LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-II

Edited By

Dr. Vinod C.V.

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SYLLABUS

International Relations-II

Objectives

- To provide the students with the theoretical information about different modules, realist, liberal, Marxist, radical, structuralist, etc.
- To provide them with the intellectual information of those factors—cold war, emerging powers, grouping, international divergence, intervention, and invasions, affecting the international relations.
- To introduce practical knowledge of international order of the modern world, changing nature of powers, human rights,population displacement, international justice, environmental problems, etc.

Sl.No.	Topics
1.	End of Cold War
	Post-Cold War Issues: Nation-State, Security, Peace and Development Initiatives, Restructuring of the UN
	Emerging Powers: Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, India, Japan and South Africa
	Regional Groupings: (a) Economic (b) Security
2.	Gobalisation: Meanings and Dimensions
	International Inequities: Conflict, Cooperation, Processes of Divergence and Convergence
	Elements of International Economic Relations – Trade, Factor Movements (Capital and Labour), and Monetary and Credit Relations
3.	Management of International Relations: Institutions and Instruments, India in the New Global Order
	Right to Self-determination, Intervention/Invasion, Nuclear Proliferation, International Terrorism
	Role of Science and Technology in International Relations
4.	Inequality among Nations, Global Corporatism and State Sovereignty
	Human Rights and International Trade
	Changing Nature of American Power
	China as an Emerging Power
	Emergence of Central Asian Republics
	Ethnic Resurgence and 'Identity' Wars
5.	Aboriginal/Indigenous Movements
	Displacement of Population: Intra-State and Inter-State
	Transnational Movements: Cultural and Civilisational
	Role of NGOs
	Concept of Justice in International Relations
	Human Security

Unit 1 : End of Cold War

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Introduction
1.1 End of Cold War: Major Agreements and Incidents
1.2 Reasons of End of Cold War
1.3 End of Cold War and its Effects on International Politics
1.4 Summary
1.5 Keywords
1.6 Review Questions
1.7 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know end of Cold War: major agreements and incidents.
- Explain reasons of end of Cold War.
- Discuss end of Cold War and its effects on international politics.

Introduction

After the Second World War, the world was divided into two groups. The leader of one block was United States of America and the leader of the other group was Soviet Union. The mutual relations of both the groups had been termed as 'Cold War'. This has been such a situation which was known as 'hot-peace'. In such a situation there is neither complete peace nor there is real war, but it is an unstable situation between peace and war. This happens to be such a situation in which both the parties, in spite of maintaining mutual peaceful diplomatic relations, hold mutual feeling of enmity with each other and except indulging in armed warfare, they resort to all other means and try to weaken the position of the other. That had been a war of diplomatic strategies in which both the great powers feared from each other

Relation between Soviet Union and America after Second World War can be divided in four eras: Cold War (1946–1962), Détente (1963–1979), Second Cold War (1979–1984), and End of Cold War (1985–1981). Precisely, these are the different stages of emergence of 'Cold War' in which ups and downs kept coming.

1.1 End of Cold War: Major Agreements and Incidents

The time-period of 1985–91 is considered to be historical symbol of limit from the point of view of End of Cold War between Soviet Union and America. During the period of Second Cold War,

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both the countries kept busy in invention and production of weapons. They were all the time anxious that about nuclear weapons, some agreements should be materialized so that both the countries could stop unrestricted increase in budget for defense production and research. For this objective, in January 1985, the meeting between American Foreign Minister George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko proved to be good omen which prepared the ground for Gorbachev-Reagan Summit Meet of November 1985. This first Summit Meet was like 'Formal Beginning' and both the leaders did not have any list of noteworthy subjects. But the historical importance of this Summit Meet had been in this fact that it was a first big step in reducing tension of second Cold War of five to six years after severe tension and taciturnity. After this one after the other summit meets and agreements took pace and at the end of 1991 the Cold War ended. Following agreements, summit talks and incidents which helped in ending Cold War are worth-mentioning here:

Geneva Summit (**November** 1985): In Geneva, two great leaders met. For two days (19th and 20th November, 1985) their personal and secret talks lasted. The talk was held between these two powers after six years. Following are the agendas on which both leaders of great powers agreed:

1. Nuclear War should never be fought. None of the partners would try to establish military superiority over the other.
2. In order to control the race of weapons, both the parties must increase pace of the talk and both must decrease 50% of their heap of nuclear weapons.
3. Both parties must endorse again Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1968, and appeal that maximum countries should sign this.
4. There should be complete ban on chemical weapons.
5. Importance should be given to Vienna Talk about the matter of armies in Europe.
6. Document should be prepared to prohibit use of force.
7. Both the parties should strengthen their cultural, educational, scientific and economical relations.
8. Gorbachev should visit America in 1986 and Reagan should also visit Soviet Union in 1986.
9. Soviet Union as well as America should open their commerce consulate in New York and Kiev respectively.

Reagan–Gorbachev Summit Talk (11–12 October, 1986): On 11–12 October, 1986, Summit Talk of two days concluded between American President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at Reykjavík (Iceland). This summit talk failed due to obstinacy of Reagan on the issue of 'Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)' Before leaving Reykjavík, Reagan told that Soviet proposal of limiting the program of 'SDI' to only experimental research and tests, is not acceptable to him. Gorbachev explained that if he had agreed to deprive Soviet Union of all nuclear weapons of warlike importance and allow America to deploy weapons in space, he would have been called as 'mad'.

According to Gorbachev, there was almost a concurrence in their talk, on the planning to curtail 50% of warlike weapons in next five years, to eliminate missiles of middle range and reduce the number of missiles of middle range of Soviet Union in Asia. Apart from this, there was one demand of Gorbachev that along with all these curtailments, this was also necessary that America must stop the programms of SDI outside laboratory. Reagan, out rightly rejected that proposal.

Gorbachev declared that America had a confidence that through 'SDI', it would be on the brink of gaining military superiority over Soviet Union. So Reagan refused to agree to those agreements on

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which there was already unanimous concurrence and only signature on the alliance was pending. Thus, an opportunity to create a new history had been lost.

America and Soviet Union agreed to impart military information: In September, 1087, signatures had been done on one agreement between America and Soviet Union, Under this both the countries agreed to impart information about their military activities to each other. Under this agreement, there emerged concurrence to open Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers in Moscow and Washington.

Summit Talk between Soviet Union and America and Signature on I.N.F.Treaty (8–10 December, 1987): Gorbachev, the leader of Soviet Union, and American President Reagan signed a historical treaty during 8-10 December, 1987. This treaty is called INF Treaty. The main part of this treaty is of 200 pages. According to this treaty, both of the countries agreed to destroy medium and short range missiles. With this treaty, they decided to destroy total 1,139 nuclear weapons.

Example According to the treaty, the agreement was done to destroy, 4 S.S, S.S.-12, S.S.-20, S.S.-23 missiles of Soviet Union and Parshing-1A, and Pershing-2 and territorial missiles of America.

INF treaty is a historical treaty. This is an 'Important and Unique Development'. This has been a constructive step towards the direction of world peace. Its importance can be explained like this:

1. This is a symbol of constructive improvement concerning great powers.
2. This is a strong intention of stopping of war between two great powers.
3. This is the first agreement concerning disarmament.
4. This is first step towards nuclear disarmament. Under this it was decided to fully destroy one series of nuclear missiles. Although the amount of nuclear missiles which were to be destroyed was only 4 to 8% of some weapons, still this had been the first treaty concerning disarmament by which staunch enemies and rival great powers promised to destroy their self-made weapons.
5. It removed the hurdle from the path of disarmament. Both the great powers agreed for ' test-activity' and monitoring.

Discourse took place between two leaders on other topics also. Some agreements were materialized between two countries as a result of this. According to one agreement, it was decided to start direct air service from America to Soviet Union from May, 1988. According to one other agreement, both the countries agreed to provide convenience to each other to inspect the capability of nuclear tests. Both Reagan and Gorbachev declared that this summit talk had been historical in reducing tension.

Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Talk (1st June, 1988): On June 1st,1988 four rounds of talk took place between Reagan and Gorbachev. Foreign Ministers of both the nations accord signature on an agreement regarding common inspection on ban of underground nuclear explosions. Except this, signatures were done on agreements related to transmitting information to each other about launch intercontinental Ballistic missiles. Soviet Cultural Minister, Zakharov and Mr. Vick, Director of American Information Agency put signature over the programme concerning mutual cooperation and conversion for 1989–91. Under this both the countries agreed to foster cultural relations between each other.

Trip of West-German Chancellor to Moscow: Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of East Germany visited Moscow from 24th October to 27th October, 1988. This visit revealed that the countries of Western Europe looked at all this, particularly establishing relations with Gorbachev with the feeling of pride.

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During this visit, six agreements materialized between the governments of West Germany and Soviet Union and thirty commercial contracts were awarded. The technical talent and resources of West Germany would be functional for the success of economic 'Perestroika' of Soviet Union.

Did You Know? INF. Treaty is a historical alliance.

Declaration of Gorbachev in General Assembly of the United Nations: On 8th December, 1988, from the stage of worldly institution like United Nations, Gorbachev declared that Soviet Union would withdraw five lakh soldiers from the countries of East Europe and would make considerable curtailment in traditional weapons. That declaration was an indication of drastic change in the policy of Soviet Union. The meeting of Gorbachev was held with President Reagan and also with elected President Bush in New York. Gorbachev thanked for that meeting and stated, 'The new atmosphere which is being created owing to our talks and the new tune which is being produced, will perpetually continue.' President Reagan welcomed this declaration because Reagan himself once branded Soviet Union as 'Wicked Empire'.

Bush-Gorbachev Summit Talk (December 1989): On 2–3 December, 1989, in Mediterranean Sea, a summit talk about war-ships concluded between President George Bush and Gorbachev. President Bush invited Gorbachev to come to America in June. President Bush suggested that America and Soviet Union should issue an appeal to hold 2004 Olympics at Berlin. Although, signatures were not done on any agreement, still both accepted that the sequence of mutual talks should continue.

The Agreement between Soviet Union and European Economic Community: In December, 1989, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze went to NATO Head office in Brussels and met Council of Consulates. He signed a ten-year agreement with European Economic Community. Under the agreement with the European Economic Community, a concurrence had been accorded to foster trade of various commodities between Soviet Union and countries of this community.

Berlin Wall Demolition: Wall of Berlin in Europe had been smudgy symbol of Cold War. On 9th November, 1989, the wall dividing Berlin in two parts was demolished. The people of East Germany started going to West Germany without any hitch. There was no resistance of that incidence by Soviet Union.

Unification of Germany: On 1st July, 1990, the economic unification of both Germany took place. On 15–16 July, 1990 the Chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Kohl met Soviet Union President Gorbachev. After that, addressing a newsmen conference, the President of Soviet Union declared that the unification of Germany was imminent; Soviet Union wanted close relation with Germany and it was the will of Germany if it wanted to join NATO or Warsaw Treaty. Thus, Soviet Union initiated the unification of Germany. On 3rd October, 1990 the unification of Germany materialized. With that the blemish of Cold War wiped off from Europe.

Declaration of End of Cold War by NATO: On 5–6 July, 1990 President Bush made a historical announcement in two-day summit meet in London that the Cold War between the countries of NATO and Warsaw Treaty had ended. To dispel fears of Soviet Union, it was announced in NATO declaration that the number of soldiers would be reduced from Germany. NATO would remove nuclear missiles from West Germany as Soviet Union continued to withdraw its forces from East Europe. West Germany promised to halve its army after unification. The countries of NATO placed a proposal with a non-aggression announcement of annihilating nuclear weapons, before the countries of Warsaw Treaty.

Gorbachev-Bush Talk in Helsinki: On 8–9th September, 1990, a talk was held between President Bush and Gorbachev in Helsinki. Both leaders criticized the attack by Iraq on Kuwait and stated that they fully supported the proposal of the Security Council. Both the Heads-of-government appealed

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to world community to cooperate in implementing the restrictions laid down by United Nations. This fact became clear after that summit talk that both super-powers, America and Soviet Union had been unanimous on this matter that Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait without any condition and should comply with all the proposals of United Nations. Soviet Union stopped the supply of weapons to Iraq and demanded to restore liberty and sovereignty of Kuwait.

Treaty of Friendship between Germany and Soviet Union: On 9th November, 1990, signature was done on historical non-aggression and Friendship-Treaty between Germany and Soviet Union at Bonn. President Gorbachev on behalf of Soviet Union and Helmut Kohl on behalf of Germany put signature on that treaty. It had been stated in that treaty that both countries would foster mutual friendship and solve their differences with peace and without raising any controversy. It had been mentioned in the treaty that in order to reduce mutual tension, none of them would encourage militarism. After signing the treaty, Soviet President Gorbachev said that with that treaty, there would be beginning of a new era in Europe. Now cold-war has finished and all countries have got full opportunity to live peacefully.

Signature on Historical Treaty between Warsaw and NATO: On 19th November, 1990, in Paris the Deputy Governmental Heads signed a historical agreement. The Cold War in Europe was ended by this treaty. NATO and countries of Warsaw Pact took 21 months in completing this treaty of 200 pages. The number of soldiers in both the groups was not decided as per this treaty, but maximum number of traditional weapons was determined for each one like this- tanks- 20,000, armed personal carriers–30,000, artillery pieces 20,000, fighter planes (6,800), and fighter helicopters (2,000.)

Extensive arrangement had been done for inspection so that none of the party might flout the rule. After signing the treaty, the American President George Bush said that owing to this treaty a new chapter of mutual faith and friendship would begin in Europe.

On 21st November, 1990, the summit meeting concluded after amiable deliberations. The European countries accepted a charter in this summit meeting after the Second World War in which they accepted commitment towards democracy, human rights and economic liberty. The President of France Mitterrand was the first person to sign it. On this occasion American President George Bush and the President of Soviet Union, Gorbachev told that the bitter chapter of Cold War had ended in Europe. Now we would be able to establish a peaceful and stable Europe.

End of Warsaw Pact: During the days of Cold War, to counter NATO, the creation of Warsaw Pact was done on 9th May, 1955, under the leadership of Soviet Union. Through this organization, Soviet Union could maintain sole influence on Eastern European countries. Under Para 5 of Warsaw treaty, one joint military command was made whose head-office was at Moscow. In the atmosphere of ebbing away of Cold War, Warsaw Pact was brought to an end on 1st July, 1991.

Moscow Summit Conference and Signature on Start Treaty, July, 1991: On 31st July, 1991, in Moscow, in the summit conference of American President George Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev, signature had been done on the historical treaty (Start treaty) of 'Curtailment of war-like weapons'. According to conditions of the treaty, both the super-powers voluntarily agreed to cut 30% of their nuclear weapons. This treaty was the first big formal agreement with whose medium there was voluntarily agreement for so much curtailment in most dangerous and destructive weapons.

Notes Start- Treaty' is in fact a historical achievement in the direction of ending of Cold War.

Korean Agreement about Ban on War: Korean War of 1950 was the climax of Cold War. During the days of Korean problem, United Nations became fighting ground of Cold War. On 12th December,

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1991, forty-five years old rivals North and South Korea signed a historical agreement about total termination of war for conciliation and peaceful co-existence. Now both Koreas are members of United Nations Organization. It is hoped that both Koreas would advance further in the direction of political unification.

80% cut in Accumulation of weapons of NATO: In October 1991, the member countries of NATO agreed to exercise 80% cut in accumulation of their nuclear weapons in Europe. In the history of 60 years of NATO, that had been the biggest weapon-cut. Under that decision, this thing was pointed out that 2,000 missiles and guns of less range and 700 gravity bombs should be removed from Western Europe. It is note-worthy that from the decade of 1950, the countries of NATO began to accumulate weapons which went on increasing later on. NATO had enormous storehouse of nuclear weapons, now, after the elimination of Warsaw Pact especially, there is no need at all.

Afghan Agreement: Second Cold War began by Soviet Union in 1989 in Afghanistan. As per effort of Afghan War Solution, America and erstwhile Soviet Union totally stopped the supply of armament to this country from 1st January, 1992. For the first time any communist power withdrew from other countries after establishing its regime there. It is well-known that on 12th September, 1991 such agreement materialized in Moscow between Soviet Union and The United States of America. Actually, both super-powers gave a guarantee to restore peace in Afghanistan.

Pyongyang Trip of Kim De Jung

The President of South Korea, Kim De Jung, brought representation of 180 people and when he reached Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea on 13th June, 2000, the remaining bacteria of Cold War appeared to diminish. This trip consolidated the path of unification of Korea and encouraged them to re-unite with amity and cooperation.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Cold War had been such a situation, which was known as ..... .
2. After the Second World War, the world was divided into two ..... .
3. In November 1985, two super-powers Reagan and ..... met in Geneva.
4. During Second Cold War period, both the countries had been busy in invention and ..... of weapons.

1.2 Reasons of End of Cold War

After cold-war, the Second Cold War was on its climax and then within 7 years (1985–91) how and why it transformed suddenly in the end of Cold War despite the extremity of Cold War. Following are the reasons behind this:

The Personality and Policies of Gorbachev

In March 1985, the reins of Soviet Union came in the hands of Mikhail Gorbachev. As Stalin is remembered as procreator of Cold War, in the same way the world will remember Gorbachev as leader of terminating Cold War. Gorbachev shattered the wall of iron-curtain and opened closed doors and windows. In order to establish peace in the world, he gave a new sight for having a world devoid of nuclear weapons, violence and controversies. In December, 1987, he signed INF Treaty to destroy

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small and middle range missiles. He announced a one-sided cut in weapons and forces. His 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' policies initiated new system in national and international spheres. Soviet Union adopted such liberal, benign and agreeable diplomacy which absolutely transformed world politics.

Economic Helplessness of Soviet Union

After 1980, Soviet Union had been going through economic crisis. After spending vehemently on contending space explorations and manufacturing of the weapons, its financial system began to stumble. Then it did not have the capability to compete in Cold War with Western countries. Mikhail Gorbachev described the wretchedness of Soviet economic plight in mere few words, 'On analyzing the situation, we came to know that economic progress has been slow. The growth rate of national income has reduced to more than half in last 15 years and till the beginning of decade of 1980, it reached after decrease the nearest level of economic deadlock. The country which had almost reached very close to progressive countries of the world had lost one level after the other continuously.'

According to Gorbachev, during 1970–85 the growth rate reduced by 10%. The export of instruments and goods continuously dropped. In 1970, it was 22%, and continuously dropping it reached less than 14% in 1985. Agriculture production also flopped. The farms of Soviet Union which adopted latest scientific process were only producing 15 quintal of wheat per hectare or 2–3 tons of grapes that was not even one third of Indian production. In consumer sphere due to slow industrial progress, the living standard was very low. The economic condition became all the more complex due to strike by coal-mine workers. Due to strike of March, 1991, 200 mines out of 580 mines were affected. Soviet economic system faced a very big setback due to Gulf war because it proved to be damaging for the sale of Soviet store of weapons.

In short, the super-power like Soviet Union was on the verge of economic downfall. The economic growth rate was 4.4%, export reduced to 2% and import increased by 6.5% in 1988. Production efficiency and growth in standard of living stopped in that country. Long Queues used to be formed for consumable items. Such countries with these features thought to get rid of Cold War for national interest.

Dispersal of Soviet Union

The years of 1990–91 have been disturbing years in Soviet Union. On 9th August, 1991, the incident of dethroning of Gorbachev had been a severe blow to the popularity of Gorbachev. The eminence of Soviet Union as super-power of the world has become talk of the past. This downfall in the position of Soviet Union had become clear during its inactive support to America, but its extreme climax was took place when Gorbachev proved unsuccessful in arranging Western economic aid in London Meeting. Moreover, many republics in his own country started demanding autonomy vociferously.

Caution This political dispersal of Soviet Union, which was acclaimed as world-power once, is an ugly reality of present time. Till yesterday the communist party known for being a protector of the interests of workers, was on the verge of elimination and K.G.B, known as self-sufficient institution had been shattered as wall of sand.

Likewise the central structure of Soviet government also stumbled due to regular new changes in the spheres of citizen, military and bureaucracy. The result of this series of events had been that gradually within some months the mighty Soviet Union disintegrated.

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Democracy and Market-Economic System in Communist Countries

Cold War had been a theoretical struggle. Soviet Union and some Eastern European countries adopted 'Communist-Model' of development. Its main feature was—One totalistic party and centralized governing economic system. But in the years of 1989–90, the countries of Eastern Europe adopted multiparty democratic political system of independent election along with free-market economy. In 1990, in Soviet Union also ban was implemented on communist party and it accepted free-market economic system. Now there was no difference in Western countries and Eastern countries of Europe. There grew possibility of getting financial aid from G-7 countries to Soviet Union. In such trend of change, the conclusion of Cold War has been a natural incident. In November-December 1991, America granted amount of 1.5 Billion dollars to Soviet Union as food relief. The amount of American aid up to the year 1991 reached 4 Billion dollars. Around these days, Germany alone gave the aid of 40 Billion dollars to Soviet Union.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. ……. is remembered as procreator of Cold War.

   (a) Stalin (b) Lenin (c) Hitler (d) Napoleon

6. The world will remember ……. as leader of terminating Cold War.

   (a) Ronald Reagan (b) Gorbachev (c) Helmut Kohl (d) George Bush

7. In 1988 superpower like Soviet Union was on the verge of …….. crisis.

   (a) political (b) social (c) economic (d) religious

8. Cold War was a …… struggle.

   (a) natural (b) social (c) conceptual (d) religious

1.3 End of Cold War and its Effects on International Politics

During the years of end of Cold War, there came reduction in tension centers of International Politics and it became easier to find solution to certain crucial problems. Regarding ending of war between Iran and Iraq, (1988), solution of Afghan problem (1988), independence of Namibia (1988), to liberate Kuwait (1991), The United States of America and Soviet Union worked together and United Nations Organization also could play an effective role. During the days of Gulf crisis, an awesome acquiescence was to be noticed between President Bush and Gorbachev. Soviet Union gave full cooperation in preparing atmosphere of peace-talk in Western Asia. The initiative of Soviet Union proved quite supporting in convincing Syria to take part in peace-talk because for many years it has been supplying arms to Syria. In the background of ending of Cold War, signature on INF had been possible between both super-powers. This has been an effort to transform clash of treaty to peace, controversy to cooperation and doubt to faith. The Western countries came ahead to salvage Soviet Union from financial crisis. Soviet President Gorbachev participated in meeting of G-7 countries at London (July 1991). To help Soviet Union, it was made member of International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Except this G-7 promised to provide full technical help in transport, to establish legal and banking process and enhancing energy and food production in Soviet Union.

With the conclusion of Cold War, the existence of Soviet Union also ended. On 26th December, 1991 Supreme Soviet of Soviet Union in its last session, passed the proposal of ending Soviet Union and announced its own dissolution. With this the 70 years old Soviet Union ended. The President Gorbachev entrusted the so-called 'nuclear-button' or briefcase to Russian leader Boris Yeltsin. Many leaders of the world profusely appreciated Gorbachev from historical point of view for adopting liberal and democratic policies in his country. The final handing-over of power had been done in such a peaceful way that the whole world praised it, especially because in that country, the handing over

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of power in past, had always been with political tactics or through military force. Present as well as future historians will write that Gorbachev not only began democratic amendments in a complex system but also politically martyred himself for the sake of realizing objective of democracy in his country. On international level also, Gorbachev is accepted as Messiah of freedom in Eastern Europe and leader of unification in Germany. He reduced the distance among nations with summit meetings and dialogues and tried to make international politics devoid of tension. He has been given credit for initiating means to end Cold War and do away with nuclear weapons.

1.4 Summary

- After the Second World War, the world was divided into two groups. The leader of one block was United States of America and the leader of the other group was Soviet Union. The mutual relations of both the groups had been termed as 'Cold War'.
- Cold War is such a situation in which both the parties, in spite of maintaining mutual peaceful diplomatic relations, hold mutual feeling of enmity with each other and except indulging in armed warfare, they resort to all other means and try to weaken the position of others.
- The time-period from 1985–91 is considered to be historical symbol of limit from the point of view of End of Cold War between Soviet Union and America.
- In March 1985, the reins of Soviet Union came in the hands of Mikhail Gorbachev. As Stalin is remembered as procreator of Cold War, in the same way the world will remember Gorbachev as leader of terminating Cold War.
- In the background of ending of Cold War, signature on INF had been possible between both super-powers.
- With the conclusion of Cold War, the existence of Soviet Union also ended. On 26th December, 1991 Supreme Soviet of Soviet Union in its last session, passed the proposal of ending Soviet Union and announced its own dissolution.

1.5 Keywords

- **Diplomacy:** Tactics of conducting negotiations in mutual behaviour of persons or nations.
- **Summit:** Society or assembly of persons for any special objective or to discuss a specific topic

1.6 Review Questions

1. Discuss major agreements and incidents at the end of Cold War.
2. Throw light on the reasons for the end of Cold War.
3. Describe the effects of the end of Cold War on International Politics.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Hot-peace	2. Groups	3. Gorbachev	4. Production
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (c)	8. (c)

1.7 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations in 21st century—** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
2. **International Relations—** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
3. **Introduction to International Relations—** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
4. **International Relations—** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
5. **International Relations, 1914–1950—** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
6. **International Relations—** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
7. **International Relations—** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*

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Unit 2 : Post Cold War Issues

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know Nation States.
- Explain modern state and sovereignty.
- Discuss globalization and Modern State.
- Elaborate perceptible tendencies in developed industrial states.
- Know changed forms of UNO.

Introduction

Today the political unit which we call state is in reality nation-state whose origin took place 350 years from now after the Treaty of Westphalia. Prior to this, in reality the unit which was known as 'state' referred to a part of territory under the authority of some kings or dynasties. The boundaries of that geographical zone were not natural but created by men and many people of various nationalities lived within the boundary of that state. At that time a concept of well-defined region in some parts of the territory was linked with identity of the state.

2.1 Nation States

On international stage from the beginning itself, state has been understood as most important unit. About it this idea is common that it is such a territory or region on which there is sole right of the state, and no one can challenge the sovereignty of it. It is necessary to add here that before the emergence of nation-state, this territory of the state has been considered to be the personal property of the ruler

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whose handing over it could do as per his will. Except victory or defeat in war, exchange of land of the state had been done for diplomatic bargaining and for giving gifts and dowry in matrimonial alliances between royal families. (English managed to get Bombay Island like that) Prior to modern age, the geographical boundaries used to be quite flexible and generally, at times of peace, there were no restrictions on thoroughfare of citizens of different states. As a matter of fact, the identity of nation-state became clear only after American and French Revolutions.

When the revolutionaries in North America shunned British colonists and established a republic, the possibility of a state with new ruling process came into light. Apart from this, among the citizens of America, there were mostly immigrants from Europe (especially from England and Ireland). With the birth of a new nation, they started making their different national identities. In the same way, the French Revolution eliminated century-old ancient-regime and gave a severe blow to traditional system of monarchy. Interesting thing is that the French Revolution raised the slogan of fraternity along with liberty and equality. That slogan of fraternity was exalted as voice of global fraternity in the revolutionary's countries. It means that along with French Revolution, the tendency of internationalism also became vivid.

Before French Revolution could pose a danger to the existence of other states of Europe and traditional super powers, in France itself 'the son of the revolution' Napoleon Bonaparte founded a new regime after subversion. In Napoleon era, the French Army created a splash in Europe. His victory- campaigns defeated other states of Europe one after the other. As a result of these incidents, there grew surge of feeling of nationalism as a reaction against French invasion in vanquished countries. Even after assuming himself as an emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte's effort throughout his life had been to bring about improvement in old feudalistic system. In spite of returning to monarchy, he played an important role in refining image of France as a modern state. He tried to make an important part of his regime as secular, especially legal-system. Except this, importance was being given to talent above place of birth in government jobs.

Example

Not only in France but also in other European countries under French rule, 'the code of Napoleon' was implemented. Due to this, modern identity of modern nation-state was prepared which has been, more or less maintained even up to now.

In 19th century only, the unification of Italy and Germany took place which rejuvenated multi-national empires in the form of nation-states.

This incident shows the development of nation-states. The matter about modern state which has not changed is connected with sovereignty. The development of international law took place almost along with process of development of nation-state. According to its foundation, all sovereign states have got equal status in international world and they should be taken as equal from sovereignty point of view. Sovereign rule is not bound to obey order of any outside authority and in its working zone, it is considered to be the supreme authority. But in real life, all states are not considered to be the same. Although the legal myth of sovereignty may have been sustained but no student of international politics thinks it to be true. The order of seniority of the states has been decided on the basis of national capability of power. The progress of vocabulary such as super-power, great-power, regional-power and small states has been considered essential for study of facts of international politics.

By the end of First World War, it appeared that the system of modern nation-state, with refinement in balance of power, will keep international politics stable and peaceful for a ling time, but it turned out to be contrary to it. On one side the excitement of national fervor strengthened the movement of African-Asian countries against European Imperialism and on the other side blind chauvinism and extreme nationalism dangerously sharpened the historical enmity of European traditional powers. The clash between Germany and France became all the more threatening after First World War. Apart

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from this, the communist government which established its superiority after Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, it also kept an option of a revolutionary state organized on the basis of its ideology. Due to giving stress on sole-authority of one party and democratic centralization, the comparison between any other democracy and republic of western pattern was not easy. After the French Revolution, like France, Soviet Union was also seen with doubtful point of view. In the following years, the emergence of Fascism in Italy and emanation of Nazis in Germany made this thing apparent that many dangerous possibilities are also hidden for dictatorship in modern condition of ending monarchy. After the First World War, in order to save clashes among sovereign states, the League of Nations which was formed, soon turned out to be a failure. Once again, international politics appeared awfully anarchical due to wantonness of sovereign states.

Before the treaty of Westphalia, the right of the ruler to rule over certain state was considered to be birth-right and god-given right. The foundation of regime was based on religion. With the name of 'Holy Roman Empire', this thing becomes clear. The difference that was being made between religion and power, started with the treaty of Westphalia. That became all the more deep and vivid after American Revolution, French Revolution and battles of Napoleon Era. That tendency substantiated with acceleration in industrialization and urbanization. As European empires expanded, Europe came into contact with non-European and non- Christian non-white societies and it had acquaintance with different types of statehoods. The impact of all these things had to be on the form of modern state and present international system. The scholar, **Berry Buzan**, in his book, '**International System in World History**' (2000) pointed out three tendencies, which are helpful in understanding difference in modern state and traditional state. The emergence of trader class and its prosperity and its effectiveness with domestic politics is one of them. The second change is the adherence of ideology of nationalism by the state and finally, to accept democratization in one form or other as desirable is also inseparable part of identity of modern state.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. On international stage ..... is considered to be the most important unit.
2. The identity of nation-state became clear only after American and ..... revolution.
3. In France, the 'offspring of revolution' ..... founded a new empire after dethronement.
4. The ..... of state is measured on the basis of national power- capability.

2.2 Modern State and Sovereignty

Modern state is a sovereign and independent unit. In traditional system, the personality of the ruler had been taken as synonym of the state. Sovereignty was being seen in the image of the ruler directly.

Notes According to progenitor of sovereignty of modern theory, **Jean Bodin**, the meaning of sovereignty implies to that super controlling power over subjects and citizens which is not confined by any one.

Likewise, Jurist **Oppenheim** says that sovereignty is an independent power free from control of any other authority. This thing is well-known that the master of such authority can only be the state, and not a single individual. **Hobbes** has named such state as Leviathan. The Prince of **Machiavelli** is also ruler of such sovereign state. The liberal thinkers **Rousseau, Woodrow Wilson** and others have challenged

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the concept of such autocratic sovereign state. But all agree to this fact that the sovereignty of the state especially in international activities is rule of thumb (empirical). The United Nations Organization agrees to Section 14 of letter of Declaration that the states will pilot their mutual relations according to the principles of sovereignty, and international laws. This thing is clear that in determining foreign policy and international relations, without upholding the sovereignty of the state, no analysis will be authentic. Although it should be added soon that after the initiation of globalization, the reorientation about sovereignty of the state has become essential.

Realistic State

After the dissolution of Imperialism, this thing became conspicuous in international perspective that the states should not define their nationalist interest as per very grand ambition but with realistic method. After two world wars, there was no scope left for doubts about this subject. Whatever scope was left had been compensated by Cold War. All Nationalists and Super-powers began to think that it was unwise to try to continuously expand the geographical boundaries of them. Realist modern state is seen as self-centered. The Neo-Realist Analyzers like Kenneth Waltz agreed that it is the result of the realist thought that nation-states are ready to help themselves for protection of their existence in anarchical international system shunning the allies of the treaties and other helpers.

Did You Know? Jean Bodin has been called progenitor of modern principle of sovereignty.

Nationalist State

This is implied in the concept of nation-state that the element of nationalism will always be linked inseparably with identity of the state. Religion, language, puzzled questions of culture, authority of the state, capability or its weakness start revealing with its reference. It has already been said, as the basis of modern state is said to be secular, religious differences often turn out to be the danger for unity and integrity of nation-state. In the age of Imperialism the establishment of supreme power in colonies was possible forcibly, in spite of diversity of religion and language. After their independence it has not been possible to forcibly impose the authority of state. That's why in modern state the foundation of nationalism could not be kept on certain religion, caste or language. Historical heritage of partnership and challenge of struggle of partnership in future will be made base of cooperation, collaboration and emotional unity.

The citizens of nation-state agree to this thing that their collective interests in comparison to collective interests of other nation-states have got more equilibrium and for their conservation mutual collaboration is essential. Irony is such that in era of globalization world-wide interdependency of international economic activities have also made this general knowledge controversial. The policies of World Trade Organization have instigated unexpectedly narrow racialism, communal fanaticism and defensive patriotism.

Liberals and Communist thinkers have been telling from the beginning that Nationalism is a divisive mentality which is responsible for many violent clashes in international politics. Imperfections like Fascism and Nazism had been generated due to extreme nationalism. Communist thinkers specially give stress on this point that the interests of all proletariat workers of the world are the same and it is essential to understand that the state is such an institution whose invention was done to fulfil the selfish means of Bourgeoisie class and its utility now has ended. Irony is such that the conduct of Communist states themselves has always been seen as 'Nationalist' and their international favoritism has been of double standards. Before the Second World War, by the conduct of either Soviet Union

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or of Maoist China, or of Vietnam or Cuba, Poland, Rumania or Albania, same thing is revealed that still the identity of modern state is mainly of nation-state. The same thing more or less applies to member countries of Western Capitalistic marquee or group. The United States of America may talk about brotherhood of free democratic world; its own international conduct hangs on giving priority to American strategic and economic national interest. Even today it is logical to accept that Nationalism is a powerful idea which makes authority of the state as influential.

Democratic State

The identity of modern state is in the format of a democratic institution. The ruling government may be dictatorial; its effort has always been to prove itself to be kosher, justifiable and is established with the concurrence of the rulers. Even in international system, the democratic principle has got such extensive support that if the identity of certain state is not democratic, it does not get full recognition. The states where the governments are not directly democratic, they insist and justify that due to uncommon situation, as an exception, they have to impose emergency to protect democracy. The place of secret diplomacy of the era of Bismarck has been taken by open diplomacy declared by Wilson. From Alexis Tocqueville till today, there have been various such critics for whom it is not possible to determine sensitive policies in democratic way. Diplomacy particularly becomes successful only with faith and secrecy. Today this thing cannot be denied that the government identifying the authority of the state is considered to be answerable and responsible to the people. The same liberal-idealism, whose seeds can be seen in the ideas of Immanuel Kant, is responsible for strengthening the concept of democratic state. Kant thought that only democratic international system can stabilize peace. His logic was that democratic states do not wage war with each other.

Developing States

Modern state is called progress-oriented state because the main objective of the state is all-round development of the citizens. After the security of territorial unity and integrity, the remaining duties of the state include arrangement of food-grains, water and health and medical services. The procedure of improvement in the standard of life of the citizens regularly continues. So it is not logical to assume that prosperous states are not progress-oriented and this identity applies to only developing states. Today the role of welfare-state has been accepted by those societies also where due to pressure of logic of free trade and market, continuous struggle is made to endlessly satisfy the work-sphere of the state.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Modern state is a sovereign and …….. unit.

   (a) independent (b) dependent (c) neutral (d) autocratic

6. Nationalism is a powerful idea which makes authority of the state as……..

   (a) religious (b) influential (c) versatile (d) socialist

7. The identity of modern state is mainly of …… .

   (a) society (b) committee (c) group (d) organization

8. …….. particularly becomes successful only with faith and secrecy.

   (a) Support (b) Arrangement (c) Diplomacy (d) Principle

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2.3 Globalization and Modern State

It is essential to understand that Globalization is such a procedure under which multi-dimensions of international world are knitted with each other—economical, political and cultural. Dependence on others, inter-dependence and regional unifications are such agendas about which all the states are forced to choose option either of coordination or controversial. On one side there is dissipation of sovereignty of the state due to expansion of globalization, whereas on the other side it has decided that while creating identity, the modern state will have to keep in mind this process.

Caution Either it is danger to existence due to expansion of uncultured consumerism or a challenge of struggling against multiple cultures in multinational state, the modern state cannot get away from it.

Hyper Globalist Thesis

An irony of modern international system is that not only traditional nation-state but also even modern states seem to be mythological institutions. Foreign travel has become simpler and easier than what it used to be before and due to this the interest and knowledge about it to the common man has greatly increased. The process of decentralization as well as regional unification has been going on together. Due to policies suggested by World Trade Organization, many states have been busy in such economic industries which have been operated from some other countries. There should not be any hurry regarding arriving at any conclusion that the impact of all this will be in accordance with international system.

Globalization has influenced at least nation-state but it cannot be said that whether it has transformed its basic form. In the world of international relations, non-state actors are seen respectively in the government and it is possible that in coming years a major portion of international activities may centralize on this. International organizations, multinational corporations and innumerable organizations of discontented-rebels have been counted among these elements.

Institutional Thesis

The propagators of this thesis believe that Hyper-Globalist Thesis is highly imperfect because it gives unauthentic importance to politics affecting economic activities. If in context of India-Pakistan relations, we cite example of secessionist infiltrators beyond the boundary, we shall come to know soon that despite constructive improvements of globalization, the inspiration of mutual economic benefit has not been able to finish historical feeling of animosity between these two states. The scholars of this ideology believe that in the age of globalization, while discussing the role of state, substantial negligence is being done of the developing countries of the third world. Due to this in international politics aggressive nationalism and religious fanaticism have been regularly increasing. The supporters of Globalization perceive it in form of emerging global culture, but destitute and weak states think it to be a danger for their existence and separate identity. There is no dearth of people who think cultural imperialism to be a dodgy instrument of generating political instability.

Thesis of Rejuvenation

The propagators of this opinion are Socialists, Anthony Giddens and James Rosenau who believe that globalization is an unprecedented historical incident and nation-state in reference to international

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reality will have to re-define its own identity. In this new world, it is no more possible to draw a clear boundary line between domestic and international politics. These scholars endorse that although so far nothing much has changed, but many such systems and discipline have been established to confine sovereignty of the state, whose negligence is not feasible for able and capable countries.

We may talk either about human rights or conservation of the environment or universal expansion of technology (especially Information Revolution) or challenge of international terrorism, no sovereign state can ever try to dismiss or ignore any one of these historical tendencies. The sovereign states cannot put as much pressure over Multinational Corporations and non-government agencies active on international stage as on other sovereign states.

One more series of events is worth quoting here. In various geographical regions the speed of regional unification has accelerated and institutions have been formed in states. European Community is such a 'supranational' organization which has its own parliament, secretariat, council of ministers and judiciary. All sovereign states accepted restraint over their sovereignty with their own sweet will for its formation. This is clear that this time it will not be possible for the institution to retrieve back to prior situation after being active in gaining common interest. Other efforts for regional unification, ASEAN and Organization of African Unity or SAARC may not have been so successful, but international role of supranational institutions has certainly regularly increased. The German scholar Gulf Gang Reinke has made a comment that if we try to assess future, this thing becomes absolutely clear that globalization has finished the monopoly in international system of nation-states and decreased the possibility of intervening outside the boundary of sovereign state. Still it is quite possible that in near future that identity of nation-state which emerged after the treaty of Westphalia would become a thing of the past.

Task Elucidate Democratic State.

2.4 Perceptible Tendencies in Developed Industrial States

The emergence of modern state took place first of all in Europe and glimpse of change was also first noticed here. Truth is that, this transformation had been detected at the time when no body even heard the name of globalization. Famous American Economist John Kenneth Galbraith in the mid of decade of 1960, wrote a very thought provoking book whose heading was 'The New Industrial State'. In this book, this argument had been presented so vigorously that due to expansion of technology and its usage, the modern state may have been inspired by some ideology and may succeed its cultural heritage. In course of time it is likely to assume uniform stature. Rivals wrestlers standing in front of each other, as United States of America and the Soviet Union looked alike in reflection of the mirror to Galbraith. From then to now this truth has been revealed at many other places. It may be China after Mao and Vietnam after unification or Indonesia after the period of Sukarno, the pressure of technology forces nation-states to change them to modern state. Under this pressure, in developed countries, the language, casteism, religious, communal and personal cultural identity respectively is being dimmed. In Europe, English was perceived with hatred, now it has got status of official language. In the same way, a big part of educated class is bi-lingual. Except English, French or German literacy is increasing rapidly specially among scientists. In international laboratories, for Chinese and Russian scientists working as guest researcher, there comes no language or cultural hurdle.

In developing world, situation is comparatively different. In Middle East, in Arab world, the enthusiasm of Islamic fanaticism put pressure on states that they should accept that the base of their authority is religion and sovereignty of the ruler can only exist under the control of religious teachers, Kazis and Ulemaans. With this, the division of international system is being done between sibling Islamic

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friendly nations and enemy countries of Islamic counties. Irony is this, despite the claim of religious purification; the power-struggle among Islamic countries did not decrease but rather increased. The leader of modernization Sharjah Shah Pahlavi was dethroned by Imam Khumaini. Just after grabbing authority, he initiated war with neighbour Iraq which lasted for 8 years. At that time it could be said about Iraq that the government of Saddam had been of military dictatorship and his Islamic favouritism had been just pretence. But even after elimination of the government of Saddam, Iraq had been in the grip of such communal domestic war that after viewing it, this conclusion can be drawn that only by harping the tune of religion, an option of Islamic state would come up itself.

