the means that various school of thoughts like Greek, Social Contractualist, Anarchist, Socialist argue as necessary for curbing the violence in the society.

5.2.2 MEANING

Peace is broadly understood as the absence of manifest violence or the situation of lack of conflict. In detailed analysis peace can be understood in two ways, firstly, as an absence of war often called as 'negative peace' and secondly, in terms of presence of social and economic justice often called as 'positive peace'. In reality both have their utility for correct diagnosis of occurrences of violence. Any given case of direct or manifest violence such as physical injuries and infliction of pain such as killing, beating and verbal abuse can be attributed to the structural reasons like inegalitarian and discriminatory practices causing human misery like poverty, hunger, repression, and social alienation. The causes of manifest violence are hidden in the political, economical, and social structures of the given society in particular and humanity in general. Structures of exploitation as caste, class, patriarchy or race holds root causes of the violence. Cultural elements like religion, ideology and art provide value system to legitimize the instruments of violence that are ingrained in the societal structures. Therefore, minimization of cultural violence requires reduction in structural and direct violence. Based on this analysis of violence, interweaving of both negative and positive meanings of peace can be understood.

It is now well accepted that peace must be maintained by peaceful means only. Since peace is the absence of violence, and that violence should not be employed to maintain it. Use of physical force to punish the perpetrators of peace may prove short term

utility. Some non-violent means like negotiation and mediation to diffuse situations of conflict, total disarmament to reduce the capacity of war, international agreements and institutions to support stable international relations are considered as suitable to fulfill the objective of peace in long term. Beyond these means the comprehensive notion of peace touches upon many issues that influence quality of life, including personal growth, freedom, social equality, economic equity, solidarity, autonomy and participation. While positive concept of peace equates peace with social justice, negative concept draw attention towards more realistic perception of the world as stage for power struggle.

5.2.3 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND PEACE

As mentioned above efforts of "peace-making" are largely directed towards conflict resolution devoid of any violent means. Conflict is natural in human as well as international relations. It requires proper management of the conflict so that it should not escalate into violent situation causing mass destruction. Therefore the challenge to maintain the peace includes management and resolution of conflict in ways that reduce the possibility or the level of violence without compromising other values such as justice or freedom.

Instances of manifest violence are rooted in structural arrangements of the national as well as international systems. The prolonged exploitation, denial of liberty and justice, discriminatory treatment for the weaker sections by dominant caste/classes result in resentment and feeling of rebelliousness among weaker groups. Privileged groups either ignore the demands of under privileged (if voices are too weak to pull attention) or suppress the resenting voices by physical violence by using physical force and also by exercising hegemony through cultural institutional mechanisms. Individuals/groups/nations challenge the existing balance of power situations of conflict arise.

Traditional approach to conflict resolution seeks effective maintenance of order in the given society, be it national or international. Thus enforcement of existing institutional mechanisms is used to discipline the behavior of the rebelling parties. Primacy is accorded to ventilating the demands through institutional structures which are by and large meant to reinforce the dominant social norms. Any effort to revolt beyond that can be dealt with deterrent strategies relying on threats and punishment

depending upon the intensity of the revolt. In any case the approach fails to provide long term solution to the problems that are rooted much deeper and prevent the recurrence of future conflict satisfying conditions to be acceptable to all parties.

The contemporary approaches to peace building rely on eliminating structural violence and construction of a new social environment that advances a sense of confidence and improves conditions of life. It emphasizes the end of coercive processes, transformation in human relations based on equality of opportunity, freedom and justice. In a way it values human life based on promotion of justice and end of abusive human relations at all levels - intra-state, inter-state and global as well.

Thus, in the discussion above we have understood the concept of peace with its varied dimensions. In the following sections we will concentrate on the approaches to peace building viz. diplomacy, international law, United Nations, arms control and disarmament.

Check your progress:
1. Discuss in detail the meaning of peace with its varied dimensions.
2. Differentiate between traditional and contemporary approaches to peace building.

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5.3   APPROACHES TO PEACE:

Since first half of the 20th century arms race, disarmament, avoidance of war had been the major focus of peace studies. Diplomacy, international law, United Nations (UN) system, arms control and disarmament are the major approaches to international peace. These approaches mostly look at the world as a system of nation-states as prime actors with considerable weight in global politics.

5.3.1 DIPLOMACY:

Ever since the international system has developed from the Treaty of Westphalia, diplomacy had been the major instrument of resolution of conflicts between the Nations.

5.3.1.1 DIPLOMACY MEANING:

According to Nicolson, in common parlance the term diplomacy denotes several meanings such as a synonym for 'foreign policy', 'negotiations', the machinery by which such negotiation is carried out, a branch of the foreign service and also the skill in the conduct of international negotiations. The scholarly writing is also equally ambiguous over the proper meaning of the term. It may be defined "as the process of presentation and negotiation by which states customarily deal with one another in terms of peace". In Oxford Dictionary it is defined as "the method by which these negotiations are adjusted and managed." Sir Earnest Satow in his book *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* has defined diplomacy as "the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states." Quincy Wright suggests that "Diplomacy in the popular sense means the employment of tact, shrewdness and skill in any negotiation or transaction. In the more special sense, used in international relations it is the art of negotiation in order to achieve the maximum of group objectives with a minimum of costs within a system of politics in which war is a possibility." Thus, to summarize, diplomacy is the business of communicating between governments as a means of both the making and execution of the foreign policy.

5.3.1.2 HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY:

The organized diplomacy may be traced back to the fifth century B.C. when the City States of ancient Greece used to send special missions to each other. The Romans, especially Eastern Roman Empire extended the practice of diplomacy to include accurate observation and reporting as well as representation. During the middle ages, from the sixth century A.D. to late eighteenth century, diplomacy simply meant the study and the preservation of archives rather than the act of international negotiation. In the late Middle Ages, Italian City States established diplomatic channels with London, France and the Court of Holy Roman Empire. After the treaty of Westphalia in 1948, diplomacy became an established profession and a generally accepted method of mutual relations between nations. Till the seventeenth century diplomacy was confined to the diplomacy of the Court i.e.

Kings. By the late eighteenth century, the Industrial, American and French revolutions changed the nature of political systems. The rise of democratic systems brought fundamental change in the duties of diplomats. The Congress of Vienna was instrumental in standardization of rules of procedures of diplomacy. The nineteenth century diplomacy, known as **modern democracy** demanded new methods as well as personnel, because of change in the nature of diplomacy. The growing sense of the community of nations, the increasing appreciation of the importance of public opinion and the rapid increase in communications were the major developments of the nineteenth and twentieth century that affected the theory and practice of diplomacy. The present day diplomacy, known as **new diplomacy** is the result of new developments such as advancement of communication technology; the development of alliance system such as NATO, BRICS; the increasing importance of public opinion in foreign matters and the application of the principle of littoral democracy to the conduct of foreign relations.

5.3.1.2 DIPLOMATIC METHODS:

Diplomatic procedures are formally employed by the involved nations to settle the disputes with other nations. Diplomatic methods include negotiations, good offices, mediation, inquiry and conciliation.

Negotiation: Negotiations can be either bilateral or multilateral. These can be conducted directly between Heads of the State or Ambassadors or special representatives of the countries involved. Negotiations can be held between conflicting parties and also through international conference. Negotiation usually proceeds in conjunction with good offices or mediation. It involves consultation and communication.

Good Offices and Mediation: Good offices and mediation involves a friendly third state, which assists in bringing about an amicable solution to a dispute. The party offering good offices or mediation may be an individual or an international organization or a state. The distinction between, good offices and mediation is mostly one of degree. In good offices, a third party offers its services to bring the disputing parties together and to suggest the making of a settlement without actually participating in the negotiations or conducting an exhaustive inquiry. Mediation on the other hand involves the mediating party in a more active role which includes participating in negotiations and helping reach a peaceful solution.

The mediator's suggestions have no binding character. The scope of good offices and mediation is limited. No specific procedures are laid down. The effort is to resolve the dispute through voluntary participation of conflicting nations and negotiation.

Conciliation: Conciliation includes inquiry and mediation. An individual or a Commission works to bring about conciliation between disputing parties. The UN has resorted to this method to solve several disputes since 1945. Conciliation includes a variety of methods by which a dispute is settled amicably with the help of other states or impartial bodies of inquiry or advisory committees. It usually involves proposals of settlement after investigation of facts and an effort to reconcile opposing viewpoints. Conciliation commissions have been provided for in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 for peaceful settlement of international disputes. Such commissions can be set up by special agreement between parties to a dispute. The commission would investigate and report on situations of fact. However, the investigation and report are not binding. The pact of Bogota of 1948 provides for conciliation commissions. An inquiry is different from conciliation in the sense that it does not make any specific recommendations. However, the inquiry would establish and clarify facts to a dispute, thereby helping adversaries to go in for a negotiated settlement. A commission of inquiry is very useful in cases of disputed boundaries.

Check your progress:
1. Elaborate in detail various diplomatic methods adopted to settle international disputes.
2. Discuss any two definitions of Diplomacy.
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5.3.2 INTERNATIONAL LAW:

In the international relations it is often observed that national interest contradict the conditions of peaceful coexistence. International law acts as a definite constraint on national power. While national power determines protection of national interest, the international law works towards guarantee of maintaining peace. International law is generally understood as a set of rules accepted

by nation-states which define their rights and obligations and the procedures enforcing them.

5.3.2.1 ORIGIN OF INTERNATIONAL LAW:

Need to regulate the relations of sovereign political units was felt even before the emergence of Westphalian Nation-State system. The ancient civilizations of India, China and Egypt had treaties, war conventions, diplomatic protocols and other customary laws. The modern system of international law is rooted in modern European traditions and greatly influenced by the writings of the jurists of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries like Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Francis Lieber (1800-1872), Bluntschli (1808-1872) and David Dudley Field (1805-1894). Several institutes also contributed towards codification of international law like *Institute de Droit International* (founded in 1973), International Law Association, and The American Institute of International Law. In 1924, the League of Nations set up a committee of experts to codify certain international laws. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant of Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the Convention on Genocide (1948) are some important attempts by United Nations to develop comprehensive body of International Law. The customs and practices that developed over the time were codified and gradually come to constitute the body of International Law.

5.3.2.2 DEFINITIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW:

There are some definitions of International Law that clarifies the concept. According to Oppenheim, it "is the name for the body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilized states in their intercourse of states with each other." Stowell highlights the scope of international law and responsibility of the governments of the nations to enforce the international law, when he defined international law as embodying "certain rules relating to human relations throughout the world, which are generally observed by mankind and enforced primarily through the agency of the governments of the independent communities into which humanity is divided". Fenwick regards international law as primarily "the body of rules accepted by the general community of nations as defining their rights and the means of procedure by which those rights may be protected or violations of them redressed".

5.3.2.3 SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Broadly there are five categories of sources of international law, which are as follows.

Customs and Usages: As international law is primarily based on the consent of the states, customs also play an important role in its formation. Customs are the rules evolved after a long historical process, which are recognized by the members of the international community and are now considered as obligatory by the states. Most of the rules with regard to the diplomats are based on customary law.

Treaties: Treaties contain more definite source of international law. Treaties are binding on states that are parties to them and are under the obligation to respect the terms contained therein. There are generally two types of treaties, firstly, those pertaining to specific matters between the contracting states and secondly, those which lay down general rules for large number of states. Even though both are important the latter kind of treaties played a vital role in the development of international law than the former.

The Legal Commentaries: The works of reputed jurists also immensely contribute to the development and clarification of numerous vague aspects of international law. These commentaries influence the decisions of courts and also the thinking of the people all over the world.

The Decisions of the Judicial Courts or Arbitral Tribunals: International judicial decisions of International Court of Justice and its predecessor, the Permanent Court of International Justice, are important sources of international law. The advisory opinions of both these Courts contributed to the development of international jurisprudence. International Criminal Court is important to complement national legal structures, especially when the national systems are either unwilling or genuinely unable to proceed. The International, Regional and State Courts as well lead to the formation of rules of international law.

5.3.2.4 SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The scope of international law is ever expanding and is generally considered to include three things. Firstly, **Laws of Peace** which includes laws relating to states as subjects of international law pertaining to the birth, recognition and death of a state,

succession, territorial sovereignty, rights and duties of states, jurisdiction, laws of the sea and maritime highways, state responsibility, nationality, international economic and monetary law, disarmament, development and environment. Secondly, **Laws of War,** which is pertaining to the situations of, armed conflict or war. It seeks to mitigate the effects of war by limiting the choices and methods of conducting military operations and also obliges the belligerents to space persons who do not or no longer participate in hostile actions. Lastly, **Laws of Neutrality,** which relate the rights and duties of neutral states on the one hand and of the states engaged in armed conflict on the other.

Check your progress:
1. Do you agree that International Law is effective instrument of international peace? Give reasons.
2. Explain any two sources of international law.

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5.3.3 UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization, established in 1945 after World War II to replace the League of Nations as the guardian of international peace and security. Birth of the UN owes to the circumstances surrounding World War II and failure of the League of Nations to provide dependable platform to address conflicting claims of the states that led to the heaviest devastation in the history of human kind. Since birth UN played critical role in facilitating the peaceful settlement of international disputes. At present there are 193 member states of the UN.

5.3.3.1 THE ORGANISATION OF UNITED NATIONS

The organization has six principal organs. **The General Assembly** is deliberative assembly of all UN member states. Major functions of the General Assembly includes, resolving non-compulsory recommendations to states, or suggestions to the UNSC; to decide on the admission of new members; to adopt the budget; and to elect the non-permanent members of the UNSC, all

members of ECOSOC, the UN Secretary General, and the 15 Judges of the ICJ. **The United Nations Security Council (UNSC)** works on international security issues. The UNSC has 15 members: five permanent members with veto power and ten elected members. It is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the most powerful organ of the UN, as it may adopt compulsory resolutions. Its decision includes peacekeeping, and peace enforcement missions, as well as non-military pressure mediums, such as trade embargos. **The UN Economic and Social Council** works for global economical and social affairs. It has 54 members, who are elected by the UN General Assembly. It is responsible for cooperation between states on economic and social fields (raising the general standard of living, solve, economic, social and health problems, promotion of human rights, culture and education, as well as humanitarian aid). **The UN Secretariat** is the administrative organ of the UN. It supports the other UN bodies administratively, e.g. in the organization of conferences, writing reports and studies, and the preparation of the budget-plan. Its chairperson-the UN Secretary General is elected by the UN General Assembly and is the most important representative of the UN.   **The International Court of Justice** decides disputes between states that recognize its jurisdiction and creates legal opinion. **The United Nations Trusteeship Council** is currently inactive organ of the UN. It was originally designed to manage colonial possessions that were earlier League of Nations mandates.