This question is not an agenda of contradiction of scientific idea of a particular religion. Till today, many times in America this debate becomes active whether in the classes of Biology the Evolution theory of Darwin should be taught in syllabus or not because it does not have rapport with the description of evolution of species in the Bible. In the same way in Roman Catholic Community, political controversies were being created in linking divorce and family planning with faith. Even then it can be said that in Western world the form of state has always been maintained as modern despite religious and communal pressure. This modern state has been understood as 'Ideal Standard' throughout the world. Peace and prosperity have made it possible that in Western capitalist countries the form of nation-state at least continues to be humane, liberal and democratic for its citizens. But while encountering international crisis or for protection from vested interests of super class, many examples have been noticed of contravening rights of common citizens. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, chaos had been prevailing in Russia. Once it appeared that the very existence of this sovereign nation-state was in danger. Some fanatic communists gave this argument that the disintegration of Soviet Union had been done in order to mould it on the western pattern of modern state. They thought that the policies of Mikhail Gorbachev and Perestroika responsible for all this.

The Truth of Western Modern State

A bit descriptive comment is needed on these matters. The nation-states of West which appear to be peaceful and stable, their journey up to this point had not been devoid of struggle and free of corruption and even this cannot be said that their society is free from communalism, racism and corruption. In United States of America, the development of capitalism had not been possible just due to affordable idealistic Protestant ethics to which Sociologist Max Weber has referred. Looter feudals also played important role in this work. Many famous industrialists (moneyed people like Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford) became successful as they were connected with organized gangsters of their tribal fraternity who later on indulged in benevolent donations and washed their hands off the sins. For continuation of industrial progress, it was necessary to contain labour Unions. Many capitalist- industrialists in American democracy with the help of notorious organizations like mafia have also been doing this work. At the time of election, the question of making the effort to influence voting through terrorizing is well-known. For the question of discrimination for racism and minorities, the poison of apartheid has already spread badly in public life of America (especially in southern states). Even after hundred years of domestic war waged on the pretext of eradication of poverty, Blacks of American origin were still forced to lead inhuman life. Not only there was restriction to take admission in educational institutions but also in public transport, they had to go through attitude of untouchability. The Civil Rights Movement initiated under the leadership of Martin Luther King had a great impact due to that injustice. This is also worth mentioning that even after the success of this encounter, the struggle to finish that social indiscrimination did not get over but during Vietnam War, its violent explosion had been seen. On after this the executive and the judiciary became active for the solution of this problem.

As far as there is question of corruption, the burden of nationwide expenditure cannot be borne by the candidate alone at the time of election of American President. Those affluent supporters who advance ahead for help at this thick time, they exert pressure for grateful-reward after the declaration of victory or defeat. It is childish to assume that the important decisions which are taken are taken in national

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interest. 'Brotherhood' is termed as 'Crony Capitalism' Many such terrible examples were seen during the tenure of President Bush. First scam was linked with Enron Company whose announcement of bankruptcy shocked everyone. After this, there was disclosure of wrongdoings of Anderson Company which unfolded secrets of manipulations of many prestigious companies. Out of them most of the companies had not been blamed due to their political connections. War of Iraq exposed the American Administration badly. After the war when contracts were awarded for re-orientation of Iraq, the super-powerful American shoulders distributed them among themselves without following any norms. The Vice President Dick Cheney was prominent benefit seeker. Except this, in the project of 'Food for Oil' even Kofi Annan, the Secretary of United Nations could not escape untainted.

The purpose of all this is not to blame America but to show only this, there is not much difference in secularism, modernism and middle era superstitious mentality. Modern state still is an 'Objective'-one such dream which is yet to be realized. It will be useful to remember in this reference that to gain world-wide recognition, the identity of modern state cannot only confine to imitation of nation-state of Western Capitalism, it will have to be Pluralist and democratic.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. Globalization is a procedure under which multi-dimensions of the international world are knitted with each other.
10. The emergence of modern state took place first of all in America.
11. Modern state has been understood as 'Ideal Standard' throughout the world.
12. At the time of election, no efforts are made to influence voting through terrorizing.

2.5 Changed Forms of UNO

In lifetime of last fifty years, many great changes have taken place in the form of United Nations Organization. This fact clearly came into light in 39th conference (1974) of General Assembly of the Organization. There was discussion on more than 100 proposals, out of which a great number of proposals were regarding world economic crisis. The General Assembly gave permission to Yasser Arafat, Philistine freedom movement leader and passed a proposal to expel South Africa from the Organization. The majority decisions of 148 members world institution produced an upheaval in those nations which had been having control over the Organization so far and have been thrusting their decisions on it. American representative expressed his anger about this so-called 'Autocracy of Majority' in clear words. He said that the countries of the Third World use their power of majority wrongly and are creating danger for The United Nations. He warned that if on the basis of majority, one-sided unauthentic proposals had been passed and irresponsible decisions kept on being taken, America would stop to give financial subsidy to The United Nations. America by then, took the decision of deduction in subsidy (28th October, 1986).

There was no justification of this step by America. It had been keeping its control over United Nations for about 20 years in which America was shocked over above-mentioned decisions, but the same America with the strength of its majority of this world institution, had forced all to make Taiwan as representative of whole of China for about two decades. That time for America the question of 'One sided and non answerable' decisions had been entirely secondary. Actual matter is that in recent years, there had been very important changes in the form of United Nations. America finds it difficult to agree to it. The United Nations is not same now what it was 50 years before at the time of its establishment. Now there is no command of America over it. This is correct that till now the developing countries of Asia and Africa have not been able to get the right to claim command over this institution, but now

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with the medium of world institution they can raise their voice for the protection of their interests. Due to mutual clash of Capitalist and Communist countries, developing countries have attained the position of influencing the decisions of the organization. Now Western Group is not in the position of managing majority on the strength of their military or economic aid. Now neither the developing countries depend fully on Western countries especially America, nor the Western countries themselves are fully capable of fulfiling the expectations of developing countries due to their own financial crisis. It has been proved by the decisions and effort of 29th session of General Assembly that The United Nations had understood new realities of international controversies. Its decisions are not the result of cunning diplomatic tactics any more. The incidents which had played prominent role in providing new form to The United Nations are these—Rise of Arabian power of oil, loosening of trap of economic aid by Western Countries affected by economic danger and remarkable deduction in importance of role of America as world leader. Now the impact of America on world politics has not been as it used to be.

So if on this background, The United Nations is changing its forms, it is not unnatural at all. Fact is this, now there are only two nations as the centers of power. The decentralization of its power is taking place.

Right from the foundation of The United Nations till today, there have taken place so many important changes in its formation. But recent change has got relation with the countries of the 'Third World'. From constitutional and technical point of view, there is majority of Asian and African countries in The United Nations. Some changes are certainly being detected in implementation of decisions taken with majority of Asian-African countries and the decisions proposed by the Western countries. But this is a matter of satisfaction that from legislative and technical point of view, the impact of majority of Asian and African countries has comparatively increased than what it had been before.

About 50 years have elapsed since The United Nations was founded. During this period whatever important tasks it has undertaken, are although not satisfactory, still from utility point of view, they could not be neglected. The objectives, with which The United Nations has been advancing, are all important. Basically, it wants the world to get rid of war so that humanity might not face its adverse outcome which it had already faced by last two World Wars. This is the only organization which can bring stability in international relations. But it is necessary that use of capability and resources of the Organization should be implemented with wisdom and reasoning. The members of the organization particularly the super nations must behave properly by keeping allegiance for the principles of the charter. This is the basic foundation of success of The United Nations Organization.

In founding years of United Nations, various optimists and internationalists greeted it as prefigure of world-government. At that time people welcomed the organization as the infallible means of establishing peace and security in world community. The people expected United Nations to be accomplished with instruments of military action. What could be greater means of security than guarantee by five super-powers for military leadership? But that expectation was soon lost. How much the world organization was capable to use the instruments to get rid of fear from war to end poverty, scarcity, tradition of low standard of living, ignorance and shackles of bondage; its estimation can be done by the fact that from the establishment of the world organization to 1972 America's total economic grant to Vietnam War was less than even two months of its expenditure and expenditure done for the United Nations Organization's complete economic and social development works was even less than the value of modern airport. Now the people comment that The United Nations if had not disappeared so far, would soon disappear. In final years of five decades of its life, The United Nations Organization had been encountering political hurdles and financial crisis and heading on the ways of former League of Nations. On 21st December, 1967, biannual budget of 1988-89 of 1769 American dollar was passed. This is regretful that the condition of financial crisis propped up as ten states did not give their contribution. 93 members out of 184 member states were lagging behind in paying their dues. This apprehension is being also felt in responsible sphere.

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But in later part of 20th century, there emerged three elements that would not let United Nations to entomb like the League of Nations. These are—rise of nuclear era, end of feudalism- colonialism and congenial feelings of new international economic interrelations. The first element turned war among super-powers as impossible; second one finished the possibility of stark expansionism of Western countries due to their role in Second World War. Third element presented a new role of international cooperation on new ground. So under this context, there is no danger of elimination of United Nations and to follow way of former League of Nations. But it has to make essential changes in its form and tasks, according to changing facts of time like an active existence only then its utility and authenticity can be maintained.

2.6 Summary

- Today the political unit which we call state is in reality nation-state whose origin took place 350 years from now after the Treaty of Westphalia. Prior to this, in reality the unit which was known as 'state' referred to a part of territory under the authority of some kings or dynasties.
- On international stage from the beginning itself, state has been understood as most important unit. About it this idea is common that it is such a territory or region on which there is sole right of the state, and no one can challenge the sovereignty of it.
- Modern state is a sovereign and independent unit. In traditional system the personality of the ruler had been taken as synonym of the state and sovereignty was being seen in the image of the ruler directly. Hobbes has named such state as Leviathan. The Prince of Machiavelli is also ruler of such sovereign state.
- Globalization is such a procedure under which multi-dimensions of international world are knitted with each other- economical, political and cultural. Also this fact cannot be forgotten that this process has been going on from a long time and will continue for many years.
- The emergence of modern state took place first of all in Europe and glimpse of change was also first noticed here. Truth is that, this transformation had been detected at the time when no body even heard the name of globalization.
- In lifetime of last fifty years, many great changes have taken place in the form of United Nations Organization. This fact clearly came into light in 39th conference (1974) of General Assembly of the Organization. There was discussion on more than 300 proposals, out of which great number of proposals were regarding world economic crisis. The General Assembly gave permission to Yasser Arafat, Philistine freedom movement leader and passed a proposal to expel South Africa from the Organization.

2.7 Keywords

- **Diplomacy:** Political and strategic relations between two countries.
- **Realist:** One who believes in the Realism (truth) principle.
- **Nationalist:** One who is in favor of one's nation's unity, supremacy and welfare

2.8 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by nation-state? Describe.
2. Analyze modern state and sovereignty.
3. Discuss Globalization and Modern State.

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4. Clarify perceptible tendencies in developed industrial States.
5. Summarize changed forms of UNO.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. State	2. French	3. Napoleon Bonaparte	4. Seniority
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (d)	8.(c)
9. True	10. False	11. True	12. False

2.9 Further Readings

Books

Books

1. **International Relations—** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
2. **International Relations in 21st century—** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **Introduction to International Relations—** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
4. **International Relations—** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
5. **International Relations—** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
6. **International Relations—** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950—** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

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Unit 3 : Emerging Powers: Australia, Brazil, China, Japan and South Africa

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know Australia and Brazil
- Explain China and Japan
- Discuss South Africa

Introduction

Australia, in official terms, is a country under the continent of Commonwealth of Australia in the Southern Hemisphere which is also the smallest continent and world's biggest island too, in which Tasmania and many other islands are in Indian and Pacific oceans. Australia is the only such place which is considered as continent, one country and one island together. Neighbouring countries are Indonesia, East Timor and Papua New Guinea in north, Solomon Island, Vanuatu and New Caledonia in northeast and New Zealand in southeast.

3.1 Australia

In the primeval times of the 18th century, when European dislocation began then even before that approximately 40,000 years ago, the discovery of Australian continent and Tasmania was done by around 250 domestic Australians of different countries. In immediate north, after the sparse visit of

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fishermen and discovery of Europe in 1606 by the Dutch, in 1770 British possessed the half northern part of Australia and on 26th January 1788 its resolution was in the form of New South Wales city which was formed as a result of penalty of "deportation". In these years population increased speedily and continent was discovered. During 19th century other big autonomous top cities were established.

On 1st January, 1901, the six cities were organized and Australian commonwealth was formed. From the creation of this organization Australia created a permanent liberal democratic political system and remained a sovereign nation. Population is a little over 21.7 million (10 lakhs) and about 60% population is centralized in main cities Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and Adelaide. Nation's capital is Canberra which is located in Australian Capital Territory (ACT).

Technically, advanced and industrial Australia is a prosperous multicultural nation and its performance as compared to many nations has been superior in these areas like health, life expectancy, standard of living, human development, public education, economic freedom and protection of basic rights and political rights.

Example

Australian cities are given a high place in the world in the areas of life skills, cultural proposals and standard of living. It is a member of many organizations like United Nations, G-20, Economic Association, Commonwealth countries, ANZUS, OECD and World Trade Organization (WTO).

Politics

Representative assembly of parliament house, Canberra was opened in 1988 in place of another last parliament house construction opened in 1927. Australian commonwealth is a constitutional democracy based on federal power division. The form of government which is used with government's parliamentary arrangement is the constitutional democracy of Australia. Queen Elizabeth II is the queen of Australia and her role is different from the posts of the royal masters of other commonwealth nations. She represents in the form of governor-general on the level of the organization and on state level as a governor. Whatever may happen, constitution grants extensive executive rights to the governor-general. All these are generally used only on consultation with the prime minister. Whatever reserved rights are given to the governor-general outside the orders of the prime minister, its most mentionable use was the dismissal of Whitlam government during the constitutional crisis of 1975.

There are three branches of the government:

- **Legislature -** Commonwealth Parliament, in which there are the Queen, Senate, House of Representatives. The Queen is represented as governor-general who, as per tradition, operates in accordance with the Prime Minister.
- **Executive –** Executive Council (provides consultation to the executive members like governor-general), who are in reality the Prime Minister, Cabinet and Ministers.
- **Judiciary –** High Court of Australia and other federal courts, The Australian Act of 1986 eliminated appeals from state Supreme Courts to the Privy Council of Britain.

In the two houses of the parliament of the commonwealth, there are the Queen, 76-member Senate, and a 150-member House of Representatives (lower house). The members of the lower house are elected by preferential voting from single-member electoral areas; which are commonly known as "constituencies" or "seats", allocated among the states and territories roughly in proportion to population, and along with this for every native state at least five seats are explicit. In the Senate, twelve Senators from each state are elected for six-year terms, using proportional representation and the single transferable vote (known in Australia as "preferential voting"), with half elected every three years, until this cycle is

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not impeded by double merger. The leader of the political party or coalition of parties that holds the support of a majority of the members is invited to form a government and is named Prime Minister.

Notes On federal level, there are two main political parties in the state which form government, they are—Australian Labour Party and Coalition which is the formal alliance of two parties—the Liberal Party and its smaller cooperative parties, National Party.

Independent members and many small parties—in which Greens and Australian Democrats are included—they have gained representation in the Australian Parliament, mostly in the upper house. In the elections of November, 2007 the government of Labour Party with Kevin Rudd as the Prime Minister came into power. In every Australian Parliament (Federal, State and Regional), until that time till 2008 September there used to be government of Labour Party, until Labour Party did not establish a minority government by coalition with western Australia's National Party. In the elections of 2004, last coalition government under the leadership of John Howard won the power of the House of representatives. This happened for the first time in twenty years that any party (or coalition) did this while being in government. In every state and region on federal level, voting is mandatory for people who are 18 and above. Except South Australia, everywhere it is essential to enroll for voting.

Foreign Relations and Army

From last many decades Australia's foreign relations are conducted by strong association as per ANZUS Treaty done with America and with the wish to develop its relations with Asia, especially ASEAN and Pacific Islands Forum. By the Treaty of Amity and its accession to the Southern Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Australia ensured its platform position in East Asia Summit. Australia is a member of Commonwealth countries which provides a prominent platform for meeting and mutual cooperation between the representatives of commonwealth governments. Australia has pursued the objective of fast international trade liberalization, which was formed because of formation of Cairns Group and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. Australia is a member of Economic Cooperation, Development Organization and World Trade Organization and it has pursued various prominent bilateral independent trade agreements. In recent times, it formed Australia-United States Free Trade Agreement (AUSFTA) and closer economic relations with New Zealand. Australia's negotiations are going on for free trade agreement with Japan, with whom Australia has relations in the Asia Pacific area in the form of a trustworthy ally. The Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDAs) are a series of defense relationships established by a series of bilateral agreements between Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Malaysia and Singapore. A member nation of United States, Australia is committed in a strong form for multilateral relations with its medium power collaborators Canada and Nordic countries and carries out an international help programme under which 60 countries get help. The budget of 2005–06 provides AUD 2.5 crores for development collaboration; in the form of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) this is less than the amount recommended by Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations. Australia's place is seventh in the economic development list of the 2008 World Development Report.

Australian Armed Forces – The total number of Royal Australian Navy (RAN), Australian Army and Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) in Australian Defense Force (ADF) is 73,000 (in which there are 53,000 regulated and 20,000 reserved). Australia's army is 68th largest army in the world, but on per person basis it is a small army in the world. All the branches of Australian Defense

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Force (ADF) are involved in United Nations and for regional peace (in recent times in East Timor, Solomon Islands and Sudan), disaster relief and military struggle in which Iraq War of 2003 is included. The government appoints chief of defense force from any one military force whereas governor-general is the chief commander of Australian Defense Force. He does not have any active contribution in the command structure of ADF the elected Australian Government controls the ADF. At present chief of Army General David John Hurley is the chief of the defense forces. In the budget of 2006–07, defense expenditure was $22 crores, which is less than 1% of the world defense expenditure. Mainly because of its presence in Afghanistan, Australia was given 27th position in the 2008 Global Peace Index.

Economy

Australian dollar is the currency of the Australian commonwealth, in which Christmas Island, Cocos (Keeling) Island and Norfolk Island and along with these the Pacific island states of Kiribati, Nauru are included. Australian Security Exchange and Sydney Futures Exchange are two big share markets of Australia. According to the Index of Economic Freedom, there is a smooth capitalist economy in Australia. Australia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is a little above that of Britain, Germany and France in terms of Purchasing Power Parity. The country was given third place in The Human Development Index (HDI) of United Nations, first place in the 2008 Legatum Prosperity Index and sixth place in the quality-of-life index of 'The Economist Worldwide 2005'. All big cities of Australia performed well in the comparative survey of Quality of Living; Melbourne got second place in World's Most Livable Cities, in this list after this Australia's Perth city got fourth, Adelaide 7th and Sydney got 9th place. In the beginning of the century at the time of increasing prices of things, paying more attention to their export instead of production became the foundation of Australia's increase in trade. Australia's payment is balanced which is 7% negative from the GDP and is the loss of one equal account going on from more than 50 years. Australia has developed from 15 years at the average rate of 3.6%, in which the annual average of OECD was 2.5% until some period. According to IMF, after development of 17 years Australian economy can bear the brunt of slump in 2009.

In 1983, the Hawke government floated the Australian dollar and in some measures freed the economic system from control. Howard government worked with partial regulation of labor market and privatized more government controlled businesses. Especially, along with imposing 10% Goods and Service Tax (GST) in telecommunications industry, indirect tax system was basically converted in July 2000 which reduced self-dependence of Australian tax system on personal and company income taxes. With 4.7% unemployment rate in January 2007 10,033,480 people were employed. From last decades, inflation rate 2.3% and basic interest rate is 5–6%. The contribution to GDP of the service areas of the economy, in which tourism, education and economic services are included, is 69%. Although agriculture and natural resources are only 3% and 5% responsible in GDP, they basically contribute in export performance. Australia's big export markets are Japan, China, America, South Korea and New Zealand.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Australia is the world's smallest …….. .
2. On federal level, there are two main political parties in Australia which form …… .
3. …….. country is a member of the commonwealth.
4. Australian …… is the currency of Australian commonwealth.

Notes

3.2 Brazil

Capital	Brasilia
	15°45′S 47°57′0
Biggest City	Sao Paulo
National Language	Portuguese
Government	Federative Republic
- President	Luís Inácio Lula da Silva
- Vice-President	José de Alencar
Freedom	From Portugal
- Declaration	7th September, 1822
- Recognition	29th August, 1825
- Republic	15th November, 1889
Area	
- Total	8514877 km^7 (5th)
	3287597 mi^7
- Water (%)	0.65
Population	
- 2008 Speculation	190, 132, 630 (5th)
- 2007 Census	
- Population Density	22/km^7 (182nd)
	57/mi^7
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (PPP)	2007 speculation
- Total	$1,837 billion (9th)
- Per person	$9,703 (61st)
Human Development Index (2009* speculation)	0.813 (high) (65th)
Currency	Real (R$) (BRL)
Time Zone	BRT (UTC−2 to −5)
Internet TLD	br
Calling Code	55

Did You Know? Brazil is the biggest and most important country of South America.

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This country is situated from 5° north latitude to 33° south latitude and from 35° west latitude to 74° west latitude. Spread from the mid of South America to Atlantic Ocean, the coastline of this federal republic is 7491 kilometers. Its Amazon river is one of the world's largest rivers. Its delta region is extremely tropical and wet area which is an equatorial state. In this area multiple species of animals and plants reside. The plateau of Brazil is a part of the most ancient landmass of the world. Hence here many types of geographical organization related changes of different geographical times are seen.

The discovery of most of Brazil's eastern coast and mid America was done by Amerigo Vespucci and by his name the new world was called as America. After 1,500 colonies started being formed here. The development of most Portuguese colonies here happened from 1,550 to the middle of 1,640. On 24th January, 1964 its new constitution was formed. Its main language is Portuguese.

Brazil-Foreign Trade Import-Export

Foreign Trade

Brazil-Import: 78,020 import/area = 0.76% import/GDP = 7.802

Brazil-Export: 115,100 export/area = 1.12%

(export + import)/GDP = 12.32%

Brazil Economy

▬▬Globalization: 61.74

▬▬▬▬100

Gross Domestic Product: 1568000 (PPP)

Per Person: 8,4000 USD

▬World 9,300

Currency R$ (ISO = BRL)

Population: 188,078,227

Unemployment: 9.90%

km^7 = 8,511,965.00

Brazil's business

Economic-freedom

▬▬▬ = 56, 7

▬▬ Trade = 54, 4

▬▬ Trade = 71, 6

▬▬▬ Government = 50, 3

▬▬ Currency = 77, 2

▬▬▬ Investment = 50

▬▬ Economic arrangement = 50

▬▬▬ Copyright = 50

▬▬ Corruption = 35

Notes

- Labor = 62, 7
- 100 Best
- Corruption = 3, 5

Brazil Agreement: Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), CEPAL/ECLAC, ALADI, OEA, Vulture Community, Mercosur, SICA (United), UNASUR, United Nations, United Nations Trade and Development Summit, World Bank.

3.3 China

At the time when India became independent it was being hoped that relations between India and China will be always friendly, close and profitable for both countries. Often the memory of centuries old cultural relations between India and China were remembered. This fact was also underlined that the interests of both these big Asian powers are same against imperialism and colonialism. This could also be seen clearly that both states were compelled to face tough challenges of development affected by economic disparity and possibilities of cooperation could be searched in scientific and technical areas too. Such thinking was not baseless. After the nationalist revolution of China the friendship of Pundit Nehru was quite strong with **Chiang Kai-shek**. And Indian National Congress also gave its support to Chinese in the Revolutionary Movement under the leadership of Mao. No such reason could be seen by which there could be any doubt of encounter in the future.

Unfortunately, in this enthusiastic hopefulness Indians ignored the fact that in the thousand years long history of China there is no indication or proof for the fact when it gave any other country equal level. Chinese emperors and their advisors always claimed that their country is an intermediate empire. More important and powerful than any other state of the world Chinese mentality in national issues has been presenting this claim that their civilization and culture is most advanced and in fact all other foreigners are vandals and uncivilized, who have to be disciplined by using force. Not only with countries of Southeast Asia but even with Japan, their international relations have been conducted according to this ideology. As far as the matter of centuries old Buddhist-cultural relations goes then these were just limited to a minority section of Buddhist pilgrims and beggars. If in history the encounter between India and China could be saved, one of its biggest reasons was that between these countries an expansive and unapproachable geographical area of Tibet was situated. This fact is also worth remembering that even after preaching of Buddhism, ancient Confucianist philosophy remained to be most influential in China's public-political life. Without unnecessary details it can be said here that according to this person is secondary in comparison to community or state and interests or country or empire should only be considered topmost. This policy is the biggest religion. This concept's combination can be done easily with atheistic communism. Along with this, with the preaching of communism, thinking of part-ideological communism in the era of Nehru who had liberal, multidimensional democratic tendency seems to be idiocy.

Caution Both countries gained independence in different ways and opposition of violent and non-violent alternatives could also not be ignored. By freeing Tibet in 1950 by military action China had made impossible for India to have any misunderstanding.

Even though the borders of India and China are attached to each other for thousands of kilometers, but because of geographical structure, to and fro is not easy between them. The developed areas of China are eastern and southern China's ocean coastal areas. For India's businessmen and industrialists it is quite tough and expensive to reach there because in the colonial era requirement to develop transportation and communication resources between these two countries was not felt by the Britishers. As far as was

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the question for Britain's own strategic or economic autonomy, its possession over Hong Kong made that easy. Until when China was incapable of resisting western countries for acquisition of power by communists, till then there was possession of Britishers and other whites over Shanghai, Canton, Nanking-Chungking. Communist Chinese also considered these ports and industrially developed areas as important. India can enter China through neighboring countries Burma or Thailand but any such probability was not there in the 1950 decade. Burma itself was disturbed and Thailand had become member of American military coalition. Even today after globalization when China is ready for much more liberal international trade and has reached far ahead than India in economic reform issues then the boundaries between India and China of economic cooperation and trade can be seen very clearly. Even though some companies linked to Indian information technology or pharmacy have established their industrial entities in China, but in comparison with other foreigners their investment and weight is negligible.

Suggesting this is argumentative that even today in the context of international trade, India and China are competitors and opponents of one another. As far as the question of western countries is there in their eyes the utility of India and China is the same. Both are a big market for developed prosperous countries and in both countries cheap skilled labour and craftsmen are available. From a long time it has been said that by assessing from comparative viewpoint India's condition is better than China because it is an English speaking country and its political system is democratic and transparent. For the resolution of any issue foreign businessmen or capital investor has the trust that India's judiciary will impart justice without any prejudice. After fumbling for truth below the surface this fact comes forward how dangerous this delusion is. It may be the question of the shape of the market or population of cheap labourers, China is everywhere ahead of India. English language should not be given unnecessary weightage. Chinese are learning English fast and that day is not far when this specialty of Indians will not remain their special attraction.

Even more important is to understand the fact that in the eyes of profiteer, capitalist businessman and industrialist, the value of democratic transparent political system is never too much. Wherever his investment can remain risk-free and profit can be increased, that place seems most appropriate to him. In this matter also in recent years China's political stability and the exemplary discipline in its economic and social life has been displaying China to be a better destination than India. It may be America or European Union, this fact is irrelevant to them that how much the attitude of Chinese government towards its own citizens is undemocratic or of violation of human rights. Until Chinese government's behaviour with them is not prejudiced till then neither are they affected by opacity nor by corruption. Because of this in spite of China's dynasty-destroying policy in Tibet and even after fierce oppression of Tiananmen Square, America and all other western countries have been unhesitatingly doing profitable business with China.

Here the separate mention of corruption is important. There cannot be two opinions about this that Chinese record is much better as compared to India. Whenever any major leader of any party or administrator or officer linked to economic reform is surrounded by allegations of corruption then he is granted severe punishment after investigation. Chinese government does not hesitate to give even death penalty in economic crimes and corruption. In totality, most western countries feel that dictator China can prove to be much better economic collaborator in comparison to democratic India. All developed nations have experienced that dictatorship is easily ready for policy change as per their wishes as compared to democratic governments.

One more very important fact is worth remembering that China is nuclear weapons armed power whose military and strategic power is valued to be much more than India. China is also a member of Security Council. Because of this reason also keeping it happy is a much more sensitive diplomatic challenge for America, European community and Japan. When comparing India with it, different scales are used.

More than one time this fact has been glimpsed that China does not leave even a single opportunity to put a control over India's ambitions in the international trade world. Its motive is not only defeating

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the economic competitor but also to weaken the diplomatic opponent in future. In the area of energy diplomacy this fact can be clearly seen. It may be its possession over mineral oil and gas repositories in Siberia in Russia or in Myanmar; China has always taken up the policy of evicting India by paying a big value alone instead of cooperating.

China is not oblivious of the fact that even though today its economy is many times bigger than India, India's capability is that it may cross it by the middle of 21st century. China also knows that today even though America, Europe, Russia and Japan are eager to improve relations with her, this situation can soon suddenly change. China wants foreign capital investment, but does not want to make its economy and political stability completely dependent. It also has the knowledge that its population is increasing fast and in near future the number of working youth and middle aged will start decreasing. In the new generation Chinese the same discipline cannot be seen as in present labourers. Its one main reason is that when one family one child policy was imposed strictly then the single child was spoiled by more than necessary love and care. Apart from parents, grandparents, etc. everyone used to fulfill all their stubbornness, even more than they could afford. These kids have been brought up in the era when China had taken up the path of liberalist corrective modernization and party's discipline was not like before. This fact is also worth remembering the profit of economic development was not gained by all parts of China in similar way and dissatisfaction has increased because of regional imbalance. The people who have benefitted from economic reforms the valley of disparity between them and other Chinese has become deeper. The leaders of Chinese Communist Party also know that the transfer of power to rather young generation will probably not be possible without turbulence. Keeping all these things in mind they will continue to consider India as their competitor because the profit that India will gain will be transferred from their account and deposited into India's account.

It may be America or Russia; they look towards India to balance China from strategic diplomatic viewpoint. India itself does not refuse this proposal of becoming protective shield against China's attitude, which can change anytime on the border. That's why China remains insecure towards it. India's relations with China may keep improving in coming years but thinking this would be gullibility that competition will end between two big Asian powers and expansive cooperation will be possible between them on the basis of strong or close friendship.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Brazil is South America's ……. Country.

   (a) largest (b) smallest (c) general (d) corrupt

6. Brazil's …….. is Brasilia.

   (a) headquarters (b) office (c) capital (d) embassy

7. Even death penalty in economic crimes and corruption in …….

   (a) India (b) China (c) America (d) Japan

8. China is nuclear weapons armed power whose military and strategic power is valued to be much more than …… .

   (a) Japan (b) Canada (c) India (d) Brazil

3.4 Japan

After the defeat in Second World War, Japan was incapable of playing any important role in international politics because of economic devastation and political instability, social dissatisfaction and mental hopelessness. Not only countries of western world but also including China and Korea, the

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countries of southeast Asia have been making it stand in the witness box in the form of an oppressive, attacker, egoistic and racist war criminal. India was an exception and due to this understanding relations could be built with India after independence till two or three decades. After this the situation changed fast. Japan accepted the military protection of America by giving preference to economic restructure and declared in a formal way that it will not keep army. Japan is sole such nation which has bore the devastating attack of atomic weapons and so it is the supporter of atomic disarmament. Closeness with America and in the stubbornness of acquiring nuclear power has given rise to discord with Japan in recent years.

This fact was public knowledge till the beginning of the decade of 1970 that even though Japan is not a military power, in the form of economic superpower nobody can ignore its existence. Especially in electronics and optics and the area of motor vehicles construction it left behind western world. The Japanese who were considered as ones who used to shoddily imitate western technology, they became worldwide famous not only for their affordable skillful production but also for quality. Sony, Canon, Toshiba, Suzuki, Mitsubishi, etc. many brands became famous in international market. One day suddenly American government became tensed that the balance of its international trade has bent in favour of Japan and for many years it will be tough to bend it towards itself. In this reference the phrase like 'trade war' with Japan started being used and Americans had to remind Japan that its energy protection is dependent upon American mercy and America has also kept safe their defense requirements. During these days when Japan tried to improve its relations with Russia and China then sometimes the debate heated over possibility of struggle with Soviet Union / Russia about Kuril Islands and sometimes Southeast Asia encouraged dissatisfaction in Southeast Asian nations towards Japan by becoming vocal about concern towards Japan's economic imperialism. In these years Japan's attraction towards India increased because through the medium of its cooperation, Japan could display its independence in international affairs. Those days Indian-Japanese ambitious projects of mutually complementing cooperation were discussed. Coincidentally this situation changed soon.

Two Asian tigers Korea and Taiwan displaced Japan by progressing unexpectedly and in very fast speed. Korean and Taiwanese products displayed that Japanese goods were quite expensive in their comparison and quality was not much better. In this condition not only Japanese consumer goods but also in the areas of heavy machinery and plants these other alternatives started seeming to be more attractive and good from the point of profit and expense. Brands like Samsung, LG, Hyundai etc have become much more familiar and trustworthy for Indians. It may be consumer or government client; both feel that keeping in mind the supply and India's conditions, after marketability, in the matter of services, Koreans and Taiwanese are much better partners in comparison to Japanese. A country like South Korea is advanced not only in the areas of electronics and computers but also is doing frontier research in the area of biotechnology. The industrialists of these countries are free from racist pride compared to Japanese and do not consider Indian market less important than America or Europe. This fact will have to be accepted that continuously increasing economic and technical cooperation with Korea and Taiwan has constricted Japan's role in India.

Diplomats of India and Japan have also been conflicting on the international stage on the issues of environment and protection of bio-diversity. It is difficult to ignore that prosperous Japanese are not ready to make any reductions in environment destruction for their consummation; it may be dangerous cutting of rainforests in Amazon or Borneo or fishing of rare whales. In recent years, this thinking has increased in Indian common public that Japanese conduct is not too different from prosperous Americans or Europeans and goods created by them is quite expensive and affordable by only immensely wealthy people. Even though there has been good development of rocket technology in Japan, Japanese have not shown any enthusiasm for cooperation with India in this field. It seems that the rocket technology for whose non-transmission America, Russia and China are seen together, Japan is also a member of that coalition. It does not want to transfer any sophisticated technology to India. For ownership and control of Maruti motor industries also there was estrangement between Indian government and Japanese partnership until Japanese did not earn 51% shares of this company.

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Similarly, in the field of construction of two-wheeler motor vehicles Honda Company's decades old joint cooperative production with Hero Company now seems to be changing. As soon as Hero Company was seen as a competitor by creating its own Indian identity in international market, Japanese started gnawing its wings. This fact is clear that in Japan's eyes India is only exporter of raw material (iron-mineral ore and sea prawns etc). Not a big market or collaborator whose labourers or craftsmen are needed by Japan. In this situation it does not seem that in near future there will be any theatrical or decisive change in relations between India and Japan. Probably this situation will remain the same.

3.5 South Africa

South Africa is a republic situated on the southern end of Africa. Its borders touch with Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe in the north and Mozambique and Swaziland in northeast, whereas Lesotho is such an independent country which is completely surrounded by South Africa. Modern man's dwelling in South Africa is one lakh years old. During the arrival of European people, majority of local people living in the area were tribals who came from different parts of Africa thousand years ago. During 4th-5th century Bantu language speaking tribals started going towards the south and along with displacing the real inhabitants they also got mixed up in them. During the arrival of European people, Xhosa and Zulu were two big communities.

About one and a half centuries after the discovery of the Cape Seaway, in 1962 Dutch East India Company established refreshment center at that place, which is known as Cape Town today. In 1806, Cape Town became British colony. During 1820 along with Boer (Dutch, Flemish, German and French settlers) and English people inhabiting the country's eastern and northern areas, there was an increase in European inhabitatation. Along with this the altercations between Xhosa, Zulu and Afrikaans also increased for possession over this region.

With the discovery of diamond and later gold, conflict started in 19th century, which is known as Anglo-Boer war. Although British had won in the war over Boers, but in 1910 South Africa was given limited independence as per British dominion. In 1961, South Africa gained the status of republic. In spite of opposition outside and inside the country the government continued the racist policy. In 20th century banishment started against the country's oppressing policies. As a result of years of internal protests, proceedings and demonstrations by Black South Africans and their collaborators, in the end in 1990 South African government started dialogue, whose eventuality was with the end of racist policy and democratic elections in 1994. The country then got involved in commonwealth nations.

South Africa is a country with the most racial diversity in Africa and here more whites live than in any other country of Africa. Apart from African castes there are many people from Asian countries too in whom largest number is of people who have come from India.

North Africa

Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, West Sahara (Saharan Arab Democratic Republic).

Middle Africa

Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo Democratic Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Congo Republic, Sao Tome and Principe.

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South Africa Western Africa	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Benin, Burkina, Faso, Cape Verde, Côte D'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo.
East Africa	Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eretria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe.
Colonies and other states	Royal African Society, Saint Helena, Ascension Island, Tristan da Cunha. **France:** Mayotte. **Portugal:** Madeira Islands. **Spain:** Canary Islands, Plaza de Soberania.

	Pretoria (executive capital)
Capital	Bloemfontein (judicial), Cape Town (Legislative)
Biggest City	Johannesburg (2006)
National Languages	11 languages
Government	Constitutional Democratic
- President	Jacob Zuma
- Vice-President	Kgalema Motlanthe
Independence	From United Kingdom
- Union	31st May 1910
- Establishment of West Minster	11th December 1931
- Republic	31st May 1961
	Area
- Total	1221037 km^7 (25th)
	471443 mi^7
	Population
- 2009 Estimate	49,320,000 (25th)
- 2001 Census	44819778
- Population Density	41/km^7 (170th)
	106/mi^7

Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

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	(PPP)	2008 Estimate
-Total		$493.490 billion (25th)
- Per person		$10,136 (79th)
Human Development Index (2007)		0.674 Δ(medium) (121st)
	Currency	Rand (ZAR)

3.6 Summary

- Australia, in official terms, is a country under the continent of Commonwealth of Australia in the Southern Hemisphere which is also the smallest continent and world's biggest island too, in which Tasmania and many other islands are in Indian and Pacific oceans.
- Representative assembly of parliament house, Canberra was opened in 1988 in place of another last parliament house construction opened in 1927. Australian commonwealth is a constitutional democracy based on federal power division.
- Brazil is the biggest and most important country of South America. This country is situated from 5° north latitude to 33° south latitude and from 35° west latitude to 74° west latitude.
- At the time when India became independent it was being hoped that relations between India and China will be always friendly, close and profitable for both countries. Unfortunately, in this enthusiastic hopefulness Indians ignored the fact that in the thousand years long history of China there is no indication or proof for the fact when it gave any other country equal level. Chinese emperors and their advisors always claimed that their country is intermediate empire. Their civilization and culture is most advanced and in fact all other foreigners are vandals and uncivilized, who have to be disciplined by using force.
- After the defeat in Second World War, Japan was incapable of playing any important role in international politics because of economic devastation and political instability, social dissatisfaction and mental hopelessness. After this the situation changed fast.
- South Africa is a republic situated on the southern end of Africa. South Africa is a country with the most racial diversity in Africa and here more whites live than in any other country of Africa. Apart from African castes there are many people from Asian countries too in whom largest number is of people who have come from India.

3.7 Keywords

- **Displaced:** One who has been removed from his place
- **Competition:** Attempt or race to go ahead of anyone else in any work, match.

3.8 Review Questions

1. Do a detailed description of Australia's politics and economy.
2. Brazil is the most important and biggest nation of South America. How?
3. Describe mutual relations of China with India.
4. Describe trade policies and relations of Japan with India.
5. Describe historical and political background of South Africa.

Answers: Self Assessment

Notes

1.	Continent	2. Government	3. Australia	4. Dollar
5.	(a)	6. (c)	7. (b)	8. (c)

3.9 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
2. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
3. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
4. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
5. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

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Unit 4 : Regional Group: Economic and Security

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know European Common Market, ASEAN and The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
- Explain South Asian Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) and Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries—OPEC.
- Discuss Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation—APEC, Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation – IORARC and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—OECD.
- Elaborate Origin and Decreasing Importance of Military Organizations.

Notes

Introduction

In the decades of 1950 and 1960, Regional Economic Grouping or Regional Economic Integration developed fast. Economic Integration means organizing individual nations into groups. After this restrictions are lifted from the trade of objects and services of groups' nations. Closeness is an important reason behind the concept of such regional integration. Neighbouring nations get ready for integration because of below reasons:

- Lesser distances have to be traveled between these nations;
- Similarity can be found in the interests of the consumers and establishment of distribution system is easier between neighbours;
- There can be common history of the neighbouring nations, there can be awareness towards common interest and because of many such reasons they can be keener to coordinate their policies.

(a) Economic Group

Regional economic groups can be of four kinds:

1. **Free Trade Area (FTA)—**Tariff is lifted amongst member nations, but external tariff remains applicable on trade with non-member nations.
2. **Customs Union—**All internal tariffs are ended inside the union, whereas all nations of the union apply same external tariff.
3. **Common Market—**All specialties of Customs Union are present in this. Apart from this there is no restriction on mobility of surplus labour and capital.
4. **Complete Economic Integration—**In this situation, even more economic integration is done by unifying currency and treasury policies. This level of integration also means political integration. European Union is moving towards complete economic integration in a decisive manner.

There are social, economic and political influences of regional integration. Social influence means—socio-cultural integration, economic integration means—more fine allocation of resources, increase in skill because of increase in competition etc. Political influence is—little loss of sovereignty.

In last one decade there has been fast increase in regional economic agreements. In May 2003 the information of 265 such agreements was given to WTO. WTO has given its member nations the agreement for establishment of Customs Union and Free Trade Area in the form of exception to the basic principle of non-discrimination under MFN clause of Section 1 of GATT. Nearly 90% of regional trade groups are agreements for Free Trade Area and only 10% are of Customs Union. Although from the decade of 1990 there has been a fast increase in such agreements, and under the guidance of Western Europe and America from 1980 an increase started in it. Recently, Asian nations along with Japan have given up complete dependency on MFN based trade. After the crumpling of COMECON (Council of Mutual Economic Cooperation), from 1990, number of regional groups has increased.

Example According to the World Trade Report 2003, in 2000 43.2% of world import happened through these regional groups.

4.1 European Common Market

By six nations—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg, a treaty was signed in Rome on March, 1957. As a result of this treaty, European Economic Community or European Free Market was formed. The objective of European Economic Community (EEC) was to establish a common

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market so that along with development and stability in member nations, the life standard of people can improve. The Common Market system established by these EEC nations was given the name of European Common Market (ECM) whose beginning was on 1st January, 1958. In this way another name of EEC is European Common Market (ECM). In the year 1973 number of member nations in ECM became 9 in which Britain, Denmark and Ireland entered. Later Greece, Spain and Portugal also got membership. On 1st January, 1995 three more nations Austria, Finland and Sweden also became members of ECM by which total number of members of ECM has become 15. The headquarters of ECM is in Brussels (Belgium).