5.3.3.2 UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

The United Nations provide multiple platforms to resolve the conflicts between the states. Depending upon the intensity of the threat to international peace that may arise from the particular dispute the matter can be brought before the General Assembly, the Security Council, Economic and Social Council or the concerned Specialized Agency. The United Nations also adopt different methods to achieve and maintain peace in particular situation. It encourages states to settle their disputes by developing the process of conflict resolution by peaceful means of their own choice and accords to the organs responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security and offers a wide range of choice to achieve their desired ends. In general, the choices can be classified as methods of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace keeping and peace building. **Preventive diplomacy** tries to put an end to a conflict by getting the concerned parties to resolve

the conflict before it become violent. The essence of diplomatic method is that parties to the dispute, after discussing the issue involved in the dispute, either themselves directly or with the help of an intermediary, agree upon how the dispute may be resolved. It is the agreement between the parties that settles the dispute. In diplomatic methods, the solution reached is usually a sort of adjustment of the differences between the parties, each gaining in part and losing in part in the process. **Peacemaking** tries to resolve the conflict diplomatically but only after the bout becomes violent. It tries to get the involved parties to cease-fire. **Peacekeeping** is non-aggressive use of military force to help nations in conflict reach a settlement. **Peace building** is the last stage that promotes peace and order by raising social structures, legal systems and sometimes even setting up a new government.

5.3.3.3 UNITED NATIONS PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS

Since 1948 (the first UN peacekeeping mission in the Middle East to monitor the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours) there have been a total of 63 UN peacekeeping operation around the world. During the period of Cold War peacekeeping activities were limited to military tasks only. Since the close of Cold War it adopted multidimensional approach which involved helping to build sustainable institutions of governance to human rights monitoring, to security sector reform, to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants. Although in 1988 the UN peacekeeping force received the Nobel Peace Prize, the UN peacekeeping were successful on some occasions and failed on the other. During the outbreak of the Cold War peacekeeping agreements were extremely difficult because of the division of the world into hostile camps. Following the end of the Cold War, there were renewed calls for the UN to become the agency for achieving world peace, as several dozen ongoing conflicts continued to rage around the globe. In 2005, the Human Security Report documented a decline in the occurrences of wars, genocides and human rights abuses since the end of the Cold War, and presented evidence to appreciate the efforts of the UN towards the peace. In El Salvador and Mozambique, peacekeeping ensured ways to achieve self-sustaining peace. Sierera Leone, East Timor and Liberia have been successful operations. But on number of occasions the UN had to face failure also. UN peacekeeping fared badly and failed in Somalia where peacekeepers were dispatched without securing either a ceasefire or the consent of warring parties. Similarly the UN

failed to avoid the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the massacre of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995. It failed to provide humanitarian aid and intervene in the Second Congo War, aborted the 1992/1993 peacekeeping operations during the civil war in Somalia, neglected to implement provisions of Security Council resolutions related to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, and continuing failure to prevent genocide or provide assistance in Darfur. UN peacekeepers have also been accused of child rape, sexual abuse. There are allegations of corruption by the UN executives in the field and in the headquarters. The UN is one of the official supporters of the World Security Forum, a major international conference on the effects of global catastrophes and disasters, which took place in the United Arab Emirates in October 2008.

Check your progress:

1. Critically examine the role of the United Nations in maintaining world peace.

2. Explain any two methods adopted by the United Nations to achieve peace.

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5.3.4 ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

In international relations, behavior of states is primarily motivated by the concerns for national security. Traditional approach to national security place heavy emphasis on military preparedness and arms production. It leads to arms race and ultimately destabilizes international peace and security. Increased sophistication in the armament technology in modern times worsened the prospectus of survival of human kind. Especially, the possession of nuclear weapons, chemical and biological weapons threatens the very existence of humanity and world peace. Therefore, it is evident after post First World War that efforts are made to reduce the possibilities of war and increase the chances of international peace and security through disarmament and arms control.

5.3.4.1 MEANING OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

Generally, both the terms 'disarmament' and 'arms control' are used interchangeably. But there is a subtle line of difference between the two. Disarmament means the elimination or reduction of arms to preserve international peace and security by averting wars. According to Morgenthau, "Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armament race". Charles P. Schleicher defined the terms as, "means of reducing or eliminating the material and human instrumentalities for the exercise of physical violence". Columbus and Wolfe argued that disarmament requires the global destruction of weapons and the disestablishment of all armed forces. Thus, the range of exponents of disarmament is wide to include outlawing of all military arsenals and establishments to the banning of particular weapons and even the implementation of specific agreements designed to prevent the accidental outbreak of war. Designed to limit the impact of war and to prevent the accidental outbreak of war. No wonder, realists in international relations consider the approach as too utopian and unattainable to achieve world peace.

As against disarmament, arms control has limited objectives. It generally includes arms reduction and arms limitation. Arms reduction stands for partial disarmament and it imply a mutually agreed-upon set of arms levels for the nation-states involved. Arms limitation, on the other hand, stands for the wide variety of international accords, designed to limit the impact of war and to prevent the accidental outbreak of war. It may include measures such as the installation of devices to detonate nuclear testing and agreements between two or more countries restricting the sale of arms and transfer of nuclear technology. According to Schleicher, arms control is used to "include any kind of cooperation with respect to armament which could curtail the arms race, reduce the probability of war, or limit its scope and violence". In the views of Kegley and Wittkopf, arms control means "cooperative agreements between states designed to regulate arms levels either by limiting their growth or by placing restrictions on how they might be used. Arms control is less ambitious than disarmament, since it seeks not to eliminate weapons but to regulate their use or moderate the pace at which they are developed." Thus arms control means a co-operative or multilateral approach to armament policy where armament policy includes amount and kinds of weapons, forces, development and utilization in periods of relaxation or tension. It aims at improving national security by the adjustment of armament capabilities.

5.3.4.2 INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TOWARDS DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

The history of disarmament can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. In 1816 Czar of Russia, in the years 1863 and 1869 France, in 1870 Britain and in 1877 Italy took certain steps to halt arms race. These early efforts were not much successful. In 1898 Tsar of Russia proposed a scheme of arms reductions that resulted into two Hague Conferences.

Disarmament after World War I: Enormous scale of destruction during First World War resulted in serious efforts towards maintaining peace by abolition of arms and ammunition. US President Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points called for abolition of arms and reduction of armament to "the lowest point consistent with domestic safety". The Treaty of Versailles, which established peace after World War I held similar approach of minimum requirement of arms for nations. League of Nations was charged with the duty of securing an agreement on the general disarmament. A Permanent Advisory Committee was set up to formulate the programme for reduction of arms. Since the committee was comprised of military representatives it failed to progress in the desired direction. A Temporary Mixed Commission was set up in 1921, containing majority of the civilians as its members followed by Preparatory Commission. These efforts also failed due to non cooperation of member states of the League. Outside the League also efforts to control the arms and secure disarmament were made. Some noteworthy are Washington Conference (1921-22) between Britain, USA., France, Japan and Italy, Geneva Conference (1927), Conference of representatives of five major powers at London (1930) and Naval Conference (1935). All these efforts failed to make any substantial progress towards disarmament. Some of the reasons were failure of the League to effectively curb aggression of member states, differences among the members of the Disarmament Conference on various issues, non acknowledgement of international leaders to economic, psychological and political conditions prevailing in various countries and finally mutual distrust and suspicion, fear and hatred among member states. However, a noteworthy development of this period was the Geneva Protocol (1925) for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

Disarmament after World War II: Unprecedented scale of destruction caused during Second World War and application of Nuclear Weapons that generated fear about complete annihilation of human race resulted in renewed and more serious efforts towards disarmament and arms control. Some of the major developments in the field of disarmament and arms control since World War II can be summarized as follows.

In 1945, The USA, Great Britain, USSR and China signed **The Four Power Declaration** on general security and declared to bring about a practical agreement on regulation of armaments in the post-War period. In 1946, the **United Nations Atomic Energy Commission** was founded to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy in four areas mainly, exchange of basic scientific information between all nations for peaceful ends, control of atomic energy to ensure its application for peaceful purposes, elimination of Weapons of Mass Destruction from armaments and effective mechanisms to inspect violations and evasions. The commission operated for brief period and became ineffective due to super power rivalry between USA and USSR. **The United Nations Commission on Conventional Armaments** was established in 1947 to find out ways to reduce the size of non-nuclear armaments around the world. Its recommendations too were marred amidst the cold war contestations. **The United Nations Disarmament Commission** was created in 1952. In 1956 the **Conference on the Statute of International Atomic Energy Agency** was organized and subsequently **IAEA** was formally inaugurated in 1957. It was primarily based on the idea that significant amount of fissile materials shall be transferred to the IAEA by the USSR and the USA which shall be used for peaceful purposes.

The **Partial Test Ban Treaty** (PTBT) was signed in 1963 in Moscow which proved a significant step towards disarmament as it aimed to reduce the dangers of radioactive fallout from the nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The Treaty excluded nuclear tests carried out underground. **The Outer Space Treaty** (1967) prohibits the states to use orbit around the Earth and celestial bodies like moon for military purposes and to install weapons of mass destruction. **The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** (NPT) (1968) aims at limiting the spread of nuclear weapons globally. It basically promotes non-proliferation, disarmament and Peaceful use of nuclear energy. The NPT met severe criticisms especially from the countries like India, Pakistan, Brazil and Argentina who objected

that the treaty was discriminatory because it was silent about the control of possessions of the nuclear capabilities of the states belonging to the Nuclear Club. **The Sea-Bed Treaty** (1971) between UK, USA and USSR prohibit the state parties to go beyond the outer limit of a se-bed zone to implant or emplace nuclear technology for military purposes. The treaty grants right to each state party the right to verify the commitment of other state parties to the treaty. **The Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and their Destruction** came into force in 1975 with an objective to achieve effective progress towards general and complete disarmament, including the prohibition and elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction. **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)** were rounds of negotiations and deliberations between USA and USSR held between two phases, SALT- I (1970-72) and SALT-II (1972-1979). These efforts were targeted towards easing off the Cold War tensions and enhance the spirit of détente by developing means of arms limitations. The talks were concentrated on sophisticated military technology of Anti-Ballistic Missile System and Strategic Offensive Arms like land based Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles ICBM) and submarine launched ballistic missiles. **The Threshold Test Ban Treaty** (1974) was signed between USA and USSR with an objective to prohibit the possibility of testing new or existing nuclear weapons going beyond 150 kilotons. The **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty** (1987) between the USA and USSR aimed at elimination of the ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5500 kilometers. It had a provision for verification of the Treaty by both the signatory states by which they could monitor and inspect missile production facilities in the territory of each Party. Under **Conventional Arms Cut Treaty (1990)** the European countries, the USA and the USSR were obliged to limit and reduce its battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, artillery, combat aircraft and attack helicopters. Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty between the USA and the USSR had two phases of its developments START I (1991) and START II (1993). It was mainly focused on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms like nuclear warheads, intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine launched ballistic missiles and bombers. In 1993 representatives of 120 countries signed **Chemical Weapons Agreement** at Paris which placed ban on the use, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)** (1996) is signed by 180 states so far and ratified by

145 states, bans all nuclear explosions in all environments, for military or civilian purposes. **The Landmines Ban Treaty** (1997) obliges each state Party to the treaty to restrain the use, development, production, storage, transfer and encourage the anti-personnel mines. USA and Russia agreed upon the **US-Russian Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reduction (2002)** by which it was decided to limit US and Russian strategic nuclear warheads by two-thirds in the respective nuclear arsenals of the two countries. **Anti-Toxic Chemical Treaty (2001)** was aimed at controlling the production, import, export, disposal and use of the toxic chemicals.

5.3.4.3 PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT:

Disarmament was the most discussed instrument of international peace during 20th century. In practice it has certain limitations. According to Morgenthau, the prime factor that put obstacles to disarmament is, as there is no fix ratio among the armaments of different nations, the questions of standards of allocation of different types and quantities of armaments to be allotted to various nations remain unresolved. Further, mutual distrust among states; concerns of national interest and security; political rivalry and disputes; advancement of military technology and technological innovations; and finally Military Industrial Complex in advanced states like USA, France, Britain Russia are some other factors that neutralizes the efforts towards disarmament and arms control.

Check your progress:
1. Comment on the utility of the disarmament efforts undertaken after World War II.
2. Differentiate between disarmament and arms control.

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5.4   LET US SUM UP

Peace is most sought after objective of the international relations in contemporary world. Generally the approaches to peace are motivated by the relationship between security and violence. In 21st century the concept of security acquired broad

meaning that considered manifest as well as structural violence as root causes of insecurity. Thus peace can be understood in two senses 'negative peace' and 'positive peace'. In this chapter we emphasized on the approaches that were guided by the negative notions of peace. The fear of catastrophic violence that the world has witnessed in two world wars along with the threat of the nuclear violence during cold war period caused the intensification of the efforts of peace by the world community. By and large four approaches dominated the efforts to maintain the world peace. Diplomacy, International Law, United Nations and Arms Control and Disarmament. While diplomacy mainly used by individual governments as an instrument of execution of foreign policy it is also used for maintaining open channels of communication between conflicting nations. The governments as well as the United Nations regularly used diplomatic methods of negotiation, good offices and mediation, and conciliation. International law as a set of rules accepted by nation-states acts as a definite constraint on national power and helps to maintain the conditions of peaceful coexistence. On the organizational front the United Nations provided necessary leadership to coordinate, direct, supervise and monitor the efforts towards the avoidance of war. Most discussed and deliberated approach was arms control and disarmament. Total and partial reduction of armaments at global as well as regional level was pursued to reduce the possibility of repetition of devastating experiences of world wars. These four approaches that we studied in this chapter are commonly employed tools of channelizing the efforts to maintain international peace.

5.5   UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Discuss in details the concept of peace and elaborate the relationship between security, conflict and peace.
2. Define diplomacy and explain various diplomatic procedures adopted to maintain international peace.
3. What is international law? Explain in detail various sources of international law.
4. Evaluate the performance of United Nations to maintain international peace.
5. Discuss the problems and prospects of disarmament and arms control approach for world peace.

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6

POST COMMUNIST WORLD

6.0 OBJECTIVES

Present chapter looks into the post-Soviet developments in the world and how the collapse of Soviet Union led to the emergence of New World Order. After studying this chapter you would be able to understand following things:

1. Post-Cold War developments in the world
2. Emergence of multilateralism and regionalism
3. Impact of globalization and Science and Technology revolution on world affairs.
4. The link between neoliberalism, regionalism and globalization

6.1 INTRODUCTION:

Second World War was one of the most devastating wars of the human history. Although the end of the Second World War brought about the end of British & French empires and halted the excessive trends of nationalism in Europe, yet, it was not going to be a peaceful world. The decline of the European empires and -the emergence of two major powers in the world were going to shape the world politics. On the one hand United States of America emerged as a leading

western power promoting liberal capitalist ideology leaving behind its long cherished policy of isolationism and on the other hand emerged the Soviet Union where Socialist revolution had successfully been carried out. The two powers were now competing with each other for global dominance and supremacy. On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill while speaking at the Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri declared that "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." This famous "iron curtain" speech of Winston Churchill symbolically depicted the division of Europe into two blocs, marking the beginning of the Cold War. The Berlin blockade of 1948 and the subsequent Berlin airlift was apparently the first Cold War crisis arose between the western allies (the United States, the United Kingdom and France) and the Soviet Union. The formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949 and the formation of the Warsaw pact (Warsaw Treaty Organisation) in 1955 were the further extensions of the Cold war. The world was divided into two blocs lead by the United States on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other hand. Although, there wasn't any direct confrontation between the two, the dark shadow of the possible nuclear war remained a dominated fear throughout the Cold War period. The Collapse of the Soviet Union brought about the end of the Cold War and the United States of America emerged as the sole super power in the world leading towards a unipolar world. The collapse of the Soviet Union was depicted as the defeat of the communist ideology and an ultimate triumph of the liberal ideology as described by Francis Fukuyama in his well-known book "The End of History and the Last Man (1992)." The end of the history narrative proposed a new world order based on the western liberal capitalist ideology. In other words world was moving in a new direction.

6.2 EXPLANATION

6.2.1. Post-Communist World:

Post-Cold War world which was also described as post-Communist world was characterized by the new forces of globalization, neoliberalism, democratization and subsequent market oriented economic reforms. The Cold War was seen as a battle between ideologies, Liberal Capitalism versus Communism, each ideology keen on spreading its influence around the world. The collapse of the Soviet Union which was representing the communist ideology been as the defeat of communism which inevitably open the doors for western liberal ideology .The emergence of the United as the sole super power and the ardent proponent of the western liberal ideology was the key determining force behind the new world order which was going to be laid on the foundation of this ideology.

6.2.2 New World Order:

Oxford online dictionary defines New World Order as a new balance of power among nations, sometimes as manifested in arrangements established internationally for preserving political stability .Noam Chomsky in his book 'World Orders, Old and New (1997)' writes "With the Cold War at an end, there were calls for a New World Order." However, the term New World Order was not exclusively used to describe post-Cold War World. It was being used by scholars and political leaders to describe world order after the end of the First and Second World Wars. Amongst others George H.W. Bush used the term while describing the post-Cold War world, primarily in the context of the first Gulf War of August 1990. While addressing a joint session of the United States Congress on September, 1990, President Bush said, "The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times... a new world order can emerge: a new era freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in jfj harmony.'The New World Order as envisioned by President Bush primarily looked at the world from the post-Cold War point of view where the end of the bipolarity would lead to cooperation and harmony in the world.

This New World order as envisioned by the leaders during the initial phase was characterized by the nuclear disarmament, multilateral cooperation and peaceful coexistence.The post-Cold War New World Order was being shaped in the context of the following developments;

1. The emergence of the United States as the sole super-power leading towards unipolarity,

2. The emergence of European economies as a consequence of regional integration in Europe and the success of European Union further changing the attitude and perceptions of even developing countries towards regional cooperation,

3. The emergenceof new Asian powers like China, India, etc. as major economic centres, and

4. The emergence of neoliberalism as a dominant ideology along with strong forces of globalization and new regionalism.

The end of the Cold War and the subsequent emergence of the United States as the unchallenged super power was the defining point of the new world order, however, the supremacy of the United States as the only super power lasted only for a decade or little more. And soon the world was being described as a multipolar world. The

rise of non-state actors and the increasing interdependence between states are few other features of this new world order.

6.2.3 Regionalism and Regional Integration:

Regionalism in simple words can be defined as a tendency towards some form of cooperation among a group of countries usually belonging to a particular region leading towards further integration in the form of institutionalization. According to Bjorn Hettne, Regionalism refers to a tendency and a political commitment to organise the world in terms of regions; more narrowly, the concept refers to a specific regional project. Paul Evans defines regionalism as 'a conscious awareness of shared commonalities and the will to create institutions and processes to act upon those commonalities.'However, regionalism and regionalization are two different terms denoting two different meaning. As Fredrik Soderbaum explains that regionalism is a set of ideas, identities and ideologies related to a regional project, whereas, regionalization the process of regional interaction creating a regional space (or outcome).These institutional arrangements are designed to facilitate and encourage the free flow of goods and services in a given region as well as to coordinate foreign economic policies of the member countries.

Regionalism and regional integration:

As discussed above regionalism refers to ideas and awareness of shared commonalities to work upon for cooperation. Regional integration is the product of the process of regionalization which takes place following certain stages of integration e.g. economic cooperation can lead to the creation of Preferential Trade Area (PTA), PTA can be further transformed into Free Trade Area (FTA), FTA can lead to a Customs Union (CU), Customs Union can be followed by a Common Market and Common Currency for a region. Therefore, the process of regional integration is a gradual process and may further lead to political integration.

Although regionalism started gaining momentum after the end of the Cold War, the evolution of regionalism can be traced back to the post-Second World War period. Post-Second World war regionalism, however, dominated by the security concerns of the state in the context of the Cold War, the formation of security centric organisations like North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949, Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954, Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) in 1955, The Australia, New Zealand, United States Treaty (ANZUS) 1951 are few of the examples of the security centric regional organisations. In 1946 David Mitrany proposed functionalism, which was based on the doctrine of ramification, as an alternative to federation for bringing peace and cooperation in Europe. The functional

approach proposed by David Mitrany was based on mono functional cooperation and less emphasis on the political actors.Ernst Haas further developed a theory of neo-functionalism emphasizing on the spillover effect leading to cooperation and further integration while recognizing the role of political actors in the process.

The formation of European Coal and Steel Community (ECST) in 1952 on the functional line of cooperation between two major European states, France and Germany, was going to set the tone of the European regional integration. On March 25, 1957, the six ECSC members signed two Treaties of Rome leading towards the establishment of European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC) and with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty on February 7, 1992, the European Union came into existence.

Regionalism now had become a popular trend in many regions and sub-regions; Southeast Asia is another such example where regional integration could achieve notable success in the form of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Post- 1980s saw a dramatic surge in regional cooperation and regional integration. According to Kishore C. Dash following four developments led to resurgence of regionalism in late 1980s:

a) Expansion of European integration

b) The demise of Soviet Union

c) The shift in US strategy towards regionalism in the post-Cold War era, and

d) Changing perspectives on regional trade and foreign investment in the developing world.

The end of the Cold War witnessed new trends of regionalism which many scholars define as 'new regionalism.' This new regionalism was much comprehensive and multidimensional in its nature. The late 1980s and early 1990s was also marked by the two approaches namely open regionalism and closed regionalism in the context of the changing nature of regional organisations as well as the changing attitude towards regionalism.

6.2.4 Globalisation:
Post-Cold War world witnessed new political and economic changes. The new economic world order was dominated by strong forces of globalization and regionalism simultaneously. Although globalization was not a new phenomenon, yet, the forces of globalization started gaining momentum partly because of the

changing world order and partly because of the science and technology revolution. As Thomas Friedman call the world had started further shrinking and in the process becoming flat. Globalisation therefore, should not be seen just in terms of the advancement of science and technology but also as a part of the larger process of interconnectedness and subsequent interdependence between the countries. Globalisation is characterized by the free flow of goods, services, people, and ideas across borders much faster and with fewer hurdles, in the process deemphasizing political boundaries and emphasizing cultural amalgamation.

Although, globalization can be seen from various perspectives, the economic side of the globalization apparently started dominating the scene. Post-Cold War world on the one hand was welcoming the ideology of neoliberalism as a panacea for economic growth and development; globalization on the other hand played a role of a vehicle for the transmission of neoliberal ideology. However, globalisation,was also being seen as a new form of economic imperialism and was being dubbed as neo-imperialism. Globalisation dramatically transformed the economic activities of the countries, however, it also created new challenges, the uneven economic development, the exploitation of the markets of the developing countries and the influence of pro-western economic institutions raised the concerns over the dark side of globalization. Therefore many scholars argue that this process in called new kind of exploitation of less developed nations by developed countries and multinational companies.

6.2.5. Science and Tehnology :

The post-industrial revolution world was dramatically changed after the science and technology revolution. On the one hand, the inventions of computer, internet, and mobile and nano-technologies dramatically reduced the spatial and temporal distances, on the other hand inventions of new sophisticated weapons, nuclear technology; chemical weapons increased the capacity much damaged to the humanity. New modes of transportation, telecommunication, television, social media boosted the process of globalization by reducing the gaps between people, ideas and started transcending traditional nation-state borders. Another notable feature of the impact of science and technology revolution was what Josef Nye calls 'power diffusion' which has immense impact on the changing world order in the context of the emergence of non-state actors. Nye further argues that the power diffusion means that world politics will not be the sole province of governments. Individuals and private organizations, ranging from hackers to corporations to NGOs to terrorists to spontaneous societal movements are all empowered to play direct roles in world politics.

The increasing dependence on the technology also increased and created new threats and new challenges, traditional wars today are not the only threats to the security of nation-state but also cyber wars began to pose equally important challenge for the nation-states and governments around the world.

6.2.6. Ecological changes:

Post-Cold War world order was characterized by major changes in terms of socio-political developments as well economic globalisations. Another notable change was the changing concept of security. Traditionally the concept of security heavily relied on the state-centric notions of security like the protection of sovereignty, borders, etc. as the primary domain of national security. Post-Cold War period began to witnessed a dramatic shift from the focus of the security studies from traditional concerns to the new emerging challenges and threats like ecological changes and climate change.

Ecological concerns began to appear as a major agenda before world leader to address the urgent needs to deal with the challenges posed by climate change like ecological degradation, increasing pollution and global warming. The negative impact of excessive industrialization, deforestation,use of chemical fertilizers, increasing economic prosperity resulting into the increasing number of automobiles and other electronic devices leading towards the emission of Chlorofluorocarbon (CFC), Green House Gases (GHG), increasing pollution and its impact on the ozone layer, increasing temperature, and changing patter of the seasons,are seen as major reasons behind the climate change.

The issues like sustainable development, minimum carbon footprints, ecofriendly technology started gaining momentum in international debates over the issue of ecological concerns. Global community and the United Nations addressed these issues with initiatives like, United "Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) founded in 1972, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992), Kyoto Protocol (1997), The Paris Agreement of 2016 are few major initiatives taken towards dealing with the issue of climate change.

However, one of the major obstacles in finding effective solutions to the problem of climate change is the North-South Divide, the concerns over economic growth and the issues related to cutting Green House Gas (GHG) emission and burden sharing between developed and developing countries.

6.3. QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the significant features of the post-Cold War World
2. Trace the evolution of regionalism and regional integration.
3. Examine the positive and negative sides of globalization.
4. Explain the role of science and technology in shaping world politics.
5. Discuss the causes and consequences of climate change.

6.4. SUMMARY:

The end of the Second World War marked the begging of the new world order which was characterized by the predominance of neoliberal ideology along with the strong forces of globalization and new regionalism. The strong forces of Globalisation and liberalization dramatically transformed the economies of the developing countries and new regionalism promoted regional economic cooperation. Although, post-Cold War world is marked by a dramatic shift from traditional state centric security to nontraditional comprehensive security, yet the emergence of new challenges and threats started posing new challenges. The science and technology revolution, globalization, the emergence of non-state actors and the subsequent diffusion of power began to shape the world politics.

Present module attempted to understand the post-Cold War political developments at international level in the context of the new world order and increasing trends of regionalism and globalization and its impact on the political developments around the world. It also briefly assessed the impact of science and technology and ecological changes on the world polity and the complexities in effectively dealing with the problem.

6.5. TEST QUESTIONS

1. Critically examine the impact of globalization on developing countries.
2. Discuss the relationship between globalization and regionalism.
3. What could be the effective solutions to deal with the issue of climate change?

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7

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE

Unit Structure:

7.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Today, spread of nuclear arms is very dire threat to the very existence of human kind. World has experienced its use and destruction in the Second World War. Since then, no state has dared to use it but there are many states aspired to acquire it either covertly or overtly. As cold war began after the Second World War, the world thus fell under the shadow of nuclear bomb. However, some political scientists, scholars, experts, policy makers and intellectuals saw the nuclear weapous as the lynchpin of deterrence and ruled out any possibility of war between major nuclear states. Others saw it as major sources of unending tension and cause of insecurity. But the moot question, that the global leadership has to answer is whether the world with nuclear weapon or world without nuclear weapons will bring political stability and peace? In the contemporary world, the debate is about the peaceful Vs. military use of technology. Over the period of time this debate has become very complex phenomena because of its dual application. It has become very difficult to determine the end use of the nuclear technology. So, the debate about the nuclear proliferation is very dominant in the present international system. That is again only about horizontal proliferation and not vertical proliferation. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons strategies have ranged from diplomatic   pressure and imposition and economic sanctions to direct military intervention. In this respect, non proliferation has increasingly been linked to commitment to nuclear disarmament.

7.1.2 NUCLEARIZATION OF WORLD

America has first conducted nuclear test on 16th July, 1945 under the supervision and direction of physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer. It is nuclear fission weapons operates through a chain reaction, as each fission gives out excees neutrons, which in turn go on to cause more fission. Later on more powerful nuclear weapons were developed like hydrogen bombs. This is based on nuclear fusion, but it can only take place if they are subject to enormously high temperatures and pressures. Fusion weapons are also called thermonuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons cause

destruction in three ways - (a) Immediate destruction is caused by blast effect of explosive force. (b) Nuclear radiation that can create a firestorm travelling at several hundred Kilometres per hour with temperature rising 1000^{OC}. Exposure to radioactive material or radiation that causes sickness and long term diseases including cancers.