EURO: New Currency of European Union

From 1st January, 1999 the common currency of European Union Euro came into existence. Then 12 nations of European Economic Community laid the foundation of the beginning of Euro currency on 9–10th December, 1991 in the summit organized in Maastricht (Netherlands). As a result of this treaty imposed from 1st November, 1993, today there has been rise of the common currency Euro of Europe on the world stage.

Main Conditions of Participation in Euro

In the documents of the Maastricht Treaty four main conditions were mentioned for the currency and economic integration and circulation of the common currency 'Euro' in Europe –

- Control on the Inflation Rate (No more than 1.5 percentage points higher than the average of the three best performing (lowest inflation) member states of the EU.)
- Low Interest Rate (The nominal long-term interest rate must not be more than 2 percentage points higher than in the three lowest inflation member states.)
- The ratio of gross government debt to GDP must not exceed 60%.
- The ratio of the annual government deficit to gross domestic product (GDP) must not exceed 3%.

In the Maastricht Treaty nations of European Economic Community (EEC) were requested to fulfil the above-mentioned conditions so that they can register participation in Europe's common currency 'Euro'. The twelve nations of Europe have fulfiled all the necessary preconditions for their participation in Euro. These countries are—Germany, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Ireland, Italy, Finland, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Austria. Three countries of Europe—Britain, Sweden and Denmark have not yet registered their participation in the Euro currency.

Different Phases of Euro Circulation

To keep control over the operation of the common currency 'Euro' imposed in European nations from 1st January, 1999, the formal establishment of European Central Bank was done in June, 1998 in Frankfurt in Germany and Wim Duisenberg of Netherlands was made the first President of European Central Bank.

Although the use of Euro in accounts currency had begun from 1st January, 1999, but the use of cash Euro in transactions is being done from 1st January, 2002. This period of three years is Transition Period of Euro because three years period is not only important, but also behavioural in the printing and minting of currency notes and coins of Euro. The notes and coins of Euro issued by European Central Bank are being smoothly exchanged in cash transactions within the boundaries of the nations included in the umbrella of Euro from 1st January, 2002.

In the Transition Period of Euro currency (1999–2002) the decision was taken to not only keep the currencies of the 12 nations alive, but also agreement was made to maintain them as the means of

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exchange, measure of value and basis of reserve. But after the completion of printing of Euro currency and its coming into practice, from 1st January, 2002 all these currencies were neutralized. All 12 nations adopting Euro have printed their special identity behind these coins but all coins will be accepted in member nations in same manner.

7 currency notes of Euro currency have been printed from 5 to 500 value categories and 8 coins have been minted. Every country coming under the umbrella of Euro is free to print any special image of its nation, but any Euro coin will accepted by every member nation in same manner. In this way from 1st January, 2002 Euro has taken the form of prevalent currency along with accounts currency.

Euro and India

At present India's biggest commercial partner is the European Union. In the foreign trade of India with European Union export goods are also included along with large amounts of import goods. After the adoption of common currency Euro by the European Union, India has got a new alternative robust currency for 'invoicing'. Apart from this on the adoption of Euro by 12 countries India has been exempted from the troubles of exchanges with 12 currencies and by the reduction in uncertainty in exchange rate India's foreign trade will be more favorable. In the international market Euro has come forward in the form of a robust alternative currency. It is being hoped that in the foreign market dependency of India's trade on American dollar will be reduced and Indian exports will increase in the environment of exchange stability with Euroland. Apart from this with the rise of Euro, Indian borrowers will be able to get loans in the international market on lesser expense.

Did You Know? that the full name of ASEAN is Association of South-East Asian Nations?

4.2 ASEAN

This is a regional organization of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. In 1967 five countries of South-East Asia formed 'ASEAN' named non-military organization with the motive of regional cooperation and formally declared its formation by signing on a Treaty on 8th August, 1967 in Bangkok. The number of member nations of ASEAN has now become 10. In the present 10 member nations of ASEAN Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia are included. On 24th July, 1996 India has been made and integral dialogue participant of ASEAN. Russia and China have also been granted the level of integral dialogue participant.

The Central Secretariat of ASEAN is in Jakarta (Indonesia) and its President is the Secretary General. The post of Secretary General goes to every nation in for every five years and the basis of the country's election is size sequence order. The admission of the Bureau Directors and other posts is done after three years.

There have not been many summits of ASEAN like SAARC. First summit was held in 1976, second in 1977, third one decade later in 1987, fourth in January, 1992, fifth in December, 1995 in Thailand's capital Bangkok and sixth December, 1998 in Hanoi. The meeting of foreign ministers has been taking place every year. In the ASEAN summit held in 4th-6th November, 2001 agreement was taken on unity against terrorism along with making the world's largest free trade area with China in the next 10 years. In the summit along with the 10 ASEAN nations, the heads of China, Japan and South Korea also took part.

The main objectives of the formation of ASEAN are – accelerating economic progress in south-east Asia and maintain its economic permanence. On larger level the motive of its formation is mutual

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help among member nations in political, social, economic, cultural, commercial, scientific, technical, administrative, etc. areas and looking for solutions to different common problems by collective cooperation which are clearly written in ASEAN declaration at the time of its formation. Its objective is to form a common market in this area and promote trade between member nations.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. In the decades of 1950–60 Regional Economic Grouping or Regional Economic …….. developed fast.
2. The headquarters of European Common Market (ECM) is in …… .
3. At present India's biggest commercial partner is the …… .
4. The full name of …… is Association of South-East Asian Nations.

4.3 The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation—SAARC

The full name of SAARC is The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. On 7th and 8th December, 1985 summit was organized of the heads of 7 countries of south Asia and 'SAARC' was established. These countries are—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. This is the first beginning of regional cooperation in the world politics of seven neighbouring countries of south Asia.

Apart from Maldives the other members of the union (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka) are parts of the subcontinent. All these countries are linked to one another through history, geography, religion and culture. Before division India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were indifferent parts of the same administration and economy, but after independence these countries went aloof from each other. The headquarters of SAARC (secretariat) is in Kathmandu (Nepal). The establishment of SAARC secretariat was done after the second SAARC summit (Bangalore) on 16th January, 1987. The term of office of the Secretary General of the secretariat has been kept for two years.

SAARC Annual Summits

S.No.	Time (Year)	Place
1	1985 (7th-8th December)	Dhaka (Bangladesh)
2	1986 (16th-17th November)	Bangalore (India)
3	1987 (2nd-4th November)	Kathmandu (Nepal)
4	1988 (29th-31st December)	Islamabad (Pakistan)
5	1990 (22nd-23rd November)	Male (Maldives)
6	1991 (21st December)	Colombo (Sri Lanka)
7	1993 (10th-11th April)	Dhaka (Bangladesh)
8	1995 (2nd-4th May)	New Delhi (India)
9	1997 (12th-14th May)	Male (Maldives)
10	1998 (29th-31st July)	Colombo (Sri Lanka)
11	2002 (5th-6th January)	Kathmandu (Nepal)
12	2004 (4th-6th January)	Islamabad (Pakistan)
13	2005	Dhaka (Bangladesh)

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Determination of Cooperation Areas—The basic foundation of SAARC is to lay stress on regional cooperation. In August 1983, such nine areas of regional cooperation were scored out—agriculture, health services, weather science, postal-telegraph services, rural development, science and technology, telecommunication and transportation, sports and cultural cooperation. After two years in Dhaka, few more topics were added to this list – issue of terrorism, smuggling of intoxicating substances and women's role in regional development. In the 7th summit of SAARC (Dhaka, April 1993) SAPTA (South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement) was signed and it was imposed from December, 1995. SAPTA tries to increase trade and economic cooperation between countries. Under SAPTA's provision the discussion that has taken place between member countries for commercial trade, its main motive is to form South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) until 2005.

SAARC Charter and Dhaka Announcement

There are 10 sections in the SAARC charter. In these the objectives, principles, organizations and financial systems of SAARC have been defined, which are as follows:

Objectives: According to Section 1 of the charter, there are the following objectives of SAARC:

- to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- to promote and strengthen selective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia;
- to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region;
- to contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
- to strengthen co-operation with other developing countries; and
- to strengthen co-operation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest;

SAARC Years

1989	Year of Combating Drug Abuse and Drug Trafficking
1990	Year of Girl Child
1991	Year of Shelter
1992	Year of Environment
1993	Year of Disabled Persons
1994	Year of the Youth
1995	Year of Poverty Eradication
1996	Year of Literacy
1997	Year of Participatory Governance
1999	Year of Biodiversity
2002–2003	Year of Contribution of Youth to Environment
2004	Awareness Year for TB and HIV/AIDS
2006	South Asia Tourism Year
2007	Green South Asia Year
1991–2000	SAARC Girl Child Decade

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Principles – According to Section 2 of the charter, there are the following main principles of SAARC –

- Under the framework of the organization, cooperation, equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal matters of other countries and respecting principles of mutual benefit
- This type of cooperation will not take the place of bilateral and multilateral cooperation but will be complementary
- This type of cooperation will not be against bilateral and multilateral responsibilities

Financial Provisions – To complete the expenditure of SAARC Secretariat the contribution of member countries has been decided in the following way – India 32%, Pakistan 25%, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka 11% each and Bhutan and Maldives 5% each.

Councils – Following councils have been described under the SAARC charter:

(*i*) Summit, (*ii*) Ministerial Council, (*iii*) Permanent Council, (*iv*) Technical Councils, (*v*) Acting Council, (*vi*) Secretariat.

After about three years on 5th-6th January, 2002 in Kathmandu (Nepal) in the 11th SAARC summit of nation heads along with Pakistan all nation heads of all seven member nations took the resolution to end every type of terrorism together. In the SAARC declaration of 11 pages, apart from this draft of starting various projects for mutual commercial, economic cooperation and development of the area are included. Kathmandu summit ended with the declaration of next summit to be held next year in Pakistan.

In the Kathmandu declaration terrorism was said to be the most dangerous threat for world peace. In the 56-points declaration, member nations have given stress to form a broad scheme to encounter international terrorism. By also laying equal emphasis upon economic cooperation, on this occasion member nations have stressed upon getting rid of trade speedbreakers in a decided timeframe in South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) and the necessity of giving its profit to all SAARC nations by making regional trade facile.

During the summit, the eyes of every country and media were focused on India-Pakistan because of the prevalence of tension on Indo-Pak border.

SAARC summit organized in the first week of January, 2004 in Islamabad, Pakistan was called "historical". In this summit not only did India and Pakistan come closer, but Islamabad declaration was issued in this summit of seven countries. In it these countries showed important approval on encountering terrorism in united form along with free trade. The main points of this declaration are as follows:

- South Asia has to be made as a peaceful and stable region;
- Conflicts, differences in opinions and disputes are addressed through peaceful means and dialogue;
- Promote good neighborly relations on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and national independence;
- Non-use of force, non-intervention and non-interference
- Mindfulness towards the special problems of the small countries of SAARC

In this summit a 10-point Social Charter was also given acceptance whose objective was to foster the overall improvement of people of south Asia and accelerate economic development. Consensus was expressed to form tactics for poverty eradication, improvement in the condition of women and stabilization of population. This consensus was also expressed that guarantee of basic education, enough accommodation, safe drinking water and cleanliness and basic health should be found in legislation, executive and administrative provisions. This decision was also taken that Organized

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Volunteer Program should be resuscitated and one country's volunteers should be able to work in social areas by going to the other countries.

4.4 South Asian Preferential Trading Agreement SAPTA

In the 7th SAARC summit in Dhaka signatures were done on the agreement for the foundation of South Asian Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) on 11th April, 1993. All seven SAARC nations, namely India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives signed on the agreement. Under SAPTA a framework has been provided for exchange of tariff concessions with the motive of promoting trade and economic cooperation between SAARC nations. SAPTA's area expansiveness is spread to arrangements in the area of tariff, para-tariff and non-tariff solutions and straight trade solutions.

In December, 1995 after SAPTA came into influence three rounds of dialogues have been arranged for the exchange of tariff concessions between member nations. The dialogue of third round was completed on 23rd November, 1998. Till the third round India has provided concessions on total 2565 tariff lines. The customs notification bringing into effect the concessions provided by India to other SAARC nations was released on 10th August, 1999 and later on 8th September, 1999 a corrigendum was released.

During SAARC summit in July, 1998 in Colombo a proposal was put in front of all SAARC member nations that India wants to convene bilateral free trade with them so that the speed of economic consolidation in this region can be accelerated. Positive answer was received from Sri Lanka about this matter. After completion of two rounds of dialogues free convention agreement was signed on 28th December, 1998 in New Delhi by our Prime Minister and President of Sri Lanka. Apart from this during the convention Prime Minister also announced that with the motive of payment balance the import restrictions imposed by India on 2307 items will be removed from 1st August, 1998 in the matters of imports from SAARC member nations. By these solutions there is hope of increase in trade and economic cooperation between SAARC member nations.

Under SAPTA the last objective of dialogues is to achieve the target of South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). In July, 1998 in Colombo the 10th SAARC summit decided to set up a Committee of Experts (COE) from all 7 SAARC nations so that a comprehensive treaty framework can be created for South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). To free trade in this agreement binding schedules will be revealed and by the end of 2001 it was hoped that this agreement will be given its final form and will be imposed. In July, 1999 in the first meeting organized in SAARC secretariat in Kathmandu the Committee of Experts gave final form to the topics under consideration to form the draft of SAFTA Treaty.

In the meeting organized on 21st-22nd October, 2001 in SAARC secretariat on economic cooperation about the main points of SAARC, it was noted that till the year 2001 giving final form to the treaty's text will not be possible. Hence, the firm commitment to soon give final form the SAFTA Treaty was reaffirmed.

From SAPTA to SAFTA

On the day of 6th January, 2004 in the SAARC countries summit signatures were done on a historical agreement according to which free trade area South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) would be established. The establishment of SAFTA will be in place of SAPTA. By this agreement the form of India-Pakistan trade will also change which was informal till now. Today Indo-Pak trade is only of 250 million dollars. It is being expected that after the establishment of SAFTA this trade can be of 1 billion dollars.

SAFTA will start working January 1st, 2006. All processes of free trade will be completed in 10 years. The liberalization of trade will be in two phases, as this –

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- In two years India and Pakistan will bring a deficit of 20% in the tariff rates, whereas other countries will do so in three years. This will happen in the first phase.
- In the second phase, in the next 5 years India and Pakistan will reduce import tax to 5% or less. Sri Lanka will do so in 6 years and other member countries in 8 years.

The establishment of SAFTA is being done after WTO. Hence its form and topics will be favourable to the provisions of WTO. It has adopted the organizations and behaviour of WTO on a large scale. These can be seen in solving problems, security solutions, exceptions of residual payments and the special and differential provisions for minimum developed nations (Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives and Bangladesh).

Like WTO any country has the right that it can be separated from SAFTA after its establishment on 1st January, 2006. For this 6 months advance notice will have to be given. Like WTO in SAFTA there will be ministerial council of commerce or trade ministers of member countries. There will be Committee of Experts for imposing of agreements.

The commerce and trade society of SAARC countries has welcomed SAFTA. Probabilities of unlimited development in bilateral trade are being seen in the service areas namely—health, tourism and entertainment. Its tourism link will have to be established, visa issuing will have to be relaxed and system of mandatory attendance in police stations will have to be removed.

4.5 Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries—OPEC

The birth of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries—OPEC was in Baghdad (Iraq) in 1960. In oil exporting companies, the work of petroleum production is done mainly by multipurpose companies. Before the establishment of OPEC petroleum companies kept making their personal countries prosperous on the basis of petroleum abundance of west Asian countries.

According to the rules of OPEC, any country will have to fulfil some necessary qualifications to become member of the organization—country should be pure exporter of petroleum and there should be similarity in the country's petroleum interest and other members' interests. Slowly, there were 11 members in this Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. Apart from five founder member countries Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela there are 6 other members—Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, Algeria, Nigeria and United Arab Emirates. Its main objectives are—bringing unity in petroleum policies of member nations and protection of their interests, permanence of international prices of petroleum and stopping harmful fluctuations and regulated supply to exporter and buyer countries of petroleum. Its headquarters is in Vienna (Austria).

GROUP-8 (G-8)

G-8 is such a group of nations whose constitution has been from the membership of rich industrial nations having free market economy. These nations meet regularly through summits and adopt coherent viewpoint on economic policies and other issues.

The members of G-8 are—Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Britain, United States of America and Russia. In effect G-8 has taken over the responsibilities and works of Group-5 (G-5) whose establishment was done on 22nd September, 1985 in New York. The finance ministers of France, Germany, Japan, Britain and United States of America mainly contributed for the formation of G-5. Later Canada and Italy also became its members by which it became Group-7 (G-7). On 20th-22nd June, 1997 in the summit of G-7 organized in America's hilly city Denver, first time Russia was included in this organization in the form of complete partner. Hence this organization is now known as G-8. In the summit of G-8 which happened from 1st-3rd June, 2003 in Avian (France), member countries agreed to rebuild Iraq and joint effort to fight against the dangers of nuclear expansion in Iran and North Korea.

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G-15

G-15 or Group-15 (group of 15 non-aligned and developing countries)—which has been assuming the nature of an international movement for development and related issues—its formation was done after the non-aligned summit in 1989 in Belgrade. Its members are spread across the main regions of the world—Africa, North and South America (along with Caribbean), Asia and Europe. At present there are 19 countries in this organization in which all are non-aligned countries except Brazil and Mexico. Its members are—Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Jamaica, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Senegal, Venezuela, Serbia and Montenegro (Yugoslavia), Zimbabwe, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Colombia and Chile. Its first summit was in Kuala Lumpur. Organization's 11th summit was completed from 30th-31st May, 2001 in Jakarta (Indonesia).

In short, the objective of G-15 is cooperation between developing countries, tactical coordination and to think about issues related to development from time to time.

G-20

Formation of G-20 was done in 1999. In this the finance ministers and governors of central banks of 19 countries take part. Apart from this International Monetary Fund and World Bank are also included in it. After the establishment of this group its meetings have happened in Berlin, Montreal and Ottawa. G-20 represents 85% of the Gross Domestic Product of the world economy and 60% of the world's population. Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Australia, Indonesia, China, South Africa, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Korean Republic are included in its other members.

NAFTA

In formation of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) role of American ex-President Bill Clinton is mentionable. This agreement is the procreator of a new powerful regional organization of the three countries of the American continent—America, Canada and Mexico which is considered as the amulet providing vitality to the economic instrument of United States of America affected by sharp contradictions. After NAFTA was imposed 65% of American goods going to Mexico would be sold in Mexican markets without paying any import duty. Apart from this all restrictions on American capital investment would be lifted successively.

Under NAFTA America, Canada and Mexico will become free trade areas in the next 15 years by removing all trade restrictions put over there. It is being believed to be the world's biggest free trade area.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. ……. is the first beginning of regional cooperation in the world politics of seven neighboring countries of south Asia.

   (a) ASEAN (b) SAARC (c) IORARC (d) ECM

6. There are ……. Sections in SAARC Charter.

   (a) four (b) five (c) ten (d) seven

7. The commerce and trade society of SAARC countries has ……. SAFTA.

   (a) welcomed (b) opposed (c) flouted (d) misused

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8. The birth of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries – OPEC was in …….. in 1960.

   (a) America (b) Japan (c) Baghdad (Iraq) (d) England

4.6 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation—APEC

Its establishment was done in 1989 for free development of countries of Asia Pacific region. This organization was made group of informal dialogue for free and open trade and real economic cooperation in the region. The objectives of the organization are development of free and open trade by liberalization of trade and investment in the region and provide economic and technical cooperation in its member countries. Economies of 21 countries are its member. According to the Bangalore declaration of 1994, mutual free trade system will be adopted by this region's developed countries till 2010 and by this region's developing countries till 2020. In the Shanghai (China) summit of APAC countries (from 20th-21st October, 2001) top leaders of 21 member countries declared terrorist attack on America on 11th September, 2001 to be a danger for the whole world and condemned it. An 'APAC Declaration' was passed in the summit against terrorism. The headquarters of the organization is in Singapore.

4.7 Regional Cooperation among China, India, Myanmar and Bangladesh

38% of world population lives in China, India, Myanmar and Bangladesh. By imposing economic development programme enough increase has been there in the rate of development in all these four countries. Indo-Chinese bilateral trade has been increasing fast – from 2.6 billion dollars in 2001–02 to 5 billion dollars in 2002–03. The target of 2005 is 10 billion dollars. There have been improvements in India's trade with Myanmar and Bangladesh also.

On 15th July, 2003 India and Myanmar signed an agreement for increase in trade. Under it India will give technical help to Myanmar so that Myanmar can create top valued goods for Indian market. Tourism link can be improved and attempts can be made to remove non-tariff hindrances. It is being hoped that till 2006 both these countries trade, which is less than 500 million dollars at present, will increase to 1 billion dollars by 2006.

Bangladesh is India's sixth largest partner. For increase in trade and investment both countries recently discussed free trade agreement in the meeting of sixth United Economic Commission organized in Dhaka.

India has signed an agreement with Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Its name is BIMSTEC—Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand Economic Corporation. Its objective is setting united enterprise in technical, tourism, investment and industry, infrastructure, human resource development, etc. areas.

4.8 Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation—IORARC

On the initiative of Mauritius in March, 1997 India and thirteen other countries declared the formation of Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IORARC) with the objective of increasing cooperation between coastal countries of the Indian Ocean. In this association those countries of Asia, Africa and Australia are included which are located on the Indian Ocean coast. Apart from India the countries included in the association are—Australia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Oman, Yemen, Tanzania, Kenya, Mozambique, Madagascar, South Africa and Mauritius. From April, 1999 in the meeting of IORARC, with the acceptance of application for membership of Oman, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, Seychelles and Bangladesh, the number of member nations has increased from

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14 to 19. Apart from these, it has been decided to invite two other nations—Egypt and Japan in the form of 'Dialogue Partner'.

7 countries participated in the meeting of Mauritius. By that the beginning name of this association became "M-7". These countries are—Mauritius, Kenya, South Africa, Oman, India, Singapore and Australia. After this the meeting of "M-7" happened in Australia in Perth (June, 1995), about 122 representatives of about 23 countries participated. In Perth there were representatives from such countries also which are not members of this association, but are wishful of membership. Even after back-breaking attempts to be included in the new association, Pakistan was not made its member. Member countries say that by making India and Pakistan together as members this association will come in danger from beginning because they will start raising their bilateral issues in Rim Association too.

The 7 principles which have been predicated by "M-7", which can also be called as its goals, are as follows:

- To promote balanced development of the countries of the region;
- Increasing economic cooperation and increase in tourism, capital investment, technical exchange, human resources development;
- Making these countries prosperous by free flow of goods, services, investment, and technology;
- Dialogue exchange on world-level economic issues;
- Cooperation on intellectual level, increasing cooperation and contact on training and university levels;
- Reduction in customs duty to increase regional trade and promoting export-import.

D-8 (Developing-8)

The formation of a group named 'Developing-8' or 'D-8' was done in June, 1997 in Istanbul (Turkey) by big populated eight countries of Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). Countries included in it are Turkey, Iraq, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Egypt, Pakistan and Bangladesh whose total population is about 80 crores and united participation in world trade is about 4%.

Notes The second summit of this group of world's eight Muslim developing countries was completed on 1st-2nd March, 1999 in Bangladesh (Dhaka). Its third summit was organized in February, 2001 in Egypt.

Meetings of Group-77

In Geneva the establishment of Group-77 was done in 1964 by a group of developing nations for mutual cooperation between developing nations. At present its number has become 133 but still they are called with the name of 'Group-77'. Most of the nations of 'Group-77' are of the Third World. Organization's objective is to increase economic cooperation and development between member nations. In the summit of G-77 (15th April, 2000 – Havana) united invocation was done to deal with terrorism. In the 'Havana Declaration' passed in the summit, the necessity was expressed to impose an international treaty in influential manner to deal with terrorism.

There is also an internal minor group which is also known as G-24 these days. Morocco has been given the chairmanship of Group-77 on 17th January, 2003.

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Group of Ten – G-10

Group-10 is a group of those informal countries which give grant for General Arrangements to Borrow (GAB) Fund of the International Monetary Fund. The establishment of this group was done in 1962 to increase the main resources of the International Monetary Fund. After that G-10 has brought important changes in the International Monetary Fund in which international monetary system, improving GAP and increasing it and acceptance of loans from non-member countries are included. The meeting of the group's ministers and governors of central banks is held two times in a year whereas regular meetings are organized of top service officials and representatives of central banks. Founder members of G-10 were—Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, United States of America and Britain. Switzerland became a member of the group in April, 1984. The headquarters of G-10 is located in the IMF house in Paris.

4.9 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—OECD

In 1961, a new organization came into existence in place of 'European Economic Cooperation Organization' which is known as Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Its thirty member countries are the following—Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Australia, Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, Japan, Korean Republic, Mexico, New Zealand, and Poland. Finland, Serbia and Montenegro (Yugoslavia) and Japan take part in its special tasks. The headquarters of this organization is in Paris (France) and the main objectives of this organization are the following:

- To achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in member countries;
- While maintaining financial stability, contribute to the development of the world economy;
- To contribute to sound economic expansion in member as well as nonmember countries; and
- To contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, nondiscriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

4.10 European Free Trade Association—EFTA

After the Second World War for rebuilding Europe's destroyed economy under the Marshall project America declared help package of 13 billion dollars. For the utilization of this help Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) of 16 countries was formed. This organization's other works were—improvement in the situation of currency, bringing together economic powers and improvement in trade relations. But OEEC was not proven strong enough to increase the speed of economic development. As a result in March 1957 European Economic Community (more famous name European Free Market) was established and to reflect close unification the name of EEC has been changing from time to time. In the decade of 1980 EEC's name changed to European Community because cooperation area was not limited to economic area. In 1993, the name of EC became European Union—EU because the mutual cooperation of all these countries became even more intensive.

Another concept also rose in Europe which expressed opinion in the favour of free trade area by rejecting the concept of complete European unification. In such trade area all restrictions will be lifted from free flow of industrial goods between member countries whereas every member will maintain its external tariff framework. Under this concept, members not only get the profits of uninhibited trade but also every member gets the opportunity to continue its economic objectives in reference to non-member countries. This arrangement is especially profitable for Britain which had favourable trade relations with commonwealth countries.

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Under this concept, in May 1960 under Stockholm convention European Free Trade Association—EFTA was created. Its members were those seven countries which were not in EEC—Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Britain. Iceland became member in 1970. Finland which was co-member from 1961, became full member in 1986. Britain in 1983 and Portugal in 1986 became members of EC by leaving EFTA. In the end of 1996 only four countries were left in EFTA, namely Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. By 1991 tariff or import duties were lifted from all goods except agriculture. Apart from this EFTA and other countries, especially between East Europe many bilateral agreements were signed. Amidst the increasing power of European Union it became difficult for EFTA to maintain its separate existence.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. 58% of world population lives in China, India, Myanmar and Bangladesh.
10. In the IORARC association those countries of Asia, Africa and Australia are included which are located on the Indian Ocean coast.
11. Most of the countries of 'Group-77' are of the Third World.
12. Baghdad pact was the full answer of NATO.

(b) Security Group

4.11 Origin of Military Organization

Regional military cliques and 'Regionalism' are main specialties of international politics of postwar times. There are many reasons of the rise of these tendencies. Second World War, proliferation of communism, mutual mistrust of superpowers, hindrances rising in Cold War and United Nations Organization, have been the main reasons of the genesis and development of military cliques and regionalism. The word regionalism is used for such a system of two or more states in which member states take the oath by international treaty that they will come for each other's help at the time of any special proceedings by external state or states. In this oath military proceedings are always inherent. It is correct that regional organizations can also be formed for economic, social and non-military purposes, but in the reference of international politics the regionalism which is discussed, is normally military organization. Its foundation feeling and objective is the protection of participation states from foreign attacks.

In 1945, in the San Francisco conference in the context of United Nations Organization the system of regional military organization was seriously thought over and regional military organizations were given recognition in the Charter's 52nd Section. It was said that to institute international peace and security such regional organizations and agencies can be established which match with the objectives and principles embodied in the Charter.

This system of the Charter does not seem correct from any angle. There are many reasons for it. One is that these are the results of the Cold War and then they have increased international tensions by influencing Cold War in many ways. Biggest fact is that they have reduced the importance of United Nations Organization. To maintain world peace, in 1919, the principle of power balance was sacrificed and in its place the principle of collective peace was honored. But these military organizations again gave a new life to that old and unsuccessful principle of power balance.

After the Second World War the credit of commencement of movement of establishment of military organizations is given to British politician Winston Churchill. In 1946, in America's city named Fulton there was a historical speech of this elderly statesman in which he appealed for adherence to every possible solution to limit the alleged iron curtain and to stop the expansion of communism. The great

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heroes of Cold War in America accepted this viewpoint. On 11th June, 1948 America's senate accepted this proposal of Badenburg by 64 vs 4 votes in which it was said that United Nations should try to gradually develop regional and collective organizations for individual and collective self-security on the basis of continuous and influential, self-sufficient and mutual help. As a result in recent years there has been a flood of such organizations and agreements. Following are the agreements and organizations influencing international relations:

(1) Organizations of American States: In 1948 in Bogotá city of Colombia a conference was called of the American states in which a regional organization in the American continents was established compatible to the United Nations Organizations. Its name is Organization of American States—OAS. There is a constitution of this organization in which rights-duties, peaceful solution for disputes, collective security and economic, social and cultural cooperation have been described. All states of the American continent along with Canada can be its members. There are five parts of this organization: **(1) General Assembly**, which is the supreme organ of the Organization of American States and comprises the delegations of all the member states. All member states are represented at the General Assembly and have the right to vote. **(2) Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs,** which is held in order to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest to the member states of the Organization of American States and to serve as the Organ of Consultation on such matters. **(3) Permanent Council,** whose headquarters is located in Washington DC. It is a permanent and continuously working council. The main task of this council is peace-security related tasks and to look after the different parts of this organization. **(4) General Secretariat,** which is the central and permanent organ of the Organization of American States. **(5) Specialized Organizations,** which consummate special tasks.

Rio Treaty has an important place in the Organizations of American States. The goal of this inter-American organization for mutual help is to arrange for collective proceedings in the situation of military attack or danger of peace breach in the western hemisphere. From North Pole to South Pole a security region has been decided by it in the American region on which any attack will be considered attack on all the states and all signees of this treaty will provide help in its counteraction.

(2) Brussels Treaty Organization: In the capital of Belgium Brussels on 17th March, 1948 Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg signed on a treaty which is called as Brussels Pact. The tenure of this treaty is of fifty years. Its motive is to make the system of collective security strong in Western Europe and give rise to economic, social and cultural cooperation. In the fourth section of this treaty it has been said that if military attack happens on any of the countries signing this treaty then the other nations will provide their complete military and other help to the country who is the victim of the attack. In 1954 according to another agreement in Paris, Germany and Italy were also included in this treaty and now the new name of the organization has been kept as Western European Union. The states included in this treaty have formed a Council of Europe created by the foreign ministers of every country for mutual consultation.

It is clear that this treaty was done against Soviet Union. Until Germany and Italy were not included, it could be said that it was to stop the resuscitation of Germany, but by the inclusion of former Nazi and Fascist powers, its form became completely clear.

(3) North Atlantic Treaty Organization: North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the most important among the military organizations of postwar era. On 4th April, 1949 in Washington, United States of America, Canada and ten states of Western Europe gave birth to NATO by signing on a twenty years treaty. In February, 1952 Greece and Turkey and in May, 1955 West Germany also got included in this. In this way now the total number of members in NATO is fifteen. This organization's objective is to stop the so-called expansion of Soviet Union in western Europe and the role of two reasons has been important in forming it—increasing power of Soviet Union and probability of not getting enough security from United Nations Organization against probably Soviet attack. The mystery of this treaty is imbibed in its fifth Article. It is as follows—"The Parties agree that an armed attack against

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one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." In the other articles of the treaty there is description of economic cooperation of all parties and developing capability of resistance against armed attack.

The topmost position in NATO is the North Atlantic Alliance which has two or three meetings in a year in which foreign ministers or defense ministers of the countries can take part. Its headquarters is in Brussels. Its Chairmen are ministers of different countries turn by turn. Secretary General and Secretariat are there for its operation. The appointment of Secretary General is done by the alliance.

There is a Military Committee of NATO whose members are Chief of Staff of NATO countries. The main task of this committee is to give advises to the organization in military matters. In 1950, the organization built a united army of all countries for the protection of Western Europe and kept it under Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe, SHAPE. General Eisenhower was made its first top commander in 1955. Two more commands are there under SHAPE—Atlantic Ocean Command and Channel Command. In 1953, the American armies of NATO were armed with atomic weapons.

There are two main objectives of NATO—One is that it is a warning to Russia that if it attacks any member-state of NATO then all countries signing it will resist it. Its second aim is to keep the United States of America always ready for war so that in the situation of attack it can soon become a part of the war. It will not take time to participate in the war like the last two World Wars. But NATO cannot be really kept in the category of regional organization because in those countries like Turkey, Greece and Italy are also included which cannot be included in Atlantic area.

International relations became completely toxic with the establishment of NATO. Soviet Union believed it to be an offensive military organization and kept strongly opposing it. It has been quite a helping hand for expansion of Cold War and increasing international tensions.

There have been important changes in the form and activities of NATO. Germany's reunification in 1990 and disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991 and increasing goodwill amongst Northeast Western countries and East European states have put a question mark on the relevance of both NATO and Warsaw Pact. In such situation the future of NATO has become a thoughtful question.

(4) Warsaw Pact: The organization that Soviet Union has formed by combining communist countries in reply to NATO is called as Warsaw Pact or East European Treaty Organization. In the beginning Soviet Union fiercely opposed NATO, but when there was no result of the opposition then on 14th May, 1955 a treaty was done for twenty years by combining Europe's eight countries – Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Soviet Union. In this agreement's role of "security and peace", establishing method of collective security in Europe was given weight and it was said that by union of Western Europe and rearmament of West Germany it has become necessary that own security should be made strong and peace in Europe should be maintained. This pact's main arrangement was imbibed in its third article. In this it was said that if there is any armed attack on any member included in this treaty then all other countries will give it military help. For the fulfilment of this motive a united military command was established in the fifth article. Under it were all armies of all these countries and there was one top commander. The Secretary General and Commander kept the armies unified by doing consultation with general staff and distributed them in different provinces. It had three commands in Europe and one command was kept in Eastern Asia. In this way Warsaw Pact was complete answer to NATO.

In Warsaw Pact arrangement was made for strong cooperation in economic, social and cultural topics and it was said that its members will not use power and will solve their international disputes in peaceful manner. For thinking about common questions a political transparent committee was formed.

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It had two meetings in a year. It also had the right to establish other cooperative organizations. Its headquarters was in Moscow.

Apart from Warsaw Pact there have been twenty treaties in communist countries for mutual help. On 14th February, 1950 there was a treaty between China and Soviet Union for thirty years for friendship and mutual help. By this complete assurance was given by Moscow to communist China for complete military help in the event of military attack by Japan or any power related to Japan. As a result of the changes happening in the world's communist framework on 1st July 1991 Warsaw Pact was ended in the form of a military organization.

(5) Central Treaty Organization and Baghdad Pact: In modern international politics there is great importance of West Asia (Mideast) about Suez Canal and oil wells. Before the Second World War there was Britain's dominance over this area, but after the war a storm of nationalism came in Western Asia. British Empire was a victim of this storm. British army had to vacate Egypt and the province of Suez and other countries also start becoming free from British slavery. Because of this reason the United States of America got tensed that by the removal of British influence from this region its influence on Soviet Union may increase. So America wanted to do something in this area so that communist prevalence may not happen here. For this a scheme was formed under which Anglo-American group wanted to establish such a defense treaty in which other countries of Arab and Western Asia get involved. Firstly, it was tried to entrap Egypt in this net, but when that country refused to get involved in it then Britain and America leaned towards Turkey and made the rulers agree to take a step towards this direction. On 6th January, 1955 Turkey's Prime Minister Menderes reached Iraq with a good faith board and after talking to Iraq's rulers for six days persuaded them to form a treaty. In this manner on Britain's inspiration and directions an organization was formed on 24th January, 1955 in the form of Turkey-Iraq treaty. Because the signatures on this treaty happened in Baghdad hence it was called as Baghdad Pact. In apparent manner the objective of this treaty was to stop the expansion of western communism, but its true objective was to create deep rift among Arab countries to stifle increasing nationalism of Western Asia especially Arab countries and the adversary feelings of western colonialism. Because of this reason Arab people did gross opposition of this pact, but there was no effectiveness of these oppositions and Baghdad Pact was formed.

It was said in the fifth article of the Baghdad Pact that its membership is open for all such countries that are actively related to the security in Western Asia. The objective of the pact was to decide on such solutions by which cooperation can be established between different countries of this area in the area of self-defense. Therefore, the aim of the pact was to create such a military group whose main motive was factionalism among the states sharing their borders with the southern border of Soviet Union and to establish America's soldiers and airports in those countries. Hence Soviet Union fiercely opposed it. One member of the pact was Pakistan. So India also kept criticizing it in strong words.

In 1958, the fourth meeting of the Baghdad Pact council was about to take place form 19th July in Istanbul. At the time when Iraq's Shah Faisal and Prime Minister Nuri Al-Said was preparing to go to Istanbul, Iraqi army's progressive officers declared rebellion against the government and killed both the Shah and the Prime Minister. Nuri Al-Said was a dear friend of imperialistics. He had a big hand in the establishment of the Baghdad pact. With his death the future of the Baghdad Pact became dark. New revolutionary government immediately announced that it will not have anything to do with this military organization. Now it was a question that what will happen to the Baghdad Pact without Baghdad.

Example

At the time of his India visit Khrushchev had said that soon Baghdad Pact will burst by itself like a balloon. His statement proved correct.

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But America and Britain were not ready to accept defeat. Dissolution of the treaty would be a big political defeat. Hence at the same time they started trying to form another organization in place of the Baghdad Pact. On 24th March, 1959 Iraq became completely detached from this treaty organization. In this condition, its naming on Iraq's capital Baghdad became meaningless. Therefore, on 21st August, 1959 Baghdad Pact was renamed as Central Treaty Organization, CENTO. Except Iraq all members of the old Baghdad Pact remained its members. This organization remained in existence for twenty years. In 1979 Iran, Pakistan and Turkey got separated from it.

South East Asia Treaty Organization: After the Second World War the influence of the government of Chiang Kai-shek in China and evolution of communists brought severe damage to the reputation of the United States of America. After establishing control over communist government, the Chinese started giving help to the communist parties of the neighbouring countries. There is no doubt that its objective was the spread of communism. This was another reason for China's interference in Korea War. Communist China also started giving help to Malaya and Indo-Chinese communists. Because of this reason, tensions of western group started increasing. In 1951, Churchill kept this proposal in front of United States of America for communist spread of communist China that an organization like NATO should be formed for Southeast Asia. Australia and New Zealand also believed that the spread of communism in Pacific Ocean was malignant. But in the beginning, United States of America was not a big supporter of forming military organization for this area but the results of Indo-Chinese wars forced America to take a step forward in this direction. In the beginning of 1954, the Indo-Chinese war became quite serious. In the leadership of Dr Ho Chi Minh the nationalists of Vietnam did a strong attack on French imperialism despite American help. When situation became very serious then an international convention was held in Geneva in July, 1954 to think about the Indo-Chinese issue. There an agreement was done as a result of which North Vietnam went into the hands of communists. The United States of America did not accept this decision.

After this, American foreign secretary John Foster Dulles made strong efforts to form a military organization in Southeast Asia like NATO. He tried to unify his supporters in this region as a result of which on 8th September, 1954 in Manila a treaty was formed between Australia, France, Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and United States of America for mutual cooperation and collective security. On the basis of this treaty South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was established.

In the first article of the SEATO pact, a pledge was taken for peaceful solution of international disputes and not acquiring path of power use and threat in any form in international relations. A promise has been made in its third article for cooperation for economic development and social welfare, but most

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important is the fourth article of the pact in which it has been said that under the pact in the situation of armed attack against any country or disruption of peace there will be situation of similar danger for all. In the fifth article, there is description of a council formed by representatives from each member country to discuss all issues related to this pact or to get suggestions for any plan. Its main office is in Thailand's capital Bangkok.

A declaration document of United States of America is also linked to the treaty. In this it has been said that the intention of the attack described in fourth article is with communist attack. It means that America will only give assistance to these states upon attack by communists.

If we think about the SEATO treaty in historical background, then we see strong differences between the language used in its articles and its real objectives. We will have to seriously think about it to understand this fact. From strategic viewpoint Indo-China has important place. In 1954, when communists started gaining victory here then gross despair started pervading in western world. They started experiencing that the meaning of loosing Indo-China is establishment of communist control over Thailand, Burma and Malay peninsula. President Eisenhower himself had said that there is such a line of states of Southeast Asia in which after one's debacle the whole framework will be destroyed like a hill of sand. In any condition, America could not allow such situation to come. Therefore to stop the speed of nationalism and communism the establishment of SEATO became extremely necessary from its viewpoint. There was only one fact in the basis of this organization—to stop Cambodia, South Vietnam and Laos from going into the influence of communists. After 1954, the events that occurred in Southeast Asia and especially in Indo-China, there was this concept of United States America in their origin.

Apart from America the other countries that became included in this treaty, they also had their own selfish motives. One was that they were opponents of communism and second Britain and France wanted to maintain control over there old colonies in any manner. Australia, New Zealand and Philippines supported this treaty with the objective of stopping the advancement of Japan and Pakistan got conjoined in this treaty for resolution of Kashmir conflict with India. All freedom loving countries of Asia fiercely opposed this treaty. It was formed with the cause of bringing rift between Asian countries and to keep them loaded with western imperialism. V.K. Krishna Menon told the organization as the modern form of protectorate. Pundit Nehru said in this reference that it is against the Charter of the United Nations Organization and by this tensions and insecurity will increase in place of increase of world peace. This is a kind of Munro principle which has been forcefully imposed upon the countries of Southeast Asia. China's Prime Minister Zhou Enlai had told this to be a means of throttling attack with the veil of collective security. So in effect SEATO was a modern protection against old imperialism.

Task Throw short light on Baghdad Pact.

4.12 Decreasing Importance of Military Organization

It is said in support of these regional military organizations that in the world more than hundred states are different from each other by castes, languages, religions, cultures, etc. This diversity of the states is a big hindrance in the influential universal cooperation. If a union is formed of such different countries, it will certainly be weak and temporary. Hence limited membership organizations should be formed which are strong and permanent. Regional organizations fulfil this objective. Countries with similar ideologies, interests and policies unify under such system and solve their problems by mutual cooperation, but this plea cannot be acceptable. When United Nations has been established

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for repudiation of all problems then what is the need of military organizations? These military organizations proliferate dissidence and hatred in the world instead of bringing unity. They divide the world and struggle against development of United Nations in the form of a more capable world organization. Regional organizations providing increased national security are essential evils. Security is a universal issue whose solution cannot be done on regional basis.