When America dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August, 1945, the Hiroshima bomb known as 'Little Boy' contained 60 Kilograms of Uranium - 235. It devastated area of 13 square Kilometres and destroyed more than 60 per cent of the building in the city. The initial death toll was 10,00,000, roused to 20,00,000 by 1950 due to radiation, poisoning, cancer and other long term effects. The Nagasaki bomb, code name, Fat man' contained 6.4 Kilogram of plutonium - 239 destroyed about 30 per cent of Nagasaki and left 40,000 to 75,000 people dead. On August 12,1945, Emperor Hirohto announced the surrender of Japan.

This event awake the world to look for nuclear technology because old arms were no more relevant to win any war. This has also led to arms race among the major power after the Second World War. This includes nuclear weapons as well as weapons of mass destruction. A weapon of mass destruction is a category of weapons that covers nuclear, radiological, chemical which have a massive and indiscriminate destruction capacity.

7.1.3 NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

In the view of the devastation by nuclear weapon in Second World War and its potential capacity of more destruction, an attack on a nuclear power is unthinkable. The USA's atomic attack on Japan in 1945 encouraged Soviet Union to intensity its efforts to develop nuclear weapons. To regulate all aspect of nuclear weapon. The Baruch Plan in 1946 proposed establishment of International Development Authority. America was not ready to accept any Kind of inspection of its nuclear weapons and weapons related technology. Rather it enacted Atomic Energy Act in 1946. The Act classified all information related to the fission and fusion technology and called, it as secret documents that cannot be shared with any outside authority or cannot not be made it publically. The British an ally of the world war second and Canada viewed it as suspicious move of the American leadership and policymakers. Then British and Canada started dealing this issue according to their own convenience.

Soviet Union conducted first nuclear test in 1949 becoming second nuclear state after America. Then the arms race future accelerated with the conduct of nuclear test by Soviet Union. This race further sharpened by the ideological differences between

America and Soviet Union. These super powers tried to increase their influence in international sphere not only by increasing their armaments and military strength but also by concluding military alliances. The armament race now became more qualitative due to advancement in technology. There was complete technological revolution in the art of war. New nuclear weapons were invented and the existing ones greatly modified. In this race British also did not want to lag behind and it went with nuclear test in 1952. The security and ideological factors that accelerated arms race and nuclear proliferation. One more factor that to be added to this that is prestige. It has huge symbolic significance, particularly in terms of political prestige associated with the possession of nuclear weapons.

It was therefore no coincidence that during Cold War the Club of nuclear have states kept expanding. After the nuclear test by British and distrust about the American, defeat in Vietnam and feeling of economic vulnerability in Post-Suez Crisis compelled France to go for nuclear test in 1960. And an entry of China in this club in 1964 gave different turn to the debate on nuclear proliferation, that developing country like China gained nuclear status. Some times, the cold war period is seen as first nuclear age, nuclear proliferation was primarily vertical and not horizontal, greatest attention was paid to the prohibition of spread of nuclear arms beyond their possession.

India consistently opposed the nuclear weapons. Indian leaderships expressed their shock over the dropping of the nuclear bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which resulted in enormous loss of life and property. Jawaharlal Nehru, after the independence, time and again stated that India had nothing to do with the atom bomb. At various international forums India advocated for elimination and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. India's representative in U. N. General Assembly told that India stands for exploitation of nuclear energy only for peaceful purpose. India also expressed concerned over the proliferation of nuclear weapons and highlited the possible dangers of the proliferation. It gave its support to the resolution put forward by Ireland which demanded that prevention of dissemination of nuclear weapons and proposed restriction on non nuclear states regarding producing of nuclear weapons themselves or acquiring with the help of other states or helping other states to acquire for their own interests. In this respect India made some suggestions that are -

a)   All those State which had not yet produced nuclear weapons should undertake not to produce it.

b)   Those states already produced it should be confined to its territory only.

c) Those state possesses nuclear weapons should bind themselves by a treaty banning any further nuclear test.

7.1.4 DEMAND FOR NUCLEAR BOMB

Following the Sino-Indian board conflict in 1962 and China's nuclear test in 1964, Indian government and policy makers were sharing the concern of people and members of parliament were of the opinion that India should not go for nuclear test. Particularly, Prime Minister Law Bahadur Shastri was of the opinion that making nuclear weapons would neither be in the interest of the country, nor would it benefit mankind in any way. Rather it would adversely affect our economy. But the situation around us was not in favour of us. Once again India Pakistan-war started in 1965 and the stand taken by China during this period was really worry some. There fore, around hundred Members of parliament belonging to different parties signed a memorandum and presented to the Prime Minister demanding for immediate development of nuclear weapons. This was a kind of moral pressure on the government to do something to deal with the situation eminated from our neighbours.

This moral pressure converted into hard pressure when China conducted third test in May, 1964. The manifestoes of 1967 general election, most of the political parties included the production of nuclear weapons and missiles programmes as their priority number one. Taking into the account situation, India conducted its first nuclear test on May 18, 1974 and it is popularly known as "Smiling Buddha." the American intelligence agency in the Nixon administration missed the India's preparation for a nuclear weapons test. India managed to keep U. S. in dark over smiling Buddha. Nixon administration policy makers assigned a low priority to the Indian nuclear programme and there was no sense of urgent to determine whether New Delhi was preparing to test a nuclear device. However, two years before the test, the U. S. State Department of Bureau of intelligence and Research predicted India could make preparation for underground test without detection by American intelligence.

7.1.5 NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION FOLLOWING THE POST COLD WAR PERIOD

After the Cold war period, it is always said that China Started helping Pakistan to develop nuclear technology. China transferred nuclear materials and technology to Pakistan including weapons, design and infrastructure. This happened due to withdrawal of U. S. or Russian protection umbrella from nuclear threat. This was particularly the case where regional tensions were deepening in South Asia in 1990s. In 1998 India conducted second nuclear test at Pokhran, in Order to develop full-fledged nuclear deterrent to safeguard India's security. In responce to this, Pakistan also conducted nuclear test in the same year without consideration of its

consequence in further in terms of economic sanctions, cut financial aid and ban on certain technology transfer under the international regime.

India and Pakistan tested nuclear devices and joined the 'nuclear club' responding to increasingly bitter rivalry over Kashmir and other issues. Concerned about nuclear proliferation have intensified due to energetic about the nature of the states and other actors that may acquire nuclear weapons particularly non state actors and terrorists. This can happen if when a state is not behaving as responsible element of the larger framework of the global system. This is frequently said about the Pakistan because of one of its scientists involved in transfering nuclear technology illegally to another state. Therefore, obstacles to horizontal proliferation have diminished. The chances of nuclear weapons getting into the hands of states or other actors that may use them have significantly increased. This is applicable particularly to those states which are called rogue states in which military based dictatorial government combined factors such as religious fanaticism, ethnic and social conflicts and underdeveloped economics.

The conduct of nuclear test by India and Pakistan came under server criticism. The United States imposed sanctions under the 1994 Nuclear Proliferation Act, the amount was 51.3 million dollar development aid. China had different approach in respect of nuclear test by India. It never liked to have a nuclear state as her neighbour. China accused India of underling the international offers for nuclear non proliferation. After the conduct of nuclear test by India followed by Pakistan in post cold war period, it has certainly encouraged other non states status to acquire nuclear technology either overtly or covertly.

7.1.6 IRAN CASE
Under the name of peaceful use of nuclear Weapon, state like Iran acquired know how about the nuclear technology. It is proved that mastermind behind the known how was A. Q. Khan, a scientist of Pakistan. Iran was Pakistan's first major customer. Robert Joseph, a non-proliferation expert serving on the US National Security Council, asserts that A. Q. Khan and Company was the principal supplier for the entire programme. Khan provided the design, the technology, the expertise, and the equipment, primarily for the centrifuges. It is also said that he had provided warhead design.

Whearas, the argument of Khan was that he transferred nuclear technology because he wanted other Muslim countries to enhance their security, at the same time money was also an important factor. Khan spent million of dollars buying up homes and properties. Like tourist hotels in Africa that he named after his wife

Henry. Bush administration estimated that Khan and his company earned $100 million for the technology sold to Libya alone. Khan was dismissed from the post he enjoyed during his research in Pakistan and he had undergone investigation by Pakistan government. A. Q. Khan and other six nuclear scientists were detained and questioned in connection with illegal transfer of nuclear technology to Libya and Iran, by military's (ISI) Inter Services Intelligence Agency of Pakistan. Then the Pakistan military ruler Pervez Musharaf promised to punish them if found guilty. For long period for time A. Q. Khan was house arrest as key actor in leaking nuclear weapons secretly to foreign governments. On 5 February, 2004, he was pardoned and dubbed as national hero of Pakistan. Mushraff himself said that he would block any Kind of international interference into the Pakistan's nuclear programme. The IAEA also does not have direct access to Khan.

7.1.7 NORTH KOREA CASE

At present, it is deemed that North Korea has capacity to produce nuclear weapon which is worrying U.S.A. Before North Korea became the nuclear capable state, it had joined international Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1974 and signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in December 1985, allegedly under the pressure from the Soviet Union and in exchange for combination of Soviet assistance to its nuclear programme. Even though, after signing the NPT, the Democratic People 's Republic of Korea (DPRK) refused to sign the IAEA full scope safeguards agreements which it was obliged to do within eighteen months under the provision of NPT. When concerned rouse by the U.S. intelligence report in 1989 that the DPRK was building nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at Yongbyon site and it was termed more dangerous than Iraq because North Korea is more autocratic / authoritarian and not dependent on outside assistance.

But North Korea withdrew from the NPT on 10 Jan, 2003. It did explain why it has withdrawn from the NPT stating that, 'the grave situation where our state security and national sovereignty are being threatened due to the United States and the US tyrannical nuclear crushing policy towards the DPRK. The DPRK took measure to immediately withdraw from the NPT. Further it says, according to the NPT non-nuclear countries without nuclear weapons are supposed to sign safeguard agreement with the IAEA with in 18 months. However, after signing the NPT, the United States continuously heightened its nuclear threats against us. Thus, we were faced with grave situation where we could not signed the safeguard agreement even if they wanted to.

On October 16, 2006, the U.S. Director of National Intelligence confirmed that North Korea Conducted an underground nuclear explosion in the vicinity of P'unggye on October 9, 2006.

The explosion Field was less than a Kiloton and later said it was apparently more successful. Analysts say North Korea was preparing the site for a third nuclear test. It was carried out on February 12, 2013. North Korean official news agency announced a successful underground nuclear detonation and seismic monitoring System measured earthquake of 5.1 magnitudes.

The U. S. Intelligence community assessed that North Korea probably conducted an underground nuclear test in the vicinity of P'unggye on February 12, 2013. The explosion yield was approximately several Kilotons.

7.1.8 LIBYA CASE

In July 1968, Libya has become one of the signatory members of NPT under the King Idris. Muammar Gaddafi was so ambitious for possessing nuclear weapons after seizing the control of Libya from King Idris. Gaddafi made every effort to acquire nuclear technology from China, Pakistan and India under the name of civil nuclear cooperation and Atom for peace. Some reports released by IAEA in 2004, suggests that during the 1970s and 1980s, Libya decided to pursue both the uranium and plutonium based nuclear weapons. Libya admitted to the IAEA in 2004 that it had imported 2,263 metric tones of uranium ore from French controlled mine in Niger. One can simply ask a question that why Libya needed this uranium in huge quantity? Gaddafi was so keen to renew policy of nuclear weapon production. Libya also supported that Arab states should develop nuclear weapons to counter Israel's presumed nuclear weapons capability. It also voted against comprehensive Nuclear, Test Ban Treaty at UN General Assembly because it did not provide deadline for nuclear disarmament. But it signed CTBT in 2001.

Libya began receiving nuclear weapons related aid from A. Q. Khan and his network which is also known as nuclear black market in 1997. The cooperation continued until the fall of A. Q. Khan in 2003 when it became public following Libya's disclosure about its efforts to build nuclear weapons. In 1997, Khan provided Libya with 20 assembled L-1 centrifuges. Libya not only sought the capability of enrichment uranium to weapon grade levels, but also the known how to design and fabricate nuclear weapons. A. Q. Khan provided blueprint for fission weapon under the pressure from United States, United Kingdom and IAEA, Libya accepted to dismantle its nuclear programme and allowed IAEA officials to inspect the sites. In 2009 United States and IAEA removed 16 Kilograms of highly enriched uranium fuel from Libya's Tajoural Nuclear Research Center.

Today, it is also presumed that Japan and South Korea have also capacity to go for nuclear weapons programmes in future if

they think that their national interest are in danger. The world community must take into account the world opinion in respect of future consequence of such proliferation and should take effective initiative to prevent it. At the same time those state possess the nuclear weapons should not pose themselves as threat to others so that others will not get provoked to look for the same. It is also important that they must behave as responsible state of broad framework of the international system and they should not encourage to any other state for production of nuclear weapons. These weapons are always aimed at only destruction and nothing constructive is going to take place. It leads to diversification of natural resources from the core objective of development.

7.1.9 NUCLEAR NON PROLIFERATION SYSTEM

The post cold war period has witnessed emergence of Challenges related to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The concerned about nuclear proliferation in USA have increasingly came to focus on the threat posed by rough states as well as non state actors and terrorist organisations. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have not remained only to the nuclear weapons but also the biological and chemical weapons, which are very easy to produce, really posed threat to the human existence and environment. The end of cold war which created New World Order generated hope that it would bring the peace in the world. But the events like Iraq's invasion in Kuwait in 1990, local conflicts based on identity, territory and ethnicity caused millions of lives across the globe. The proliferation of the nuclear weapons and the possibility that it could fall into the hands of terrorist organisations really shaken the world leaders. The efforts have taken by UN through various institutions and treaties such as International Laws, International Humanitarian Law but they have been following short.

7.1.9.1 Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The international treaty which aimed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology. It has opened in 1960 for signature and enterned into force in 1970. Followings are the provision in the treaty.

1) Each nuclear weapon state undertakes not to transfer any nuclear weapon to any state or any other nuclear devices and not to help any non-nectar state to produce or acquire it.

2) The non-nuclear states those are part to the treaty undertake not to receive it from any source or not to produce, acquire such weapon or devices.

3) All the non-nuclear weapon states undertake to conclude an agreement with IAEA for the application of its safeguards to all

nuclear material that is to be used for peaceful purpose and to prevent diversion of such material.

4) All the parties to the treaty undertake to facilitate, exchange of material, equipment and technological information for the peaceful use.

5) The states signing the treaty were given the right to withdraw if they felt that certain extraordinary events had taken place which endangered its national security. The state has to give notice three months before it withdraws.

6) The member states to the NPT undertake to pursue negotiation in good faith an effective measure to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date.

This treaty recognises only five states as nuclear states. Therefore, India has voted against the treaty. Along with India; Pakistan, Iran, Israel and North Korea also voted against the treaty. Later on North Korea became the member of NPT but it has again withdrawn in 2003. India's position on the NPT is well known. There is no question of India Joining NPT as non-nuclear weapon state. Nuclear weapons are integral part of India's national security and will remain it as India's nuclear policy.

Preparatory Committee - 2014:-

From 28 April to 9 May, 2014, the third preparatory Committee Conference was convened at United Nations Office in New York under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Enrique Roman Morey of Peru. The Committee expressed the concerned over the proliferation of the nuclear weapons and reaffirmed the importance of progress on full implementation of Article VI of the NPT. In addition, the committee emphasized the need for nuclear weapons states to reduce the alert status of their nuclear system and take the unilateral, bilateral, regional and multilateral steps to reduce the rise of accidental use.

7.1.9.2 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT):-
The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which was opened for the signature in 1996, is aimed to prohibit all Kinds of nuclear test. The treaty has signed by America along with other 43 states. India, Pakistan and North Korea have not signed the treaty. 'The republic of China, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran and Israel have signed it later on but none of the member country has ractified it. Therefore, this treaty has not come into force. Any treaty without ratification is mere words on documents. This treaty also hinders the states those do not have nuclear weapons in advancing their nuclear

weapon capabilities. As this treaty puts legal binding global ban on nuclear explosive testing, India has not signed given the situation in its periphery.

Some conservative U.S. senators advocate for modernizing the U.S. nuclear arsenal. If this programs is pursued, then U.S. requires testing of new models of explosive. However the U. S. has not tested nuclear weapons since 1992.

7.1.9.3 Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG):-

The Nuclear Suppliers Groups was formed after the first nuclear test by India in 1974. Seven nuclear supplier states convinced that the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty alone would not be sufficient to prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons and its related technology. The NSG was established by a group of seven nuclear supplier states namely Canada, West Germany, France, Japan, Soviet union, United Kingdom and Untied states to further restrict nuclear commerce. In its guidelines, the NSG adopted the Zangger Committee it is of goods that triggered the safeguards on proliferation of nuclear weapons and related technology. It also went beyond Art. III of the NPT and established other criteria that is recipient states must meet to import nuclear goods from supplier states.

The real motive behind this clause was to know or identify those states who are intended to maker further nuclear test, or to know whether any state is purchasing nuclear material more than its requirement for the peaceful use of such material. The NSG started revising its guideline for enriching and reprocessing in 2004. This became quite necessary after the proliferation of nuclear technology by A. Q. Khan of Pakistan to Iran, Libya, North Korea and possible other destination of the world. The new guideline of the NSG inserted following provisions.

a) The recipient state to have a legally binding agreements to limit any uranium enrichment to 20 percent U-235.

b) The recipient state not to transfer any enabling design or manufacturing technology.

c) The recipient state to exclude replication by the recipient state to any supplied ENR technology or equipment.

7.2 (B) TERROR AND TERRORISM

7.2.1 TERRORISM

Terrorism is refered to an act of violence that targets innocent civilians, children, defenceless persons in pursuit of political, ideological or religious goals. Terrorism is an act to terrorise common people that includes criminal acts intended to or

calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, group of person or particular persons for political purposes.

The Security Council of United Nations Defined terrorism as Criminal act committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury or taking of hostages with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public. According to Ward law, political terrorism is the use or threat of use of violence by an individual or a group whether acting for or in opposition to established authority. When such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and / or fear inducing effect in a target group larger than the immediate victims with purpose of coercing that group into acceding political demands of the perpetrators.

The term terrorism and terrorist are used in negative sense. Terrorist are different from the separatist, freedom fighter, liberators, revolutionaries. The U.S. National Counterterrorism Centre reported 11,800 terrorist attacks against non combatants in 2008, causing 54,000 deaths, injuries or kidnappings. Out of these attacks, 235 were high casualty attics, in which more than 10 people were died on the spot. More than 50% of those killed were Muslims, mostly in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

7.2.2 STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM
The state sponsored terrorism is far more widespread in its effect, both in terms of direct casualties and fear. The most grievous examples of state terrorism are Soviet Union in 1930s during Stalin's and China in 1950s. Here we can give examples of colonial powers those have used terror tactics to maintain control over colonies. At present many states use terror tactics against its own people. Recently Syria used biological weapons against its own people. Some times so-called non state actors are supported by states to achieve their short tem goals such as for any political party in Pakistan cannot fight election without the reference of Jammu & Kashmir All the political parties support those non state actors and call them as freedom fighters. But in actual practices these non state actors are killing innocent people, children, physically challenged persons, women etc.

In 1988, a bomb scattered pieces of Pan Am flight 103 over the Scottish country side was found. Investigators found fragment of a tape recorder that that contained sophisticated plastic explosive bomb. The U.S. and British government identified the Libyan intelligent agents responsible and demanded Libya to handover those agents for trials. When Libya refused, then U. N. Security Council imposed sanctions on Libya including international flight to Libya or from Libya. In 1999, Libya handed over three suspected against, two got life imprisonment while one acquitted.

In 2011, United States has accused four states for supporting international terrorism. Iran, Syria, Sudan and Cuba. The US government has barred U.S. companies from doing business in those states. Bus such kind of unilateral sanctions does not work effectively unless there is collective efforts to deter such states. Cuba can do business with Canada and Iran can do it with Russia. North Korea was removed from the list of state sponsored terrorism in 2008 after the promise of halting its nuclear programme.

7.2.3 PROMINENT TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR BASES.

7.2.3.1 AL-Qaida:-

AL-Qaida is the most important and central organization connected to the activity of Wahabi Islamic front. This organisation was found in 1988 by Osama Bill Laden in Afghanistan. The recruitment of youths in this organisation is done through an NGO called Maktab al-hidamat. It has network in fifty countries all over the world. It is responsible for many terrorists attacks across the world including U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The terrorist attack by Al Qaida on 11 September, 2001 is most significant in many ways in the history of terror attacks. The kind of meticulous planning over several years and supervision by Al-Qaida headquarters in Afghanistan was very thoughtfull. On the spot, more than 2,750 people died. Two airplanes flown by suicide pilot into Twin Towers of the Word Trade Centre in New York.

7.2.3.2 Gamaa al Islamiya:-

This organisation has grown up in Egypt in responses to the backwardness, economic distress and hostilities against the Christian minority and Central government in Cairo. Al Gamma al Islamabad believes in the use of terror to achieve its goal. This is leading terror organisation in Egypt during 1980s. It had sent many activists to join jihad in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It receives aid from Sudanese authorities and Osama Bin Laden. It was responsible to make unsuccessful attacks on President Mubaralk in 1993. The agents involved in the attack were trained in Afghanistan. The three member team of the Gamaa al Islamiya carried out attack on tourist on November 17, 1997 in Luxor, The attackers Killed 58 foreign tourists and Egyptians and injured 24 tourists.

There are other jihadi organisations based in Egypt like Egyptian Islamic Jihad Organisation, Talia'a at Fatah etc. which are also involved in many terror activities. Some time these Jihad Organisations also use the students to carry out attacks. Such techniques are used to escape from search by government authorities.

7.2.3.3 Fundamentalist Islamic Movement:-

This organisation is based in Jordhan During the eighties. It was principle organisation working against the monarchical rule of Hashemite. This organisation started its terror activities in nineties. It is divided into two categories.

1) A faction of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad inspirited by Iran and Syria.

2) Fundamentalist Islamic organisation established under the influence of Khomeini revolution.

The goal of those organisation was to overthrow the Hashemite monarchy. Many of its agents were trained in the mujahidin camps in Afghanistan. Osama Bin Landen was main source of their financial support. They carried out many terror attacks to topple the established authority and wanted to establish Islamic religious state. They were also against the western values and culture.

7.2.3.4 The Armed Islamic Front:-

Many Algerian volunteers left for Afghanistan during eighties. They joined Afghanistan Mujahidin to fight against Soviet invasion in withdrawal Afghanistan. After the Soviet withdrawal from the Afghanistan, these volunteers began to retain to Algeria with considerable experience of guerrilla warfare and joined Armed Islamic Organisation, AL-Hijra and A-Takfir radical Wahabi Islamic movement in Algeria. Ali Belhaj served as spiritual leader for most of the radical oppositions to established rule based on Islamic radical Islamic values. The organisation has started sporadic attacks against the government in 1991 targeting government institutions which gradually resulted in civil war which has claimed several thousands lives.

It is an radical Wahahi Islamic terror organisation believes in establishment of orthodox Islamic state like Arab countries and viewed United States, Israel and Jews as the enemies of the Islam. The GIA , an armed Islamic front also started terror plot abroad particularly in France and against French citizens in foreign countries. The attacks are justified on the ground that French government supports the current government (1995) in Algeria. The successful terror attacks in France exposes the infrastructure and terror network in European countries like Belgium, Britain, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Spain. The terror cell in there countries, even though they are small in number; cooperate in sharing data, logistic support, financial and operational roles.

7.2.3.5 Jama al Islamiya:-

This Organisation was founded by Elias. Abu-Bashir who became the spiritual leader of the organisation. It is based in Indonesia with an aim to establish an Islamic religious state that will include all of the Muslim population in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. Al-Qaida is main financial source of the organisation. Between 2001 to 2004, it has received $ 240,000 from Al-Qaida.

There are some other terrorists organisation in Indonesia with similar objective such as the Mujahidin Council & Indonesia, Lashkar Jihad, Kompulan Mujahidin Malaysia. The objective of these organisations is to establish a religious Wahabi Islamic state in Southeast Asia. The Kumpulam Mujahidin Malaysia declared in the year 2000 that, "American soldiers must be killed because the United States oppress Islamic States."

7.2.3.6 Uighur Muslims:-

The Xinjiang Province, located in Western China, is inhabited by seven million Uighur Muslims who constituted around fifty percent of the total population of the province. The Uighur are an ethnic group of Turkish decent that settled in this area during the expansion of Islam. The region was first conquered by China during Manchu Dynasty and controlled it till 1862. In 1862, Muslim uprising succeded in overthrowing the Chinese authorities and force from the region and enjoyed independence up to 1884. China again regained it and changed its name from Eastern Turkestan to Xinjiang.

After the control of the regime by China, there is feeling of discrimination and prejudice among the Uighur that led to radical Islamic and nationalist reawakening in the region. From 1996, the isolated Muslim groups started violent activities against the Chinese authorities. China considers these separatists as significant risk to the stability of the state and security. Therefore, it is dealing with it ruthlessly that further led to violence and terrorist attacks in China.

7.2.4 TERRORISM IN SOUTH ASIA:

7.2.4.1 India:-

India has been continuously fighting with challenges posed by terrorists groups based in foreign countries as well as on its own soil since last more than three decades. The Sikh fundamentalists terrorist movement in Punjab through the 1980s and early 1990s, and Pakistan backed Islamist separatist terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir are most significant challenges to unity and integrity of the country. Since the independence at least 232 of the country's 608 districts are affected by different terrorists groups.

Major incidents of Terrorist Attacks:-

March 12, 1993, Series of 13 bomb blast in Mumbai that Killed 259 people.

December 30, 1996 Bramputra Mail Train Bombing that Killed 33 people and injured 150.

February 14, 1998 Coimbatore bombing killed 58 and injured 200 people.

December 1, 2001, Attack on J & K legislative assembly, Killed 38, People.

December 13, 2001, Attack on Indian Parliament Killed 7.

October 29, 2005, three powerful serial blast in New Delhi, 70 people Killed and 250 Injured.

July, 11, 2006, Serial bomb blast in Mumbai local train, 209 Killed and 500 injured.

November 26, 2008 Attack on Taj hotel & CST, 17 people killed and 239 injured.

The Mumbai attack on 26 November 2008 has shown that any scale of assement and mightiest of the militaries cannot match evil design of few misguided mind. Several thousand people have been killed in the terrorist attacks and many more have been paralised pernmently. According to Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the ISI of the Pakistan is giving financial aid, training and arms to LeT. It also started encouraging LeT to rely upon Indian Muslims for its operation in India territory.

7.2.4.2 Pakistan:-

Pakistan is located at the junction of south, central and West Asia and borders on Afghanistan, China, India and Iran with 160 million population. Over the 60 years of Independence, Pakistan has had three full scale wars and one limited war with India which were all lost to India. No elected Prime Minister has competed his / her full term in office till 2002.

There are different faces of terror operating in Pakistan. First, there are sectorion groups belonging to the Sunni and Shia sects of Islam that are very active in terrorist activities. The Sunni militant organisation call for Pakistan to be declared a Sunni State while Shias fight for specific political rights to safeguard their distinct identity.

Another form of terrorism in Pakistan is ethnic Violence. The Sindh Province where Urdu speaking community clashed with other ethnic communities on linguistic ground. Pakistan is also facing problem of separatist terrorism in the past in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan currently. The insurgent comprising of tribal militants have carried out act of terror against infrastructure.

The religious violence is responsible for creating division on religious grounds and is responsible for violence against followers of other religion. The communal violence in Gojra in 2009 is example of religious extremism. The Jihadi terrorism with global agenda is real threat to Pakistan's national security. This phenomenon took shape with Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1970s. After the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan, this armed struggled converted in civil war which has great impact on Pakistan.

The 9/11 terrorist attack and subsequent U.S. invasion of Afghanistan with the support of Pakistan for War on terror, the so called Jihadis turned their gun more towards Pakistan than the coalitation forces. The militant resorted very brutal and gruesome acts of violence. The recent attacks on the school by 9 gunman on 16 December, 2014 which killed 132 school children and to other persons. The Prime Minister of India, Shri. Narendra Modi said, "it as senseless act of unspeakable brutality". U. N. Secretary, Ban Ki-Moon said," an act of horror and it is cowardice to attack defenceless children while they learn".

7.2.4.3 Sri Lanka :-

The roots of the terrorism in Sri Lanka can be Found, in the debate of 'Who came first to the island'. The population composition of Sri Lanka is 70.19% Sinhala, 12.61% Hindu, 9.71% Muslims and 7.45% Christian. The Sinhalese believe that they came first according to the Maharamsa legend. But the Tamil Hindu says according to archeologically, the temples in the island existed long before the Sinhalese Vijaya's arrival.