A flood of military organizations has come in the postwar era. It is surprising that all these treaties are done in the name of peace and United Nations charter. To prove its relevance always 52nd Section of the Charter is cited, but in reality it is against the principles of the charter and by this an ancient and vain principle of balance has got a new life again. Charter had assigned the responsibility of international security on security councils and that Security Council is sustained, so then on top of it what is the need to build dozens of other securities? The existence of these organizations emaciates the power of the United Nations Organization. They are not forerunners of peace but controllers of war. They have completely destroyed all probabilities of the development of the United Nations Organization. Hamilton Armstrong has correctly written that, "The system of regional military organizations can cover the universal nature and objectives of the organization." All these systems are the bankruptcy of that political and legal system for which the United Nations Organization was formed.

Notes In the words of **Jawaharlal Nehru**, they (military organizations) do not match with the provisions of the Charter. Because of them, there is no increase in security in fact there is increase in Cold War and fear.

This groupism is not the solution for international problems. Their presence itself makes preparations for the toxic environment of war and entangles problems. Till now one group has been considering the military organizations of the other group as a dagger pointed to its chest. They obligate each nation to be in the situation of 'always remain in the situation of war'. Because of them, the member nations of the treaty have to keep foreign army on their motherland which can prove to be a big danger for that nation's freedom. But bigger danger is that because of it international tensions are always maintained. Because of them, only the problem of disarmament has also not been solved.

Dissolution of NATO

In last years as a result of Cold War being reduced the importance of these military organizations has slowly decreased. In this period, some such events have occurred from which it seems that NATO is standing on the brink of dissolution. First, there was rift in this organization in 1956 at the time of Suez crisis. France and Britain had faith that NATO powers, especially America will support their attack on Suez, but America acquired a different view on this event by which France and Britain were quite angry. After this in 1957 at the time of interference by Soviet Union in Hungary's matter by seeing NATO's silence, NATO's members started having doubt on the matter of its usefulness.

Amongst nations dissatisfied by NATO's policies, France has been the most outspoken. On 21st March, 1966 French President Charles de Gaulle announced that there is a need for modification in NATO's relations. France decided that it will use national sovereignty in its role and will not allow foreign armies on its land. It demanded America to remove all military bases of NATO from French land by 1st April, 1967, because on 1st July, 1966 France will leave the membership of NATO.

On 1st July, 1966 as per this decision, French officials did not reach NATO headquarters. After this American planes were removed from French airports. Because of this, few members of NATO got tensed. They called a meeting in Belgium and analyzed the organization's achievements and decided to preserve the organization. After this decision, NATO's headquarters was removed from Paris and taken

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to Brussels. France broke off its ties with NATO but kept its relations in situ in finance, transport and employment etc. Because of such attitude of France, it began to be believed that now there is nothing left in NATO and now it has remained only as a formal organization. But in between, the third Arab-Israel war started. During this war in the support of Arab countries Soviet Union's many combat ships sailed in the Mediterranean Sea and about fifty Russian battleships started circling the Mediterranean Sea, whereas in the beginning of 1967 there was not even a single battleship there. In this region by keeping a chain of battleships Soviet Union increased its influence in such a certainty which had not been imagined before. Soviet Union's objective was not only to prove that Mediterranean Sea is not just an American lake but it spread its boundaries from Egypt to the south and till Algeria's west.

In this way, by the entry of Soviet Union in Mediterranean Sea created sensation amongst NATO states. The decision of return of British soldiers from east Suez entangled the situation even more. Especially, Greece and Turkey became too much tensed. Greece removed some soldiers from Bulgarian border and posted them for coastal security and both countries started asking for help from America for improvement in their navy and started talking about strengthening NATO.

In August, 1968, the entry of Soviet armies in Czechoslovakia alerted the countries of North Atlantic Treaty Organization and dissociative NATO started getting organized again. Before 1967 it seemed like by France's withdrawal from NATO and after calling back of troops in large numbers by Britain, America, etc. NATO will merely remain as a formal organization, but the events occurring in Czechoslovakia alerted the west European countries towards their security. France had given an indication in April, 1968 that it is reconsidering its decision to withdraw from NATO. After Czechoslovakia event, when Soviet leaders told their right to carry out military interference in West Germany under united declaration, then the situation changed a lot. NATO powers gave the assurance of every possible action for the security of West Germany. France announced that as of now it will remain in NATO. Britain and America decided to post those military forces again in West Germany which they had called back some time ago with the objective of some savings in military expenditure. Belgium announced that now it will post four instead of three divisions in West Germany. Greece, Turkey, Italy, etc. too indicated to change their summer-policy. Presence of nine Soviet military fleets in Mediterranean Sea made Turkey and Greece anxious about their coastal security. Both these countries came close in spite of their difference on Cyprus issue. On 14th October a NATO meeting was held in Lisbon in which Portugal strongly demanded that NATO's expansion should be done till South Atlantic. Italy started endeavoring to best training to modern navy officials and to arm its fleet with modern instruments. West Germany's chancellor Kiesinger clearly announced that America's presence is essential in Europe. America gave the assurance that President Nixon's government will also fulfill the European promises. On 14th November, 1968 a meeting of defense ministers from NATO was held in Brussels and the new situation was discussed. After this in April 1968 a second meeting of NATO countries' ministers was held in Washington. After this meeting's end, in a Soviet Union communiqué, NATO treaty was declared as an 'attack' and strong criticism of international anti-peace policy was done.

Caution According to government news agency participating in this convention itself proves that it has not generated aggravation in Europe for war but it itself has become a hindrance against West Europe countries and their desire of social change.

In this way, tensions again increased between both groups about NATO, but this tension was not maintained for long. In December, 1970 the conventions that were held for Warsaw pact group and NATO members, talks of war and arms were not heard as much as those of European security and improving relations between east-west countries. First summit of Warsaw pact countries started in

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Moscow in which the place of discussion of improving relations with western countries was prominent. Countries participating in the summit agreed the necessity for European security topmost and along with this also experienced that without the cooperation of western countries the target of European security cannot be achieved.

Immediately after this summit of Warsaw pact countries, the summit of countries of North Atlantic Treaty Organization started in Brussels which gave favourable answer to the suggestion of Warsaw pact organization of calling a summit for European security. Some differences could surely be seen in this summit, but by the findings in the form of united bulletin we have to reach to the conclusion that the member countries of North Atlantic Treaty Organization were also interested for east-west dialogue in similar manner.

In this way, both organizations have expressed willingness to reduce international tensions. It is important that organizations have started talks of peace in place of war and this is a proof of the fact that the importance of treaty organizations is now reducing. From this viewpoint the European Security Conference in 1963 in Helsinki can be considered quite important. Foreign ministers from thirty-five states of Europe gathered on 5th July in a conference. To decrease international tensions it was a security conference of European states (in which states of both NATO and Warsaw were included). In this conference, many programme were formed to create a sense in Europe which were to be kept for consideration in the summit to be held in December, 1963, but due to fourth Arab-Israel war (October, 1963) and global energy crisis this summit had to be postponed.

The fourth Arab-Israel war also contributed in weakening NATO. At the time of this war NATO's west European countries stopped American weapons going to Israel through their region. In the history of American military groupism, this event is of utmost importance that Portugal, Spain and West Germany disallowed the flights of American planes and departure of American ships from their ports. From this it became clear that countries of west Europe do not want to keep linked to America for their national interest. They paid more attention to the supply of oil from western Asia not on the unity of NATO. NATO's European member states now started feeling that the geography of war and peace has changed. They have the notion that the next war will be fought in Asia not in Europe. Because of this reason no efforts of keeping NATO strong have been successful and NATO's utility has been decreasing everyday. Apart from Soviet-America camaraderie, the group-favouring attitude of French President Pompidou and the decision of Chancellor Willy Brandt about maintaining goodwill with east European countries are also behind it.

Dissolution of CENTO and SEATO

Like NATO, CENTO and SEATO have also becoming weak organizations. Now CENTO has remained an organization of handful of politicians of Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran. Member nations have not gained anything from it on any occasion. Its one member-state Pakistan had to entangle in war with India twice but it did not get any help from CENTO. Hence Pakistan quit its membership in opposition. The changes that have happened in world politics America's situation in the context of CENTO has now become like snake-mongoose. It neither desires to make it strong nor in present situations wants to pull hands from it.

SEATO has nearly ended. The establishment of this organization was against communist China by American inspiration, but from 1971 because of the revolutionary changes that have happened in the relations between China and America, this organization has become completely worthless. By the rise of Bangladesh in 1972, end of Vietnam War in 1963 and the efforts done in last years for the unification of both states of Korea have completely finished the importance of this organization. Even Australia and New Zealand tied to America by the ANZUS pact started opposing America. When in 1973 America decided to form naval base in Indian Ocean's island Diego Garcia then both these countries opposed it with one voice and demanded that Indian Ocean be declared as peace region. In totality now it has become clear that the old importance of military organizations cannot be sustained again.

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4.13 Summary

- In the decades of 1950 and 1960, Regional Economic Grouping or Regional Economic Integration developed fast. Economic Integration means organizing individual nations into groups.
- By six nations—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg, a treaty was signed in Rome in March, 1957. As a result of this treaty European Economic Community or European Free Market was formed.
- In 1967, five countries of South-East Asia formed 'ASEAN' named non-military organization with the motive of regional cooperation and formally declared its formation by signing on a Treaty on 8th August, 1967 in Bangkok.
- The full name of SAARC is The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. On 7th and 8th December, 1985 summit was organized of the heads of 7 countries of south Asia and 'SAARC' was established.
- On the day of 6th January, 2004 in the SAARC countries summit signatures were done on a historical agreement according to which free trade area South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) would be established. The establishment of SAFTA will be in place of SAPTA.
- The birth of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries—OPEC was in Baghdad (Iraq) in 1960.
- After the Second World War, the credit of commencement of movement of establishment of military organizations is given to British politician Winston Churchill.
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the most important amongst the military organizations of postwar era.
- The organization that Soviet Union has formed by combining communist countries in reply to NATO is called as Warsaw Pact or East European Treaty Organization.

4.14 Keywords

- **ASEAN:** The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
- **SAARC:** The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
- **SAFTA:** The South Asian Free Trade Agreement
- **IORARC:** Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation

4.15 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by European Common Market?
2. Write a comment on ASEAN.
3. Describe The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).
4. What do you understand by South Asian Preferential Trading Agreement (SAFTA)? How did it become SAFTA from SAPTA?
5. Describe European Free Trade Association.
6. How did Military Organizations originate? Describe agreements and organizations influencing international relations.
7. Describe Decreasing Importance of Military Organizations.

Notes

8. Write an annotation on:

   (a) Warsaw Pact (b) IORARC

   (c) Disintegration of NATO (d) Organization for Economic

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Integration	2. Brussels	3. European Union	4. ASEAN
5. (b)	6. (c)	7. (a)	8. (c)
9. False	10. True	11. True	12. False

4.16 Further Readings

Books

1. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
2. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
5. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
6. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

Notes

Unit 5 : Globalization: Meaning and Dimensions

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know political and economic background of globalization.
- Explain meaning and definition of globalization.
- Discuss theory and impact of globalization.

Introduction

Globalization is that process through which shrinkage has been taking place on world level. It used to be on nation-level, today it is on world level. Whatever has been going on in the name of Globalization, sometimes it is assumed that we are talking about world-village. But it is only deception. There is role of world market and communication revolution behind Globalization. Competition has been going on for getting hold on world-market. They are prepared to do anything to get hold of world-market. Here by 'they' we hint at those countries which have been expanding their market.

The concept of Globalization in Sociology has developed in recent some decades. The supporter scholars of globalization criticize traditional Sociology. They say that the traditional Sociology instead of accepting world as a system of societies, it is still confined to old concept of nation-state. Although, the principle of Globalization is not entirely safe, it has its own shortcomings. Some scholars often raise an issue that Globalization is in fact modern form of Imperialism. What is after all a difference between these two? In India and other developing countries, a new global communication system is being spread, especially through various television channels. Due to this, a voice of protest against special kind of ultramodern culture cropped up. Some scholars pose questions on illusions prevalent in relations between Globalization and Modernization.

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Globalization is a truth of today. All the parts of the human life are being affected by this process. By this process, religion, culture and the nation are getting challenges. Prospering global system of today has forced to think to reorganize religion, culture and nation. This process has also forced economic activities and relations of power of societies and communities for renovation.

Globalization is a two-edged sword. On one side Globalization has presented exciting probabilities. And on the other side unprecedented disasters are being presented. By Globalization stress has been given on secular and liberal culture. It gives rise to painful relation between national and international relations.

It is the claim of prospering global culture that it is in favour of that challenge in which regional values and nation-states have been tolerating pain in relation to danger of its existence. Imagination centers round the great probability of environmental calamity by global dimensions.

Is there any role of intelligentsia for analyzing worry- causing complexities? If the process of Globalization has become unavoidable, then a way has to be found out to make it more humane and justifiable.

5.1 Meaning of Globalization

Globalization is a complex process. Under this from economic, social, political and cultural relation's medium, the world is becoming greatly interrelated. Stress is given to acceleration of global interrelations, argument for a world, full of movements and mixtures, relations and contacts, perpetual cultural interactivities and regulation.

As a result, the world is shrinking concerning time and distance. Refined instantaneous and fast transport and conveyance have further increased the acceleration of this process. Globalization is being acclaimed in symbolic form in which a new method has been sought to become a human being in this changeable world. Globalization skips the boundaries of nation-states. It is a process of tying up with social network and political institutions after uplifting from flux of goods, capital, benefit, information, ideas, images and dangers of boundaries of nation-states and political institutions. In other meaning, in new place and time, Globalization can be seen in reference to unification and linking of cultures and communities and in referring to the world as reality and making it all the more interrelated.

Some scholars believe that Globalization is not a new process. Along with Colonization, there was also beginning of Globalization. Raw materials from subordinate nations of Colonialism had been carried to Colonial countries. Industrial producers used to get raw material from them. Owing to it the consumption of finished goods took place in subordinate countries of colonialism. The various countries of the world could get a chance to come near each other due to colonialism.

Some scholars think that acceleration in modernization is a form of Colonialism. Even today there is expansion of effect of modernization throughout the world due to which the world is shrinking. In this there is coordination of industrial inventions and industrial revolution. Globalization is connected with modernization which through the medium of expansion of impacts of modernization shrinking the whole world.

There is one ideology which believes that though, Globalization is not entirely a new process; even then it cannot be the same as Colonialism or Modernization. According to it, the concept of Globalization is not new. From the decade of 1980, the panorama of two-dimensional world started changing. After the disintegration of Combined Soviet Union, one such uncontrolled Capitalism developed; no body was there to challenge it. Owing to it a one dimensional world came into effect. Capitalism presented unprecedented social and political changes on the map of the world. The world tried to re-accommodate itself with new transformed system.

Fourth Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) was arranged to introduce new economic policy (NEP) by Bretton Woods Conference and Liberalization Programs. During this period Information

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Technology (I.T) especially internet increased the intensity of global relations and contacts. People started to be enthusiastic in search of better possibilities in various geographical regions. Under such circumstances one new economic and political global situation for basic reorientation cropped up. Since the time of Industrial Revolution, one sort of global unification developed. This development was above the boundaries of nation-states. According to Freedman, Globalization is in reality unification of markets, finance and techniques. Due to this unification the world has been shrinking from mid-shape to micro-shape, so that we can reach from one corner to the other of the world at once and in least possible amount. Like all the international systems of the East, it has been providing directly or indirectly new form to domestic diplomacy, economic policies and foreign policies of all the nations.

So Globalization is a multi-dimensional complicated process. Unification of markets, finance and techniques is going on under this process. There is such shrinkage of the world that it is possible to reach any corner of the world cheaply as well as quickly. This has never been possible before. Like all international systems of the East, it is providing new forms directly or indirectly to domestic political policies, economic policies and to foreign relations of all the countries.

There is too much importance of economic, social, political and cultural elements of Globalization in human-life.

The meaning of economic Globalization can be explained like this—The determination of economic policies of official government of a country is done on the basis of movements going on in international economic markets. It results in lessening of economic freedom of the nation-state. Globalization accepts the whole world as total economic unit and the market as equipment. In a global world, the main characteristics of economic- system are as follows—open, liberal and free market and free trade. It is symbolized with international investment and flow of instant fund. National Economic systems are coming in the best economic peripherals. Their unification is being done with international trade and world of financial market that is being materialized with the medium of immediate computer. The speed of direct foreign investment and its expansion and flow of instant funds to various parts of the world can be viewed as a form of economic Globalization.

As a result, international companies are keenly tying to reach up to those countries or regions where cheap labour is available. The people are stepping out of boundaries of nation-states and changing their sphere of work and residence. They are trying to adjust themselves in new cultural background.

The difference between rich and poor has been increased by financial institutions. By Globalization, a new understanding has been developed in various fields related to cultural, national, environmental relations and social life, which influences traditional methods of our life and various issues concerning the world.

From cultural point of view, Globalization signifies enhanced cultural inter-relation in the whole world. Due to emigration of the people, tourism, global economic system and political institutions, there is semblance of life-style in different parts of the world. Globalization makes available different options for regional culture. Thoughts about human rights, democracy, markets, economic system, and new methods of production, new produces for consumption and devices for luxury are presented from new viewpoint of regional culture. Due to it there is emergence of comprehension of new culture, nationality, what is the meaning of 'self' for a foreigner and a citizen, how can people have political partnership and various elements of social life.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. By Globalization stress has been given on …… and liberal culture.
2. From the middle of 20th century the world was seen divided into …….. camps.
3. Globalization is a two-edged …… .

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4. In a communist country like China also today stock exchange and …… companies are working.

5.2 Definition of Globalization

Globalization is a new ideology. The serious analysis of its different sides is going on. Till now its binding definitions has not been created. There have been certain positive attempts to define it. In this sequence its few definitions are as follows:

Notes **According to Malcolm Waters—**Globalization is a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people are becoming increasingly aware that they are receding.

According to Friedman—Globalization is the integration of markets, finance and technologies in a way that is shrinking the world from a size medium to a size small and enabling each of us to reach around the world farther, faster and cheaper than ever before. Like all previous international systems, it is directly or indirectly shaping the domestic politics, economic policies and foreign relations of virtually every country.

According to Ravi Prakash Pandey—Globalization is a complex process of inclusion and exclusion. In it inclusion of integration of world market, different economical, political and social institutions, multimedia, technology and culture etc takes place, while exclusion of the sovereignty of the Nation-State and indigenous, etc. occurs.

According to Inda and Rosaldo—Globalization is a complex process by which the world is becoming a highly interconnected world through economic, social, political and cultural contacts. It refers to the intensification of global interconnectedness, suggesting a world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkages and persistent cultural interaction and exchange.

According to Hall—Globalization means, integrating and connecting cultures and communities in new space-time combinations and making the world in reality and in experience more connected.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Globalization is a …… process

   (a) easy (b) complex (c) important (d) expensive

6. The …….. policies of any government are decided by the movements going on in international economic markets.

   (a) economic (b) political (c) cultural (d) religious

7. The trench between rich and poor is increased by global financial ……..

   (a) organizations (b) committees (c) institutions (d) states

8. In cultural reference globalization is a symbol of increased …….. interconnection in the whole world.

   (a) economic (b) cultural (c) political (d) religious

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5.3 Theory of Globalization

The theory of Globalization examines outbreak of global cultural system. According to theory of Globalization, by one kind of social and cultural development, the global culture is generated. With the existence of one world satellite information system, global form of consumption and consumerism, setting up of universal life-style, Olympic games, world soccer competition, development of universal games like international Tennis matches, expansion of world Tourism, degeneration of sovereignty of nation-states, development of global military system, identity of worldly situational-crisis, development of awareness towards worldly health related problems, development of worldly political system, development of global political movements, expansion of concept of human rights, complicated interchanges in religions of the world mainly with globalization, awareness is created to see the world as one place.

In Globalization, stress is being put on looking at the world as a whole. In this the world is seen as creating environmental level perpetually.

Globalization is sociology of international relations. Globalization can also be seen as theory of world-system. The theory of world-system of analyzing development of global economic interdependence claims that cultural globalization is merely outcome of economic globalization. Formerly, this plea used to be given that convergence of nation-state is being done in coherent and uniform industrial society. This concept is in fact, entirely different from the concept of globalization. It is the argument of contemporary theory of globalization that globalization in fact, has carried two opposite processes such as differentiation and ethnicity with it. On one side there have been going complicated activities of regionalism with globalization, on the other side vigorous movements have also been going on against the process of Globalization. The people who are giving these arguments are the critics of traditional sociology. In their criticism they declare, 'World, is a system of societies'. The traditional sociology puts more stress on 'nation-state' instead of giving stress to this matter.

There are many problems with the theory of Globalization. It can be clarified by giving certain examples, as how can globalization be separated from new example of Imperialism? How can a dividing line be drawn between economic and cultural globalization? How to clarify difference between globalization and modernization?

From 1990, globalization has become part of tradition knowledge for Sociologists. A journal, with the name, 'Contemporary Sociology', in September, 1996, published a survey in its edition based on subject-matter of books, whose conclusion is as follows—in headings of Women-Movements, International Economic System, Organism Reproduction, Immigration, Apartheid, Racism, Forest produce industry, Translational Corporations, Food Production and Distribution, Central Banks and International Monetary Systems, American Foreign Policy, Development of Cities of the Third World, Changes in the Values of Modern Societies, the words like global, globalization and globalism are sure to be found.

This is indubitably true that today's world has become such a planet, where all the fashion goods are manufactured and sold beyond the boundaries of the states. Electronic mail can be sent or received from one corner of the world to another corner. An individual sitting in one corner of the world can buy goods of the other corner of the world through E-Commerce and though services of E-Banking, one can make payment by Master-Card from anywhere. Commodity Chains, development of Cyber-society, Sociology of Environment, Flexible Employment, Flexible works, International Division of Labour, Internet, Multi-national Companies, and New Colonialism can be underlined in this category. The Sociological Echo of this concept has been extensively devoid of analytical and interpretational valuation.

Self Assessment

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State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. Globalization is an ancient ideology.
10. The theory of Globalization examines outbreak of global cultural system.
11. Globalization is sociology of international relations.
12. There is only negative energy in globalization.

5.4 Impact of Globalization

As a result of Globalization, positive changes have been taking place in various spheres whereas in various parts, negative changes are also taking place. Due to this condition, loss and debacle are also coming before us. To comprehend results of Globalization after analyzing both parts, will be logical and scientific valuation.

Did You Know? In Globalization, there are both positive and negative energy. Globalization is a two-edged sword.

Scientific, medicinal and other such inventions have been available for all. Nowadays in most of the places, there is swift formation of Transnational Organization. Through the medium of Green Peace, Women's Movements, Concern for Empowerment of Local Communities and Indigenous People and other movements, the people of the world are experiencing unity among themselves. With extensive network of International Official Organizations and through medium of NGO'S, all are associating with the entire world and paving way to develop one international administration system.

By the process of Globalization, interaction between humanism and charitable execution gets encouragement on comprehensive level, such as- Oxfam, Human Rights, Christian Grant and others. Along with this, by the scientific and business organizations such as—International Association of Nutritional Sciences and International Sociological and Anthropological Association, their ideas and contacts are being expanded on global basis.

There are much more negative results of Globalization. Unemployment is being promoted. Nath has outlined aftermath of Globalization. Plea is being given that Multi-national companies are keeping post-colonialism division of labour intact, which are mainly managed by developed countries and they bountifully consume cheap labour and raw material of under-developed countries. With developed countries there exists ample collection of data and use this for production and financial appropriation. Their use is done to establish instant communication, to manage financial systems of companies of overseas countries and see through the management of Multi-national companies.

Through the medium of Telecommunication such as—Satellite, Television, Internet, E-Mail, every moment a new image is being presented on the stage. Through its medium a new global status is being created. From the medium of cultural goods, food, costume, music, architecture, films and others , a new taste can be generated which is encouraging new global behaviour and destroying local identity. The impacts of Globalization can be specified mainly on following points:

Integration of World Economy: Today in the world liberalization, open economy and free market system is prevalent. Its straight meaning is the integration of world economy.

The economies of developing and undeveloped countries are being controlled by World Bank, WTO (World Trade Organization) along with different economic and commercial institutions. In this the economics of developed nations is playing influential role.

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Common Currency: During globalization integration of currency is happening. In the year 2001, a common currency of all countries of Europe was formed. Its name is Euro. By this spontaneity has come in currency exchange of all countries of Europe. Redemption has been found from the problem of Exchange of Currency.

Caution SAARC countries convention completed in November 2003. In this a voice was raised to form a Common Currency of the Asian countries. If it becomes possible in the future then a new ray of hope will be visible for developing countries.

The economy of developing and undeveloped nations is mainly dependent on agriculture. Large human capital is dependent on this. Freeing of agriculture for the world will be suicidal for these countries whereas pressure is increasing to do so. It is a negative part of the integration of economy. In this context facts are as follows –

Cancun convention of South Asian countries, completed in December 2003, pressure increased on developing and undeveloped nations to free their agriculture areas. Plea was presented that this will lead to an increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Agriculture area, industrial area and employment area, by contribution from all these three areas the rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is decided. In the areas of industrialization and employment most countries have accepted liberalization and open economy but an agricultural country like India has not opened its agriculture area for the world. Continuous economic pressures are being put for this.

According to Karl Marx, the complete development of human relations is linked to action or the process of production, in which economic system does the task of base and all other related organizations and conceptual systems form Super Structure. In Marx's words, "In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely (the) relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure, and to which correspond definite forms of consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." The sociological study of integration of the economy of today's world being built by this process of globalization is relevant in the light of the said thoughts of Marx.

Integration of World Market: 20th century was the century of end of imperial empires in the world. In it imperial empires ended in many nation-states. Freedom movements were fought for it. This century also bore the first and second world wars. Hence the 20th century can be seen in the form of the century of national struggles of nation-states. Strong nationalism took birth in the series of national struggles. Nationalism precedes nation building. In the sequence of nation building strong nationalism reestablished national markets.

In the decade of 1980 political imperialism took rebirth in the form of economic imperialism. It was given the name of world system. Free market system, free economy, policy of liberalization, new information technology, etc. made available fertile land for it to bud and bloom again. Today integration of world market is happening. Most world markets are open for consumption of commodities of most countries. Its positive and negative both results are coming forward. By world integration the doors of all markets are open for all. Enough probabilities of trade and commerce have been available. New opportunities have been available to human capital of undeveloped and developing countries and there has been an increase in deposits of foreign currency.

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It also has negative results. Policies of nation-states are getting decided because of market pressure. Direct interference of market is increasing in national issues. Market has been stuck in the strong economic clutches of multinational and transnational companies. Small and cottage industries are being kept on the edge. The participation in market of people who are weak from economic viewpoint is becoming important. Social problems like exploitation and unemployment are getting encouragement because of this. Marketplace is becoming dominant. Through the means of advertisements etc. market analogous to production is being formed. Consumerism is fast increasing because of this. As a result human consciousness is becoming dormant.

The process of integration of Indian market became intense along with world market. But it has got a strong hit from 26th May, 2004. Disinvestment industry was ended by the Indian government on 26th May, 2004. Then while presenting budget in the parliament on 8th July, 2004 the finance minister gave the provision for more foreign investment. By this a new form of integration of market is coming forward.

Nationalism versus Globalization: Like other social facts nationalism also is a historical fact. In the evolution of public life after the maturity of both objective and subjective historical facts evolution of nationalism occurred. Like E.H. Carr has written, "In correct meaning the rise of nationalism happened in the end of medieval era." A.R. Desai believes that nations rose in the special era of social, economic and cultural development. Modern era's nations are different from the non-national populations of the preceding eras of social existence by the following ways—all members of the nation mutually exist in biological form in a decided geographical area under the same economy, as a result of which there is a deficit of economic existence included in them. They usually use the same language and have similar psychological structure and publicly developed folk culture. Such an ideal nation which is fully developed and in which all these qualities are prevalent, is a mere abstract imagination because history's matters are remnants in different parts in the economy, social organization, contemplation nature and culture of every nation. Still from 16th century itself there has been manifestation of national population in different states of national consolidation on the grand stage of human history. Nationalism of every nation has its own special, unique form.

In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, countries were created in maximum areas of the world. Newly formed nations struggled against inner and outer obstacles for being fully developed and gory wars were fought for self-defense and expansion. The process of nation building continued in 20th century also. From the decade of 1980, the process of globalization got promoted. This is a new halt of development of nationalism. Nowadays globalization has brought nationalism to an end. Nationalism is becoming minor, whereas globalization is becoming intense.

Declination of Nationalism: The expansion and development of open economy, free market system, liberalization, multinational corporations and translation companies and communication revolution has made a new world system influential. This system is created by crossing boundaries of different nations. Ultra-modern means of communication are disseminating a global culture. This is also possible by crossing boundaries of countries. The several organizations like World Bank, World Health Organization, World Trade Organization, World Human Rights Commission, etc. also have made the boundaries of countries secondary. As a result nationalism has declined and globalization is becoming dominant over it. Different processes like foreign capitalism, encouragement to NRI, integration of world market, integration of world industrialization, e-banking, e-commerce, e-journalism, e-learning have made the national boundaries weak.

Declination of Citizenship: Citizenship is the primary prerequisite of nationalism. Citizenship has also declined with the declination of nationalism. By reduction in foreign capital investment the investor got the opportunity for participation in related nation-state. The new opportunities of employment created due to new global system made available the opportunities to work in any country of the world. European Union was formed to conclude integration of market, economy and industrialization. Under it any person of Europe can travel to any European country without interruption. Developing

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country like India provided acceptance to dual citizenship to NRI (Non-Resident Indian) in capital investment. Due to all these reasons citizenship has become weak.

Integration of Legal System: International laws have challenged faulty laws prevalent in some countries. For example, we can see that Nuremberg Tribunal law was formed. In it there is a provision that wherever there is a situation of conflict between international laws and state laws for the protection of human values, then the individual will have the provision to alternatively abide by the international law as a priority. State's sovereignty was reduced by the European Council (1950) protecting human rights and basic freedom. Under it individual can obtain legal documents from its country. In this link the right to ask for answers from nation-states was granted in the episodes of violation of human rights by the Dalit community in India. In 2001 in the World conference against racism, xenophobia and discrimination, completed in Durban, provision was also made for such Dalit to register his objection.

Characteristics of Nation-State are Changing: The process of globalization has basically influenced and changed the characteristics of nation-state. Providing civic services like education, health and employment is the responsibility of welfare nation-state. Providing basic facilities like electricity, drinking water, roads, bridges should be the priority of nation-state. But, it is not so.

The policy of liberalization has promoted privatization. The role of voluntary organizations has also become important. Nature of subsistence of responsibilities of the nation-state has got strength by NGOs. As a result of privatization in the areas of education, health and employment nation-state is going away from its above-mentioned basic responsibilities. The priority of private firms is to earn profit. Hence there is an increase in issues of basic civic services like education, health and employment.

The policy of providing basic facilities like electricity, drinking water, roads, bridges, etc. by private firms has come into usage. Due to this nation-state is going away from this responsibility also. Big industrial families have got full liberty to expand their empires because of the policy of liberalization and privatization. To make the welfare policies of the nation-state compatible with their commercial interests, big industrial families put such pressure on the nation-state which is against the interests of the common public.

There is dominance of developed nations on international organizations like United Nations Organization, World Bank, World Trade Organization, World Health Organization. Through them the basic nature of developing and undeveloped countries is being changed by the developed nations by putting different kinds of pressures on them.

Communication Revolution and Globalization: Communication revolution has breathed new life into the world. Ultra modern means of communication are the main conductors of globalization. They are providing immediate information from one corner of the world to the other. In this sequence the boundaries of nation-states have become negligible. The world has become a village. The path of epoch-making change has become expansive by communication revolution.

Due to maximum use of communications technology and fast expansion of 'internet', revolutionary changes have come in the activities of different areas of the human life. Its affect has been on society, economy and administrative systems in comprehensive form. This technology has done the inception of a new economy in the form of 'e-commerce' by earning a special place in commercial and economic activities. E-commerce has provided a new direction, speed and energy to trade by utilizing globalization of communications technology, internet, intranet and extranet in one united form. The role of e-commerce is mentionable in the integration of the whole world's economy. New criteria are being established by crossing geographical boundaries of nation-state by weakening their borders. In this world trade the contribution of e-commerce is important.

Newest communications equipment like telephone telex, teleprinter, television, radio, digital Microsoft, optical fiber, cable, dotcom, internet, software, hardware are much more influential than old techniques. Its domain is also many times more expansive. The basis of modern communications technology is—computer. Internet is the world's biggest computer network, which is spread to all

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corners of the world. Basic changes are coming in the world's viewpoint because of it. Utilization of e-banking, e-learning is happening indiscriminately. Any person can debit and credit any amount from one corner of the world to another corner thousands of miles apart. Similarly, any person can get training from thousands of miles away, sitting at one place.

Live transmission of news from all corners of the world is being done in our house by different TV channels. Through it the world has shrinked into one family.

Satellite has threaded the world in a string. Most instruments of I.T. (Information Technology) are optimizing the path of development and are increasing knowledge.

It is mentionable that countries like USA, Italy, Japan, etc. are leaders of globalization. In these countries the indicators of I.T. are being used predominantly. Whereas, countries like Bangladesh and Egypt are quite behind in globalization. The indicators of I.T. are used least in these countries. Based on these facts the following proposal can be formed:

There is correlation between globalization and communications technology. The countries in which the rate of intensity of globalization is high, in them the rate of utilization of indicators of communications technology is also high.

E-journalism: Communications revolution has provided speed and energy to globalization. It is clear from media specialist Marshall McLuhan's book 'The Medium is Message' that compared to information; there is more importance of the means of information. Information has emerged as a decisive force. Its system is not only free from control of ideology but ideology is being controlled through information system. Information system has decisive role in all areas like economic, social, political etc. The mettle of share market is decided by strong communication channels, not dynamic growth rate. Information and information systems are integrating today on global level.

Broadcasters of information, telephone, telegraph and telex are not getting old. E-mail, e-fax, cellular phone, pager, tele-text and computer data bank are progressing. Microchips, satellites, microwaves, robot research are prevalent. Computer networking has started setting foot. Flow of information by Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited (VSNL), National Informatics Centre, C-DAC (Center for Development of Telecommunications) is going on with extremely rapid speed. By linking the multidimensional activity of internet and technical skills with the vast world of news, the path of that revolution in communications world is being made easy where those giving and taking news understand each other very well, where the consumer is not considered as a mere dustbin but strong information is presented to him as per his interests.

Presently, e-journalism has become an essential part of life and world. It has proven its utility and quality. It is being proved as a boon for the world. But there is another part to it.

There are many blames being put on the baby of globalization which communications revolution has cherished to be a youth. According to Professor Herbert Schiller, media has a deep relation with political and economic power. In the books named 'Mass Communication and American Empire (1969) and 'The Mind Managers (1973) Schiller has underlined the role of media by presenting description of global domination. He believes that the changes that are coming with the name of 'super highway' are all coming at the price of public property. 'Radio Spectrum Frequency' is being used for expansion of corporate interests. There is no debate or discussion happening about it. 'Radio Spectrum Frequency' is national property. It is a natural resource. Radio's use began in the form of public's resource in the beginning, but it was later misused. Those who were given licenses for radio transmission; they forgot the promises given to the public. They started using radio for profits. 'Radio Spectrum Frequency' is being used for commercial objectives without public consent. This situation is also there in our country because of economic liberalization. Radio Spectrum Frequency is being used for personal commercial interests, especially in the area of media and telecommunications. Public is being made consumer through different means of media and telecommunications. Mind and psychology of public are being changed. Hunger is raised towards means of modern consumption. Consumerist culture is strongly

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being promoted. An important question is presented in the thoughts of Schiller. Communications revolution has presented abundant probabilities for the world's good. Whereas, the ultra-modern means of communication are vastly being misused for self-fulfilment. Hence the question aises that should revolution be blamed? Else it is a topic for analysis for those misusing it.

Cultural Pluralism: When people from multiple cultures live together in a society and this type of co-existence is also supported, then it is known as Cultural Pluralism. Its excellent example is India. Here communities with different opinions have the freedom to follow their traditions while participating in the distinguished traditions of Indian society.

In the era of globalization the interactions of a person from one culture with a person of another culture are inevitable. These interactions have the acceptance from world community. Along with this to and fro of a person of one country to another country has also increased. With different occupational, commercial, political, social and other reasons, the to and fro has increased. As a result cultural pluralism is being promoted.

Today cultural internal affiliation is being promoted. Its main reasons are mass communications, emigration, tourism, foreign companies, etc. Due to globalization emigration is increasing to the big cities of developed and developing countries. Because of this, the issue arises in front of people that how they can lead their life by adjusting their traditions and culture, nationalism, citizenship and other aspects of social life.

Some social scientists believe that as a result of globalization multiculturalism is getting encouragement. Along with food, mode of life and clothes, commodities for different needs of life and produce of one country is being consumed in another country. Through it too the culture of one country is reaching the other country. Foreign culture is entering our homes through aerial way. Different TV channels are carriers of foreign culture. Some people name it as cultural attack.

Linguistic Dominance: An aftermath of globalization was that the languages of weaker nations were left behind. Hindi will not be left behind. Because Hindi has its own internal power but those that are weak and poor nations, who have lesser population, their languages may become quite weak. If they have to compete with the world, they will have to enter into internet. They will have to learn English to enter internet. All modern knowledge can only be found in English language. Internet, which is most influential and assurgent instrument of globalization, has become the biggest carrier of English. Multinational companies and transnational companies are also the carriers of English. The attack of English is also happening through aerial path or foreign TV channels.

Nowadays due to globalization, a future is being created both for nationalism and language absoluteness and nation-absoluteness and language absoluteness. If we keep interest only in the cultural part of globalization, imperialist culture or issues of imperialism related to cultural front immediately attract attention. In this context the issue of evanescence of languages, by which UNESCO also is worried, stands in a new form. Will the dominance of some languages or English be established due to globalization and other languages will become minor and gradually become extinct? This question is especially getting relevant about languages of undeveloped and developing nations.

The language of international industries and occupations is increasingly becoming English. French remained respected in international diplomacy and because of France being the center of cultural usages French had special respect in the world. But in the new era of globalization, French too is getting incapable in stopping the flood of English. Until two or three decades ago people who knew only English faced difficulties in France. All signboards and billboards in Paris used to be only in French. Today English language is in abundance on main roads. Same is the situation in gulf countries. Signboards of business houses of Arabic, Urdu, Persian languages have become bilingual. Publicity in English has become essential. Pakistan and Bangladesh also are not untouched by this malady.

Dominance of English has increased in India by globalization. The population of India is more than one million. Out of these 70 per cent people speak and understand English. The language that is spoken

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in Pakistan is known as Urdu and that is also another form of Hindi. Hindi and Urdu have developed from the tough dialect of Meerut and Delhi. Mahatma Gandhi had given the name Hindustani to the mixed vernacular of Hindi and Urdu. Apart from Pakistan the Hindi or Hindustani of colloquy is partially spoken in Afghanistan and gulf countries. Apart from neighbouring countries Nepal and Bangladesh, Hindi is spoken in Singapore, Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana etc. About 80 crore people in the world speak Hindi. From the viewpoint of population there is no other language which is spoken by so many people. The main language of China is Mandarin but all Chinese do not speak Mandarin. Undisputedly, the number of Hindi speaking people is the most in the world. Still, the dominance of English is increasing in Hindi world. Internet has become the biggest carrier of English. This is the result of globalization.

Outsourcing: Outsourcing is the main agent of globalization. These days heated debate is going on in America and Europe about outsourcing. American started it. But, today it is working to end it because developing countries are getting its advantage. NIC (National Intelligence Council) is an important department of American Secret Service. It provides secret information and advice to the American government. NIC head Robert Hutchings presented a report to the American government in March 2004. This report was printed in the world newspapers on 21st March, 2004. According to the report outsourcing related to business is a new interest. It helps companies to reduce their production rate. By cautioning Americans against the impending dangers in the future, it was said in the report that on large scale foreign companies are stealing information and technology through outsourcing. Because of it, a serious crisis will come about security related to import of computer codes and hardware from foreign countries.

By cautioning against theft of economic and other secrets through outsourcing the secret service head said in the report that in the coming fifteen years only in the area of software about thirty lakh jobs will go out of America. Out of these 70 per cent to India, 20 per cent to Philippines and 10 per cent employment will go to China.

'Fast outsourcing as a result of globalization. Arrival of lakhs of jobs in developing nations through outsourcing.' This news is exciting for developing countries and depressing for developed countries. So nowadays the initiative of putting restrictions on outsourcing is going on in America for foreigners.

Migration: The process of relatively permanently going from one geographical/national area to another geographical/national area is known as migration. There is difference between excursion and migration. Excursion is completely temporary, whereas the matter of permanence is prevalent in the situation of migration.

Two more similar concepts are namely emigration and immigration. The process of one person leaving his own country to go to any other country is known as emigration. Opposite to this, the process of coming into the country is known as immigration. Apart from this, there is another form of migration which is known as 'internal migration'. In this type of migration the evacuation from one place to the other like from village to the city or the process of going from the middle of the city to the suburbs is also included.

The process of migration has become intense because of globalization. Citizens of one country are going to the other country for capital investment. Travel to other countries is increasing. Dexterous people of undeveloped and developing countries are going to America and Europe in large number in search for employment. They are living there. Globalization has provided speed to this process. Speed of emigration has become intense.

Non-Resident Indians (NRI) are being invited to India for capital investment. For this the non-resident Indians have been provided many conveniences on governmental and legal levels. Dual citizenship was advocated to increase investment in the country by NRI Non-Resident Indians are coming to India in large numbers by getting attracted by this. They are eager for investments here. This process is going on in different countries of the world. The process of immigration has become intense by it.

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Although after end of disinvestment ministry on 26th May, 2004 and provision of increasing foreign investment during presenting budget in the parliament on 8th July 2004, what effects it will have in the future is a ponderable subject.

Multidimensional results of migration, emigration and immigration are seen. Problem of adjustment in the new culture of new country, rise of new types of functional relationships, unison or conflicts between people of one culture with people of another culture on level of values, standards, method of leading life, behaviour, interaction etc., issue related to demography; all these issues have been revealed as a result of globalization. Sociological study of these issues is important. Influence of globalization can be studied by this.