At present Tamils, consider Sinhalese as oppressor and discriminates Tamils against every sphere of life and force minority to feel socially as outcasts and political second class citizens. In 1972, the Sinhalese changed countries name from Ceylon to Sri Lanka and made Buddhism the country's primary religion. An ethnic tension grew in 1976 and the Liberation Tigers & Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was formed under the leadership of V. Prabhakaran. The organisation started demand for separate independent state of Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka. In 1983, when LTTE attacked Sri Lankan soliders killing 13 personals that triggered riots in Sri Lanka in which 2,500 Tamils died.

On the request of Sri Lankan government, India deployed peacekeeping forces in 1987 that escalated more violence. During this period LTTE emerged as very strong armed organisation which started recruitment of children in LTTE and Challenged Sri Lakan forces from Jaffna peninsula in Eastern side of Island. During the process Indian prime minister, late Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by LTTE suicide bomber. Since then India kept away from the violence but always tried to ask the Sri Lankan government about the human rights violation and saftey, security and implementation of 13th constitutional amendment which gave certain rights to Timil people.

The violence between LTTE and Sri Lankan government reached at decisive point when LTTE launched heavy artillery attack in 2006 on Muttur. On 20. February, 2009, LTTE launched on air suicide attack in which tow aircraft used. Sri Lankan government took the note of situation and declared war on LTTE in which death toll is estimated 70,000. Some millions were internally displaced and some migrated to India.

7.2.4.4 Bangladesh:-

The growth of terrorism in Bangladesh can be seen from the point of identity crisis. After the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, Sheik Mujibur Rahman adopted secular constitution in 1972. But he was assassinating in 1975 in a coup. After his assassination, the military ruler tried to redefines the nationalism. There was complete shift in the Cultural Policy of Bangladesh to create a Bengali Muslim identity. During Zia-ur Rahman, the secular character of the constitution was altered and inserted word like absolute truth and faith in Almight Allah. Such kind of policies encouraged many fundamentalist groups and religious based political parties.

During Ershad, Bangladesh was declared as Islamic state in 1988. Many Political parties based on religion were encouraged which in course of time promoted violence to achieve their political and economic goals. Due to this the religious minorities became the targets. Most of the time they are physically abused, their property is looted, the places of worship became the targets and forced them to leave the country. Over the period of time some of the terrorist groups like Huji established link with terrorist groups in Pakistan to carry out its activities in India from Bangladesh Soil.

Following are some of the terrorists organisation in Bangladesh.
a)   Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islam (Huji)
b)   Jagrat Muslim Janata Bangladesh.
c)   Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh.
d)   Jadid al Qaeda.

Extremist Groups in Bangladesh:

a)   Islami Chhatra Shibir.

b)   Tablighi Jamaat.

c)   Ahl-e-Hadis Bangladesh.

d)   Shahadat-i-Alam-al-Higma.

7.2.5 TARGETS OF THE TERRORIST ORGANISATION.

Terrorist Organisations always look for the soft targets such as civilians, unarmed persons, children, schools, hospitals etc. to attract the attention of the world. They will never take on any armed group or combatant group on their own to achieve their goals. But over the period of time, the terrorist organisations have broadened their targets to deepen the impact of terrorist attack. Now they have started targeting financial institutions or financial system so that their objective to destabilize the economy of a country can be achieved. The changes in strategy and tactics are significant for the effectiveness of an organisation. Economic targets like cinema halls, public transport through which public daily commutes for job, targeting oil supply pipeline, financial institution like banks and cities which are financially important are the targets. During 1992-1997, the long lasting violence in Northern Ireland, the campaign was not to cause mass killings but rather attack the financial centre of UK, the city of London which was then competing with Frankfurt. Two large truck bombs were used to cause substantial damage in the heart of city in 1992 and1993.

7.2.6 COUNTER TERRORISM MECHANISM.

With the advancement in science and technology, terrorists organisations are also using new modern and very illusive techniques to escape from any kind of inquiry or arrest. Debate over how to prevent terrorist attacks is as important as to debate about why individuals engage in terrorist activities. Some experts say policies rather than police are important to fight terrorism. In backward region of the world, particularly the African and Asian countries are more vulnerable. State with low economic development will have overall impact on the thinking process of an individual. People will be vulnerable to recruitment in the terrorist organisations. With no bright future ahead of them and little opportunities for the self development, people will naturally loose the hope, become angry and undertake irrational act.

Along with development policies, an efforts to improve the domestic policies in co-operation with other countries necessary to prevent terrorist activities. The famous example of effective countererrorist policing, the government of Peru used on elite investigative team of national police force to arrest the leader of shining path movement, which at one point of time controlled 20,000 well armed militia and assassinated several Peruvian

political leaders. After his arrest, the shining path movement largely collapsed.

An organised military action is also one of the effective counter terrorism mechanisms. State may undertake small or large scale conflict to counter terrorist organisations. For example United States in 1998 launched cruise missile attack against a plant in which Sudan believed to be producing chemical weapons for al-Qaeda. Likewise, after the 9/11 attack on World Trade towers, American led NATO forces declared war on terror and attacked Afghanistan to eliminate the mastermind Osama Bina Laden and al- Queda network. India supported U.S. led war on terror; other countries like Britain, Russia, France, Vietnam also supported U.S. in this war. Israel, a victim of terrorism was part of the coalition to fight the menace. Finally, America succeeded to find out Osama Bin Laden from Pakistan and killed him and thrown in deep sea. However, the periodic killings, taking hostages to foreign national working in Afghanistan, attacks on embassies, consulates are taking place. Therefore, Obama administration has asked congress for fresh endorsement for use of military force for limited use including ground troops, against Islamic state and its allies in 2015.

Some members expressed concerned regarding United States unnecessary involvement into another prolonged ground war in Middle East. But Obama administration assured to congress that this endorsement is intended only to send forces after the targets in locations when local allies could not act. Because, America considers ISIS is serious threat to Americans, particularly after the murder of American Kayla Muller, a Young aid worker and two Japanese journalist.

After the 9/11 attack on World Trade Centre in 2001, the United Nation also passed resolution and called upon world community to fight this menace through international cooperation, diplomatic, political and financial means.

7.2.7 INDIA AND COUNTERTERRORISM MEASURES.

7.2.7.1 Unlawful Activities prevention Act 1967 (UAPA)
The UAPA was designed to deal with associations and activities that questions territonal integrity of India. The Act contains the provision to declare an association as unlawful if it has found doing any unlawful activities that pose threat to the territorial integrity of India.

7.2.7.2 Terrorism and Disruption Activities prevention Act, 1987, (TADA)
This Act came into force on 3rd September, 1987. This act had much more stringent provision than UAPA and it was

specifically designed to deal with terrorist activities. It was challenged in the Supreme Court, but in the verdict supreme court upheld its constitutional validity. However, there were many incidents of misuse of the Act. It was lapsed in 1995.

7.2.7.3 The Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act, 1999 (MCOCA)

The Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act, 1999 was a major anti terrorist act in India. It was made after the 1993 serial bomb blast in Mumbai to prevent organised crime increased due to underworld.

7.2.7.4 Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002

With the increased incidences of cross border terrorism and continued offences agenda of Pakistan to destabilize India, and the post 9/11 development, became necessary to put in place special law to deal with terrorist acts. The law was passed by parliament in 2002 with aim to strengthen the antiterrorism operations. It provides that a suspect could be detained up to 180 days without the filing of charge sheet in court.

7.2.8 CONCLUSION

Terrorism is not a reflection of mass discontent in society but it represents the dissatisfication of a small fragment of a society. It always said that people, and more particular youth are increasingly involved in terrorist activities due to poverty and illiteracy. But in the changed circumstances it is not the only reason and many educated and well off people are involved in this activities. The very prominant example like those pilots who involved to hit the World Trade Centre were very highly educated and well off people. Afzal Guru was convicted and given death sentence for his involvement in terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament. He was professor by profession. These are some of the example which compels us to think beyond the poverty and illiteracy as root cause of the terrorist. Readers have to search answers to the questions like, is it ideological? Is it religious? Is it clash of civilization? Is it for political change?

Nuclear proliferation has also put grave challenge infront of the world leaders and policy makers to save the most beautiful planet in the universe. Till, today there is no evidence of having life on any other planet but why we are not understanding the importance of human being? Human is distinguished from the animal because he possess reason and speech. On the basis of reason he has created nuclear and hydrogen bomb to regulate himself. So he is equally irrational. Have you ever heard about there is animal genocide by an animal? Have you ever heard mass animal Killing by animal? Have you every heard animal rape by

animal? If not, then on what basis can we say we are so rational compared to animal?

In brief, it is necessary to make sincere efforts by the international community to eliminate such evil elements which are also supported by some states. Only collective efforts will help to eliminate the weapons of mass destruction.

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8

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE - THE HUMAN DIMENSIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS, PEACE MOVEMENTS, GENDER ISSUES

Unit Structure

8.0 OBJECTIVES

- To be acquainted with the concept of human rights, its various types and understand the various approaches to human rights.

- To comprehend the broadinfluenceand genesis of peace movements

- To be able to place the role of gender in the arena of global politics.

- To gauge the impact of climate change on global environment and ecosystem.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

International arena has witnessed sporadic as well as choreographed events in the course of time. Some issues remain poignant yet timeless. Moral and ethical questions have always been important in international politics. However, since the end of the Cold War they have attracted intensified interest, as issues of global justice have come to vie with more traditional concerns, such as power, order and security. When matters of justice and morality are raised, this is increasingly done through a doctrine of human rights that emphasizes that people everywhere enjoy the same moral status and entitlements.

8.2 HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights have come to compete with state sovereignty as the dominant normative language of international affairs and human development. This has created tension between human rights and states' rights, as the former implies that justice should extend beyond, as well as within, national borders. Difficult questions have nevertheless been raised about human rights. Not the least of these are about the nature of, and justifications for, human rights.

Questions to ponder:

1. In what sense are these rights 'human' rights and which rights do they cover? Other debates concern the extent to which human rights are protected in practice, and whether they are genuinely universal, applying to all peoples and all societies.

2. How far are human rights applied in practice, and how far should they be applied? Tensions between states' rights and human rights have become particularly acute since the 1990s through the growth of so-called' humanitarian intervention'. Major states have assumed the right to intervene militarily in the affairs of other states to protect their citizens from abuse and possibly death, often at the hands of their own government.

3. How, and to what extent, is such intervention linked to human rights?

4. Can intervention ever be genuinely 'humanitarian'? And, regardless of its motives, does humanitarian intervention actually work?

8.2.1 How to define Human Rights?

Human rights are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human; they are a modern and secular version of 'natural rights'. Human rights are universal (in the sense that they belong to human beings everywhere, regardless of race, religion, gender and other differences), fundamental (in that a human being's entitlement to them cannot be removed), indivisible (in that civic and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights are interrelated and co-equal in importance) and absolute (in that, as the basic grounds for living a genuinely human life, they cannot be qualified). 'International' human rights are set out in a collection of UN and other treaties and conventions.

8.2.2 How do we oversee an individual's role in global politics?

International politics has traditionally been thought of in terms of collective groups, especially states. Individual needs and interests have therefore generally been subsumed within the larger notion of the 'national interest'. As a result, international politics largely amounted to a struggle for power between and amongst states with little consideration being given to the implications of this for the individuals concerned. People, and therefore morality (in terms of the happiness, suffering and general wellbeing of individuals), were factored out of the picture. However, this divorce between state policy and the individual, and thus between power and morality, has gradually become more difficult to sustain.

A right is an entitlement to act or be treated in a particular way. As such, duties: the claim to have a right imposes obligations on others to act, or, perhaps, to refrain from acting in a particular way. Human rights are essentially moral claims or philosophical assertions, but they have gained, since 1948, a measure of legal substance.

8.2.3 Nature and Types of Human Rights

Human rights, most basically, are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human. The content of human rights has developed significantly over time, enabling three different types, or 'generations' of human rights to be identified. These are as follows:
- Civil and political rights
- Economic, social and cultural rights
- Solidarity rights

1. **<u>Civil and Political rights</u>** were the earliest form of natural or human rights. They were advanced through the English Revolution of the seventeenth century and the French and American Revolutions of the eighteenth century. The core civil and political rights are the rights to life, liberty and property, although they have been expanded to include, for example, freedom from discrimination, freedom from slavery, freedom

from torture or other inhuman forms of punishment, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and so on. Civil and political rights are often typically seen as negative rights, or 'forbearance' rights: they can be enjoyed only if constraints are placed on others. Negative rights therefore define a private sphere within which the individual can enjoy independence from the encroachments of other individuals and, more particularly, from the interference of the state. Civil liberties are therefore often distinguished from civil rights, the latter involving positive action on the part of government rather than simply forbearance. The dual character of civil and political rights is evident in the complex relationship between human rights and democracy.

2. **<u>Economic, social and cultural rights:</u>** By contrast with traditional 'liberal' rights, Economic, social and cultural rights often drew on socialist assumptions about the tendencies of capitalist development towards social injustice and unequal class power. Socio-economic rights – including the right to social security, the right to work, the right to paid holidays, the right to healthcare, the right to education and so on – were designed to counter-balance inequalities of market capitalism, protecting the working classes and colonial peoples from exploitation.

3. **<u>Solidarity rights:</u>** These encompass a broad spectrum of rights whose main characteristic is that they are attached to social groups or whole societies, as opposed to separate individuals. They are sometimes, therefore, seen as collective rights or people's rights. The right to self-determination was thus linked to the post-1945 process of decolonization and the rise of national liberation movements. Other such rights include the right to development, the right to peace, the right to environmental protection and multicultural rights. Solidarity rights have therefore been used to give issues such as development, environmental sustainability and cultural preservation a moral dimension.

8.2.4 Implications of human rights for global politics

Human rights, by their nature, have profound implications for global politics. Why is this? The first answer to this question is that, being universal and fundamental, human rights invest governments with powerful obligations, affecting their foreign as well as domestic policies. The protection and realization of human rights is thus a key role of government, and perhaps, according to liberals, its core purpose. Interactions between states should therefore have, at least, a human rights dimension. This, in theory at least, imposes major constraints on the behaviour of national governments, both in terms of how they treat their domestic population and in their dealings with other peoples and countries. This affects matters

ranging from the recourse to, and conduct of, war (where a concern for human rights has generally been seen to be compatible with the requirements of a 'just war'), to foreign aid and trade policies. More radically and controversially, these obligations may extend to taking action, perhaps military action, to prevent or discourage other countries from violating human rights within their own borders, what has come to be called 'humanitarian intervention', discussed later in this chapter. The second way in which human rights have implications for global politics is that they imply that the boundaries of moral concern extend beyond national borders; indeed, in principle, they disregard national borders. Human rights are nothing less than a demand of all humanity. Growing acceptance of the doctrine of human rights therefore goes hand-in-hand with the growth of cosmopolitan sensibilities. According to Pogge, human rights fulfil each of the three elements of cosmopolitanism: individualism(an ultimate concern with human beings or persons, not groups), universality(a recognition of the equal moral worth of all individuals) and generality(the belief that persons are objects of concern for everyone, regardless of nationality and so on). The cosmopolitan implications of human rights are evident not only in attempts to use international law, albeit usually 'soft' law, to set standards for the behaviour of states, but also in attempts to strengthen regional and global governance and thereby constrain, or perhaps redefine the nature of, state sovereignty. However, despite the strengthening of human rights law and increased interest in cosmopolitan thinking in general and human rights thinking in particular, the theoretical implications of human rights are counterbalanced by powerful practical and sometimes moral considerations. This makes the protection of human rights a complex and often difficult process.

8.2.5 Approaches to Human Rights
Realist view: Realists have tended to view a concern with human rights as, at best, a 'soft' issue in international affairs, by contrast with 'hard', or 'core', concerns such as the pursuit of security and prosperity. Other realists go further and believe that human rights thinking in relation to international and global issues is entirely wrong-headed. This is because realists hold that it is impossible, and undesirable, to view international politics in moral terms. Morality and the national interest are two distinct things, and states fail adequately to serve their own citizens (and often those of other states) when they allow ethical considerations – particularly ones as inherently vague and confused as human rights – to affect their behaviour. Realist objections to the culture of human rights have at least three bases. In the first place, they take issue with the essentially optimistic model of human nature that underpins human rights, which emphasizes dignity, respect and rationality. Second, realists are primarily concerned about collective behaviour, and especially the capacity of the state to ensure order and stability for

their citizens. The national interest should therefore take precedence over any individually-based conception of morality. Third,
being based on positivism, realism is keen to uphold its scientific credentials. This implies a concern with whatis, rather than with what should be.

Liberal view: The modern doctrine of human rights is very largely a product of liberal political philosophy. Indeed, so entangled with liberal assumptions are they that some doubt whether human rights can ever properly be described as 'above' ideological differences, bearing the cultural imprint of western liberalism. At a philosophical level, the image of humans as 'rights bearers' derives from liberal individualism. On a political level, liberals have long used the notion of natural or human rights to establish the basis of legitimacy. Social contract theorists thus argued that the central purpose of government is to protect a set of inalienable rights, variously described as 'life, liberty and property'(Locke), or as 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'(Jefferson). If governments become tyrannical, by abusing or failing to protect such rights, they break an implicit contract between the people and government, entitling citizens to rebel. The English, American and French revolutions were all justified using such ideas. During the twentieth century, liberals increasingly used such thinking to outline the basis for international legitimacy, arguing that states should be bound, preferably legally, to uphold human rights in their dealings with their domestic population as well as with other states. The 1948 UN Declaration therefore has, for liberals, a near-religious significance. Nevertheless, liberals tend to regard only civil and political rights as fundamental rights, and sometimes view economic rights and any conception of group rights with grave suspicion.

Critical views: Critical approaches to human rights have either tended to revise or recast the traditional, liberal view of human rights, or they have been openly hostile to the idea itself. The global justice movement has used economic and social rights as the basis of calls for a radical redistribution of power and resources, both within countries and between them. Human rights have thus been turned into a doctrine of global social justice, grounded in moral cosmopolitanism. Feminists, for their part, have demonstrated a growing interest in the cause of human rights. In particular, they have sought to transform the concept and practice of human rights to take better account of women's lives, highlighting the issues of' women's human rights'. This marks are cognition by feminist activists of the power of the international human rights framework, and especially its capacity to place women's issues on mainstream agendas. Human rights have thus been redefined to include the degradation and violation of women. At the same time, however, feminists have taken a critical view of rights that men have

designed to protect their entitlement to private commerce, free speech and cultural integrity, which have been used to legitimize practices such as child marriages, the trafficking of women and child pornography.

Questions
1. Define Human Rights
2. Describe the various types of Human Rights?

8.3 PEACE MOVEMENTS

Peace is often defined as the absence of violence. However, there is considerable disagreement over what forms of violence need to be absent. This disagreement is reflected in the list of winners of Nobel Peace prize. which includes the names of some controversial figures like U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger(1973), Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso (1989) and various international organisations. These actors have contributed to world peace through diverse ways and thus diversity of opinion remains about what peace is and it is promoted. Some scholars of peace, maintain that peace needs to been compass equality, socioeconomic factors and social justice. In fact, there is a growing interest in the role of non-violent social movements, particularly in struggles for equality in domestic political situations, in achieving and maintaining peace. A more minimalist definition of peace focuses on the absence of physical violence between political actors. For the most part, absence of military violence has been focused, while discussing peace. Peace movement is often used as a synonym for pacifism. But in discussing peace movements it is helpful to differentiate between the periods before and after 1945. Since world war II, peace movements have had distinctively new patterns of mobilization and organization, and many of them have been protest against violence or the military per se. Peace movement is a specific coalition of peace organizations that, together with elements of the public seek to remove threat of war or to create institutions or cultures that obviate recourse to violence. Peace organisations are people with shared commitment to common values and traditions, like religious pacifism, or to a programme such as world federalism. Such groups form coalitions in order to enlist public support in response to salient issues. If the issue is war or a specific war threat, peace coalitions take the form of anti-war movements. Historically specific peace movements have affected national policies, international institutions and so on. For example, anti-Vietnam war movement led to the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

8.3.1 Origin
The origin of the peace movements can be traced back to French revolution that created conditions, which allowed peace

movements to arise. Convictions matured within the pre-revolutionary bourgeois society that there is no rational argument to justify war. The mass experience of war following the French revolution of 1789 and Napoleonic rule gave the impulse for the organization of an individual peace mentality. The time spanning from the end of the Napoleonic era to the beginning of the age of imperialism was a take-off period for peace organisations. They emerged from two sources: on the one hand religious motivation and on the other hand a predominantly philanthropic rationalistic motivation leading to the foundation of the first peace societies on the continent in Paris in 1821 and Geneva in1830. The discourse of both focused on how to ban war as a means of conflict resolution and to get this idea generally accepted nationally and internationally. From 1901 onwards the supporters of peace movements called themselves 'pacifists' and their programme 'pacifism'. World War I created a deep rift within the international peace movements and cut the national peace movement's flexibility to a considerable extent. The new pacifism formed more solid base for international organisations. The international congress of pacifists in the Hague in1915 led to the short lived 'Central Organization for a Durable Peace'. During the interwar period, peace movements were marked by the coexistence of radical pacifist positions with the moderate orientation of traditional peace organization on widening of their social base into the working classes. The nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as the post-war strategy of nuclear deterrence developed in the course of the East-West confrontation gave new dimensions to the discussion on war and peace. Originated from the U.S. and directed against the Vietnam War, a radical peace movement staging a new type of mass protest and with the characteristic of the 'New Social Movements' came into being.

8.3.2 Causes of emergence of Peace Movements

The experience of the World War II and the lessons derived from it have had an important impact on thinking about war and peace. Technological developments have transformed the nature of warfare and so promoted widespread popular movements to prevent a nuclear warfare. Number of peace groups and variety of peace campaigns have multiplied in North America and North-West Europe, where a tradition of peace action was already well established. Peace Movement has spread to other parts of Europe and other continents where previously it was non-existent. The national peace societies gradually felt the need of international movement. From 19th Century international peace conferences began to be held. By the beginning of 20th century, a large number of peace societies had emerged on the international arena. But they failed to stop the World War I in 1914. During this period, these societies gave up their universal stand and responded to nationalist call. After the war, the peace proposals failed and could

not stop World War II. This War was most horrifying, most murderous weapon, the atom bomb was used in the war for the first time. The war ended with the beginning of new age named as Nuclear Age. The new age gave birth to new fears and also dangers of total destruction of the civilization if the nuclear war broke out. Thus the fears of nuclear war gave birth to new peace concept, new debates and new movements. The war also gave birth to Cold War between the two, super powers and two ideologies.

Questions
1. Explain the phenomenon of gender issues.
2. Comment on the dichotomy between peace movements and hard realism.

8.4 GENDER ISSUES

The study of international politics has traditionally been 'gender-blind'. In a discipline that focused primarily on states and inter-state relations, sexual politics and gender relations appeared to be of little or no relevance. Since the 1980s, however, feminist perspectives on world affairs have gained growing prominence. To a large degree, this reflected a growing acceptance that people's understanding of the world is shaped by the social and historical context in which they live and work. This implied, amongst other things, that global politics could be understood through a 'gender lens'. But what does it mean to put a 'gender lens' on global politics? How has feminism changed our understanding of international and global processes? One implication of adopting a gender perspective on such matters has-been to make women visible, in the sense of compensating for a 'mobilization of bias' within a largely male-dominated discipline that had previously been concerned only with male-dominated institutions and processes. Women, in other words, have always been part of world politics; it is just that their role and contribution had been ignored. At a deeper, and analytically more significant, level, putting a 'gender lens' on global politics means recognizing the extent to which the concepts, theories and assumptions through which the world has conventionally been understood are gendered. Gender analysis is thus the analysis of masculine and feminine identities, symbols and structures and how they shape global politics. Not only does this involve exposing what are seen as 'masculinist' biases that run-through the conceptual framework of mainstream theory, but this conceptual framework has also, in some ways, been recast to take account of feminist perceptions. Do women and men understand and act on the world in different ways, and what is the significance of this for the theory and practice of global politics?

8.4.1 Gendered states and gendered nations

Issues of identity in global politics are generally dominated by an emphasis on identification with the nation-state. Such an identification is particularly strong because the overlapping allegiances of citizenship (membership of a state) and nationality (membership of a nation) are focused on a territorially defined community. Moreover, the supposedly homogeneous character of the nation-state helps to explain why alternative forms of identity, such as those based on social class, gender, religion and ethnicity, have traditionally been politically marginalized. The rise of the modern women's movement has, to some extent, countered nation-state loyalties by trying to foster a rival sense of 'international sisterhood', based on translational gender allegiances, although, as with attempts by the twentieth-century socialist movement to inculcate a sense of 'proletarian internationalism', this has had little serious impact. Of greater significance, however, have been feminists' attempts to demonstrate the extent to which both the state and the nation are entangled with gender assumptions and biases. Feminism does not contain a theory of the state as such. Furthermore, feminists have usually not regarded the nature of state power as a central political issue, preferring instead to concentrate on the 'deeper structure' of male power centred on institutions such as the family. Nevertheless, radical feminists in particular have argued that patriarchy operates in, and through, the state, meaning that the state is in fact a patriarchal state. However, there are contrasting instrumentalist and structuralist versions of this argument. The instrumentalist approach views the state as little more than an 'agent' or 'tool' used by men to defend their interests and uphold the structures of patriarchy. This line of argument draws on the core feminist belief that patriarchy is upheld by the division of society into distinct public and private spheres of life. The subordination of women has traditionally been accomplished through their confinement to a private sphere of family and domestic responsibilities, turning them into housewives and mothers, and through their exclusion from a public realm centred on politics and the economy. Quite simply, in this view, the state is run by men for men. Whereas instrumentalist arguments focus on the personnel of the state, and particularly the state elite, structuralist arguments tend to emphasize the degree to which state institutions are embedded in a wider patriarchal system. Modern radical feminists have paid particular attention to the emergence of the welfare state, seeing it as the expression of a new kind of patriarchal power. Welfare may uphold patriarchy by bringing about a transition from private dependence (in which women as homemakers are dependent on male breadwinners) to a system of public dependence in which women are increasingly controlled by the institutions of the extended state. For instance, women have become increasingly dependent on the state as clients or customers of state services (such as childcare institutions, nurseries, schools and social services)and as employees,

particularly in the so-called 'caring' professions (such as nursing, social work and education).

The gendered character of the state is not only significant in consolidating, and possibly extending, the internal structures of male power, but also in shaping the external behaviour of states and thus the structure of the international system. Here, patriarchy dictates that states will be competitive and at least potentially aggressive, reflecting the forms of social interaction that are characteristic of male society generally. A patriarchal state-system is thus one that is prone to conflict and war. Moreover, such tendencies and behaviour are legitimized by the conceptual framework through which the international system has conventionally been interpreted. This can be seen, for instance, in the case of sovereignty. State sovereignty, the central principle of the Westphalia state-system, presents states as separate and independent entities, autonomous actors operating in an anarchic environment. Such an image can be seen to reflect an essentially masculinity view of the world in so far as male upbringing stresses the cultivation of independence, self-reliance and robustness generally. Just as boys and men are accustomed to think of themselves as separate, self-contained creatures, it is natural to think that states have similar characteristics. Very much the same can be said about the stress in mainstream international theory on the national interest as the primary motivation of states. This may be seen to derive from an emphasis in male upbringing on self-assertion and competitiveness. Indeed, in this light, the classical realist belief that state egoism reflects human egoism, should perhaps be recast as: state egoism reflects male egoism.

8.4.2 Approaches to Gender relations

Realist view: There is no realist theory of gender as such. Realists, indeed, would usually view gender relations as irrelevant to international and global affairs. This is because the principal actors on the world stage are states, whose behaviour is shaped by an overriding concern about the national interest and the fact that, within an anarchic international system, they are forced to prioritize security (especially military security)over other considerations. States are therefore' black boxes': their internal political and constitutional structures and their social make-up, in terms of gender, class, ethnic, racial or other divisions, have no bearing on their external behaviour. However, in arguing that state egoism derives from human egoism, classical realists such as Magenta have suggested that the tendency to dominate is an element in all human associations including the family. The patriarchal family and the sexual division of labour between 'public' men and 'private' women therefore tend to be thought of as natural and unchangeable.