Middle Class: Carrier of Globalization: That part of system of economic and social stratification of any society whose standard is neither too low nor too high. This social section is situated between the two end points of the social map created by noble section and proletariat section. Mainly people involved in white collar and lower managerial occupations are included in this section.

As a result of European renaissance a new social system was revealed. Modernization did multidimensional changes in it. Indian renaissance is one of its links. New opportunities of employment and business were made available. Many sections like bureaucracy, technocracy, lawyer, doctor, engineer, teacher, managing director of middle business establishments, regional and provincial statesmen, etc. not only came into existence but slowly became members of influential section. This is known as middle class. It has played the role of carrier of change.

Today the main carrier of globalization is the middle class. They are the main consumer in marketplace. Today different TV channels are being watched most by the middle class. Middle class is the leader in consuming commodities of multinational companies.

Globalization of Labour: From the time that globalization has converted the world into a market the sound of labourers has become weak. National government is being deprived of its rights. Collective insecurity and financial capital is being promoted. Problem of unemployment has come in front of non-specialist labourers in rich countries. Globalization is isolating non-specialist people from the mainstream of employment. Guarantee of employment is coming to an end because of privatization. In uneducated and non-specialist people hopelessness is increasing towards secure and encouraging future. So they are being isolated from their community. Ethnic consciousness, social unrest and violence are getting fertile land to thrive.

In comparison to international business houses, small cottage industries are being beaten up. Craftsmen and specialists of traditional occupations working in small and cottage industries are facing unemployment. Role of labour unions is getting ineffective.

Task Throw light on nationalism versus globalization.

5.5 Summary

- Globalization is that process through which shrinkage has been taking place on world level. It used to be on nation-level, today it is on world level.
- Globalization is a complex process. Under this from economic, social, political and cultural relation's medium, the world is becoming greatly interrelated. Globalization is a new concept. Serious analysis of its different parts is going on.
- According to Hall, globalization means, integrating and connecting cultures and communities in new space-time combinations and making the world in reality and in experience more connected.

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- The theory of Globalization examines outbreak of global cultural system. According to theory of Globalization, by one kind of social and cultural development, the global culture is generated.
- As a result of Globalization, positive changes have been taking place in various spheres whereas in various parts, negative changes were also taking place. Due to this condition, loss and debacle are also coming before us.

5.6 Keywords

- **Globalization:** Unification of markets, economies and industries
- **Unification:** Establishing unity by combining two or more objects

5.7 Review Questions

1. Give the meaning and definition of globalization.
2. Describe the principle of globalization.
3. Describe the different effects of globalization.
4. Comment upon:

   (a) Cultural Pluralism (b) Migration

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Secular	2. Three	3. Sword	4. Multinational
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (b)
9. False	10. True	11. True	12. False

5.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
3. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
4. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
6. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*

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Unit 6 : International Inequities: Conflict, Cooperation, Processes of Divergence and Convergence

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know means of dispute settlements between countries.
- Explain amicable means.
- Discuss compulsive means.

Introduction

The way in which disputes arise between people and their peaceful solution is done by mutual dialogue, arbitration or judiciary, in similar way rising of differences and disputes between countries is also possible. In ancient times and medieval times, the solution of disputes between two countries was mostly done by war, but in modern times scientific inventions have made wars horrific. As a result of groupism in the world the dispute of two countries can take the form of world war. To be saved from this horrible human destruction and devastation politicians found other means also except war to solve disputes. To be saved from war approximately all countries became ready to adopt other means for solutions of disputes.

6.1 Means of Dispute Settlements

Normally, international disputes can be of three kinds—(i) disputes related to facts, (ii) legal disputes whose relation is with the legal rights of the parties and (iii) political disputes whose relation is with the interests or respect of the parties.

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Generally, there are two main means for solving international disputes:

1. Amicable Means
2. Compulsive Means

Notes According to Oppenheim, "Normally two types of disputes—legal and political—are there between states. The solution of these legal and political disputes can only be done by amicable or compulsive means.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. In ancient times and medieval times, the solution of disputes between two countries was mostly done by ……... .
2. There are two main …….. for solving international disputes.
3. Meaning of …… is the effort to form an agreement between disputed countries by any third party.
4. Grotius believed that by …….. war can be stopped.

6.2 Amicable Means

For the solution of disputes between countries neutralization is presented between countries for solution of disputes by goodwill and good inspiration. It has been clearly said in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter that, "The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." The main means of amicable means for solving international disputes are as follows:

- Negotiation
- Conciliation
- Good Offices and Mediation
- Arbitration
- International Enquiry Commission
- Adjudication
- Through the Machinery of League of Nations and U.N.O.

Negotiation

Fenwick believes that to end struggles created between two nations 'negotiation' can be used. By negotiation it is tried to get rid of misunderstandings, remove doubts and clarify objectives and policies so that there are no differences or antagonisms. This type of negotiation can happen between the Presidents of the two countries or their representatives. In present time this type of negotiation is generally done between the ambassadors of both countries. There is correspondence between the

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ambassadors of the two countries to end the debate. This correspondence is considered the basis of negotiation. For example, in relation to India-Pakistan conflict there was a talk between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan on 1st September, 1959. In succession to this talk the Presidents of both countries decided to call a council of ministers. There was discussion between ministers of both countries about this topic from 15th October to 22nd October in Delhi and Dhaka. In this discussion the resolution was done about the border conflict.

There was a war between India and Pakistan in 1971. The war caused many problems. India wanted to solve these by direct negotiation. So there was an agreement between Bhutto and Smt Gandhi in Shimla after discussion. On 2nd March, 1987 there was an agreement between India and Pakistan to take back their respective troops in 'General Peace Region' from Rajasthan sector. There have been many unpleasant relations between America and China about many questions. In February 1972, President Nixon of America and his representative Henry Kissinger did direct discussion with Zhou Enlai by traveling to China. There have been total eight rounds of negotiations completed between India and China for solutions to problems in the time period of 1982–87.

Negotiations do not essentially resolve the differences between both parties. There are three probabilities—differences may reduce, one party may reduce its claim, both parties are adamant on the matter. Negotiation may be successful or unsuccessful; it has its own importance. It appears to the world public that such and such party showed complete interest in negotiation whereas the other party was adamant on its claim, as a result of which war happened. Sometimes the states pretending peace also adhere to negotiation to make the world public favourable to them. Before war every attempt is done to stop the war through negotiation.

Example Before India-China war negotiations went on between both countries for many years.

Moore wrote in the Mavrommatis Palestine Concessions Case—"'Negotiation' is a legal, organized and administrative process with reference to international area and international process. By its help governments conduct their relations with one another by using their absolute powers and create settlement and solutions by discussing their differences."

Conciliation

Those different methods are included in conciliation that are acquired to peacefully solve the issues of two or more states by a third party. According to Oppenheim, "This is such a process of resolution of problem in which this task is given to some members of a commission. This commission hears the description of both parties and gives its report in light of facts to resolve the issue. In this there are some proposals for the resolution of the problem. These proposals are not recognized in a mandatory manner like any Panchayat or judicial decision."

In the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907 the peaceful settlement of disputes by the commissions of reconciliation is linked. According to Hudson, "In the process of reconciliation facts are investigated and opponent claims are coordinated. After that proposals are made for the resolution of disputes. Both parties are independent to accept or refuse these proposals."

Did You Know? Reconciliation means to form agreements between disputed parties.

From this viewpoint it is difficult to differentiate between reconciliation and mediation. Difference between both is only that mediation is done by any state or person, but the work of investigation and reconciliation is done by any impartial international commission or council.

Reconciliation is different from International Commission of Inquiry. The main objective of Inquiry Commission is to analyze the facts with the hope that through it both parties will automatically form an agreement among themselves, but the main aim of reconciliation is to form agreement between both parties by attempts of this commission.

Reconciliation is also different from Arbitration. Under reconciliation the different parties are completely free to accept or discard its proposals. On the other hand, under arbitration the related parties will have to accept the decision appointed by the assembly.

There is difference between reconciliation and mediation also. Under the first both parties entrust their dispute to other people so that they can present proposals for its resolution after impartial investigation of facts. Here initiative is taken by the parties of the dispute. In mediation the initiator is the third state itself. It wants to solve the dispute by starting dialogue between the parties of the dispute.

No example can be found for adherence to reconciliation. In last few years, gross violations have been done of this rule. In 1911, Italy completely stopped its discussions with Turkey and kept such a condition whose meaning was war. In 1931, Japan attacked Manchuria by not stopping reconciliation with China.

Some states have decided to investigate or solve their disputes via a commission under multilateral treaties. Former Soviet Union had formed such a treaty system with countries like Poland (1932), Germany (1929), Iran (1927), Afghanistan (1932), Rumania (1923), Hungary (1950), Czechoslovakia (1956) etc. Out of these, most of the treaties arranged to form commissions to solve events and disputes happening on the borders.

Good Offices and Mediation

When the dispute between two states does not end by discussion then other states try to end the dispute. A third state becomes ready to do mediation with the feeling of good offices and tries to end their dispute and their public does not have to face the aftermaths of war. Many times it happens that more than one state tries to end the dispute. In 1868, many big countries mediated in the dispute originated between Greece and Turkey.

Meaning of mediation is the attempt to form agreement between disputed parties by a third party. Its two forms can be—(i) Third party can arrange for a meeting in its country or some other neutral countries by making them agree for a discussion again. This is known as Good Office. Third state does not participate in the discussion. Its role is only of a runner or communications means. (ii) Third party not only arranges discussion between the disputed parties, but also can participate in the discussion or present proposals to the disputed parties for resolution, this is known as mediation.

In this way, there is difference between Good Office and Mediation. In Good Office the third country makes the two parties sit together and proposes to solve the dispute. It can ask questions about topics related to the dispute, but at this time the third state does not take part in the real negotiation. At the time of mediation the interfering state itself takes part in the negotiation. It gives suggestions from its end and actively takes part in all discussions. For example, after the Indo-Pak struggle of 1965 Soviet Union granted its Good Office to form agreement between both the countries as a result of which in the beginning of January of 1966 a dialogue started in Tashkent between Pakistan's President Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. Because of no successful result from the discussions until 10th January the probabilities of it being unsuccessful increased. As a result of mediation by Soviet Prime Minister a joint communiqué was worked out and Tashkent agreement was formed between both countries.

In this way in 1951 Australian government offered to provide its Good Office to solve the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, but Indian government did not accept it. In 1905, the end of Russia-Japan war happened by the Good Offices of American President Theodore Roosevelt. In 1904, there was a probability of war between Britain and Russia because of the Dogger Bank incident, but an agreement was formed between both countries by mediation by France.

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The party doing Good Office or Mediation can be a person or international body. In 1947 the United Nations Organization's Good Office council that the Security Council had appointed for Indonesia, its tasks were more than just Good Office.

In this way the state doing Mediation pacifies the feelings originating in different disputing states. It establishes coordination amongst opposing claims. Many times noticeable disputes end by mediation by the third state.

Arbitration

The process of Arbitration started in the beginning days of international law. It was often adopted to solve disputes in ancient Greece. Grotius used to think that war can be avoided by Arbitration. In 1974 after the treaty between America and Britain, this process started being considered to be an important behavioural means for harmony between disputes.

According to **Oppenheim,** "Arbitration means that resolution of differences between states should be done by legal decision. This decision is by judicature by one or many arbitrators elected by both the parties, which is different from international court." The task of Arbitration can be granted to such a head of state who is non-judicial or a person who doesn't have legal knowledge or to some judicature. Two or more states can also form a common treaty of Arbitration according to which their some or all disputes can be handed over to the arbitrators for resolution.

Caution It is important for Arbitration that decision should be based on such principles which are prevalent from before and which have taken the form of an opinion.

If arbitrators give the decision not based on any old principle but according to their own will by qualities of the topic, decision will be considered one-sided and it cannot be given recognition. If no principle is implicit in the arbitrator's decision and only some facts are implicit and decision is given based on those facts, in this condition, work of the decision-maker is limited and they have to make decision based on apparent facts, like had happened in 1974 during the decision of border of St. Croix River between United States and Britain. At that time there was no such example on whose basis border could be decided. So decision was taken based on recourse of facts present at that time and that decision was agreed upon by both parties.

Commonly, the arbitration award granted in Arbitration has to be compulsorily accepted by both parties. No state is bound to grant their dispute to arbitrators, but if it is done once then they will be bound to agree to that decision. If during making decision arbitrators have done work under deceit, pressure or misunderstanding then it will not be essential for related parties to accept it. In 1831 the king of Holland had given his decision on the northeast border dispute between Britain and United States of America, but it was not accepted because of encroachment of rights by the arbitrator.

The 1872 Alabama Claims is a good example of Arbitration. Similarly, the resolution of 1968 Kutch Conflict between India and Pakistan was done by Arbitration. In Hague Conventions (1899 and 1907) Arbitration was agreed to be an influential means to resolve disputes. Establishment of Permanent Court of Arbitration was done by first Hague convention. This court gave decisions of 20 disputes from its establishment to 1932. Out of these The Pious Fund Case, The North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Case, Casablanca Case, Island of Pamas Case and Carthage and Manouba case are especially mentionable.

Stork has correctly written that the Permanent Court of Arbitration gained a lot of success and in this century's beginning years it encouraged arbitration as a manner of disposal of international disputes and developed its modern method and practice.

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International Commission of Enquiry

International Commissions of Enquiry are formed for investigation of disputes. The basis of disputes is studied by them and proposals for its resolution are presented. Formally, its birth was in the 1899 Hague Peace Conference. This method was proposed to solve such international disputes which are limited to determination of facts and where the parties do not want to present the complete dispute and are entangled in legal question and political selfishness in acquiring the process of arbitration.

It was said in the third part of the Hague Convention that the international disputes in which there is no question of respect or deep selfishness and which have originated because of differences related to facts, an international commission of enquiry should be appointed for them, which can solve the dispute by impartial investigation of facts. This commission's report remains limited to knowing the facts. It is not the arbitration award and grants full freedom to the parties.

Enough improvement was done to the condition of these commissions by the Hague Convention of 1907. It was decided in the 1924 Washington Agreement that a permanent commission should be appointed for investigation. Its main provisions were—(i) If main diplomatic means of forming an agreement fail, both parties will grant their dispute to the permanent commission and will not declare war until its report. (ii) There will be five members in the permanent commission. One citizen from each party and one from a third state will be appointed in it. Fifth member will be selected by both parties from a third state. (iii) The report of the commission must be released once every year.

Like conciliation the process of enquiry commission was also adopted adequately in behaviour. For the investigation of events in Manchuria in 1931 United Nations appointed Lytton Commission.

Judicial Settlement or Adjudication

The judicial settlement of disputes is through International Court, which uses laws and is appropriately formed. The disputes that are solved through the court, their decision is known as Adjudication.

There was no court in arbitration, only a list of arbitrators. The disputing parties used to consider few out of these as arbitrators in their issue. Then it used to form a court, but United Nations did the establishment of permanent court. The United Nations changed its form and gave it the name of "The International Court of Justice".

There are some differences as well as similarities between Arbitration and Adjudication – (i) In both the resolution of the dispute is on the basis of rules of the law and principles by binding and impartial body. (ii) It is mandatory to abide by decisions by both. (iii) In both situations disputed parties have the freedom to hand over their dispute for resolution.

There are the following differences between Arbitration and Adjudication:

1. There is International Court in the international area for adjudication which is based on a covenant. The rules of its process are different which are binding on those states which hand over their dispute to the court. For arbitration too there is a permanent court of arbitration in the international area, but in reality it is neither a court nor is permanent. It is a panel of names. Apart from this too the parties can establish the Court of Arbitration for the resolution of any dispute.
2. International Court of Justice is located in Hague. Courts of Arbitration are temporary hence they do not have a permanent location.
3. There is public hearing in International Court of Justice and its decisions etc are published. The publishing of decisions of Courts of Arbitration depends on the agreement between the parties.

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4. International Court of Justice is open for all states, but its empowerment depends on the consent of the states. There is even more importance of the consent in the area of Arbitration, even for the establishment of court too, consent is required.
5. Disputes are adjudged by law by the International Court. Court of Arbitration is not bound strongly by law.
6. Judicial decision has been given important place in the United Nations Charter. Arbitration also has been given recognition under the Charter as a form to settle dispute, but it has not been given an important place like judicial decision.

International Court is the 'principal judicial organ' of the United Nations Organization. Its establishment was done after the end of the Second World War. Before this 'Permanent Court of International Justice' was established after the First World War. The decisions taken by the court are known as adjudications.

All members of the United Nations Organization automatically become members of statute of the International Court. Although the court does not hold universal jurisdiction, but its decisions are binding on those parties which willingly accept its jurisdiction.

The International Court has peacefully settled Corfu Channel Case (1946), dispute of rights of American nationals in Morocco, Anglo-Norwegian fisheries case, international status of South Africa etc.

Settlement of Disputes through the Machinery of League of Nations and UNO

The establishment of international organizations like the League of Nations and United Nations Organization was done for peaceful settlement of disputes so that world wars can be withheld. In the United Nations declaration different processes of peaceful resolution have been mentioned so that a legal basis can be formed of collective security system. Three steps were mentioned in Article 12 of the United Nations declaration for peaceful settlement of disputes—granting them to arbitrators, granting them to the permanent court of justice of Hague and its investigation by the organization's council. Arrangement of imposing economic restrictions against one who does not accept the proposal of peaceful settlement was made in the Article 16 of the organization.

Like the League of Nations, the basic objective of the United Nations Organization also is to stop wars. Some responsibilities have been granted to the General Assembly and Security Council for the achievement of this objective. Article 14 of the Charter gives this power to the General Assembly that it gives suggestion for peaceful adjustment of that situation which causes damage to common welfare or friendly relations. The powers granted to the Security Council are even more comprehensive. It can take an action earlier as compared to the General Assembly. Whenever there is a danger for international security, the Security Council can give suggestions to settle the disputes through remedies like Arbitration, Judicial Agreement, Negotiation, Investigation, Mediation etc. If any dispute cannot be settled by peaceful means, it also keeps the right for economic restrictions and military action. In the issues of Korea (1950), Suez Canal (1956) and Gulf crisis (1990–91) this right has been used. In this way International Court also has an important contribution in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The General Secretary of the United Nations Organization also can confer his services through mediation etc for the settlement of international disputes.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions

5. Arbitration means that resolution of differences between states should be done by …… decision.

   (a) Legal (b) Social (c) Third Party (d) Religious

Notes

6. The resolution of 1968 Kutch Conflict between India and …… was done by Arbitration.

   (a) Bangladesh (b) Sri Lanka (c) Pakistan (d) Kashmir

7. International Commissions of Enquiry are formed for investigation of ……..

   (a) Meaning (b) Politics (c) Disputes (d) Solutions

8. To end the struggle between two countries …… can be used.

   (a) War (b) Dialogue (c) Religion (d) Culture

6.3 Compulsive Means

When states are unsuccessful in settling their disputes through Amicable Means then they start using Compulsive Means. There are some such methods between Amicable Means and war in which the state achieves its motive by using power or pressure. Weapons are not used in Compulsive Means else war situation will be created. According to Fenwick, "In the beginning of the 20th century many such ways have developed in international behaviour, by which one state can impose substantial pressure over the other state without declaring war."

Notes According to **Oppenheim,** "Compulsive Means of settlement of differences are knows as those, in which there is little part of compulsion. One state uses it against another state with this objective that it accepts the desired resolution of differences proposed by the first state."

Difference between War and Compulsive Means

Difference between War and Compulsive Means are as follows:

(i) Violence is used in war which does not have any dignity, but the harm that is caused to the other party by compulsive means they still have some limit and dignity.

(ii) After using Compulsive Means when the other party gets ready to settle the differences then its use is stopped, but once if war starts then even when one party bends, the other party is not forced to stop the war.

(iii) The disputed states and other states do not consider Compulsive Means as a task of war. Hence normal relations of peace are maintained after their use.

(iv) Winner of war has full rights to impose desired conditions over the won country. It is not possible in the use of Compulsive Means.

According to Oppenheim, in every Compulsive Means like Retortion or Retaliation, Reprisals, Embargo, Pacific Blockade, Intervention, etc., use of power is found in some quantity and apart from its Retortion or Retaliation they are adverse to international law, but in some conditions international law accepts its legality. Oppenheim has differentiated between these solutions and war in the following way: (i) Even when the effects of these solutions are harmful, they are not considered as war actions, and treaty relations like embassy, commercial etc are maintained between related states or other states. (ii) Apart from measures prohibited by international law in war any other violent means can be used, but in means like Retortion or Retaliation, Reprisals etc violence can be used only in limited form. (iii) On declaration of war the winning state can impose any system over the defeated state

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not limited to its basic demands, but other than war other powerful means should be ended upon acceptance of basic demands.

Differences between Pacific and Compulsive Means

Main differences between both are as follows:

(i) Power is not used in settlement of disputes by Pacific means, whereas Compulsive Means are based on limited pressure and power use.

(ii) Diplomatic relations are maintained on the use of Pacific means and its use is done through ambassadors whereas sometimes by the use of Compulsive means the related governments break mutual diplomatic relations.

Main Compulsive Means

Main forms of Compulsive Means are the following:

1. Retortion or Retaliation
2. Reprisals
3. Embargo
4. Pacific Blockade
5. Intervention

1. Retortion: This is an unfriendly process, but it cannot be called as war. This is not a means of causing damage to the other state even after being a Compulsive means. If a state behaves indecently towards the other state then affected state takes some action in the form of its resistance. For example, breaking diplomatic relations, ending diplomatic privileges and other concessions etc. In response to the unjustified behavior of the other state it puts restrictions on the general freedom of the related state. In 1904 when Japanese fishing ships were removed from Russian waters then in its opposition Japan threatened to put import duty on Russian goods. India adopted this method against Portugal and South Africa. When the government of South Africa continued racist policy against Indians then Indian government imposed many restrictions over South African citizens settled in its country and called back Indian High Commissioner. In 1951 when Czechoslovakia unreasonable made some American citizens prisoners then American government decided to dismiss the trade agreements formed with this country.

A fresh example of retortion (September 1981) is India's refusal of appointment of G.V. Griffin as political consultant in American embassy. On this in the form of retortion America refused the appointment of Shri Prabhakar Menon in the form of political consultant in Indian embassy.

2. Reprisals: All those compulsive means come under Reprisals which are done by a state to get relief. Under this those efforts of the affected state made with the feeling of revenge are taken which it considers important for prevention of torture. According to Brierley, Reprisal means "Seizing property or capturing individuals with the feeling of revenge". In the beginning its meaning was to seize the other state's property or people, but nowadays its meaning is with those compulsive attempts acquired by one state against the other state to solve such disputes which are based on the other state's unlawful conduct.

The method of Reprisal has been going on from ancient times. There was a tradition in Athens that if any foreigner causes damage to any local resident then his or his associate's property could be seized. In medieval times states used to give Letter of Marque to that citizen who has been deprived of justice in some other state. A right was given by this letter that he himself takes revenge by using power and

force against the damage caused by the other state's subject. According to Stork, "Reprisals are those solutions which one state adopts against another state as a retributive action." There can be many forms of this action, like boycott of any state's goods, military demonstration, bombardment, ship barrier etc. Reprisal can be accepted as justified when that state is guilty of international crime against whom it is being done. Nature of reprisal and amount will be decided according to the affected state's damage.

There are many forms of Reprisals, like prohibitive, abstractive, special and general reprisal. Meaning of prohibitive reprisals is not doing of such tasks which are considered necessary in general form, like adherence to treaties, payments of loans etc. Abstractive reprisals are those which are considered international crimes in general condition. Special reprisals are those in which special individuals damaged by any action of the other state are given the right to take revenge. General reprisal means to grant the right to seize ships and property of the country causing damage to one's complete armies and subjects in general form.

Some examples of Reprisals are as follows: In 1939, when Germany started the illegal activity of drowning commercial ships by laying magnetic tunnels then Britain started seizing goods exported from Germany loaded on ships of neutral countries. In 1937, to take revenge of the bombardment done by a plane of the army of Republic of Spain on a German battleship, German cruisers did bombardment on Spanish ports of Almeria. In 1861, British cruiser destroyed on the coast of Brazil was plundered by the inhabitants there. When Brazil government refused for its compensation, its five ships were captured by British fleet. Helplessly, Brazil government had to compensate for the damages.

According to the United Nations Charter, the use of Reprisal is illegal. But Stork has accepted Reprisal as legal in some situations. At the time of Korea War on 18th May, 1951 the proposal passed by the General Assembly is one of its examples.

3. Embargo: The literal meaning of the word Embargo is to impede ships in ports. One country can stop the commercial ships of another country to enter or exit from its ports. By adopting this policy one state forces the state causing damage to compensate. For example, Silicon government broke a commercial treaty done with England. In return for this in 1840 Britain stopped Silicon ships in Mediterranean Sea. In this way Embargo stops after compensation. In 1971, during India-Pakistan war India had captured many ships of Japan, America, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Britain, etc. whose target was to go to Pakistan. These ships were allowed to leave India's regional ocean after the end of the war. The use of this method is done because of two reasons. First is to cut the supply line of the enemy and to deprive it of foreign help and second, to pressurize the other states that they should not help the enemy and to force it to form an agreement.

4. Pacific Blockade: In war times the warring states completely form blockades around each other's ports. This task when done during peace times then it is known as pacific blockade.

In Pacific Blockade the affected state is compelled that it respects the wishes of the doer. This means is adopted by strong states against weaker states through their navy. Under this the ships of the country putting pressure surround the ports and coasts of the affected state in such a way that their commercial relations with other countries are broken.

Difference between war blockade and pacific blockade is only this that war blockade applies on ships of all countries whereas pacific blockade counteracts only ships of that state from whom it has to collect compensation. In 1886, this means was adopted while doing blockade against Greece.

Literally, blockade is an activity of war times. Still pacific blockade is different from war times blockade in the following ways—(i) The state putting blockade and the delinquent state are not considered to be belligerent, (ii) The rules of neutrality do not apply on other states, (iii) no restriction is applied to the entry and exit of the ships of other states.

Blockade is a weapon of strong state against weak states. Its many benefits are told. It is said that blockade is not destructive like war. There is such flexibility in it that it can be adjusted as per situations.

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The objectives that can be achieved only by war, they can be achieved by pacific blockade. Bigger states mostly adopt this means to escape from the responsibility, inconvenience and burden of war. For example, when in 1902 Venezuela did not pay the loans of Britain, Germany and Italy, then the navies of these countries tried to compel it to pay the loan by encircling it. In 1831, France did the blockade (involvement) of the Tagus River to compensate for the harms caused to French public in Portugal. In 1833, Great Britain and France did the blockade of the Holland coast with the motive of putting pressure on Holland to free Belgium.

Example

The blockade of Mexico and Argentina coasts by France in 1838, the blockade of Brazil's port Rio de Janeiro by Britain in 1862 and blockade of Formosa by France in 1884, are some mentionable examples of pacific blockades done in retaliation.

A fresh example of pacific blockade is the blockade of Cuba by America in 1962. America did the blockade of Cuba because according to it Cuba was being given some atomic weapons by Soviet Russia. According to Stork, from international viewpoint this blockade was not legal. In November, 1983 President Regan gave agreement to the project of laying tunnels in the coastal oceans of Nicaragua. The blockade of Nicaraguan ports was gross violation of international law.

In the article 42 of United Nations Organization Charter, Security Council has been given the right of adherence to this means to maintain international peace.

5. Intervention: Another compulsive way of solving the mutual disputes of states is intervention. To settle the disputes of two states sometimes a strong state starts intervening in the form of a moderator. This third state forces the parties to agree to their suggestion on the basis of their power. Intervention can be done by using force and also by diplomatic ways. Intervention by the use of force or threat of use of force march towards war in the end, whereas without intervening by the use of force the state can compel its opponent to agree to many conditions. According to Oppenheim, "Its meaning is such an authoritarian intervention between the disputes of two states whose objective is to resolve the dispute according to the will of the intervening state. United States of America has intervened in the matters of South African states many times based on the Munro principle.

The main examples of intervention are—Soviet intervention in Hungary (1962); intervention by England, France and Israel in Greece (1956); Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia (1968); Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (1979); American intervention in Grenada (October, 1983); American intervention in Panama (1989); American intervention in Haiti (1994); all these are matters of intervention by the use of force. In some situations this intervention is through plenipotentiary, like for fulfillment of conditions, the party related to Treaty can intervene against the violating state with force. Doing full armament, machicolation on the borders of the opponent, giving explanatory statements clarifying offensive intentions etc are such activities which indicate intervention using force.

Many times such economic steps are taken with the viewpoint of increasing inflation in one's opponent state by which economic crisis gets developed in the opponent country. Doing propaganda by radio against a state, arousing rebels in that country, giving economic help to rebelling parties, distributing priming literature, corrupting government officials etc are such activities by which states can put pressure on its opponent.

Compulsive Settlement under the Charter

According to Oppenheim, the machinery of compulsive settlement under the Charter seems to constitute distinct advance upon that of the covenant. Prominent compulsive provisions under the Chapter 7 of the United Nations Organization Charter are the following:

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1. According to Article 39 of the Charter, the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression.
2. According to Article 40 and 41 of the Charter, the Security Council can impose economic restrictions against the attacker and can propose to break diplomatic relations.
3. According to Article 42 of the Charter, army can also be used.

In Korean Conflict (1920), Palestine Conflict (1948), Indonesia Conflict (1947), Gulf Crisis (1990-91), the Security Council successfully used the above mentioned compulsive means.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. When states are unsuccessful in settling their disputes through Amicable Means then they use Compulsive Means.
10. Violence is not used in war.
11. Retortion is a friendly process.
12. The literal meaning of the word Embargo is to impede ships in ports.

6.4 Summary

- The way in which disputes arise between people and their peaceful solution is done by mutual dialogue, arbitration or judiciary, in similar way rising of differences and disputes between countries is also possible.
- **Moore wrote in the Mavrommatis Palestine Concessions Case—**"'Negotiation' is a legal, organized and administrative process with reference to international area and international process. By its help governments conduct their relations with one another by using their absolute powers and create settlement and solutions by discussing their differences."
- Generally, there are two main means for solving international disputes:

  1. Amicable Means 2. Compulsive Means
- For the solution of disputes between countries neutralization is presented between countries for solution of disputes by goodwill and good inspiration.
- The main means of amicable means for solving international disputes are as follows:

  1. Negotiation 2. Conciliation 3. Good Offices and Mediation 4. Arbitration 5. International Enquiry Commission 6. Adjudication 7. Through the Machinery of League of Nations and UNO
- When states are unsuccessful in settling their disputes through Amicable Means then they start using Compulsive Means.
- According to **Oppenheim,** "Compulsive Means of settlement of differences are knows as those, in which there is little part of compulsion. One state uses it against another state with this objective that it accepts the desired resolution of differences proposed by the first state."
- Main forms of Compulsive Means are the following:

  1. Retortion or Retaliation 2. Reprisals 3. Embargo 4. Pacific Blockade 5. Intervention

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6.5 Keywords

- **Compulsive Means:** Physical pressure put by one country on another country without declaring war
- **Amicable Means:** Presenting neutralization between countries for solution of disputes by goodwill and good inspiration

6.6 Review Questions

1. What are international disputes? Describe means to obviate international disputes.
2. What are amicable means? Describe its different forms.
3. Analyze negotiation in amicable means.
4. Explain Arbitration and Mediation (Good Offices).
5. Throw light on Judicial Settlement or Adjudication.
6. What do you understand by Compulsive Means? Describe its different types.
7. Comment on:

   (a) Reprisal (b) Pacific Blockade

Answers: Self Assessment

1. War	2. Means	3. Mediation	4. Arbitration
5. (a)	6. (c)	7. (c)	8. (b)
9. True	10. False	11. False	12. True

6.7 Further Readings

Books

Books

1. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
2. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
3. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
4. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
5. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
7. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*

Unit 7 : Elements of International Economic Relations

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know demand of new international economy.
- Explain south-south cooperation.
- Explain north-south dialogue.
- Explain world trade organization.

Introduction

The concept of 'New International Economy' means—newly developing countries have the anxiety that their economic development should not depend on the will of the Capitalists counties and Multinational Corporations should not consider them to be just colonies of producers of raw material. The management of world economic system should be based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, non-interference and whole right of the producer- country on raw material.

Literally, these principles are favourable to the national interests of the developing countries because they have jurisdiction on more than half of raw-material. For appropriate economic establishment, the nations of third world demanded new International Economic System. The developing countries have high hopes from formation of the new International Economic System because there is possibility that realignment of outgoing world economic system will be favorable to their interests.

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7.1 Demand of New International Economy

By the end of decade of 1960, most of the Asian and African countries have got their independence. Even though it was felt that despite political freedom most of the newly independent countries were backward from economic point of view and dependent on industrial nations. Thus, when on one side there emerged a new political system based on remnants of Colonialism and old kind of Imperialism, on the other side ancient economic system was also maintained which was carried on under the system of theory of Bretton Woods influenced by rich Industrial countries. So newly independent nations of the Third World and their consolidated platform of the Non-Alignment Movement have raised the issue of economic agenda of rich and poor countries and the New International Economic System.

In Algiers Non-Alignment Conference, a proposal was placed that "The Secretary General of The United Nations should be told to convene a special session of General Assembly at high political level in which only development problems should be discussed".

Algiers summons was not an unheard event. In fact, sixth special session of United Nations General Assembly was convened on the initiative by the Non-Aligned nations in which on 1st May, 1974, historical motion was passed about 'Declaration of establishment of New International Economic System' and 'Action Plan'.

The main demands of these two documents had been related to the field of economic aid, cost of metals, handing over of technology, and regulation of activities of Multi-national Corporations. The demands which were placed in the field of trade gave main stress on inconsistent quota restrictions and removal of high tariff on export of developing countries. This insistence was there in the demand of economic aid that 0.5% of total national production of the industrial countries, should be given officially as development aid. A demand was also added that economic aid should be given without any kind of restriction and inappropriate conditions. A demand largely linked with economic aid was the demand to re-organize International Monetary Fund, financial institutions and loan institutions. The demand linked with the trade of raw material was through long-term commodities agreements or through financial support, the cost of the commodities should be stabilized. Along with it, this demand was also put that the developing countries particularly small and less developed countries who take loans, each case should be reconsidered on the basis of merits and demerits and to decide how to finish off the loans, liberalize the interest rate and give subsidy. On the subject of technical handing over, the stress was given on this point that a basic code should be prepared in order to encourage research to avail technique in accordance with the needs of developing countries and develop their native technique.

Caution This demand was also made that for discharging technical issues, Multinational Corporations should be brought under the rules of host countries or the countries which are availing technique. They should be asked that they should invest the large portion of their gain in developing countries only.

A happy world can only be built when the mutual economic activities of different nations are based on justice, equality and rationale exploitation -less society. In developing countries there is mass storage of natural resources such as oil, iron-ore, copper and uranium and for big industries of Industrial countries, these resources are promptly and amply needed. So it will not be wise that the Industrial countries should neglect the appropriate demands of developing countries. Continued deterioration of the economic status of the developing countries in the longer term, will also have adverse effect on the industrial countries. So matters related to International Economic Relations should be solved satisfactorily through dialogue between developing and developed countries.

Self Assessment

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Fill in the blanks:

1. A demand largely linked with economic aid was the demand to re-organize International Monetary Fund, …….. institutions and loan institutions.
2. A demand was also added that economic aid should be given to …….. countries without any kind of restriction and inappropriate conditions.
3. A happy ……. can only be built when the mutual economic activities of different nations are based on justice, equality and rationale exploitation -less society.
4. Continued deterioration of the …….. status of the developing countries in the longer term, will also have adverse effect on the industrial countries.

7.2 South-South Cooperation

Nowadays in economic and political region the world has been divided into two parts—north and south. North is symbol of rich countries and south is of poor developing counties. Real inception of south-south cooperation had been set up in the conference of second UNCTAD held in New Delhi in 1960, with an emphasis on the need for mutual cooperation. After this, on the concept of south-south cooperation, discussion took place in Lusaka Conference in 1970. In 1974, when the General Assembly of United Nations initiated, 'New International Economic Order', there was special mention of mutual cooperation of developing nations. After that in Foreign Ministers Lima Conference in 1975 and Non-Alignment Conference of Colombo in 1976 and then in fourth UNCTAD Conference (1976), affirmation was accorded to the concept of such type of cooperation. In the meeting of 'Group-77' in 1979 also, the emphasis was given on the need of growth of mutual trade among developing countries and collective self-reliance. In May 1981, in Karakas a high level meeting on economic cooperation among developing countries took place in which a new dimension was granted to this subject. A demand was put for world wide tariff rules among developing countries so that growth can be possible in trade promotion, production and employment. Karakas Meeting of G-15 nations held in December 1991, highlighted awareness for mutual problems of the leaders of the developing countries.

Notes In Karakas Conference, Indian Prime Minister Shri P.V Narsimha Rao rightly said, "Mutual cooperation among the poor countries should be made effective medium of all round development".

Limitations and Challenges of South-South Cooperation

As the countries of the Third World (southern countries) have unlimited natural treasure, the developed countries have many kinds of monopoly in relation to supply of raw material which Industrial countries (northern countries) require urgently. If southern countries follow the policy of effective control about the supply of the raw material and its distribution, the rich countries will themselves be forced to understand their needs and intentions, due to that their condition to bargain with the developed countries of the north will strengthen. Oil-producing Arabian nations in cotemporary years, clarified before big powers after displaying their solidarity, that everything can be found by efficient organization and solidarity.

Over the years, India and certain countries of the Third World have made incessant increase in food production by implementing scientific method in agriculture field, due to that there is considerable

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reduction in food dependence on Western countries. Similarly, in technology matters, some countries of the Third World including India have made remarkable progress, whereby these nations are in the position of providing technical assistance to their companions of backward nations. Some time ago, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda advised African countries that they should seek help from India in technology matters instead of New-Colonialist powers.

Example

By Indian cooperation, in many countries of Asia-Africa, industries of steel, cement and cloth were installed. This step exposes its congenial and cooperative attitude towards developing countries.

India has constructed an airport of international standard at Libya with its independent technical know-how. In Tripoli, the capital of Libya, India annexed the contract of costing about billions of rupees to erect 'Super Thermal Power Station' when there was stiff competition among Multi-national Corporations to grab that contract. Likewise, in Iran also Indian Oil and Natural Gas Commission has been assigned the work of digging one five thousand deep oil-well.

Nevertheless, there are many hurdles and challenges on the way of South-south cooperation. This is well- known that there exists mutual disagreements and competition among developing countries of South. In the same way, after the Second World War whichever wars or international struggles took place; they were all among developing countries. Among them, India–China war, India- Pakistan war, Vietnam-Kampuchea Conflict, Iran-Iraq war, Ethiopia- Somalia conflict and Occupancy of Kuwait by Iraq are included. About economic issues also, among southern developing countries, there is absence of integrated viewpoint. Many countries of the Third World, particularly oil-exporting countries, there is extra surplus money in large quantity but instead of investing this money in developing countries, they generally deposit this money in Western banks or with developed countries. Due to all these reasons agreement or cooperation (south-south cooperation) among developing countries assumes only superficial or outward form. They find themselves weak in dealing with rich nations of North.

In reference of these challenges, it has become mandatory that the developing countries of the Southern Globe should unite together and stand against growing economic and political sovereignty of rich (especially rich counties of G-8) after the end of Cold War. So, the organizations like South Commission and G-15 have been formed whose objective is to encourage cooperation in developing countries and prone them towards self-reliance.

7.3 North-South Dialogue

In vocabulary of International Politics, when there was prevalence of term of 'North' and 'South' 'Dialogue', it had vivid meaning - 'North' means – Western developed countries whose economic system is based on capitalist ideology, who have made overall progress in technical and industrial sphere, where the rate of savings and capital formation is very high and where there is political and financial stability. The United States of America, Canada, England, France and Germany are considered to be the countries of 'North'. Contrary to it, in 'South' there are mostly those countries which are called 'Developing' countries of Third World. The characteristics of these countries are – Lack of funds, explosion of population, poverty, unemployment, economy based on agriculture, absence of technical know-how and conservatism. 'Dialogue' means mutual discussion.

North-South Dialogue: Background

The countries of 'North' remained colonial powers for a long time. The Industrial Revolution took place first of all there. So in 17th and 18th century these countries established their empire in countries of 'South'. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America remained slave for a long time. During long

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period of this slavery, the developed countries of 'North' imposed their economic system on backward countries. After the Second World War, most of the countries of 'South' became independent from political point of view but they found themselves in the clutches of capitalist countries from economic point of view. There was set up of such world economic system which was not suitable for developing countries. They found that the population of developing countries of 'South' has been 73.6% of total population of the world whereas their share has only been 21.5% of total production of the world; on the contrary the population of developed counties of north is just 26.4% of total population of the world and it gets 78.5% share of total production of the world. The income of per individual of developing countries is 730 Dollar whereas the income per head of developed nations is 10.720 Dollar.

The developing countries of 'South' have started to feel that in name of economic aid, the countries of 'North' do not help them but prepare such an array by which the loan on developing countries keeps on increasing day by day. Due to indifferent attitude of developed countries, the trade conditions of developing countries went on becoming adverse and their relative share went on decreasing. Where in 1950, 20% of total export of the world used to be received from developing countries, in 1975 this proportion came down to 11%. On the contrary, during this period the part of developed countries increased from 61% to 67% of the total export of the world.

Due to unexpected increase in prices of petrol at the end of 1973, the production of big industrial countries was reduced. The demand for imported goods to developing countries also reduced and it resulted in considerable decrease in cost. There was reduction of 70% cost in Coffee and coconut, 66% in the price of sugar, 50% in seeds of coco, 40% in the cost of natural rubber, 40% in price of jute and 16% reduction was there in the price of cotton. On the contrary, there was increase in the cost of imported goods from those countries and the cost of paper, steel, machines, food-items and other essential things. Due to this, the conditions of foreign trade with these countries became adverse.

On one side, there were adverse conditions for trade and on the other side effect of growing debt—both the issues made the balance of payment aversive. In 1973, pending debts payments were about 900 crore dollars which rose to 2800 crore dollars and 3500 crore dollars in 1974 and 1975 respectively.

In the report of World Bank of 1984, it was clearly indicated that the countries of South were greatly burdened with debt. The estimation of debt-burden on Southern States can be had with the fact that it was 69 billion dollar in 1980, it rose to 98 billion dollar in 1982. In monetary fund of developing countries, there was downfall of 16.8% in 1986, whereas in 1985 it was just 5.3%. On the contrary, there was growth of 10.3 % in monetary fund of Industrial countries. Due to decrease in export, trade deficit of developing countries rose more than thrice. According to a report of International Monetary Fund, the export of 62 developing countries has been total 480 million dollars in this duration and import has been of 501 million dollars, so there was trade deficit of about 21 billion dollars whereas this deficit was just 6 billion dollar in 1985. On the other side in the trade of non- communist industrial countries, growth could be seen. It reached up to 30 trillion dollars.