Liberal view: Liberals have long been concerned about the issue of gender equality, so much so that liberal feminism was the earliest, and in countries such as the USA continues to be the most influential, school of feminist thought. The philosophical basis of liberal feminism lies in the principle of individualism. Individuals are entitled to equal treatment, regardless of their gender, race, colour, creed or religion. If individuals are to be judged, it should be on rational grounds, on the content of their character, their talents, or their personal worth. Any form of sexual discrimination should clearly be prohibited. Liberal feminists therefore aim to break down the remaining legal and social pressures that restrict women from pursuing careers and being politically active, and, in particular, to increase the representation of women in senior positions in public and political life. They believe that this would both serve the interests of justice (in promoting equal opportunities for women and men) and, probably, make a difference to how politics is conducted. This is because liberals have usually assumed that women and men have different natures and inclinations, women's leaning towards family and domestic life being shaped, at least in part, by a natural impulse towards caring and nurturing. Feminist thinking has had a significant impact on liberal international relations scholars suchas Keohane, who accepted that standpoint feminism in particular had given ideas such as complex interdependence and institutional change a richer and more gender-conscious formulation. As a liberal rationalist, however, he criticized the attachment of some feminist scholars to post-modern or post-structural methodologies, insisting that knowledge can only be advanced by developing testable hypotheses.

Critical views: Critical theories of global politics have engaged with feminist thinking and gender perspectives in a number of different ways. Social constructivism had a significant impact on early radical feminist conceptions of gender, which placed a particular emphasis on the process of socialization that takes place within the family as boys and girls are encouraged to conform to contrasting masculine and feminine stereotypes. Gender is therefore a social construct, quite distinct from the notion of biological sex. Frankfurt critical theory, as with any tradition that derives from Marxism, has tended to ignore or marginalize gender, preferring instead to concentrate on social class. However, a form of feminist critical theory has emerged that tends to fuse elements of standpoint feminism with a broadly Marxist emphasis on the links between capitalism and patriarchy, seen as interlocking hegemonic structures. In this view, women's groups have considerable emancipatory potential, operating as a force of resistance against the advance of global capitalism and TNCs. Post-modern poststructuralist feminists have taken issue in particular with forms of feminism that proclaim that there are essential differences between women and men. Finally,

postcolonial feminists have been critical of Eurocentric, universalist models of female emancipation that fail to recognize that gender identities are enmeshed with considerations of race, ethnicity and culture. For instance, forms of Islamic feminism have developed in which the return to traditional moral and religious principles has been seen to enhance the status of women

8.4.3 Gender, globalization and development

There has been a long tradition of feminist theorizing about economic issues, particularly undertaken by socialist feminists. The central idea of socialist feminism is that patriarchy and capitalism are overlapping and interlocking systems of oppression. The sexual division of labour, through which men dominate the public sphere while women are customarily confined to the private sphere, has served the economic interests of capitalism in a number of ways. For some socialist feminists, women constitute a 'reserve army of labour', which can be recruited into the workforce when there is a need for increased production, but easily shed and returned to domestic life during a depression, without imposinga burden on employers or the state. At the same time, women's domestic labour is vital to the health and efficiency of the economy. In bearing and rearing children, women are producing the next generation of capitalist workers. Similarly, in their role as housewives, women relieve men of the burden of housework and child-rearing, allowing them to concentrate their time and energy on paid and productive employment. The traditional family also provides male workers with the necessary cushion against the alienation and frustrations of life as a 'wage slave'. However, such gendered processes are largely ignored by conventional theories of political economy which concentrate only on commercial exchange and paid labour, thus rendering much of women's contribution to productive activity invisible. This is further accentuated by gender biases that operate within the conceptual framework of conventional political economy, and especially economic liberalism. This can be seen, in particular, in the feminist critique of the notion of 'economic man'. The idea that human beings are rationally self-seeking creatures who pursue pleasure primarily in the form of material consumption, a foundational idea of market capitalism, has been constructed in line with masculinist assumptions about egoism and competition.

Questions
1. How has feminism changed our understanding of international and global processes?
2. Briefly comment on the effects of globalization on gender.

8.5 ENVIRONMENT

Global environmental issues are an important part of international relations. In fact, the international community, in recent

years, has stressed the importance of fighting climate change, in order to protect the environment, through documents such as the Kyoto protocol, and more recently during the COP21 United Nations Climate Change Summit. However, international activists were speaking out about the harm that humans were doing to the environment as early as the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1980s, the thinning of the O-zone layer began to be a major concern. Today, such issues, along with global warming and climate change are at the centre of environmental politics. In fact, individual activists, NGOs, as well as states have come together through international organizations such as the United Nations to derive strategies related to environmental issues such as global warming and reducing harmful chemicals in the atmosphere.

Global environmental politics is a relatively new field of study within international relations that focuses on issues related to the interaction of humans and the natural world. As early as the mid-19th century, there were scholars writing about the role of natural resources in global security and political economy. However, much of the literature prior to the 1980s related specifically to resource extraction and development issues. It was only in the 1980s and into the 1990s that global environmental politics began to establish itself as a distinct field with its own dedicated journals and publishers, and the focus of study expanded to include global environmental problems such as ozone depletion, climate change, biodiversity loss, deforestation, and desertification. It has emerged as a center of interdisciplinary work that integrates research from a range of fields including geography, economics, history, law, biology, and numerous others. The interdisciplinary approach makes it difficult to define the boundaries in this rather immense field of study. Global environmental problems present many unique challenges and have thus spawned a range of subfields of study. Global environmental problems frequently involve substantial scientific complexity and ambiguity. This has produced a wide-ranging scholarship on the relationships between science and policy. The very long timeframes of both the consequences of environmental problems as well as the efforts to address them create a number of governance challenges given the much shorter political timeframes of politicians and diplomats.

In addition, because environmental problems typically do not respect borders, they pose challenges for international cooperation, which has thus produced a growing literature on global environmental governance. The widespread potential for massive economic, political, and ecological dislocation from the consequences of global environmental problems as well as from the potential policies to address those problems have led scholars to study global environmental politics from every paradigm within

international relations as well as drawing on research in numerous other disciplines.

The term 'climate change' has gradually replaced 'global warming' in official discussions about the phenomenon at national and international levels. For instance, whereas UN reports had previously used both terms, by the establishment of the 1992 FCCC, only one reference was made to the idea of 'warming' and none to 'global warming'. Although there may be scientific reasons to prefer the term 'climate change' (for example, it allows for the possibility that temperatures may fall as well as rise), it is also a less frightening term than 'global warming'. The latter is more emotionally charged and has perhaps catastrophic connotations attached to it. The blander and seemingly neutral 'climate change' has thus been preferred by politicians and states reluctant to take urgent action on the issue.

'Climate change' has the advantage of being vague, specifically about its origins, in that it seems to cover both natural and human-induced changes to the climate. This vagueness, in turn, has tended to support the idea that there is uncertainty and controversy about the causes and consequences of the phenomenon. By contrast, 'warming' implies that there is an agent doing the warming, thus suggesting that human activity is the likely cause of the problem.

Although forms of environmental politics can be traced back to the industrialization of the nineteenth century, ecologism or green politics having always been, in a sense, a backlash against industrial society, the environment did not become a significant national or international issue until the 1960s and 1970s.This occurred through the emergence of an environmental movement that sought to highlight the environmental costs of increased growth and rising affluence, at least in the developed West, drawing attention also to a growing divide between humankind and nature. Influenced in particular by the idea of ecology, the pioneering works of early green politics included Rachel Carson's The Silent Spring, a critique of the damage done to wildlife and the human world by the increased use of pesticides and other agricultural chemicals, and Murray Book chin's Our Synthetic Environment which examined how pesticides, food additives and X-rays cause a range of human illnesses, including cancer. This period of the 1960s and 1970s also saw the birth of a new generation of activist NGOs– ranging from Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth to animal liberation activists and so-called 'eco-warrior' groups – campaigning on issues such as the dangers of pollution, the dwindling reserves of fossil fuels, deforestation and animal experiments. From the 1980sonwards, environmental questions were kept high on the political agenda by green parties, which now exist in most

industrialized countries, often modelling themselves on the pioneering efforts of the German Greens. The environmental movement addresses three general problems. These are:

1. <u>Resource problems</u> – attempts to conserve natural materials through reducing the use of non-renewable resources (coal, oil, natural gas and so on),increasing the use of renewable resources (such as wind, wave and tidal power), and reducing population growth, thereby curtailing resource consumption.

2. <u>Sink problems</u> – attempts to reduce the damage done by the waste products of economic activity, through for example, reducing pollution levels, increasing recycling, and developing greener (less polluting) technologies.

3. <u>Ethical problems</u> – attempts to restore the balance between humankind and nature through wildlife and wilderness conservation, respect for other species (animal rights and animal welfare), and changed agricultural practices (organic farming).

This reflected a growing awareness that environmental problems have an intrinsically translational character: they are no respecters of borders. States are therefore environmentally vulnerable to the economic activities that take place in other states, a lesson that was reinforced during the 1970s by growing concern about the regional impact of acid rain and by the truly global consequences of ozone depletion caused by emissions of man-made chemicals such as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and halons. The first major international conference to be held on environmental issues was the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE) at Stockholm. The Stockholm conference also led to the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), which is responsible for coordinating the environmental activities of states and international organizations to promote better regional and global environmental protection. However, the global recession of the 1970s and onset of the 'second Cold War' in the early 1980s subsequently pushed environmental issues down the international agenda. They were revived, in part, through the impact of environmental catastrophes such as the 1984 Bhopal chemical plant disaster and the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, but also by a growing recognition that environmental degradation was closely associated with the advance of globalization, encouraging many, particularly in the South, to link environmental and development issues. The 1987 Brundtland Commission Report, Our Common Future, exemplified this through its emphasis on 'sustainable development', which subsequently provided the dominant mainstream framework for understanding and addressing environmental issues. The Brundtland Report prepared the way for

the 1992 Rio 'Earth Summit' (officially, the UN Conference on Environment and Development, or UNCED), which was held 20 years after the landmark Stockholm conference. From the 1990s onwards, environmental debate increasingly focused on the issue of 'climate change' brought about through global warming. Initial concerns about climate change had focused on CFC emissions, but this shifted over time to the impact of so-called 'greenhouse gases'. One of the consequences of the Earth Summit was the establishment of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC), the first attempt to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic (human-induced) climate change. Responsibility for reporting on the implementation of the FCCC was invested in the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), established in 1988. Nevertheless, it took until the1997 Kyoto Protocol to the FCCC to agree measures to control emissions of greenhouse gases. Under the Kyoto Protocol, developed countries agreed to cut their emissions by an average of 5 per cent, usually against 1990 levels, during the'commitment period', 2008–12. The 2009 Copenhagen Summit was called to formulate a successor to Kyoto. However, in their different ways, Kyoto and Copenhagen both demonstrate the difficulty of achieving concerted and effective action on the issue of climate change. These difficulties relate, most basically, to the mismatch between state interests and the collective interests of the international community, as illustrated by the idea of the 'tragedy of the commons'. Potentially, this problem applies to all environmental issues.

8.5.1 Why is international cooperation so difficult to achieve?

Effective international action to tackle climate change will only occur if solutions are found to a series of obstacles to international cooperation. The most significant of these obstacles are the following:
- Conflict between the collective good and national interests
- Tensions between developed and developing states
- Economic obstacles
- Ideological obstacles

The issue of climate change can be seen as a classic example of the 'tragedy of the commons'. Clean air and a healthy atmosphere are therefore collective goods, key elements of the 'global commons'. However, tackling global warming imposes costs on individual states in terms of investment in sometimes expensive mitigation and adaptation strategies as well as accepting lower levels of economic growth.

The second problem is that the issue of climate change exposes significant divisions between developed world and the

developing world. Climate change, in other words, serves to widen the North–South divide. From a Southern perspective, the developed world has a historic responsibility for the accumulated stock of carbon emitted since the beginning of the industrial age.

Apart from anything else, the growing importance of emerging economies such as China, India and Brazil means that unless the developing world plays a significant role in cutting emissions global targets will be impossible to meet. Nevertheless, tensions between developed and developing countries are even more acute if population size and per capita income are taken into account.

As far as economic factors are concerned, criticism usually focuses on the anti-ecological tendencies of the capitalist system, at both national and global levels. In particular, profit-maximizing businesses will always be drawn towards the most easily available and cheapest source of energy: fossil fuels.

At an ideological level, countries' attachment to carbon industrialization may, in the final analysis, be a manifestation of the materialist values that dominate modern society, creating, deep ecologists argue, a profound disjuncture between humankind and nature.

From this perspective, the difficulties of tackling climate change stem not only from the problem of persuading people to forego at least a measure of their material prosperity, but, more challengingly, from the task of encouraging people to revise their values.

Questions
1) What are the causes of climate change?
2) How should climate change be tackled?

8.6 SUMMARY

- Human rights have come to compete with state sovereignty as the dominant normative language of international affairs and human development.

- Human rights are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human; they are a modern and secular version of 'natural rights'.
- Individual needs and interests have therefore generally been subsumed within the larger notion of the 'national interest'. As a result, international politics largely amounted to a struggle for power between and amongst states with little consideration

being given to the implications of this for the individuals concerned.

- Civil and political rights are often typically seen as negative rights, or 'forbearance' rights: they can be enjoyed only if constraints are placed on others.

- Economic, social and cultural rights often drew on socialist assumptions about the tendencies of capitalist development towards social injustice and unequal class power.

- Solidarity Rights encompass a broad spectrum of rights whose main characteristic is that they are attached to social groups or whole societies, as opposed to separate individuals.

- Peace movement is a specific coalition of peace organizations that, together with elements of the public seek to remove threat of war or to create institutions or cultures that obviate recourse to violence.

- The origin of the peace movements can be traced back to French revolution, that created conditions, which allowed peace movements to arise.

- Number of peace groups and variety of peace campaigns have multiplied in North America and North-West Europe, where a tradition of peace action was already well established. Peace Movement has spread to other parts of Europe and other continents where previously it was non-existent.

- Since the 1980s, feminist perspectives on world affairs have gained growing prominence. To a large degree, this reflected a growing acceptance that people's understanding of the world is shaped by the social and historical context in which they live and work.

- Modern radical feminists have paid particular attention to the emergence of the welfare state, seeing it as the expression of a new kind of patriarchal power.

- There has been a long tradition of feminist theorizing about economic issues, particularly undertaken by socialist feminists. The central idea of socialist feminism is that patriarchy and capitalism are overlapping and interlocking systems of oppression.
- The gendered character of the state is not only significant in consolidating, and possibly extending, the internal structures of male power, but also in shaping the external behaviour of states and thus the structure of the international system.

8.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain the impact of human rights on global politics

2. Comment on the realist approach to human rights

3. Describe the evolution of peace movements globally.

4. The study of international politics has traditionally been 'gender blind'. Comment.

5. Are human rights and peace movements synonymous? Elucidate.

6. Critically evaluate the approaches to gender relations.

7. North-South divide in perspective impacts global environment. Elucidate.

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