Did You Know? International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions realize much more interest and payment from developing countries each year than what they give as loan.

According to one report of ' World Development Movement', World Bank gave loan of total 3 million dollars to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in 1992, but after interest and payment of debt, these countries in fact could get only 88 crore 50 lakh dollars. Due to this policy of these financial institutions, the objective of giving loan is being lost.

Till 1964 to 1967, discussions were being held under General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) between developed and developing (North - South) countries but no concrete suggestion was accepted

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for any expansion of export trade of developing countries. Some of the developing countries even started saying that they prefer to get concessions from developed countries for growth of export than to procure economic aid. The complaint of these countries has been that there is superiority of rich and developed countries on consultations held under General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) and those countries are not prepared to provide any sort of concession in restrictions on imported goods from developing countries.

Pressure for North-South Dialogue

In the beginning of decade of 1970, developing countries started giving emphasis on this matter that the determination of economic ties should be based on justice and democratic ideals. The General Assembly of The United Nations in its special session of May 1974 passed an agenda of Declaration and Program for 'New International Economic System'. Since then, through the medium of different stages, such as UNCTAD Conference, Non-Aligned Summit Meets and others, the developing countries of South started demanding radical changes in the structure of World Economic System.

The developed countries of North understood the delicacy of the moment and felt that it would be not wise to ignore the appropriate demands of the developing countries. If there had been persisting degradation in economic plight of developing countries, in long period it would lead to bad effect on developed countries also. So for international relations and for similar development of ultimately world peace, it is very important that these proposed issues should be dealt satisfactorily through extensive international discussion between rich and poor countries. United Nations General Assembly, UNCTAD, non-aligned summits, famous Brandt council (in the chairmanship of Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany, in which western European leaders like Olof Palme and Edward Heath participated) and leading economists like Nobel Prize winner John Tinbergen proposed in these years that soon and extensive discussions should be held between rich and poor countries (countries of north-south) or discussions should be done on international level about imposing 'new international economy'. International Monetary Fund also said in its report in 1984 to stop increase of protectionism from industrial countries and remove present business interruptions so that the market of developing countries can develop. Monetary Fund cautioned that foreign trade policy is such an area in which international cooperation is the most endangered. It is the special responsibility of industrial countries that they try to liberalize business area.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Today world is divided into two parts in economic and political areas – north and ……... .

   (a) east (b) south (c) west (d) none of these

6. On the concept of south-south cooperation, discussion took place in Lusaka Conference in …….. .

   (a) 1970 (b) 1972 (c) 1965 (d) 1975

7. In the area of technology along with …… some other countries of the third world has made exceptional progress.

   (a) Pakistan (b) America (c) India (d) Nepal

8. Developing countries find themselves weak in the situation of forming a …….. with the rich countries of the north.

   (a) cooperation (b) deal (c) border (d) friendship

Notes

7.4 World Trade Organization

World Trade Organization is subsequent organization of GATT. It was implemented from 1-1-95 as a result of closing of multilateral trade dialogue of Uruguay round. India had been founder member of both GaTT in 1947 and World Trade Organization in 1995. According to situation of 1-1-2002, the membership of World Trade Organization was 144. In the mandate of World Trade Organization, the trade of goods, trade of services, investment measures related to trade and rights concerning property business are included.

This organization is more comprehensive than 'GATT' and it provides institutional and legal footing for multi-lateral trade system. This organization is in reality sentinel of international trade which keeps an eye on trade systems of all the countries.

The foundation of World Trade Organization has been done on the basis of an international treaty approved by parliaments of member countries. So in contrast of temporary nature of GATT, World Trade Organization is a permanent organization.

World Trade Organization: Historical Background.

'General Agreement on Tariff and Trade' (GATT) developed from the ashes of Havana Charter. During the decade of 1930 and Second World War, trade in the world, had been facing stiff problems. So related nations thought of adopting liberal world trade system after the Second World War. From this point of view, in winter of 1947–48, an international conference on trade and employment was organized in Havana in which 53 countries participated and signed a charter to form an International Trade Organization. American Congress never supported Havana Charter and due to it, no international trade organization came into existence. Along with this, 23 countries which were included in GATT, agreed to continue extensive tariff discussion for trade relaxations, in Geneva. On 30th October 1947, signatures were done on this agreement (GATT) and then other countries also signed it. On 1st January 1948, 'General Agreement on Tariff and Trade' (GATT) had been implemented.

World Trade Organization is successor of 'GATT'. It had been a stage where member countries conjugated time to time and had conversation on the problems of the world and solve them. But World Trade Organization is a well-organized and permanent institution of world trade which has legal status and it is as important as World Bank and International Monetary Fund. On 1st January 1995, it had 71 members, whose number has reached up to 153 at present.

Differences between GATT and World Trade Organization

World Trade Organization is not extension of GATT but it is its successor. It has fully re-established GATT. Even then there are agrankit important differences between the two:

Firstly, there was no legal status of GATT whereas World Trade Organization has got legal status. It originated under International Treaty whose confirmation has been done by governments and their legislatures of the member countries.

Secondly, GATT was only a group of rules and system for selective multi-lateral agreements—they wee diverse agreements on different subjects which were not compulsive for the members. Any member could refuse to join any particular agreement whereas the agreements which had become part of World Trade Organization, they are permanent and compulsory for the members. An action can be taken against the member on violation of it.

Thirdly, under GATT, the controversy settlement system had been procrastinatory and its decisions were not compulsive whereas the controversy settlement system of World Trade Organization is automatic, swift and fully implemented on the members.

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Fourthly, GATT had been such stage where member countries used to meet once in a decade to discuss problems and their settlement only once in a decade whereas World Trade Organization is a well-established, organized World Trade Organization where all decisions are time-bound.

Fifthly, the rules of GATT were implemented only on trade of goods whereas under World Trade Organization, there is not only trade of goods and services but also it involved subjects of intellectual property rights and other many more agreements.

Sixthly, there was just a small office of GATT which only a Director General handled whereas World Trade Organization has huge office and massive bureaucratic system.

World Trade Organization: Functions

Following are the functions of World Trade Organization:

1. It streamlines execution, management and implementation of multi-lateral trade agreements.
2. It manages appropriate framework for the execution, administration and operation of multi-lateral agreements related to civil aviation, official purchase, trade of milk-products and beef.
3. For its members it presents a stage for approved agreements, passed in Executive meetings, discussion related to multi-lateral trade and for implementation of decisions.
4. It helps in settling trade related controversies of the member countries.
5. It inspects National Trade Policies of the member countries.
6. It cooperates with International Institutions associated with International Economic and financial Policy.

Task Elucidate briefly the functions of World Trade Organization

North-South Relations

Since the foundation of World Trade Organization, the agenda of including labour standards in multi-lateral trade system had been subject of controversy among many social, economic and political stages of the world. The world had been divided between two groups–North and South. Developed countries wish to bring labour standards under multi-lateral trade system whereas developing countries have been opposing it vehemently. This polarization became stronger with the lecture in favour of including labour standards in World Trade Organization by American President during Seattle Conference.

Repeating the story of Seattle, Doha Ministerial Conference also had been divided into two groups on noteworthy subjects. Developed countries specially European Organization, America and Japan wanted that Doha Conference should accord approval without any altercation but for new dialogue their agenda was diverse and comprehensive. Apart from transparency in industrial tariffs, trade facilities and government buying, they were eager to include some new issues such as multi-lateral fund investment, competitive policy and environment. On the contrary, many developing countries including India gave the argument that first of all previous decisions should be implemented to instill confidence in poor countries for World Trade Organization.

World Trade Organization: Critical Valuation

The emergence of World Trade Organization has completely changed the possibilities of rise of new world system. The World Economic System has got for the first time a formal well-organized legal

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security system. The bodies like World Bank and International Monetary Fund do not have such legal right to interfere in internal affairs of member countries World Trade Organization got as a result of Uruguay Round Agreement.

Looking at the role of World Trade Organization, the various member countries are gradually bringing about changes in provisions of their constitutional systems. They are trying to change their financial policies in accordance with the provisions of different National trade agreements. That is the reason why changes are being brought about in customs laws, patent laws and seed laws in accordance with Uruguay Round Agreement. Now the governments of various countries will not be free to take this decision as to which groups of citizens, to which part of economic system and to which regions of the country, should be given grant for paving the way of their progress. National government cannot decide to provide economic aid and amount of grant with their own will and need of development; it will have to follow the provisions of 'World Trade Organization'.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. In South are those countries that are known as country of 'developing' third world.
10. Such a framework of world economy has been established which is in favour of developing countries.
11. World Trade Organization is successor of 'GATT'.
12. In reality World Trade Organization is sentinel of international trade.

7.5 Summary

- The principle of 'New International Economy' is favourable to the national interests of the developing countries because they have jurisdiction on more than half of raw-material. For appropriate economic establishment, the nations of third world demanded new International Economic System.
- In Algiers Non-Alignment Conference, a proposal was placed that "The Secretary General of The United Nations should be told to convene a special session of General Assembly at high political level in which only development problems should be discussed".
- A happy world can only be built when the mutual economic activities of different nations are based on justice, equality and rationale exploitation -less society. In developing countries there is mass storage of natural resources such as oil, iron-ore, copper and uranium and for big industries of Industrial countries, these resources are promptly and amply needed. So it will not be wise that the Industrial countries should neglect the appropriate demands of developing countries. Continued deterioration of the economic status of the developing countries in the longer term, will also have adverse effect on the industrial countries.
- Over the years, India and certain countries of the Third World have made incessant increase in food production by implementing scientific method in agriculture field, due to that there is considerable reduction in food dependence on Western countries.
- The countries of 'North' remained colonial powers for a long time. The Industrial Revolution took place first of all there. So in 17th and 18th century these countries established their empire in countries of 'South'. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America remained slave for a long time.
- In the report of World Bank of 1984, it was clearly indicated that the countries of South were greatly burdened with debt. The estimation of debt-burden on Southern States can be had with the fact that it was 69 billion dollar in 1980, it rose to 98 billion dollar in 1982.

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- World Trade Organization is subsequent organization of GATT. It was implemented from 1-1-95 as a result of closing of multilateral trade dialogue of Uruguay round. This organization is more comprehensive than 'GATT' and it provides institutional and legal footing for multi-lateral trade system. This organization is in reality sentinel of international trade which keeps an eye on trade systems of all the countries.

7.6 Keywords

- **North: South Dialogue:** Dialogue between Developed (North) and Developing (South) countries.
- **South: South Dialogue:** Dialogue between developing countries for economic aid.

7.7 Review Questions

1. Throw some light on the Demand of New International Economy.
2. What do you understand by South-South cooperation? Describe its limitations and challenges.
3. What is North-South cooperation? Describe its background and the pressures on it.
4. What is World Trade Organization? Describe its historical background and its tasks.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Financial	2. Developing	3. World	4. Economic
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (b)
9. True	10. False	11. True	12. True

7.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
2. **International Relations—** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
3. **International Relations, 1914–1950—** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
4. **Introduction to International Relations—** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
5. **International Relations—** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations—** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations in 21st century—** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*

Unit 8 : Management of International Relations

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know concept of international eco-management.
- Explain measures of obtaining economic resources of international management.
- Discuss other economic problems of developing countries.
- Elaborate changes in other fields.

Introduction

Meaning of economic system is to find out that of what form is the distribution of economic resources is in any society, and how much appropriate or inappropriate it is? Such a system in which economic resources can be found in strong and enough quantity so that every member is capable of spending in its maintenance, health and medical treatment and other proper items. Many successful hypotheses have been done for a nation's economic and social systems, like Ramrajya or Utopia in which every member of the society achieves proper facilities and opportunities for leading his life. On world level hardly any nation would meet these hypotheses. Serious problems like unemployment, poverty and economic disparities are prevalent in every country. In the present society, state has taken the form of welfare state in which proper economic system is equally important to social and political system. Every country is taking up endeavors to adopt a proper economic system.

8.1 Concept of International Eco-Management

The concept of a proper economic system on international level is comparatively a new concept. It is extremely important too. The way in which a nation is formed by many small and big, rich

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and poor families, in the same way the whole world has been formed by many small and big, rich and poor countries. When the concept of a proper economic system is appropriate then its justification cannot be denied on international level. Today the whole world is divided into many types of political and social systems but these systems do not hold as much importance for a person and family as much the economic systems. In the scarcity of economic resources the person's life becomes hellish. Probably keeping in mind these facts, the world's topmost international organization – United Nations Organization passed a proposal in its General Assembly on 12th December 1974 which was signed by all member countries on 16th December 1975. This proposal was passed for a new international economic system and two important agreements were included in this proposal –

(1) Development of international economic cooperation, (2) Duties of states. Almost all countries of the world supported this proposal of the United Nations Organization. Even though in the context of new international economic system this may be the first proposal but in the context of new economic system in the whole world many meetings and general assemblies had been held before it. Probably these meetings and assemblies were related to any one aspect of international economic system but their importance cannot be denied in the creation of a new economic system.

Some importance decisions were taken in these meetings but mostly these meetings were proven meaningless because either developed and rich countries did not participate in them or they refused to cooperate in this context. On the national level any person can be forced to help poor people but on international level a country cannot be forced to give contributions to a poor country. They can be persuaded to help only voluntarily. There are many organizations of humanitarian people in the rich countries of the world who pressurize their government for this type of cooperation. Important leaders like Lester Pearson and Willy Brandt, who are related to developed societies, said by clarifying the important of international cooperation that giving economic help to developing countries is extremely important not only for the whole society but also the existence of developed countries in the future. As a result in the aegis of United Nations Organization, in 1974 the proposal of a new international economic system was passed. The concept of new international system is multidimensional. So it cannot be linked to any special definition. There are different types of economic problems on international level, namely (1) Currency related – problem of international fluidity and problem of exchange rate, (2) Economic development related – economic resources in development of developing countries, problems of transfer of technique and capital, (3) Business related – Falling export income of developing countries, falling business share, exploitation of developing countries through business etc, (4) Loan related – Increasing indebtedness of developing countries, problems originating from remission of debts, shock to political sovereignty for the procurement of more resources etc. Apart from these there are some main economic problems in front of developed countries too, like slump in industries due to no increase in demand and as a result increasing unemployment and increasing economic disparity. On international level a new economic system can be given proper form only when important projects are formed for all above written dimensions. It is noteworthy that on international level any economic system can be based only on cooperation. So the concept of a new international system will remain merely an imagination until every country of the world is not ready to cooperate in this.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks –

1. The concept of a proper ……. system on international level is comparatively a new concept.
2. Today the whole ……. is divided into many types of political and social systems.

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3. In the aegis of United Nations Organization, in 1974 the ……. of a new international economic system was passed.
4. There are some main economic ……. in front of developed countries too.

8.2 Measures of obtaining Economic Resources of International Management

The most important problem of the world is—economic disparity. World's 10 per cent population that resides in rich countries consumes more than 20 per cent of the world's resources. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China, which is total 44 per cent of the world's population consumes less than 10 per cent of the world's resources. In it if Africa (25 per cent of the world's population) is added then total 65 per cent population receives only 17 per cent share in the resources. It is a serious matter that this disparity is continuously increasing. Most important fact for developing countries is that their economic development should be at fast pace. For this they need different types of economic resources like capital technology, courage, new thoughts, training etc. These countries have more quantity of labour but means of their positive utilization are scarce. These means can be obtained from developed countries. There are three prevalent solutions to obtain them—(a) Foreign trade, (b) Foreign help and loan, (c) Foreign appropriation (through private multinational companies). All these prevalent solutions are not providing expected profits to developing countries in some or the other way. Hence it is important to ponder upon these three solutions and the problems related to them.

International Trade

International trade is the engine of development; such opinion was prevalent amongst traditional economists. According to **Mill**, not only means of developing are obtained from international trade but also new technology, new processes and new thoughts arrive. **Haberler** writes that in last one thousand years not even one important discovery and research happened in developing countries. Hence foreign trade is incapable in providing new technology to these countries. He writes further that market expands by international trade and facilities of specialization and division of labour are created as a result of which productivity, production, consumption and social welfare increase. In this way international trade is a main instrument of economic development but at present many prominent economists—in which main are Raúl Prebisch and Law Mint, have raised important questions about economic development happening by trade. Law Mint says that the principles of foreign trade cannot be applied to developing countries in policy form or behavioural form. **Gunnar Myrdal** says that if trade is assistant in development then why is there so much income-disparity between developed and developing countries? If there is income-disparity, why is it increasing continuously? By giving a famous example Gunnar Myrdal proved that trade is giving rise to income disparity instead of development. He told that developed countries should have means of trade in such a way that flow of labour is from developing countries towards developed countries and flow of capital is from developed countries to developing countries. But in reality this does not happen. Migration laws of developed countries are tough because of which labourers from developing countries are unable to go to developed countries for employment. As far as the question of capital flow goes that is also usually not from developed countries to undeveloped countries. Skillful labourers of developing countries i.e. artisans, doctor, engineer, etc. like to migrate to developed countries. The country's capital that is spent on these people automatically reaches the developed countries in the form of 'Intellectual Migration'. Apart from this through loan payment also capital in big quantity escapes to developed countries. As a result the flow of capital happens from developing countries to developed countries.

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Notes According to Raúl Prebisch, if trade happens between developed and developing countries then the conditions of trade bend towards the developed countries. As a result developed countries become capable in exploiting developing countries.

International trade which can be main means of development and through which developing countries can achieve the essential and proper means of development, is becoming an obstacle in their development path only. Famous economist **Samir Amin** writes that if international trade kept being conducted in its present form then developing countries will never be able to see the face of prosperity and development.

Under the new international economic system international trade should be conducted in such a way that there is proper distribution of business generated profits and developing countries can obtain the means of development in proper quantity. The most serious problem of developing countries in the area of international trade is—their falling export income. In effect main goods of developing countries are agriculture objects, mineral, tropical things and primary objects whose demand in economic terminology is less elastic by export entity (is continuously falling). As a result of this the export income of developing countries is falling. UNCTAD organization established councils to keep this export income stable and to increase it. In spite of this apart from petrol the values of all primary objects have fallen. Discussions happened in UNCTAD to create a fund of 400 million dollar to create a buffer stock of objects but despite ten years passing even until today this fund could not be established. The share of developing countries in international trade especially in export is continuously falling, because of which enough means of development are not available to developing countries through trade.

Loan Help

Second important solution that undeveloped countries have to obtain resources for economic development is foreign help or loan help or loan or grant. Grant is that foreign help that does not have to be returned. Foreign help is the loan that is given at easy conditions (less interest rate or long term maturity). Developed countries often do not give grants to developing countries. As far as the question for foreign help goes, almost all developed countries give little foreign help to developing countries. Apart from this developing countries have also been taking loans from time to time from private individuals, organizations and countries. The necessity of making resources available on easy conditions for economic development was accepted in 1944 during Bretton Woods convention and World Bank was established to make resources available, as needed. Later many cooperative organizations and programmes were started in World Bank to make resources available, as needed, like International Finance Corporation, International Development Association, help and coordination programmes for special countries like Aid India Club etc. To encounter problems of pending payments the organizations like International Monetary Fund also had to start loan and special services. The loan available from these organizations was quite less as compared to the requirements of developing countries, so UNCTAD announced a new type of programmme in its first convention. According to it every developed country will provide resources equal to 1% of its Gross Domestic Product. When this target could not be achieved, in the fifth convention of UNCTAD it was reduced to 0.7% but till today this target has not been achieved. Most developed countries provide foreign help between 0.2% and 0.5% only of their Gross Domestic Product and the quantity of grant in this amount is negligible. In this way the organizations providing resources to developing countries and help received from developed countries is in reality insufficient for their development and many times they have to take recourse in commercial loans.

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The unavailability of foreign help and loans is not the only important problem of new economic system but a more important problem is the developing countries being trapped in the loan net. In the beginning the developing countries take foreign help or loan for establishment of industries there but their export income is so less that they are unable to repay these loans on time, so to repay these loans they take more loans. Slowly, the weight of loans increases and the repayment amount keeps increasing and requirement of more and new loans is created. Foreign help is available on easy conditions, so the problem of repayment is also less but when any government is forced to take commercial loan then the loan repayment weight on it keeps intensely increasing and in the end a time comes when it is unable to take loans from foreign countries also and becomes incapable in fulfilling its repayments. At present this condition has been of many developing countries. Weight of loan and interest repayment is so much on some countries that their complete export income also is incapable in fulfiling their repayments and so they require even more loan for normal imports and interest repayment. This serious problem of indebtedness is a main challenge before the new international economic system.

Caution The tasks being done by UNCTAD in this area are completely insufficient. Postponing dates of repayment of loans or excusing interests for some time cannot be the solution for this problem. New economic system will have to find some new solutions to face this new challenge.

Foreign Appropriation

The third main solution with developing countries to obtain resources is direct investment by developed nations and their companies. Big companies of developed countries often establish their units in developing countries. The establishment of these units is profitable to both parties – investor gets capital profit whereas developing countries get opportunities for new technology along with employment and increasing exports. These big companies working in more than one country are called as multinational corporations. It is often seen in relation to multinational corporations that their activities are often not in the interest of the country. Here our meaning with interest is not only with economic interest, but with political stability and economic profit both. It is correct that foreign investment will not be done for philanthropy. Foreign investors will make every possible effort to increase their profits. But before inviting foreign capital every country should make arrangements for its interests and often countries do so but it is seen that in addition to economic programs, multinational corporations start taking part in political tie-ups and conspiracies also. If political system supports them then they start exploiting that country's resources and if political party does not support them then they have been seen adopting such solutions from dethroning power to many such other such solutions by which the country's peace and security system is breached. All multinational corporations are not the same and all do not try to force control over power center but often they take such steps in an attempt to increase their profits which cannot be considered proper from moral viewpoint. It is extremely important to bind the activities of multinational corporations under the new international economic arrangement. Some such proposals should be passed to end the dangers created by foreign private investment by which foreign private investment cannot create economic, social and political instability in any country.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The most important problem of the world is – economic

   (a) equality (b) disparity (c) neutrality (d) help

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6. According to traditional economists, international trade is the engine of

   (a) society (b) country (c) development (d) profit

7. Law Mint says that the principles of foreign trade cannot be applied to developing countries in policy form or ……. Form

   (a) conduct (b) general (c) behavioural (d) legal

8. ……. is that foreign help which does not have to be returned.

   (a) loan (b) grant (c) debt (d) dues

8.3 Other Economic Problems of Developing Countries

In the context of achieving means of development, some more problems come in front of developing countries, out of which the following are prominent:

Problem of Appropriate Technology

The resources for development that the developing countries receive from foreign countries, there are some special requirements for their appropriate use like skilled trained labourers, energy resources etc. Normally, the technology of developing countries is quite backward. When they order some industrial instrument from foreign countries, they also have to import trained professionals for using that instrument but in spite of all this some parts of the instrument deteriorate because of rubbing or other reasons whose construction is not possible at home and they have to import them from foreign countries. Hence a continuous process of imports starts with the import of industrial instrument. Some countries sell parts on very expensive rates and earn maximum profits. Under the new economic system some arrangements will have to be done in context of these technical transfers so that useful and high-standard technology can be received by developing countries so that they can be developed by appropriately using them. By proper and appropriate technology we mean such technology which can mingle with the country's system, does not give rise to environmental problems, does not increase other imports and does not promote income disparity.

Damage to Political Sovereignty of the Country

There is another very important and serious problem in context of transfer of means—damage to the political sovereignty of any country. International organizations instruct to abide by some proper conditions while providing means such as the assurance of not using the received means in war. But along with this many other types of disputed conditions are also used.

Example When any developing country uses the facilities of Credit and Trans from International Monetary Fund, the fund suggests changes to its economic programmes.

The officials of the fund call it Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). In effect adopting these programmes is important for use of facilities in the future. This means that the International Monetary Fund does not provide more facilities in the future upon not abiding by these suggestions. Hence these suggestions are a type of necessary condition abiding by which is important for the country receiving loan. If these programmes are adopted, it means that any country is not building its economic policies in independent form but as per directions of the fund and even though these conditions are in the interest of the country but they are damage to its political sovereignty. It is a different thing to

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provide policy-related suggestions but getting them implemented is a different matter. International issues are capable of getting their conditions implemented because they have majority vote of some developed countries and policy making related rights are inherent in these countries. International organizations are not based on the policy of one country one vote. In World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the vote of seven rich countries is much more than the votes of 168 poor countries and in this way developed countries have dominance in policy making subject in all areas. According to developing countries, these organizations force them to adopt such policies which are mostly in the interests of developed nations. Under the new economic system it is important to look for proper solution of this problem.

Determination of International Exchange Rates

On international level there is another important economic problem—determination of international exchange rates. After the formation of the Monetary Fund, the system of stable exchange rates was started. This system was in effect from 1945 to 1974. During this time devaluation and competitive devaluations were used so much that no stability could be maintained. After this, exchange rate system was used and fixed quotients were also used for comparison of values but this system was also completely unsuccessful. Japan and other countries maintained their balance of surplus payments by appropriately using this system to continuously keep the value of their currency low (about 10 billion dollars per year). Developing countries faced losses by this system. There is a necessity to immediately change this exchange system. Along with this under the new economic system the problem of international fluidity will have to be rethought over. Immediately, after the Second World War British pound had lost its importance. After ending conversion in gold in present times, American dollar too can be accepted only in partial form as international currency. Now only Special Drawing Rights (SDR) and reserves of internationally authorized gold and valuable metals are acceptable in the form of international fluidity. The rate of increase of gold reserves is extremely low and generally countries do not want to use it. Anyway the availability and development of gold both are not in accordance with the increasing international trade. Soon something needs to be done in this area. Now socialist countries also are linked to international mainstream. Due to this the importance of international fluidity has increased even more. Out of this the most important issue is patent rights, which means rights related to intellectual property. Every country makes some rules for the safety of its intellectual property—(1) Creation of any writer, (2) Discovery of scientist, (3) Products of company, (4) Goods of manufacturers etc.

Did You Know? Every country makes laws related to safety of writing rights, publishing rights, conspectus rights, trade mark and secret formulae.

Apart from this there is an organization on international level WIPO which has been formed for solving disputes related to intellectual property. In recent years, developed countries especially America have expressed their rage over rights related to international intellectual property. According to America, there is extensive amount of investment done on scientific research over there. As a result always new discoveries happen in laboratories. Companies of developing countries patent these new discoveries in new names by minor shuffling. This happens a lot in the area of chemicals and medicines. America has given warning to some countries about protection of its patent rights (Super 301 and Special 301). Developed countries want that there should be extensive shuffling on world level in laws related to intellectual property. For this there was a lot of discussion in the Uruguay Round of GATT organization. In the absence of common consensus the Director of GATT, Arthur Dunkel, was given the right to create a proposal which is known as the Dunkel Proposal and on which still no decision could be taken and because of this new issues have risen apart from the above-mentioned issues in front of the new economic system, in which discussions are going on in the aegis of GATT organizations about issues

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like trade related to intellectual property, trade related to industrial investments and management, trade of services, non-tariff restrictions, unfair trade etc. No universally binding decision could be taken on rights related to intellectual property.

Task Present your thoughts on the issue of technology of developing countries.

Free Trade

Still no decision could be taken related to the free trade of services. Developing countries are opponents of policy of free trade in the area of services and in reality export of services cannot be kept equivalent to export of goods because in export of goods only goods are exported whereas in the export of services the service connector also has to go to that country where they are exporting services. Like the export of banking services can only happen when the bank is opened in that country where banking services are being exported. Such service areas are in their primary state in developing countries and if the policy of free trade gets acceptance in the area of services then surely the service areas of developed countries will completely destroy the service areas of developing countries. So the developing countries will not support free trade in service areas. At present this issue too is under consideration. In the area of industry management and investment the proposal of free trade has been accepted by nearly all the countries but discussion is still going on among them on some special issues. Earlier in this chapter the issue of foreign investment has been discussed in context of multinational corporations. Any type of capital investment can only be accepted until it is not against the interests of the country. It is important to discuss this topic more seriously.

Business Restrictions

Under the new economic system it is important to discuss another important topic and that topic is of business restrictions. In international trade almost all countries impose some or the other kind of restriction like tariff etc. In effect GATT organization was established for the neutralization of these issues. About eight rounds of GATT have been completed but there has not been much reduction in these restrictions. Not only this, developed countries have found new solutions for business restrictions namely swap agreements, Voluntary Export Restraint (VER), Quantitative Restraint System (QRS) etc. Without bringing reduction in these tariff and non-tariff restrictions, increase cannot be brought in international trade and proper distribution of resources on international level will not become possible. In addition, some countries use some improper trade techniques like dumping etc. Often all developed countries provide lot more subsidies in their agricultural areas. Because of this not only are the exports of developing countries interrupted but their farmers too are not able to get proper value of their produce. Under the new economic system proper restrictions should be imposed on these improper business techniques like dumping, subsidy, etc. by which proper and lawful business is possible on international level and developing countries can receive proper value of their produced goods.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. Developed countries often do not give grants to developing countries.
10. The serious problem of indebtedness is not a challenge before the new international economic system.

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11. Big companies of developed countries often establish their units in developing countries.
12. Foreign investors do not make every possible attempt to increase their profits.

8.4 Changes in Other Fields

Under the new international economic system there should be a change in the economic, political and social conditions of developing countries. Without thinking about the areas in which these changes are needed, this concept of new economic system will remain incomplete. In reality under the new economic system developing countries have to try to increase their importance in the following areas.

(a) Independent Identity on International Level: Every country wants to have a say in relation to policy making on international level and this is appropriate. In present times at most places whether it is assembly of United Nations Organization or World Bank or meeting of International Monetary Fund, it is not reasonable that only some special countries are given importance. Every independent country should get approximately equal rights and similar importance especially in the area of economic policy making.

(b) Protection of Autonomy and Sovereignty: Every country, whether it is developed or developing, is autonomous and sovereign. Every country has complete right to protect its interests, policy making and its safety against foreign attack. Under the new economic system some such policies should be created that every country (whether it receives resources from foreign countries or international organizations) can form its policies in independent form.

(c) Fast Economic Development: Developing countries have the problem of more development at fast pace in front of them. Capital resources for development are not available to these countries. Because of very low income, the amount of savings and investment is also quite low in these countries. Under the new international economic system it is important to make available enough means for development at fast pace.

(d) Reduction in Income Disparity: The current environment disparity of income between developed and developing countries is high.

Developing countries are suffering from the problems of excess poverty and low standard of living. There is a saying "Poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere". Developed countries should think that the means that they make available to developing countries is a small step for world peace and is an extremely important condition for their own future. If they can maintain their future's safety and world peace by paying a small amount, they must do so. In this way, we see that under the new economic system developing countries want above-mentioned four objectives - Independent Identity, Protection of Autonomy and Sovereignty, Fast Economic Development and Reduction in Income Disparity.

What should be done in reality to realize the concept of new economic system? Actually, all economists are consentient on this subject except few. That opinion is that by increasing international cooperation and collaboration the concept of new economic system can be realized. The basis of this international cooperation and collaboration is possible only through the means of north-south dialogue. North-south is important from many viewpoints—(1) For development and prosperity of complete human development, (2) To get rid of poverty and famine prevalent in developing countries, (3) To make available proper means for development in developing countries, (4) To stop the spread of unemployment and slump in developed countries etc. In effect countries of north-south are complementary to each other not substitutes. Much important chauvinism of this important fact has risen in the business relations and dialogues of north-south. The study of north-south relations can be done under the following perspectives. The present business process under which developed countries export manufactured goods to developing countries and import primary goods. These business relations will not go on for a long time and automatic change has to come in them. Bretton

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Woods system is capable of pulling this system for a short distance but in the end this system will have to break and its reasons will be increasing unemployment and slump in developed countries as because of reduction in export income of developing countries the import capability will gradually decrease and foreign loan and foreign help also will not be able to stop the import capability of developing countries from reducing. As a result there will be adverse effects on the industries of developed countries and finally the ill-effects of unemployment and slump will start increasing in developed countries.

8.5 Summary

- Meaning of economic system is to find out that of what form is the distribution of economic resources is in any society, and how much appropriate or inappropriate it is? Such a system in which economic resources can be found in strong and enough quantity so that every member is capable of spending in its maintenance, health and medical treatment and other proper items.
- The concept of a proper economic system on international level is comparatively a new concept. It is extremely important too. The way in which a nation is formed by many small and big, rich and poor families, in the same way the whole world has been formed by many small and big, rich and poor countries.
- There are different types of economic problems on international level, namely (1) Currency related, (2) Economic development related, (3) Business related, (4) Loan related.
- The most important problem of the world is—economic disparity. World's 10 per cent population that resides in rich countries consumes more than 20 per cent of the world's resources. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China, which is total 44 per cent of the world's population consumes less than 10 per cent of the world's resources.
- International trade is the engine of development; such opinion was prevalent amongst traditional economists. According to Mill, not only means of developing are obtained from international trade but also new technology, new processes and new thoughts arrive.
- Second important solution that undeveloped countries have to obtain resources for economic development is foreign help or loan help or loan or grant. Grant is that foreign help that does not have to be returned. Foreign help is the loan that is given at easy conditions (less interest rate or long term maturity).
- The third main solution with developing countries to obtain resources is direct investment by developed nations and their companies. Big companies of developed countries often establish their units in developing countries. The establishment of these units is profitable to both parties—investor gets capital profit whereas developing countries get opportunities for new technology along with employment and increasing exports.

8.6 Keywords

- **Grant:** That help which does not have to be returned
- **Tariff:** Tax applied on goods exported or imported via waterway

8.7 Review Questions

1. Describe concept of International Eco-Management.
2. Describe measures of obtaining economic resources of international management.

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3. Describe economic problems of developing countries.
4. Throw light on the changes being done in different areas to realize the concept of new economic system.
5. Comment upon:

   (a) Foreign Loan (b) Determination of international exchange rate

Answers: Self Assessment

1.	1. Economic	2. World	3. Proposal	4. Problems
5.	(b)	6. (c)	7. (c)	8. (b)
9.	True	10. False	11. True	12. False

8.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
2. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
3. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
5. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
6. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*

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Unit 9 : India in New Global Order

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know ideal (Aims) and determinants of foreign policy of India.
- Explain WTO and their Agreements.
- Discuss end of quantitative restrictions on imported by India.
- Elaborate india and WTO.

Introduction

India is an extensive terrain with huge population. So there is great impact of its foreign policy on politics of the world. Before independence there was no foreign policy of India because it was under British Rule, but for foreign matters India has persistent tradition. Its cultural past has been extremely prestigious. Not only with its neighbouring countries but also with far existing countries, there used to be cultural and commercial exchange. Even today on various neighbouring countries its cultural image is vividly seen.

9.1 Ideal (Aims) of Foreign Policy of India

By clearing the outlines of Indian Foreign Policy, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru declared in a press conference in September 1946, "In the sphere of foreign relations, India will follow an independent policy and for maintaining distance from the controversy of blocks and will try to provide right of self–decision

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to all the dependent countries and eliminate strongly the policy of racial discrimination. Besides, it will perpetually engage in efforts for prevalence of international cooperation and good faith." This quotation of Nehru is still a basic pillar of foreign policy of India. The inclusion of basic things of foreign policy of India, has been done in Article 51 of our constitution. According to it the state will encourage international peace and security, will do efforts for maintaining justice and respectful relations among nation-states, will respect international laws and treaties and will encourage mode of solving international conflicts by decision of Panch. Overall, following are the main ideals and objects of foreign policy of India:

1. All possible effort for international peace and security.
2. To provide encouragement with all possible mode for the policy of solving international disputes through mediation.
3. To maintain mutual respectful relations between all states and nations.
4. To keep allegiance towards international laws and adhere treaties for mutual relations among different nations.
5. To keep itself away from military coalition and military alliances
6. To oppose Colonialism fiercely, in whatever form it exists.
7. To discourage Imperialistic attitude of any kind.
8. Actively help those countries which are tortured by Colonialism, Racialism and Imperialism.
9. To develop comprehension and support in international world for India's aspirations, essential national interests and concerns and to create mutual confidence and respectful relations.
10. To develop mutually beneficial and associative outline for transfer of trade, investment and technology with all the countries and to make extensive base for functional cooperation. To simplify commercial and professional contacts to achieve this object.
11. To promote the objective of democracy and individual liberty so that creative feelings of people of all the countries are inspired. It includes strengthening of universal harmony in favour of democracy as mandatory base of peace and progress.
12. To promote bi-lateral relations and to work for strengthening peace, stability and multi- polar condition with P-5 countries and other prominent powers.
13. To do creative work with other countries in multi-lateral institutions and International Organizations in bi-lateral institutions and United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement and others to find answer for complex and higher forms of political, social and economical problems confronting International Society.

Example It includes matters regarding peace and security especially equal security for all. Besides, universal disarmament without any discrimination, establishment of justifiable and logical International Economic System, universalization, environment, public health, terrorism and extremism, information revolution, culture and education in different forms are also included.

The main priority of foreign policy and centre point of India is to strengthen friendship and cooperation with neighbouring countries of South Asia and to work with them for preparing atmosphere of permanent faith and understanding in this region.

From above-mentioned objectives, this thing becomes clear that in the foreign policy of India utmost importance has been given to friendly relations and principles of peace and equality India has decided

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to follow the policy of cooperation and good faith with all. Under this background, the chief creator of Indian foreign policy, Jawaharlal Nehru, made three corner-stone of Indian foreign policy—peace, friendship and equality.

9.2 Determinant of Foreign Policy of India

According to **Dr. V. P. Dutt,** "Historical heritage, territorial status and past experience have been influential elements of formation of Indian Foreign Policy."

Following are those elements which have specific importance in formation of Indian Foreign Policy:

1. Geographical Elements: The geographical situation is of main and decisive importance for the formation of any country's foreign policy. **Napoleon Bonaparte** has also said that, "Foreign policy of a particular country is determined by its Geography." **Dr Iyer** also had the opinion that, "Agreements may have been terminated, treaties can be waved aside one-sidedly but geography holds it tightly." Above-said things are correct in reference to India. In determination of Indian Foreign Policy, there has always been contribution of India's shape, its specific status in Asia and far expanding coastal line and hilly terrain. Two prominent countries of communist group—former Soviet Union and China are extremely near north of India. On one side there is Pakistan and on the other side its boundary is surrounded by the seas. After the realization of independence, the issue of security of its lengthy boundaries had been a matter of anxiety for India. If India had joined communist group, there would have been danger to its coastal line, because there was predominance of Western Powers on Indian Ocean due to its naval might. If India had joined Western group, the Communist nations could have caused permanent hazard on its northern border. Under such geographical situation, from the point of view of foreign policy, it was appropriate for India that to keep its Southern coastal line safe, it should maintain friendly relations with Britain and it should try to nurture favourable relations with Communist countries to keep its situation secure in north.

Notes According to **K. M. Panikar,** "When the object of policies is regional security, their determination is done mainly on geographical element."

In Indian Ocean, the greatest interest of India is that it should be, 'Region of independence and peace'. India does not accept that after withdrawing of Britain from this area, there has emerged a situation of a sort of 'power-vacuum'. India has this concept only that even if there has emerged a vacuum, the coastal states of Indian Ocean have got the capacity of fulfiling that vacuum. So India has been as against American Military Set-up in Diego Garcia as it has been of growing Soviet impact in that region. The concept of India is that after increase of activities of big powers in this area, there may be danger to its borders and trade.

2. Factionalism: When India became independent, the world was divided in two groups. Tiff between America and Soviet Union increased so much that the tiff changed into the form of 'Cold-War'. What would India have done in such politics of cold-war? Either it could have been aloof from these groups or India thought rightly and kept itself aloof from these groups because it wanted to act as bridge between both the groups. The main reason of adopting the policy of neutrality and non-alignment is that there will be no loss to India if it does not join any of the two groups of the world. Its interest lies in decreasing of tension between both the groups, because one World War would helter skelter the economic system of India. Its dream of obtaining golden era of economy may go awry. The stage of non-alignment enables India to do the role of mediator between both the groups and help to reduce International tension.

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3. Impact of Ideologies: In determining Indian Foreign Policy there has been great impact of Gandhian Philosophy based on Peace and Non-violence. On being influenced by this philosophy, under Directive Principles of state policy mentioned in Article 51, world- peace has been discussed. **Hudson** writes, "The pacifism of Gandhi has convinced the country that world- peace can only be established by 'Agreements' and not by forming defensive organizations. It is duty of India to remain aloof from controversial groups and work as mediator for them."

4. Economic Element: Economic progress of India had been possible as long as there is peace in the world. From economic point of view, most of India's trade was with Western countries and Western countries could exploit India. India had been also keen for maximum foreign aid for its progress. From this point of view it was essential for India to have friendly relations with all the countries and it could not confine itself to any group. It had been getting economic as well as technical aid from both the groups due to being aloof from factions, because none of the groups wanted that India should come into domain of any group.

J.Bandhopadhyay has mentioned economic dimensions of Indian Foreign Policy in his book 'The Making of India's Foreign Policy'. There are three indicators of it—Security, Foreign Aid and International Trade.

5. Military Element: India had not been a powerful nation from military point of view. It depended almost fully form various points of view on foreign countries. Weak military situation of India had been forcing it to maintain friendly relations with all important powers of the world. From the beginning itself India continued to be the member of Commonwealth. The secret behind this was that from military point India depended upon Britain.

6. Personality of Mr. Nehru: Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was not only Prime Minister of India but also Foreign Minister. The mark of his personality glimpses on every aspect of foreign policy. He was anti-Imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-Fascism. He had been strong supporter of solving all international controversies with peaceful means. He thought the policy of non-alignment as best for India in conflict of Great powers. He framed the foreign policy of India in accordance with these ideas. Whatever form of Indian foreign policy is there today, it is embodiment of ideas of Mr. Nehru. But Mr. Nehru did not agree to that. Once he said, "To call Indian Foreign Policy as Nehru policy is absolutely captious. This is wrong as I have just rendered the policy in words, I have not invented it. This is product of Indian situation. From personal point I have confidence that if the control of India's foreign affairs had been in the hands of any other individual or party, his policy would not be of much difference from this present policy."

Did You Know? Mr. Nehru emphatically declared in Constituent Assembly, "The cornerstone of foreign policy of any country is in security of its national interest and the objective of Indian foreign policy is only this."

7. National Interest: What is national interest of India? It is not easy to determine this. There are two kinds of national interests of India- Permanent National Interest, as- Integrity and security of the country and temporary National Interest, as- food grains, foreign currency and technical progress and so on. Sometimes there appears contradiction in foreign policy of India; it proves that national interests have the greatest place in foreign policy of India. In reference to national interests, India always supported Arab nations instead of Israel in crisis of Western Asia. In spite of being non-aligned, India made twenty years treaty on 9th August, 1971, with Soviet Union. Indian foreign policy is against intervention in internal affairs of other countries, but considering its own national interest, India did not condemn Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. India did not take part in voting of that proposal of The United Nations in which foreign army was asked for total withdrawal from Afghanistan immediately without any condition. India transported relief supplies to affected people of Jaffna of Sri

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Lanka on 5th June, 1987, through air route, on human grounds. This was the first chance in history after independence that India violated international border of any country. Despite being strong supporter of disarmament, India emphatically refused to sign nuclear Non – Proliferation Treaty (N.P.T.) and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (C.T.B.T.) because India's nuclear option is part of national security.

8. Historical Traditions: In determination of foreign policy of India, there has been big contribution of historical traditions. Since ancient times the policy of India has been peaceful. India has never tried to establish dominance over any other country. This Indian tradition can be seen clearly in present foreign policy.

The character of Hindu Civilization and its characteristics like feelings of peace, harmony and tolerance are very big base of foreign policy. English rule of 190 years has also contributed in determining our foreign policy. Parliamentary system, Liberalism, Use of English language and Administrative Framework are its evidences. Hostile relations with Pakistan and cultural and spiritual relations with South- East Asian nations have been the outcome of historical experiences.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. To make all possible effort for international peace and security are the ideals of India's ……. policy.
2. According to Napoleon Bonaparte, "Foreign policy of particular country is determined by its Geography."
3. In the world India is a country with expansive terrain and ……. .
4. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru was the main …….. of India's foreign policy.

9.3 End of Quantitative Restrictions on Imports by India

In relevance to World Trade Organization, Indian Government decided to end Quantitative Restrictions on Import. The government signed an agreement with America on 29th December, 1999, in the background of a decision by WTO.

It is noticeable that India eliminated many quantitative restrictions from import of various products in accordance with the conditions of World Trade Organizations but because of adverse situation of balance of payment and of granting conservancy to domestic industry; it imposed restrictions on 1,429 products. It was not in favour of eliminating these restrictions. But due to pressure of trade colleague developed nations, India agreed to lift quantitative restrictions from import of all these products up to April, 2003. India also did one bi-lateral agreement as per this issue with European Organization, Japan, Australia and New Zealand but America did not agree to enter into such agreement. It neglected the time- limit of 2003 and took this case to World Trade Organization in 1997. The decision of World Trade Organization went in favour of America. The settlement body of World Trade Organization instructed India on 22nd September, 1999, that India must enter into an agreement in this reference with America otherwise America would be free to levy punitive tariff on all the imports done by India. On account of this decision, India expressed its consent with America to eliminate restrictions on import of remaining 1,429 products up to April 2001. According to the agreement with America, India has ended quantitative restrictions on 714 products from 1st April, 2000 and on remaining 715 products from 1st April, 2001.

In spite of removing quantitative restrictions, the government has done adequate arrangements in new policy of export- import, so that there could not be indiscriminate import of essential goods. The exemption has not been given for free import of some important things – wheat, rice, maize, urea, petrol and fuel of air-planes. The import of these things can only be done by government commercial

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companies such as MTC or MMTC The import of things related with vegetation and animal products would only be done when Agriculture Ministry has accorded permission to that. Besides, the import of new and old cars from abroad, would only be done according to set conditions. The import of foreign wine, processed food items and others will be subject to present health related domestic rules and regulations.

Therefore, under this new policy, free import will be possible for all other things except sensitive goods from safety and health point of view and seeds. Import has opened up in the country for meat, milk and milk products, fruits and vegetables, tea, coffee, spices, wheat, rice and coarse grains, coconut oil, bear or wine, goods made from rubber or plastic, paper, copy and writing material, all kinds of silk, cotton, woolen or synthetic clothes, thread or stitched and knitted garments, new and old cars, jeeps, motor cycles, goods made up of clay and doors and frames made up of iron, steel and synthetic material.

A decision has been taken to form a permanent committee to keep watch on the things which are being imported after the removal of restrictions. The Commerce Secretary of Indian government, Revenue Secretary, small-scale industry Secretary, animal- husbandry Secretary and Director- General of Foreign Trade have been included in this committee. The government has made a list of 300 sensitive things of public utility. This committee will analyze the information regarding import of list of sensitive things and will issue report on monthly basis. This committee will function like war- cell and will keep an eye on every activity putting adverse effect on economic system.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. When India became independent, the world was divided in ……. groups.

   (a) one (b) two (c) four (d) three

6. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was not only Prime Minister of India but also ……. Minister.

   (a) Agriculture (b) Finance (c) Foreign (d) Home

7. According to ……., "The cornerstone of foreign policy of any country is in security of its national interest".

   (a) Mahatma Gandhi(b) P. Nehru (c) Lalbahadur Shastri (d) Indira Gandhi

8. …….. was included for the first time in the eighth round of dialog of GATT.

   (a) Agriculture (b) Commerce (c) Development (d) Trade

9.4 Agreement of WTO

In basic agreement of WTO based on outlays of discussion held in Uruguay of WTO agreement GATT, following agreements have been included:

1. Agreements related to agriculture
2. Trade related intellectual property right
3. Trade related appropriation (or investment) measures
4. General agreement relating to trade-services
5. Agreement of rules and processes related to settlement of conflicts
6. Multi- lateral trade agreements
7. Agreement for technical hurdles in trade
8. Agreement on Dumping
9. Review mechanism for trade policy

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Thus, in 1986, under multi-dimensional trade agreement which began in Uruguay, except trade of things like before, many important subjects such as agriculture, intellectual property right, measures of investments related to trade and measures relating to trade services have been included. In discussion during Uruguay meet, there emerged consent on adopting a package approach on above mentioned subjects among different nations so that benefit can be enjoyed in other zone also of the amenities granted in one zone.

9.5 India and WTO

Justification of India's initial hesitation is now being understood for a proposal of a treaty initiated, in order to regulate world trade activity, during Uruguay round conference from 1986 to 1993. The doubt which India has been expressing from the beginning, its bitter truth is now coming before us. India had doubted this treaty the most on the issue of Intellectual Property Law and Area of Agricultural products. India had a doubt that so-called developed and civilized nations would try to take improper advantage of these laws and would interrupt in the economic and industrial development of developing and plain-simple nations. The doubt of India came out to be correct. Although at that time all developed nations and their allies did propaganda of this thing greatly that World Trade Regulation Treaty has been prepared by keeping in mind harmonious development of the world. Adequate security of interests of developing and underdeveloped would be done. But this claim appears to be hollow in view of certain recent incidents that this treaty is a deep conspiracy designed to cleverly rob under-developed and developing nations.

First of all it was Neem, then Turmeric and now it is Basmati Rice. It is impossible to guess what would be adding to the list? It appears if clone technique reaches its last destination, all creatures even all human beings will come in the realm of Patent Law and certain capitalist of America would claim all human beings to be his hereditary title. American government should be thanked which has put a ban on this technique.

When one American commercial Company filed claims on Neem, whole of the world including India had a setback. Well, the claim of the claimant was dismissed and every body heaved a sigh of relief. It was assumed that it was a careless action of an insane capitalist. But when a company declared Turmeric as an invention of his forefathers and demanded it to be patent in his name, India felt highly disturbed. This was an effort to snatch a thing which has been indivisible part of Indian Culture from kitchen to marriage hall, not only from today but since Vedic age. Anyway, a team was formed quickly, that was entrusted with the responsibility of collecting all reference books associated with Indian Culture that have description of turmeric. When this collection was presented before American Patent Institute, the claim of American Company was cancelled and only then India felt at ease. But after this hurry-scurry, the country could hardly relax then a new claim had been filed by another American Company – 'Basmati has been token of our forefathers, so its legal inheritors are we. It should be made patent in our name'. Now India has been engaged in great struggle to get the claim dismissed. The question arises, where would this consecution end? It seems that there is no end of this tendency born out of hideous commercial mentality and its bloody intentions would not hesitate to catch out any thing of this world.

One more absurdity is also there toward which developing countries like India, drew the attention of the world community before signing the treaty. It was mentioned that all countries of the world are not similar from economic and technical point of view. So there is full possibility of harm to countries which have less-developed technology with this kind of treaty because they are not in a position to enter into free competition with developed countries. In such atmosphere, world community gave this assurance to dispel doubt of developing countries that, 'The objective of this treaty is to improve life status and increase production level. But while doing that proper attention will be paid to the interests of developing and under-developed countries' and only after that all countries like India did signature on that treaty in 1994. But now developed countries have been like a bestowed procession in fulfilling

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their promise. Recently, anti-dumping tax was enforced on exported clothes to Britain by India. India Garment Industry had been affected by this and its export got a jolt. Due to these incidents, a sort of doubt arises that on pretext of World Trade Treaty, the developed countries want to keep trade balance in their favour, but want to hold back developing countries from export by causing various obstructions. This thing can be easily understood if example of India is cited. Textile Industry is such a sphere, in which India has been having high collaboration and in this sphere it can indulge in world-level competition. By creating total obstructions in this field, the developed countries want to restrict India in such a way that India may not take advantage of this and maintain its superiority on world stage.

This kind of various absurdities have forced nations like India to re-consider present system of World Trade Treaty. Recently, in Ministerial Conference of member countries of World Trade Treaty in May 1998, in Geneva, Indian representative Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde demanded to remove absurdities of present Treaty. Mr. Hegde clarified that the present format of the Treaty has not been able to fulfill the main objective of World Trade Organization and due to this underdeveloped and developing countries are becoming victim of discrimination. Mr. Hegde declared that there is clear direction in the Treaty that, 'Developed nations would give special concessions to underdeveloped and developing countries in specific circumstances.' But in practice, it is not being followed. Rather efforts are being made to upset and discourage them after taking advantage of various provisions of the treaty.

In recent conference of Geneva, the Director General of the Organization, Renato Ruggiero supported the view point of speakers like Mr. Hegde and agreed that in order to sustain this Treaty, the absurdities pointed out in reference of it, must be removed. The organization would have to prepare such framework, through which appropriate explanation can be given to all questions and doubts raised at world level. It would be better that developed counties would agree to suggestions of Mr. Ruggiero. It is not essential to mention that in the mind of each nation associated with this Treaty, a plan is there to progress with its help. If only developed countries would avail the benefit of this, the developing and under-developed society would not wait for a long time sitting as dumb spectator. If these Treaty and Organization will merely be helpful for developed countries, the remaining countries would be forced to re-consider their decision of associating with these.

Task Briefly, highlight the dispute settlement system in agreements of World Trade Organization.

9.6 Summary

- India is an extensive terrain with huge population. So there is great impact of its foreign policy on politics of the world.
- By clearing the outlines of Indian Foreign Policy, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru declared in a press conference in September 1946, "In the sphere of foreign relations, India will follow an independent policy and for maintaining distance from the controversy of blocks and will try to provide right of self–decision to all the dependent countries and eliminate strongly the policy of racial discrimination. Besides, it will perpetually engage in efforts for prevalence of international cooperation and good faith." This quotation of Nehru is still a basic pillar of foreign policy of India.
- According to **Dr. V. P. Dutt,** "Historical heritage, territorial status and past experience have been influential elements of formation of Indian Foreign Policy."
- **Dr Iyer** also had the opinion that, "Agreements may have been terminated, treaties can be waved aside one-sidedly but geography holds it tightly."

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- In relevance to World Trade Organization, Indian Government decided to end Quantitative Restrictions on Import. The government signed an agreement with America on 29th December, 1999, in the background of a decision by WTO.
- Thus, in 1986, under multi-dimensional trade agreement which began in Uruguay, except trade of things like before, many important subjects as- agriculture, intellectual property right, measures of investments related to trade and measures relating to trade services have been included.
- Justification of India's initial hesitation is now being understood for a proposal of a treaty initiated, in order to regulate world trade activity, during Uruguay round conference from 1986 to 1993. The doubt which India has been expressing from the beginning, its bitter truth is now coming before us.
- This treaty is a deep conspiracy designed to cleverly rob under-developed and developing nations.

9.7 Keywords

- **Commitment:** The expression of being tied by one's statement
- **TRIMs:** Solutions for investments related to business
- **Dumping:** To cause harm, destroy

9.8 Review Questions

1. Describe the ideals and objectives of India's foreign policy.
2. Analyze the determinants of India's foreign policy.
3. Describe end of quantitative restrictions on imports by India.
4. Highlight system of India and World Trade Organization Agreement.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Foreign	2. Geography	3. Population	4. Creator
5. (b)	6. (c)	7. (b)	8. (a)

9.9 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
5. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
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Unit 10 : Right of Self-Preservation

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know nature of the rights of self-preservation.
- Explain limitations of the rights of self-preservation.
- Discuss impartial decision of legality in the rights of self-preservation.

Introduction

The way in which a person has the right for self-defense, in similar way states also have this right under international law. The right of self-defense is an implicit right of states. It can be said as the basic right of states. According to **Oppenheim,** "From the beginning it is a rule of international law accepted in stable form that one state has the right to violate other state's rights in utilization of right of self-preservation. Although as a rule it is the moral duty of all states that they respect each other's personality and do not violate each other, but in exceptional form of self-preservation the violation of one state by the other state is not prohibited under international law".

Notes Grotius also wrote that "Necessity produces certain rights and this cannot be considered only as an excuse".

10.1 Nature of the Rights of Self-Preservation

Oppenheim has written in relation to the nature of this right that: (1) Every state has the right of its self-defense. (2) This right is considered excusable only when its necessity is generated. (3) The state

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against which this right is used can react against it. (4) The acts done in self-preservation are not prohibited under international law, but they are a violation of law. Their retribution can be done and compensation can be demanded for the damages produced by it. (5) The requirement of self-defense must be immediate, should produce anxiety and no other means must be left parallel to it and there must be no time left to think.

Right to Self-Preservation: Two Approaches

Two approaches are prevalent in relation to the right to self-preservation:

(i) **Natural Rights:** This approach is based on the belief that nature provides the right of its preservation and defense to a person and a state.

(ii) **Behavioural Approach:** The right of self-defense is an experience-dependent right. If a state causes harm to another state, the other state can take action in self-defense on getting damaged.

National secretary Frank and Kellogg said in context of deciding the coalition of **Kellogg-Briand** pact in 1928 that the right of self-defense is implicit in every sovereign state and is undoubtedly prevalent in every treaty. Every state is free to protect its region from attack or invasion without paying attention to the agreements of the treaties all the time and it alone is capable of deciding whether taking recourse in war for self-defense in the situation is justified or not.

According to **Senator Root,** the biggest example of this violent influence is the military collection in heavy numbers by one power on the immediate border of another power. Although this military activity can be within its own border, but still terrorized state has the right to start war for its defense.

10.2 Limitations of the Rights of Self-Preservation

One state can use power in self-preservation but there are some limitations to the power use in self-preservation. In this relation the following case is mentionable:

The Caroline Case: In 1837, the Fenian rebels used to attack on Canada by building a base on an island near American coast of Niagara River and used to spread revolt by entering British area. They used the Caroline ship for dispatch of war munitions. As a result British soldiers were sent to acquire that ship. One night it was caught when it was in readiness to attack and British official was posted to bring it into British territory. But when that ship posed as an obstruction it was drifted in the flow of Niagara River, due to which it was destroyed.

American government protested against this activity and demanded compensation. Britain justified the use of power and said that this activity was done in self-preservation. Britain also complained that American government allowed hostile expeditions to function in its region and did not try to stop them, rather cherished this revolution started by American citizens against the security of Canada. American government declined to accept this argument and said that Britain's action was not inspired by self-preservation and that attack was done against a liner ship and as it was in American region, it was an attack on American region.

America's secretary, Webster, later said in his letter sent to British government that the activity of self-preservation can be accepted as legitimate where this necessity is fulfiled that it was important to immediately use power because of profuse danger to security created by opponent action and there was no time to talk about undertaking an activity or to adopt other solutions. Along with this it is also important to display that more than necessary power has not been used.

Britain said by accepting the necessity, facts and limitations of the principle of self-preservation that it did not have the opportunity to choose any other action or means because American government had

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expressed its incapability earlier. Attack was about to happen hence there was no time for discussion and no such activity was done which was more than required because British army's action was limited to leaving it in the flow so that the attacker is deprived of its means of reaching. In the end American government had accepted these clarifications and the case was solved in a friendly manner by Britain's apology.

In this matter the following limitations have been decided for the right to self-preservation:

1. The action of self-preservation can only be considered legitimate where excessive danger to security is created by the opponent's activity and immediate armed activity is required.
2. There is no time to talk about undertaking an activity or to adopt other solutions.
3. More than necessary power is not used.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. The right of self-defense is an …….. right of states.
2. Two approaches are prevalent in relation to the right to self-preservation – Natural and …….. .
3. One state can use ……. in self-preservation but there are some limitations.
4. Necessity gives rise to a decided ……. .

Did You Know? The objective of self-preservation is to protect oneself, not to attack others.

10.3 The Rights of Self-Preservation: How to decide Legality?

According to **Oppenheim** it is decided by the state that "The necessity of action has been created for self-preservation". But the legality of the action done in self-preservation is more argumentative to be decided by any judicial official or any political organization like the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. Without it the 'Concept of Self-Preservation' will not gain legal status or without it the use of self-preservation will be done to hide the violations of law. Not giving acceptance for impartial decision of this question or not accepting impartial decision should be considered as obvious proof of violation of international law under cover of self-preservation.

Baseless Arguments for Self-Preservation

1. First World War: During the First World War in 1914, Germany destroyed neutrality of Belgium and Luxembourg under excuse of principle of self-preservation. Germany violated the permanent neutrality of Belgium and Luxembourg on this basis that it is being threatened for attack by Russia and France and on the basis of self-preservation it has the right that its armies forcefully enter Belgium and Luxembourg to attack on France for self-preservation.

Example The argument of self-preservation presented by Germany was declined by world consensus because it was Germany who had declared war against Russia and France.

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2. Conflict of Manchuria: In 1931 and 1932, in the conflict of Manchuria between China and Japan, Japan took refuge in the excuse of self-preservation before starting activity against China, but the Assembly of United Nations Organization decided by agreeing with the conclusions of the council of investigation that the Japanese activity cannot be accepted as justified solution for self-preservation.

3. Russia's attack on Finland: Russia's attack on Finland in 1939 was a solution for self-preservation from Russia because of a non-aggression agreement recently signed by both countries in anticipation of attack first by Germany. When Germany also attacked Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg in 1940 it declared it as an act of right to self-preservation.

4. American Neutrality: Before really participating in the Second World War America was transferring desolators to Great Britain and was giving assistance to friend countries through Lend-Lease Act 1941. For these tasks of assistance to friend countries by which principles of actual neutrality were violated, America justified its activities on the basis of self-preservation because it thought that America's national purpose was being threatened by Germany with the apparent motive of world lordship.

5. Matter of Korea: In 1950, in the matter of Korea too the interference of China's communist government was tried to be justified based on the principle of self-preservation. Then British work Secretary Richard Stokes even said that he cannot understand that when foreign armies, they may be of any kind, have reached the borders of Russia, Manchuria, then how it can be hoped that Chinese people kept quiet.

In 1956, the basis of Israel's attack on Egypt was said to be self-preservation. In April 1970 armies of America and South Vietnam declared the bombardment of Cambodia as a joint activity of 'self-preservation'.

Pact of Paris and the Right of Self-Preservation: Under the Paris Pact of 1928 states had abandoned war in the form of instrument of national policy but this meaning of war's abandonment was not assessed that in self-preservation too states were deprived of taking armed actions. Many countries had clarified while giving acceptance to Paris Pact that they "are independent all the time to protect their region from attack or invasion without thinking about the provisions of any treaty and they have full right to decide that in what situations war has become necessary for self-preservation".

The U.N. Charter and the right of Self-Preservation: In Article 51 of United Nations Charter it was said by giving recognition to right to self-preservation of states that "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations… Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council…"

There is much discord between experts about the description of Article 51. It is disputable that under the Charter what is the states' limit of the right to self-preservation? If like has been accepted in Article 51, the right to self-preservation is an 'implicit' right of the states then should this provision of the Charter be considered mere 'declarative', not law-making? Can this right be used only on actual 'attack', not on the probability of attack? According to **Calson's** view, Article 51 is not merely declarative. It decides the form of self-preservation. On the contrary according to Brierley, the right to self-preservation is implicit, natural right of states which international law has been continuously giving recognition. It cannot be considered as an endowment of Article 51. Article 51 is merely declarative.

The reason for this discord is that the right of traditional self-preservation is more liberal and extensive in comparison to Article 51.

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Caution Not only in the situation of real attack but also in the probability of attack action of self-preservation can be undertaken, but under Article 51 only on 'armed attack' any state can take action for self-preservation.

Article 51 has imposed two more restrictions on the right to self-preservation: (1) Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defense should be immediately reported to the Security Council, (2) Upon required action by Security Council, the actions of self-preservation must be immediately stopped.

According to Prof. Julius Stone, Article 51 should be used

a. When there is armed attack

b. This right is until there is no action taken by the Security Council

c. These should be reported to the Security Council

d. Security Council has the right to examine it again

e. Security Council's responsibility for international peace and safety should not be influenced by this right

f. Non-members do not have this right

Task Highlight Paris Pact and the Right to Self-Preservation.

Right to Collective Self-defense: The right to collective self-defense has also been accepted in the Article 51 of the Charter. The consideration on collective self-defense has been brought in force by the establishment of different treaties after the Second World War. Namely - Inter American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947), Bogota Warrant of American Federation of State (1948), North Atlantic Treaty (1949) etc.

Article 5 of North Atlantic Treaty has the provision that – "The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

Conclusion: In short, the motive of self-defense is to protect oneself, not to attack. Powerful states have always taken advantage of it. According to **Oppenheim**, the decision whether any action can be termed as an action undertaken under self-preservation has been left to the related states. In context of legality of such actions Security Council or International Court can be reported to.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. In …….. the basis of Israel's attack on Egypt was said to be self-preservation.

   (a) 1955 (b) 1958 (c) 1956 (d) 1952

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6. In the matter of Korea too the interference of ……. communist government was tried to be justified based on the principle of self-preservation.

   (a) Russia's (b) Japan's (c) China's (d) Pakistan

7. The action of self-preservation will be considered as legal only where more danger for …….. is created from the opponent.

   (a) safety (b) import (c) opposition (d) profit

8. The motive of self-defense is to …….. oneself, not to attack.

   (a) treat (b) protect (c) oppose (d) free

10.4 Summary

- The way in which a person has the right for self-defense, in similar way states also have this right under international law. The right of self-defense is an implicit right of states.
- Two approaches are prevalent in relation to the right to self-preservation:

  (i) Natural Rights *(ii)* Behavioral Approach

- According to **Oppenheim** it is decided by the state that "The necessity of action has been created for self-preservation". But the legality of the action done in self-preservation is more argumentative to be decided by any judicial official or any political organization like the Security Council of the United Nations Organization.
- In Article 51 of United Nations Charter it was said by giving recognition to right to self-preservation of states that "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations… Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council…"

10.5 Keywords

- **Self-Preservation:** Defend or protect oneself
- **Sovereign:** That country or state which is completely independent in all functions or that utmost official of power who does not have any other power above him

10.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by self-preservation? Describe its nature.
2. Describe limitations to the rights of self-preservation.
3. Decide impartial legality in the rights of self-preservation.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Implicit	2. Behavioural	3. Power	4. Right
5. (c)	6. (c)	7. (a)	8. (b)

10.7 Further Readings

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Books

1. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
3. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
4. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
5. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

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Unit 11 : Intervention

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know meaning, definition and kinds of intervention.
- Explain grounds of intervention.
- Discuss doctrine and leading cases regarding intervention.

Introduction

This rule gets created from the freedom and equality of states that any state should not interfere in any other state's internal or outside matters. This rule has been accepted in the United Nations Charter and many proposals of the General Assembly. According to the Charter, United Nations Organization itself does not have the right to interfere in the matters coming under the 'domestic jurisdiction' of any state. In the five principles of Buddhism also one principle stresses upon non-intervention of states in each other's matters.

But sometimes it happens that any other state intervenes in the matters of the other state and forces it to do such tasks which are against its will. Lawrence has called this type of interference as 'Intervention'.

11.1 Meaning and Definition of Intervention

When one state interferes between the mutual relations of two states or about one state without approval from both or any of them, it is known as intervention or when one state interferes in the internal affairs

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of any other state without establishing the internal situation of maintaining its agreement or to change it then that is also called as intervention.

Notes According to Oppenheim, "Intervention is a dictatorial interference which one country does to change another country's affairs'.

According to **Jackson,** "Intervention is a dictatorial or mandatory expression which is against the independence of a state". According to **Brierley**, "It is limited to such actions of interference in other state's internal or foreign affairs by which state's independence is disturbed. Only giving opinion by one state to the other state about its own functions cannot be called as intervention in this context. Form of intervention should be imperious or it should be done forcibly or there should be a threat of using force behind it".

It is the right of every Free State that it can form a Constitution by its own will by arranging its internal affairs by its own will and it can start treaty or war by its own choice. Sometimes it happens that one or more states interfere in its internal affairs against its will. According to **Lawrence**, such interference is called as intervention.

Intervention is a hostile action because by doing so there is an attack on the state's freedom. Under law this type of action is fraudulent. The state in whose area intervention is done, if the intervention is not done by its will, then it is considered as an action of war.

Stork says that, "Generally international law refuses to intervene in some other state's internal affairs. Here the meaning of intervention is much stronger than general interference, mediation or political suggestion. As far as prohibition is concerned, there is intervention full of dictatorship. It has influence opposite to the will of the influenced state and mostly always it is so."

It is not necessary that power is used but the threat of power use is prevalent in intervention. There are two facts prevalent in intervention – Order and Instructions. By order it is meant that the state is forced to do or not to do something against its will. Instructions mean that the determination of any policy or action of any state is by that outside order which writers have believed to be deprecatory of the freedom or sovereignty of the state.

In this way by the above-mentioned interpretation following facts become clear about intervention –

(i) Intervention is a hostile activity.

(ii) Intervention is not only advice or mediation.

(iii) One state uses power in the matters of another state by intervention.

11.2 Kinds of Intervention

Stork has told four types of interventions:

1. Diplomatic Intervention: When one state puts political pressure on another state and forcefully fulfills the conditions of a treaty, it is known as diplomatic intervention. Like in 1985 Russia, France and Germany had compelled Japan by diplomatically influencing it that Liaotung peninsula taken by treaty, be returned to China.

2. Internal Intervention: When there is mutual struggle between two states, in such a situation help should be given to one of them. Such type of intervention is known as internal intervention. As when there was mutual war between South Korea and North Korea then China intervened by providing help to North Korea.

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Example During struggle in East and West Pakistan Indian army had done such an intervention in December, 1971 in East Pakistan.

3. External Intervention: When there is war between two states and one gets included in the war against warring country, it is known as external intervention. As in Second World War in war between Great Britain and Germany on 11th June 1940 Italy helped Germany and participated in war from its side.

4. Punitive Intervention: When any state causes damage to any state or breaches a treaty, the action that this state takes to take revenge of that action or to give penalty to it, it is known as punitive action. Sometimes to force a state to obey a treaty its pacific blockade is done and it is known as punitive intervention. Mostly, its use is done by powerful states over weak states.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. When one state puts political pressure on another state and forcefully fulfills the conditions of a treaty, then it is known as …… intervention.
2. The basis of India's intervention in December 1971 in Bangladesh can be known as …… .
3. Tibet was a free state, in 1720 lordship of …… was established over it.
4. On 9th April 1984 Nicaragua filed case against America in …… .

11.3 Grounds of Intervention

Stork has told the following five grounds of intervention according to international law:

1. According to United Nations Organization Charter, many states can collectively intervene in any state's matter. As, in 1950 many states collectively intervened in Korea's matter. In June 1950 upon attack on South Korea by North Korea, Security Council proposed member nations to give such a help to the Korea Republic which is necessary for facing armed attack and reestablishment of international peace. In another proposal it was recommended that these states should turn their soldiers sent to Korea under the united command appointed by the United States of America. This army was known as the army of United Nations. It had the right to hoist the United Nations flag. Similarly, Security Council had used economic weapon against Rhodesia. In 1960 the Security Council authorized the General Secretary to give military help in Congo and General Secretary organized an army and sent it to Congo. This army was sent on request from Congo government. Like Congo United Nations intended to send the army to Cyprus in March 1964 to stop the communal riots.

2. If intervention is done to protect the citizens living in foreign country or their property, such intervention will be accepted as legal.

3. If a state does armed attack on any state, intervention can be done against the attacking state in its counteraction.

4. If a state is under the protection of any other state and someone attacks that protected state, protector state can do intervention for the help of the protected state. For example, under the Article 2 of India-Bhutan treaty (1949), "The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations." Bhutan's foreign minister had indicated that under this arrangement the advice of the Indian government is not compulsive for Bhutan, but probably the treaty legal situation is that the Indian government can interfere in the foreign affairs of Bhutan.

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5. If any state violates international law, other states can force it to abide by the international law by collectively attacking it to force it to adhere to the international law.

Oppenheim has told two other reasons apart from these five reasons:

1. If according to the international law, some restrictions are imposed on any state and it violates the treaty in this way, it can be forced in collective manner to abide by the international law. As in 1914, England had intervened when Belgium's neutrality related treaty was breached.
2. When a definite type of administration is appointed by the treaty, there can be intervention when that administration system is changed.

As stated by **Brierley,** three types of interventions are proper: (1) Self-defense, (2) in the form of punishment and (3) for utilization of rights received by the treaty.

In reality, according to international law following are some such reasons on whose basis intervention has been agreed to be legal:

1. Intervention for Self-defense: Intervention is necessary for self-defense. It has been described in the Article 51 of the United Nations Charter that "Before adherence to solutions of international peace and security by the Security Council" other states have the right to protect from other state's attack.

The event of 1837 of Caroline steamer is a good example of this fact. At this time there was a rebellion in Canada and Caroline named American ship used to help those rebels by carrying soldiers and war goods via Niagara River. American government did not stop Caroline. On this Canadian soldiers destroyed Caroline ship by going to America. At that time American jurist Hide correctly said that "British army did what United States itself would have done". On this subject American foreign secretary Daniel said that, "It will be for that government to show a necessity of self-defense, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, no moment for deliberation. It will be for it to show, also, that the local authorities of Canada did nothing unreasonable or excessive. For example, after destroying Caroline the return of British army to its border was appropriate. If that army would have claimed right on American territory, this intervention would have been inappropriate."

Sometimes prominent states attack the other state's freedom by neglecting principles of freedom on wrong excuse of self-protection.

During the First World War Germany had made the excuse of self-defense while attacking Belgium. Belgium was a neutral state. On this false excuse that it is important to bring this state in its control for self-defense, by disregarding the neutrality related treaty of 1839 Germany acquired it in 1914 by attacking it. Similarly, to establish control over Manchuria in 1931 Japan had attacked China raising question of self-defense. Soviet Union also attacked Finland in 1939 in the name of self-defense. Germany also told the reason of self-defense for the attack on Holland, Luxembourg, Norway and Sweden. Before jumping into the Second World War, the United States of America was helping friend nations with weapons. This task was the violation of the rules of neutrality according to international law but the government of the United States of America had hidden it behind the veil of self-defense.

Sometimes permanent intervention is necessary for self-defense but the action that is taken for self-defense should be limited to the necessity. In 1807 a war was going on between Britain and France. Denmark's navy was very good. Britain came to know that Denmark is going to tie up with France. Hence Britain sent a big naval fleet to Denmark and asked for Denmark's fleet for the duration until the war was going on with France. When Denmark refused Britain forcibly snatched Denmark's naval fleet but returned it when war ended. There are some differences between scholars about Britain's action. Some consider it proper from the point of self-defense but some consider it as inappropriate use of power.

The question of self-defense is very important for some jurists. According to Hall, "People living in well-organized societies have full right of self-defense. This fact applies to free states also. In every

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situation they have the right for their protection. In complete form all duties of states come under self-defense."

But Brierley has not accepted the above-mentioned thought. He says that the question of self-defense should be raised only when there is straight attack on the state. By giving example of William Brown ship, Brierley has said that when this ship collided with iceberg then passengers boarded boats to save their lives. Water was coming into a boat because of a hole in it and there were more passengers on it. There was apprehension of drowning. A person pushed some people into the ocean to lighten the boat. This person got death sentence from the court. In such a situation according to the national law propagated by Hall, accepting the principle of self-defense in international law is illusory. Soviet Union intervened in the matters of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 but according to the international law these matters cannot be proven legal.

Caution In the Caroline issue America's foreign secretary clearly expressed this principle that the debate related to self-defense can only be acceptable in that situation when the danger is immense, real and close and except attack there is no other solution to avert it.

2. Forcibly Applying Treaties: One state becomes commissary of intervening in another state's affairs whereas the other state disregards the treaty signed with the first state. In this way intervention is not considered as interrupting any state's freedom because the state has accepted the restrictions imposed on its freedom by willingly signing on the treaty's conditions.

In the 1831 and 1839 London treaties, European powers willingly gave the guarantee of Belgium's freedom, unity and neutrality. When Germany violated this treaty, Britain declared war against Germany under the rights granted to it by the treaty. In this way in the 1863 London treaty, Russia, France and Britain had given the guarantee of Greece's independence. Hence when there was disturbance in Greece in 1916 then all the above said powers intervened in Greece's affairs and established constitutional government there.

3. Humanness: Writers like Grotius, Wattle and Westlake have considered intervention as appropriate in legal terms when people are deprived of their human rights. According to Lawrence too, this type of intervention is legal. But often nations have been proving their interests in the name of humanness. Christians' murders were happening in Lebanon region of Turkey and they were being terribly oppressed. So in 1860 the prominent European powers got rid of this evil. Russia was also in the intervening countries but in Russia itself Jews were killed every year in hundreds without any crime. In the name of humanity, Russia did not stop domestic injustice but pressurized Turkey.

Similarly, in 1827 Greek rebelled against Turkey. The Turks were powerful and they suppressed the rebellion. On this European nations intervened in the name of humanness and made the defeated Greeks independent in 1832. But Algerian residents fought war for many days for freedom and they were killed in lakhs. They were cruelly oppressed but because there was France's selfishness in it and white Europeans were residing there, hence the question of humanity was not raised over there. This situation was of Kenya, etc. too. Now both these countries have become independent.

The basis of India's intervention in Bangladesh in December 1971 can be called as human. In 1991, United Nations Organization intervened in favour of the Kurdish people in Iraq on this basis. The intervention of the United Nations Organization in Somalia in 1991–94 is also of this form.

These days the issue of protection of human rights has become the topic of important international interest. Hence if the Security Council decides that in any member state if there is danger or risk to international peace and security because of violation of human rights then on this basis the Security Council can intervene in that state's affairs.

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4. Intervention for Power Balance: From the 17th century the principle of power balance has been given great recognition amidst the European powers. Most decisions of Vienna Congress of 1816, Paris Congress of 1856 and Berlin Congress of 1878 were done according to this principle. Big states intervened in the matters of Greece and Turkey in 1886 and 1897 because of this. Intervention was done in Albania in 1913 to make it an independent state. The objective of this principle is to maintain power balance in states so that no state is more powerful in comparison to other states.

5. Intervention for Financial Matters: It is seen that if the financial condition of any state goes bad then the countries giving it economic help intervene in its internal affairs. In the last century Egypt was entangled in the chains of dependence because of this reason. It was indebted to England and France. Both countries had established their dual control over it for its recovery. France backed out in this matter in 1882 and England had established its dominance on it.

The recovery of dues too has been because of intervention in the other state's rights. Lot of loan from Britain, Germany and Italy had remained due on Venezuela. When the dispute could not be solved by political discussions then on 11th December, 1902, Britain declared blockade. After few days Venezuela proposed to grant the dispute to Arbitrators but Germany and Italy began the blockade by disregarding the proposal. America's dues also were on Venezuela and discussions over it were going on from before the blockade. Venezuela presented the plan that 30% part of the income from Belo port of Lagunita and Pueraria will be spent in payment of the loan. Britain, Germany and Italy claimed that they have done the blockade hence they should get the first place in payment of the amount. The question was presented in front of Hague's International Court and the whole world was surprised and agitated by the court's decision that those doing blockade should get the first place.

6. Intervention in Civil Wars: There can be influence on neighbouring states on internal rebellion in any country. In 1815, Vienna Congress established states contemning democracy and nationality of countries opposing French revolution. Hence the kings of Austria, Russia and Prussia established Holy Alliance to suppress national feeling. Through its intervention could be done in other states when revolution occurs. According to it, in 1821 France had suppressed rebels by sending its armies to pacify the revolution in Austria and Spain and in Naples and Lombardi states. In 1827 Britain, Russia and France had done intervention to make Greece independent. In 1849, Russia gave military help to Austria to suppress the rebellion in Hungary. In 1934–38 governments of Germany and Italy intervened in the civil war in Spain. After the Second World War, when China escaped from the clutches of Japan, a civil war sparked there. Soviet Russia favoured the communists and America supported the nationalists. In the civil war of Vietnam China was helping from one end and America from the other. Pakistan's civil war was impacting India. One crore refugees had come in India's border from Bangladesh. It was difficult for India to bear their weight. Ultimately, India intervened by sending its armies to Bangladesh and presented a solution to the problem.

In this way under the cover of international law, super powers have been doing intervention in the affairs of other states because of the above-mentioned reasons.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. According to Stork there are …….. types of interventions.

   (a) three (b) four (c) two (d) five

6. The intervention done to protect the citizens living in foreign countries or their property is considered …… .

   (a) legal (b) illegal (c) forcible (d) infiltration

7. Intervention is important for …… .

   (a) others (b) war (c) self-defense (d) peace

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8. At the time of the First World War, ……. had given the excuse of self-defense while attacking Belgium.

(a) Japan (b) Germany (c) France (d) Korea

11.4 Doctrine Regarding Intervention

(i) **Monroe Doctrine:** From the terms of their own national security some states declare the other states to not to intervene. In this way American President Monroe declared to not to intervene in his message sent to Congress in 1823. At that time America had the danger from two ends from intervention by European states about the matters of the new world. At that time Alaska was under the control of Russia. It wanted that except America no other country's ships should remain in the water surrounding it. On the other end, the emperors of Russia, Prussia and Austria had formed Holy Alliance to oppress the countries with democratic and nationalist thoughts. There was probability being expressed from the states of the Holy Alliance for intervention in Latin America. President Monroe was against foreign intervention in the American hemisphere. In his message he said that, (i) States of the American continent have gained independent and free situation. Now in the future these states will not become the subject of establishing prospective colonies by any European state. (ii) We have not participated in any topic of European states and nor do we want to participate. (iii) The United States of America has never intervened in the wars of Europe and neither will it do so, but for the interests of its peace and happiness it cannot grant permission to the European states that they do the expansion of their political system in any part of America and try to intervene in the independence of South American republics. If they will try for the expansion of their political system in this geographical region, we will consider this dangerous for our peace and security. These three facts are famous by the President's name as 'Monroe Doctrine'.

According to **Oppenheim,** "Monroe Doctrine is more political and less legal." On the basis of this doctrine America declared its right over the complete American hemisphere. According to **Brierley,** "It is not in accordance with the international law but is also not a part of the international law."

Monroe Doctrine has been the basis of American foreign policy. In 1895, Britain refused to accept the Monroe Doctrine. In 1902, Venezuela's matter was again raised when Britain, Germany and Italy tried to realize their loan by weapon force. In this matter American government did not intervene according to the declaration by Roosevelt.

Even after this Monroe Doctrine remained an important part of the American policy. Today the situation in which America has reached, its big credit is given to the Monroe Doctrine.

(ii) Drago Doctrine: Argentina's foreign minister, Drago, started a doctrine which was known as the Drago doctrine in his name. In 1902, England and Germany did the blockade of Venezuela to realize their citizens' loans. Drago declared in its protest that any state should not use military power to collect its citizens' loans. This type of intervention is inappropriate. If this type of system will be accepted, powerful countries will destroy the weak states. The United States of America also supported the Drago doctrine. In the Hague convention of 1907, Drago Doctrine was accepted.

(iii) Nehru Doctrine: India and Pakistan gained independence on 15th August, 1947 but some other foreign colonies were such which continued to be on India's land even after 1947. Portugal had possession over Goa, Daman and Diu, etc. and it did not want to vacate them. **Shri Jawaharlal Nehru** challenged Lisbon government that India will not endure foreign intervention in its affairs and it will have to vacate Goa. **Shri Nehru** declared in the Indian parliament on 26th July, 1955 that "Keeping Goa in its predominance by the Portuguese is an intervention in the internal affairs of India. I say by taking a step forward this type of intervention by any other power will be an intervention in the political system of India."

Brezhnev Doctrine

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Communist countries, especially Soviet Russia propagated a new doctrine about intervention of other countries in international law by giving topmost place to the protection of communist system by Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, etc. countries. First most Lenin announced in February, 1918 that the interests of socialism are foremost. The countries' right of self-decision can be disregarded for their protection. After half century, the General Secretary of Soviet Russia's communist party, Brezhnev propagated this doctrine on 12th November, 1969 and like Monroe Doctrine the naming of this doctrine was done after the name of the General Secretary and President of Soviet Union.

On the night of 20th-21st August, 1968, the armies of five states of Warsaw Pact were released in Czechoslovakia. To prove the legality of this action Brezhnev said that the sovereignty of socialist states is limited. When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but also a common problem and concern of all socialist countries. In such situation for the protection of socialism, the other countries have the right that they intervene in the affairs of other countries to get rid of this danger.

In short, the basic facts of the Brezhnev Doctrine are as follows:

1. The people of the socialist countries and Communist Parties certainly do have and should have freedom for determining the ways of advance of their respective countries. However, none of their decisions should damage either socialism in their country or the fundamental interests of other socialist countries, and the whole working class movement, which is working for socialism.
2. This means that each Communist Party is responsible not only to its own people, but also to all the socialist countries, to the entire Communist movement.
3. Every Communist Party is free to impose socialist, Marxist, Leninist principles in its country, but not be opposed to it.
4. The weakening of any of the links in the world system of socialism directly affects all the socialist countries, which cannot look indifferently upon this.

Western countries opposed this doctrine on the basis of this argument that by accepting it Soviet Russia gets arbitrary authority to intervene in its bordering small states and their independence and integrity would be endangered. **Richard Lowenthal** has critically written "In claiming for the basis of its regional intervention, its comparison can be done not only with Monroe Doctrine but also with the coalition of Russia's czar with monarchical administrators of Austria and Prussia."

Did You Know? Intervention is a hostile proceeding because the state's independence is attacked by it.

11.5 Leading Cases Regarding Intervention

Soviet Union's Intervention in Hungary: In 1956, Soviet Union did intervention in Hungary. In 1949, People's Republic was established in Hungary. The public became angry from the tyrannies of the government administration and rebelled in 1956 and Civil War started. Rebels demanded that Imre Nagy should be made Prime Minister. He was made the Prime Minister. He did many reforms in the administration for the fulfilment of the public's demands. He allowed free elections to be held. Soviet Union did not bear this and did intervention. On 4th November, 1956 on Sunday thousands of Soviet tanks entered Hungary's capital Budapest and other cities. Rebellion was suppressed cruelly and Imre

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Nagy's ministry was dissolved. Nagy ran and took refuge in Yugoslav embassy. With Soviet help Kadar became Prime Minister and new government was formed.

At that time 1.75 lakh people fled to Austria and other countries because of oppression. American government presented Hungary's matter in the United Nations Organization. Soviet Russia rejected that proposal by using its right to veto. On 9th November, 1956 the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization called a special session to discuss this matter. In that even after opposition from Soviet Russia, this proposal was passed by two-thirds majority that Soviet Russia should remove its army from Hungary. On 19th November, 1956 the foreign minister of Soviet Russia gave the assurance that Soviet armies will be removed when condition improves in Hungary. On 12th December, 1956 General Assembly convicted Soviet Union of breaching Hungary's independence, by passing a proposal.

While justifying the intervention in Hungary, Soviet Union gave the arguments that – (*i*) Soviet armies entered Hungary on invitation by its government. (*ii*) According to the articles of Warsaw Pact Soviet Union sent armies there for Hungary's security and internal organization. (*iii*) Reactionist powers were active in Hungary, hence it was necessary for Soviet Union to destroy them. Hungary and Soviet Union share their borders. If reactionist powers were not oppressed, in such situation a danger would have risen for the security of Soviet Union.

In spite of the above arguments of Soviet Union, their intervention in Hungary was inappropriate because – (*i*) There was no danger to the peace and security of Soviet Union from the Civil War in Hungary. (*ii*) There is a provision in Warsaw Pact that all countries signing on it will respect the sovereignty and independence of one another. (*iii*) The intervention of Soviet Union was adverse to the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

China's Intervention in Tibet: Tibet was a free state. China's suzerainty was established in Tibet from 1720. This suzerainty was left namesake after weakening of Chinese rulers. In 1904, there was a treaty between India's British government and Tibet. According to this treaty, Tibet gave the British government some authorities in Tibet's sovereignty. According to this treaty, Tibet could not give its state to any other power without British permission. In 1906, Tibet was considered under Britain and China. In 1911, China attacked Tibet and Dalai Lama took refuge in India. In 1912, Tibet again announced its independence. In 1926, Indian government established direct relation with Tibet. Now China was left with namesake suzerainty over Tibet. In 1949, Communist rule was established in China and in 1950 China attacked Tibet. Tibet's government raised this question in the United Nations Organization. Malaya and Ireland said by presenting a proposal that slaughter of basic human rights and freedom of the public is happening in Tibet. In this proposal it was said to the assembly to establish peace in Tibet with its complete moral power and to ensure that Tibet's public regains its basic rights. This proposal was passed but Beijing radio called it as 'illegal'.

American Intervention in Cuba: In 1962, America declared by doing blockade of Cuba to stop those ships of Soviet Union that were carrying weapons. America claimed that its blockade was appropriate by giving argument of self-protection, but according to jurists this blockade was not justified. Scholars like Quincy Wright have also not accepted American intervention (blockade) as justifiable.

Indian Intervention in Bangladesh: India cooperated with Mukti Bahini (Bengali Liberation Army) by sending its armies to Bangladesh on 3rd December, 1971 and Bangladesh gained independence. Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan. But from March 1970 freedom movement had become intense over there under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib. Pakistan's army murdered about 30 lakh people by communal manslaughter and oppression. India asked the super powers to pay attention to the issue of Bangladesh. India wanted that any problem should be politically solved. About 1 crore refugees came to India after being distressed by Pakistani army's oppressions. Economic pressure was increasing on India because of the refugees. In such situation when Pakistan started aerial attacks on 3rd December on India, the Indian armies entered Bangladesh and got it independent and handed over the administration to its government.

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India's intervention was legal because—(*i*) By sending one crore refugees to India, Pakistan had interfered in the domestic affairs of India. (*ii*) Acted against humanity by manslaughter of Bengalis. (*iii*) Unrest and disorder on the northeast border was creating danger to India's security so in such situation it was necessary to gain permanence there. (*iv*) Pakistan had attacked India. Hence, it was necessary to collaborate with Mukti Bahini to give appropriate answer.

Oil Diplomacy of the Arabs – Economic Intervention: In 1973, in West Asia, war started between Arab countries and Israel. America and European states were in favor of Israel. Arab states used the weapon of oil against them with the intention of pressurizing them. There were four points of this oil diplomacy—(1) Completely prohibiting oil export to some states (like America, Netherlands), (2) Increasing the oil price five times, (3) Stopping or reducing oil production, (4) Reducing oil export to countries of European Common Market and Japan by 25%. Its result was that the complete world started whining with oil danger. Economies of most states started collapsing.

It is true that oil policy and its export is the internal matter of any country. But can any state use its economic resources to block out the economies of other countries?

The United Nations General Assembly has accepted in its many proposals that every country can use its wealth and natural resources according to its own will, but the principle of co-existence, which can be called as a part of international law, demands that any state should not arbitrarily use its natural wealth because of which the economies of other countries start faltering. In this perspective in January, 1947 America's secretary of defense James Schlesinger gave Arab countries this warning that if they will use the power of oil obstruction to cripple the industrial countries then they should understand that force can be used against them too.

American Intervention in Panama (December, 1989): On 20th December, 1989 American President George Bush ordered the American army situated in Panama that it should arrest the military dictator General Noriega by dethroning him and should establish democracy over there. America had been blaming General Noriega that he has earned 20 crore dollars till now by the trade of intoxicating materials. He is the ringleader of intoxicating materials being smuggled into America and is a wanted criminal under American law.

Many countries called American action as serious and against the United Nations Charter. Soviet Union strongly opposed it and called for an emergency meeting of the Security Council in Nicaragua. In the meeting all countries except Britain and America criticized American proceedings. It was termed as an 'intervention' and clear violation of international law.

American Intervention in Haiti: In December, 1990, elections were held in the Caribbean country Haiti and Bertrand Aristide was elected as the President. But on 1st October, 1991 military rule was established over there under the leadership of General Cedras which was not liked by the United States of America. Military rule adopted the policy of extreme oppression because of which thousands of people started fleeing towards Florida and became refugees. These refugees and the barbarism of military rule gave America the excuse to attack Haiti. In the name of establishing democracy in Haiti, America sent its soldiers over there in September 1994. In this way the objective of American intervention in Haiti is—to dethrone rebellion military rule and reestablishing dethroned President Aristide.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. Intervention is a hostile action.
10. When any state causes damage to any state or breaches a treaty, it is known as punitive intervention.

Notes

11. Every state has the authority to make Constitution for other states.
12. Loan realizations also has been a reason for intervention in other state's authority.

11.6 Summary

- It is the right of every Free State that it can form a Constitution by its own will by arranging its internal affairs by its own will and it can start treaty or war by its own choice. Sometimes it happens that one or more states interfere in its internal affairs against its will. According to Lawrence, such interference is called as intervention.
- The threat of power use is prevalent in intervention. There are two facts prevalent in intervention—Order and Instructions. By order it is meant that the state is forced to do or not to do something against its will. Instructions mean that the determination of any policy or action of any state is by that outside order which writers have believed to be deprecatory of the freedom or sovereignty of the state.
- If a state is under the protection of any other state and someone attacks that protected state then protector state can do intervention for the help of the protected state. For example, under the Article 2 of India-Bhutan treaty (1949), "The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations."
- Sometimes permanent intervention is necessary for self-defense but the action that is taken for self-defense should be limited to the necessity.
- In 1807, war was going on between Britain and France. Denmark's navy was very good. Britain came to know that Denmark is going to tie up with France. Hence, Britain sent a big naval fleet to Denmark and asked for Denmark's fleet for the duration until the war was going on with France. When Denmark refused Britain forcibly snatched Denmark's naval fleet but returned it when war ended. There are some differences between scholars about Britain's action. Some consider it proper from the point of self-defense but some consider it as inappropriate use of power.

11.7 Keywords

- **Intervention:** Without reason breaching the peace and decorum of any state by meddling in that state's functions.
- **Self-Defense:** Right to protect oneself from other states or outside attack.
- **Mediation:** Arbitration between two or more states in the situation of struggle, solving issues.

11.8 Review Questions

1. Describe different types of interventions by giving its meaning and definition.
2. 'Proper or improper reasons exist behind intervention'. In the context of this statement, describe the proper reasons of intervention.
3. Interpret Munro principle related to intervention.
4. How much was the intervention of Soviet Union reasonable in Hungary?
5. What was the principle of Brezhnev related to intervention?
6. Shortly highlight famous matters related to intervention.
7. How is the intervention done for self-defense proper? Explain.

Answers: Self Assessment

Notes

1.	Diplomatic	2. Humanitarian	3. China	4. International Court
5.	(b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (b)
9.	True	10. False	11. False	12. True

11.9 Further Readings

Books

1. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
2. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
3. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
4. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
5. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*

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Unit 12 : Nuclear Proliferation

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know dual policy of nuclear proliferation.
- Explain india's nuclear policy and refusal to sign on CTBT
- Discuss nuclear test in India and CTBT

Introduction

Today the whole world is worried about a worldwide security policy—some are really worried, some are apprehensive and some are contractors of security. The basis of this worry, apprehension and contract is—atomic competence. Science's obscenity has been most seen in atomic weapons in the history of humanity. The struggle between humans has created danger of the whole humanity's existence.

From strategic viewpoint, the modern world is divided into two parts—atomically competent countries and atomically non-competent countries. Apart from this no third polarization can be seen today. Atomically competent countries which are being led by America, are trying to use this capability as that magical coin whose purchasing power is infinite and is beyond the limited of country or time. America and four other atomic powers—France, China, Russia and Britain, are working for 'common consensus' from the last few years for a worldwide discriminative provision, whose objective is to stop the proliferation of atomic capability.

12.1 Nuclear Proliferation: Dual Policy

NPT and CTBT are the names of two such medicines which atomically capable countries want to use in the form of anesthetic for the rest of the world. These countries say that the expansion of atomic

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weapons will create danger for humanity, because their utilization will be done without prudence. It can be spontaneously estimated that the basic point of these countries' worry is quite low. Can the use of atomic weapons by any country be accepted as appropriate in any situation? Any such attempt which creates danger for humanity cannot be accepted as prudent.

Till now the sole atomic bomb was dropped by America on Japan, in which lakhs of innocent citizens were killed. History does not give any proof that America used it with quite prudence. It is a disputable fact from the perspective of history-writing that no binding analysis of those situations and effects was done till today in which the postmortem could be done of America's nuclear bomb use. The attempt to search for the history of the seeds of World War only in Nazi violence and Japanese neo-imperialism is a well-thought move of atomically capable countries.

One thing is for sure that no war can be won by atomic weapons. Then, what is the purpose of such weapons? It is evident that selfishness of some countries is hidden in it. The use of these weapons is being done for strategic bossing around. America or China does not threat developing or undeveloped countries only for being a superpower. Their prosperous atomic capability is the most important reason for this.

Example

Truth is that America has taken capitalism to such heights, in which it considers everything on sale—even though it is the sovereignty of any country.

As far as is the question for competition of atomic weapons, it is not required to elaborate this fact that who has done the work of increasing competition for weapons in any corner of the world.

Today the statement that is being said by CTBT OR NPT, in that the dual mentality of developed and atomically capable countries can be clearly seen. On one end atomic weapons are being told as a danger to humanity, on whose basis they are talking about restricting its proliferation and on the other end atomically capable countries are presenting pleas to maintain their monopoly. If atomic weapons are dangerous then instead of control over it, no evidence should be left of it. But, there is a saying that "It is easy to give advice to others".

India has always been stressing upon complete disarmament. It does not want to create danger to its sovereignty by being a victim of any type of strategic discrimination.

In CTBT atomic countries have stated low hypocritical statement—in it statement has been given for stopping the testing of atomic weapons but not of using of atomic weapons. Reason is clear. America has gone quite ahead from the era of nuclear testing and has put all numbers in the computer—it has developed computer process of the testing. England has received this technology from America. Russia has also gained this capability. France and China too have mustered all numbers for computer process testing.

Today the importance that the atomic issue is being given, its another reason is being told that by creating fear and competition of atomic weapons in the whole world, Russia and America are trying to create a black market of its those scientists and atomic substances, which they do not need now. If there is even little truth in this news, certainly it is a mean-spirited deceit with humanity.

One fact is clear after analysis of different angles of this danger to the whole world's safety that today again India is in the situation of becoming pioneer of welfare path of the world. India's unprejudiced stand of complete disarmament is certainly the sole means to save humanity's fight for existence. India should remain unfaltering on its stand and should turn the world opinion in its favor by making them aware of the immutability of this welfare path. Certainly, the new India is again going to guide the whole world with its message of peace.

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Until now total seven countries have done nuclear testing — America, Soviet Union, Britain, France, China, India and Pakistan. Most atomic weapons are with America and Russia. In this direction the third country which is making progress with rapidity is China. Apart from these seven countries, eight countries are such which have the capability of making nuclear weapons. They are – Canada, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, South Africa, Sweden and Switzerland. There are about a dozen such countries which can make their nuclear bombs in the next five or six years. Today so much more literature has come in the market about nuclear science that by getting means and facility, any meritorious scientist can make a bomb. At this time about sixty thousand atomic weapons are ready in the world. If we study their capacity then it is astonishing that by these weapons the present world can be destroyed not one or two times, but a dozen times! Many scientists believe that whatever radioactivity has been spread from the nuclear experiments that have been done till now, in the end will prove to be fatal for the human race. Such a universal danger has been created in the form of nuclear weapons which has brought the whole human race on the verge of catastrophe.

Notes On one end the nuclear countries continued to propagate Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and on the other end kept on increasing their coat of nuclear weapons. Till May 1998 America has done 1032, Russia 715, France 210, Britain 45, China 45, India 6 and Pakistan 6 nuclear experiments.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Today the whole world is worried about a worldwide ……. policy.
2. India has always been stressing upon complete ……..
3. Until now total …… countries have done nuclear testing.
4. At this time about …….. thousand atomic weapons are ready in the world.

12.2 India's Nuclear Policy

In the direction of nuclear disarmament the 'Non-proliferation Treaty' of 1968 is considered to be an important document, but India refused to sign on this Non-proliferation Treaty. India made two main arguments as its basis for this. First argument was that no arrangement has been done in this treaty that how India's security will be ensured against China's nuclear power and second argument was that the meaning of signing on this treaty was that India could not peacefully utilize nuclear power on the basis of its developed nuclear research. The importance of the second argument unfolded even more clearly on 18th May, 1974 when India did an underground testing for peaceful objectives. This nuclear bomb was exploded so that India can know about the peaceful uses of nuclear power and how India can increase its development projects with the help of nuclear power. By this explosion none of those India's statements were confuted that India has been giving to the international community from time to time about the utilization of nuclear power. First fact is that in Moscow Test Ban Treaty (1963) too there is no ban on underground testing and so India cannot be held guilty for this that it has violated the Moscow Treaty even after signing it. Second fact is that after nuclear testing India completely clarified that it will never use its nuclear power to make nuclear weapons.

Still some selected countries like Pakistan expressed resentment against India's nuclear explosion. But Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, France and many developed countries welcomed India's nuclear explosion with different reasons.

The biggest importance of Indian explosion was that it was a blow to the monopoly of super powers on nuclear power which was going on from many years. Apart from this, another importance of this explosion was that a new category of nuclear countries was created by India's inclusion into the nuclear community. Till now whatever nuclear countries were there, had used their nuclear power to create desolator weapons, but India is not in favour of using nuclear power in weapon making in any situation. It is true that super powers also have been emphasizing on it from time to time. Their nature has been to maintain their monopoly on the complete process of research being done in the area of nuclear energy so that even if developing countries want to use nuclear power for peaceful motives, they have to remain dependent on superpowers.

India's viewpoint has been clear from the beginning about stopping the proliferation of nuclear weapons and complete disarmament and it has been clarified inside the United Nations Organization and outside. In India's view the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty which has been imposed from 5th March, 1970, is discriminatory, based on inequality, one-sided and incomplete. India believes that for the fulfilment of objectives of stopping proliferation of nuclear weapons and for complete disarmament; efforts should be made not on regional level, but on international level. The present framework of Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is discriminatory and nourishes the interests of nuclear powers, but on the other end ignores the valid interests of countries with non-nuclear weapons like India who are living in nuclear danger. According to India, those reasons still remain because of which India has not yet signed on this treaty. In fact, now the political instability prevalent in mid-Asian republics and by confirmation of America that Pakistan has nuclear weapons, India does not have any other option than to be even more attentive about the question of Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

America itself is acquainted with the fact that India is not taking any action in the direction of making nuclear weapons, but cannot completely abandon this alternative in the present situation. It is meaningless to compare India with China. Although China has decided to sign on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, but still India hinges on to its concept that this treaty is based on discrimination against non-nuclear countries compared to nuclear powers. In spite of signing on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty China will remain to be a powerful nuclear country because the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty puts ban on future weapons, and then China's security does not have such danger as India.

Notes Until the nuclear powers do not decide to end their reserves, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty will just be a confirmation of their monopoly.

In October, 1992, during the convention of Commonwealth Nations in Harare, a foreign journalist asked the Indian Prime Minister, Narsimha Rao that if other countries get ready to sign on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty then will India also be ready to sign on it? Prime Minister Rao clearly answered, "India's attitude is clear about the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. It will by no means sign on this treaty by imitating others. If it decides to sign, first it will give a complete thought to the justification of the matter by first keeping its interests and future secure."

India's outlook is still directed by the philosophy that the commitment to end the atomic weapons in a timely manner is necessary. In this context India has demanded that a ban should be put on the testing of atomic weapons, the destructive goods accumulated with the objective of creating nuclear weapons should be stopped as it is and a convention should be organized to ban the use of nuclear weapons or giving the threat of using it. Multilateral talks should be held with the states having

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nuclear weapons whose objective should be to talk about first reducing the nuclear weapons under an international attestation system and then to fully cease them.

India's Boycott of New York Review Convention

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty came into existence in 1970. According to the provisions of the treaty its review was to happen after 25 years. Hence, a four-week long international convention was held in New York from 17th April, 1995 under the aegis of the United Nations Organization. 178 countries participated in the convention. According to the decision of the convention the treaty was imposed for an indefinite time. To trenchantly register its opposition, India boycotted this New York Review Convention. Literally, India has opposed the discriminatory character of this treaty from the beginning.

12.3 India's Refusal to Sign on CTBT

In June 1996, India clearly refused to sign on Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). According to India, the proposed documents of CTBT are discriminatory, full of drawbacks and incomplete in its present form. India's comprehensive national security interests are not fulfiled by it. It is clear from India's attitude that it will keep the atomic alternative open in its national security interests.

India had imagined the universal atomic disarmament in the form of a sequential process of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) by which a path can be commended to completely destroy all nuclear weapons under a timely outline. India also believes that the objective of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was not to merely stop the testing of explosions but to stop the qualitative development of nuclear weapons and their refinement by explosion and other methods. Firm Indian origin proposals were presented on 26th January, 1996 on amendments in the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty based on India's perspective. The intent of Indian proposals is to link the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty with ending nuclear weapons under an agreed timeframe. Because Indian proposals were not paid attention to, India gave a strong explanatory statement of this hope that India cannot accept the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in its present form because a solution has not been considered in it in the direction of universal nuclear disarmament and it is not in the interest of India's security.

Caution India's nuclear alternative is a part of the national security and till the other countries will maintain their unwillingness to end their weapons under a timely programme, India will not accept any pressure on its alternative.

In the convention of 61 countries going on in Geneva about disarmament, the leader of Indian commonwealth **Arundhati Ghosh** clearly said that, "'Not now, not later' will India sign on such CTBT"

In international law and multilateral treaty dialogue, the condition to 'impose' this treaty seems exceptional that it will happen only when 44 countries along with India will give its ratification. India clarified that in spite of India's clear attitude on this matter, by this type of description, India will be compelled to oppose the acceptance of the format of CTBT

In the 50th session of United Nations General Assembly the draft treaty on which consensus could not be formed during Australia Geneva discussion, a draft of a resolution was kept to approve a treaty text similar to that draft. On 10th September, 1996 in the elections held for Australia's resolution, India opposed the resolution along with Libya whereas Cuba, Tanzania, Lebanon, Syria and Mauritius did not participate in the elections. 158 countries voted in favour of this resolution. General debate happened before elections in which many countries presented their thoughts on the issue of nuclear

disarmament. Many non-aligned countries stressed on the necessity to end nuclear weapons within a timed programme. On 11th September, 1996 foreign minister repeated in his automatic statement in the Parliament that India will continue its opposition to the treaty and will not sign on it in its present form.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. In the direction of nuclear disarmament the 'Non-proliferation Treaty' of 1968 is considered to be an …….. document.

   (a) important (b) general (c) low (d) neutral

6. Indian explosion was a ……. to the monopoly of super powers.

   (a) gain (b) loss (c) blow (d) peace

7. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty came into existence in …….. .

   (a) 1968 (b) 1970 (c) 1972 (d) 1975

8. India did a successful underground nuclear testing in …… .

   (a) 1998 (b) 1990 (c) 1992 (d) 2000

12.4 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty—CTBT

There have been two world wars in the world till now. In these two world wars, humans did not come to sense by the First World War, but the Second World War has certainly brought humans living in the world to sense. In modern world if Third World War also happens, then saying this would not be a hyperbole that it will be fought with nuclear weapons and then it is possible that human civilization is completely destroyed. Einstein said that after the Third World War if Fourth World War is also fought then it certainly will be fought with sticks and stones. Einstein's statement is an extremely accurate comment, which is a serious warning to the whole humanity. The world has seen the orgy of a small nuclear weapon on Japan's Hiroshima and Nagasaki. America alone has such a big coat of nuclear weapons by which fifty Earths similar to the Earth can be destroyed. The meaning of present nuclear war is not that war which the world has seen till now. In the last wars one party has won and the other has lost, but if now nuclear war happens then in it nobody will be left and there will be nobody to win it. Not only will humans remain, but also animals and birds, trees and plants, fauna and flora, etc. will not be spared. Hence today certainly every person of this world should remain tensed with this danger of nuclear weapons.

Our country India has been a pioneer of peace and non-violence from the beginning. In such circumstance India welcomes any step taken towards world peace, provided that this peace-making effort is not pseudo. In 1954, India had first most raised its voice on the world platform about nuclear non-proliferation and in 1993 India became co-proposer of CTBT in United Nations General Assembly.

An ad hoc council was formed to outlay the draft of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The Chairman of this ad hoc council was Jaap Ramaker of Netherlands. Jaap Ramaker gave the last form to the provisions of CTBT in June, 1996. These provisions were not in India's interest. As a result, India openly opposed the proposals of CTBT in the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, even after being the co-proposer. India believes that the objective of complete nuclear disarmament is not fulfiled by it, because there is no proposal in CTBT for the destruction of nonpareil nuclear weapons that prosperous nations already have. Second fact is that CTBT puts a ban on only traditional methods of nuclear testing. Nothing has been said about extremely developed methods (computer testing). Some nuclear rich countries will get its direct benefits.

Notes

Today the world is mainly divided into two levels—first developed countries, second developing countries. Developed countries are—America, China, Russia, France and Britain. All of these are nuclear countries. Developing countries have entered the area of nuclear power, but in developing countries, India is the fore runner. Because of this reason, it is especially affected by CTBT The present form of CTBT is to stop developing nations from becoming nuclear, but this proposal is unsuccessful to put a behavioural stop on nuclear countries. Therefore, the result of this treaty will be that nuclear countries will become powerful day by day and developing countries will keep becoming fragile. Difference in the world's power balance will keep on increasing and a special country's monopoly will be maintained. Indirectly, this objective of present CTBT has unveiled.

India wants that a change should be brought in the present form of CTBT This proposal should be added in it by which nuclear countries should eliminate their nuclear weapons within a decided timeframe and do not do any type of nuclear testing in the future. Only then the basic motive of CTBT (complete nuclear disarmament) will be fulfilled. But some developed countries of the world are being exasperated by this improvement. They are pressurizing India from all sides that it accepts CTBT in this form.

Different types of restrictions imposed by developed countries on India after the five successful nuclear tests done by India on 11th May and 13th May are indicators of this fact. One fact in India's favour is that after the five tests done by it, there is no necessity of nuclear tests to be done by traditional methods (on land, water and below land). Now future will tell that how will CTBT affect India later. Until India's interests are ignored in CTBT, it is hoped that India will not sign on that treaty at any cost.

Task Highlight reasons for India's boycott of New York Review Convention.

12.5 Summary

- From strategic viewpoint, the modern world is divided into two parts—atomically competent countries and atomically non-competent countries. Atomically competent countries are being led by America.
- NPT and CTBT are the names of two such medicines which atomically capable countries want to use in the form of anesthetic for the rest of the world.
- In CTBT atomic countries have stated low hypocritical statement—in it statement has been given for stopping the testing of atomic weapons but not of using of atomic weapons.
- In the direction of nuclear disarmament the 'Non-proliferation Treaty' of 1968 is considered to be an important document, but India refused to sign on this Non-proliferation Treaty.
- In June 1996, India clearly refused to sign on Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). According to India, the proposed documents of CTBT is discriminatory, full of drawbacks and incomplete in its present form.
- India wants that a change should be brought in the present form of CTBT This proposal should be added in it by which nuclear countries should eliminate their nuclear weapons within a decided timeframe and do not do any type of nuclear testing in the future. Only then the basic motive of CTBT (complete nuclear disarmament) will be fulfiled.

12.6 Keywords

- **NPT:** Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
- **CTBT:** Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

Notes

12.7 Review Questions

1. Describe the dual policy being adopted by developed countries in nuclear nonproliferation.
2. Analyze India's nuclear policy.
3. Describe India's reasons to refuse signing on CTBT
4. Highlight outline of Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Security	2. Disarmament	3. Seven	4. Sixty
5. (a)	6. (c)	7. (b)	8. (a)

12.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
2. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
4. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
6. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
7. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*

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Unit 13 : International Terrorism

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
13.1 Meaning and Aims of Terrorism
13.2 Summary
13.3 Keywords
13.4 Review Questions
13.5 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know meaning of terrorism.
- Explain aims of terrorism.

Introduction

Munich, 1972 – Heinous Murder of Twelve Athletes of Israel Olympic Group by Terrorists after their Abduction. Lebanon, 1983- Attack of Suicide Squad on American Naval Barrack and Death of 24 People. India, May, 1991- Murder of Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by Woman Suicide Terrorist.

Continuous incidents of murder of Sri Lankan President, Ministers and Leaders of Opposition by Suicidal Squad. …….Bomb Blast on Commercial Centers of New York and Mumbai…… Bomb Blast in American city, Oklahoma….. Chemical Attacks on Train Travelers by extremists in Japan….. Abduction of Foreign Travelers by Terrorists in Cashmere, Aero-plain Hijacking for achieving their object. ….These are some of the examples of destructive and heart-rendering terrorist incidents occurring daily in the world.

13.1 Meaning and Aims of Terrorism

Terrorism is an experiment of intense violence instigated by political objective, by which harm is inflicted on innocent people and their property. The individual who uses violent means to attract attention on some particular issue is called a Terrorist.

Notes The aim of a terrorist is to attract attention of people towards his problem and to achieve this; he resorts to path of murder of innocent people and causes damage to the property

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He considers himself to be the warrior of unauthorized battle, whose aim is political and generally, he tries to link his view with human-right. It is quite obvious, that to a terrorist, the path taken by him seems justified. We should analyze the issues and methods of functioning of the terrorists before giving any reactions.

Nowadays, in one form or other, almost every country of the world has to face the problem of Terrorism. Why is terrorism becoming popular medium of realization of the purpose? Many political, economic and social reasons can be given, because due to them, terrorist organizations have been growing like mushrooms.

Terrorists take help of violence when their political ambitions clash with government. They want that the government should take their issues seriously. Political dissatisfaction and resentment is being changed into terrorism nowadays because the established system of government is itself corrupt. In almost all democratic countries, there is system of providing equal rights to all, by the constitution but often discrimination is being met out to a certain class. Sometimes there are matters of not implying laws properly. Dissatisfaction increases with criminalization of the institutions. To a certain extent, these are the conditions, which give rise to social-economic dissatisfaction. As such, certain terrorist groups in the interest of 'General Public' start violent activities for re-organizing social structure and improvement of social progress after fixing its political objective. After being impressed by the arguments for social and economic development by its group, common man also is involved in terrorism. Almost this form of terrorism exists in India.

Sometimes in certain matter, terrorism may have logical and justifiable basis, but such situation is seldom to be seen. In such cases also, the terrorist turns violent for his issue in unreasonable manner and tries to prove even violence as justified. He may assume violence as appropriate medium for his resistance.

Terrorists are also often referred as 'Urban Guerrillas' 'Revolutionaries' and other names. But terrorist does not try to fully annihilate the enemy zone like Guerrilla War process, because his aim is to bring about a change in existing system and sometimes also to authorize it.

Example He can target any individual or place, not like Guerrilla process which targets only particular individual or object.

Terrorist is different from a murderer on the point that he is involved in violence to realize collective objective. The aim of political murder is to punish a particular individual for his personal crime or for institutional crime, whereas the aim of a murderer is to dispose an officer from his post and install somebody else on that post. The aim of the terrorist is just to harm that person. Thus, although in terrorist activities, there may be murders, but all murders cannot be termed as terrorist activities.

Terrorists often hold the responsibility of any violence on themselves. Their aim is just to do their publicity. Sometimes kidnappings (of an individual or airplane) are counted as terrorist activities by mistake. Its important aspect is that the kidnappers' demand is generally of money. They do not try to associate themselves with any institution or some other groups. Such efforts can be undertaken by any terrorist group also for acquiring money.

Although in definition of Terrorism, there cannot be inclusion of any thing like 'force', even then in nature of terrorist activities, thrust and force can always be there. There is violence in terrorism, but only due to its violent form, terrorism cannot be condemned. Because violence is not always objectionable- sometimes in order to protect one's existence any individual or group may resort to violence. The use of violence to safeguard one's dignity is appropriate. Violence is a form of might, but violence connected with terrorism is to be blamed often because innocent common men become victim of it.

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Did You Know? Terrorism is an experiment of intense violence instigated by political objective, by which harm is being inflicted on innocent people and their property.

Terrorists target common men because firstly they are easily available and secondly, their murder is probably better medium to express their resentment. The opinion behind this is, when common men become victim of this violence, remaining common men will be in panic, whose number is more and their panic condition will put more pressure on the government or vested authority.

Sometimes the terrorists retort in their favour that the people who are being called innocent, in reality they are not innocent or guiltless—they are guilty of giving economical or political support to (by election) the state or government. Sometimes their argument is that these people do not raise their voice in favour of their demands, so they should not be called innocent, rather they are guilty and deserve punishment. But these arguments cannot be taken seriously, because every individual is fully free to keep safe-side—especially to support or not to support any particular individual.

Sometimes the terrorists compare their violence with the battle fought at the border and so hold their activities as justificatory. But this comparison is not correct. The objective of battles is to defend life and property of big population with less violence, whereas in case of terrorist violence there is nothing like this.

As soon as the terrorist adopts the path of violence, the moral basis of his objectives also ends. The terrorists cruelly snatch the right to live from the common public without warning and compassion. How far justifiable is the action of using life of an innocent person as a shield, for the fight for one's rights?

Caution If a terrorist thinks himself to be a fighter of human rights, first of all he must realize the importance of human life. To defend his own human rights, it is not appropriate to slaughter the human rights of others.

There are very few points, on which terrorists can be proved justifiable. When a state itself assumes the form of a terrorist institution, against it, reactionary terrorist attitude is justifiable. But in such situation also the murder of a common man would be considered to be unjustifiable—either it is executed by the terrorist state or by any terrorist organization.

If any organization or institution wants to put forward his views and takes support of cowardly path of measures like violence, it, no longer, is eligible for any kind of moral or sentimental support. Violence can never be medium of any positive expression, may it be even suicide. When dissidents have the options of mutual dialogue, non-violent Civil Disobedience Movement and so on, to directly take the support of terrorist violence cannot be deemed as acceptable.

The terrorists in reckless effort to grab their rights have begun to think it essential, to usurp the rights of others. We may analyze the issues of terrorism in numerous ways, but we can never prove the authenticity of their adopted methods. Even if we ignore its 'moral' aspect, its' practical' view also, is not proved to be correct, because probably terrorist organizations seldom succeed in achieving their goals, except when they indulge in large scale violence and destruction.

Self Assessment

Notes

Fill in the blanks:

1. An individual who uses violent means to attract attention on some particular issue is called a …… .
2. He considers himself to be the warrior of unauthorized …… .
3. Nowadays, in one form or other, almost every country of the world has to face the problem of …… .
4. As soon as the terrorist adopts the path of violence, the …… basis of his objectives also ends.
5. To defend his own human rights, it is not appropriate to slaughter the ……. of others.

13.2 Summary

- Terrorism is an experiment of intense violence instigated by political objective, by which harm is inflicted on innocent people and their property. The individual who uses violent means to attract attention on some particular issue is called a Terrorist.
- Nowadays, in one form or other, almost every country of the world has to face the problem of Terrorism. Political dissatisfaction and resentment is being changed into terrorism nowadays because the established system of government is itself corrupt.
- Terrorists often hold the responsibility of any violence on themselves. Their aim is just to do their publicity.
- As soon as the terrorist adopts the path of violence, the moral basis of his objectives also ends. The terrorists cruelly snatch the right to live from the common public without warning and compassion.
- The terrorists in reckless effort to grab their rights have begun to think it essential, to usurp the rights of others. We may analyze the issues of terrorism in numerous ways, but we can never prove the authenticity of their adopted methods.

13.3 Keywords

- **Terrorism:** To intimidate people by one's power (action) to achieve one's own big or formidable objective
- **Terrorism:** The individual who uses violent means to attract attention on some particular issue is called

13.4 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by terrorism? Describe the aims of terrorism.
2. What do you understand by a terrorist.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Terrorist 2. Battle 3. Terrorism 4. Moral
5. Human rights

Notes

13.5 Further Readings

Books

1. **Introduction to International Relations—** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
2. **International Relations in 21st century—** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations—** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations—** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
5. **International Relations, 1914–1950—** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
6. **International Relations—** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations—** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*

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Unit 14 : Role of Science and Technology in International Relations

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Objectives
Introduction
14.1 Effects of Science and Technology on International Politics
14.2 Summary
14.3 Keywords
14.4 Review Questions
14.5 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know effects of science and technology on international politics
- Explain what are the areas of international politics which have been most affected by technical progress.

Introduction

The behavioural knowledge of science has been given the name of technology. Inventions and all those means come under technical or technology by which there is a help in country's physical prosperity. Meaning of technical advancement is the utilization of new methods. In a sense this is a victory of new methods over old ones. Technical change is a difficult social process in which many matters are included, like legislation, education, research, development in personal and social areas, management, technique, production facilities, and labour unions.

Notes According to Quincy Wright, "In the form of training of international relations, technical knowledge is that type of knowledge which conjoins world politics with advancement of invention and physical culture. This mechanist is the art of development of processes and their use in war, diplomacy, international trade, travel and world.

14.1 Effects of Science and Technology on International Politics

Technical researches have an important effect on life's every area like agriculture, industry, health, administration system, education instruments, communication means, economy and war operation.

Notes

Technology has always played an important role in the determination of the situation of national power and it is believed that from the perspective of technical knowledge, how much a country advances that much he also advances from the perspective of power. National power gets influenced in many forms by technical development—technical progress changes the country's character, old traditional society and country becomes modern and progressive, a change comes in the power and situation of countries, country's attacking power increases and a change comes in the country's economic and social condition. It does not need to be said that because of technical progress only today the counting of the United States of America and Russia is done in the world's super powers.

Three areas of international politics have been most affected by technical progress:

1. Military Technology 2. Industrial Technology and 3. Communications technology

1. Military Technology: From the perspective of international politics, the progress in military technology has affected national power a lot. The fate of countries and civilizations was mostly decided by the difference in war technology. In the development time from fifteenth century to sixteenth century, Europe progressed so much from the perspective of war that it was much more than western hemisphere, Africa and nearby and remote countries. By the addition of infantry, firearms and artillery in the traditional weapons in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the important change in the distribution of power became favourable to that side which had started their use before the enemy. Feudals and kings who remained dependent on cavalry and forts, started finding their earlier strong situation as a weak situation and started experiencing being separated from their past situation in front of new weapons. The process of change in military technology can be clarified by two events—first, in the wars of Morgarten in 1315 and Laupen in 1339, infantry had destructively defeated feudalistic cavalries, by which it was clear that the unified infantry is superior to feudalistic valuable cavalry.

Example 8

In 1449, when France's Charles VII attacked Italy, by infantry and artillery Charles VII had destroyed those arrogantly proud powers of Italian cities which remained secure behind walls until that time.

Four new changes are perceptible till now in the twentieth century in war technology. One party gained immediate benefit over the other party by these technical changes, because either the opposite party could not bring them into use or could not protect itself against them. First most, were Germany's new submarines of special use during the First World War against British ships. By them it started being well-known that they will probably become the reason for the war's decision in favour of Germany. But in their reply Great Britain invented armed guard naval fleet. Secondly, Great Britain had centrally used tanks in large numbers as compared to Germany, in the last days of the First World War, by which friend countries had gained important capital for victory. Thirdly, tactical use of land, water and air force in war operations and packed arrays had become to reason of superiority for Germany and Japan in the beginning of the Second World War. Pearl Harbor and the destructive defeat that the British and Dutch faced from Japan in 1941 and 1942 was the punishment of technical backwardness in front of a progressive enemy's blow. In the end, those countries which have means of throwing nuclear weapons they are in much profitable situation as compared to their competitors. Top level synthetics, deep technology and industrial knowledge are necessary for the creation of nuclear missile launchers.

Caution

Because of America's mastery of nuclear missile launchers, today the offensive and exterminator power of America, Russia and China has become infinite. In their comparison, the other countries of the world have become negligible from the perspective of power. Hence, nuclear technology has basically converted power dimensions of states in international politics.

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2. Industrial Technology: Industrial technology increases national power by establishing economic prosperity. More superior, capable, organized, systematic technical process to work in every aspect of life is known as progress of industrial knowledge. The objective of industrial development is to increase production capability, neutralization of problems of control, distribution and accumulation, organization of industries, use of scientific knowledge in industries, training of labourers and unison of national interests with labour policies with technical knowledge. In the words of Prof. Ralph Turner, "From the process of investigation of minerals in the Earth to the last process of metal construction, and not only this, even giving these metals the form of weapons and the action of taking them to the battlefield are the gradual phases of the utilization of industrial knowledge. The main problem of completely successful war operations is to maintain this continuity of extensive sequence."

The industrial revolution of 18th century strengthened a great path for progress in the area of industrial technology and after that a basic change came in the power relations of the world's states. As a result of industrial technology Britain became successful in much more production than needed for its utilization. It had to discover new markets to sell this extra production, as a result of which the British Empire was established. At the time of the Second World War the countries of South East Asia producing rubber established authority over Japan; it became hard for America to get rubber. But America overcame this deficiency by producing synthetic rubber using its well-developed technology and there were no ill-effects on its national power.

With the help of industrial technology there is an increase in the economic production of a country by which the life standard of citizens rises high. The other countries praise it for raising the residents' life standard. Because of it there is multiplicity of capital in the country and because of this multiplicity the country becomes capable in giving technical or economic help. A big reason for the power of the United States of America is its capability of giving economic help in different forms to the needy countries and through this it comes in the situation of influencing their behaviour.

3. Communications technology: The intent with communications technology is that to what extent have the modern means of travel and communications have developed in a country.

Did You Know? Through the advanced progress of communications technology only the exchange of objects, humans and thoughts is possible.

Modern means of travel like roads, railways, motor vehicles, airplanes not only provide unity to a country but also give a big contribution to increase the economic prosperity and trade facilities of other countries too. By radio, television, etc. communications means, control is established over not only the brains of citizens of own country but also brains of residents of other countries. By these where on one hand any country can be made a friend, there on the other hand citizens of enemy country can be provoked. By well-developed communications technology a display of national power can also be done in front of other countries. We all know that communist China earned Pakistan's friendship by propagating against India. During the Second World War Hitler did such a demonstration of German power by communication means that countries like Britain and France also had to adopt the policy of appeasement.

According to **Pedalford** and **Lincoln**, 'technology' in the form of a matter of national power influences international politics in five ways. Firstly, because of technology one country does changes in its beliefs and targets. The time at which America left its policies of seclusion at that time its attacking capability had increased a lot because of technology. Secondly, other matters like economic matters, population, morale, etc. are also influenced by technology. A country with population prosperous with technology only can cherish dreams of becoming a superpower. Thirdly, technology affects subject matter of foreign policy. After demonstration of capability of development of nuclear weapons America provided recognition to China in 1971. Fourthly, technology is a profuse means of nation building. It provides that capability to industrial countries on the basis of which they export property

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after abundantly building it. Fifthly, technology has revolutionary effect on the operation of foreign policy. By this democratization of foreign policy has happened and there is an influence of public opinion on questions related to foreign policy.

It is true that "technology has completely changed the form of power and relations between countries". Today only those countries are on the top heights of power which have quite progressed from the perspective of technology. Even after being countries with big populations from the perspective of population, India and China are considered backward than Japan, Germany and France from technical angle and this is the reason that in international politics that much impact has not been there from the perspective of power that Japan and Germany have. In the 1970s, the importance and effect of China started increasing because it has certainly established a record from technical perspective. Here it is mentionable that 'the relation of technical progress is with complete economy and social process of the country'. Only by doing one or two nuclear tests a country cannot be considered advanced from technical perspective. In a country like India, an ill-effect of developing nuclear technology can be an increase in unemployment.

An essential result of the development of nuclear technology in international politics will be that the power of small nations will be equivalent to many large countries because nuclear power is dependent on technical knowledge, not on regional magnitude. As a result of the progress of nuclear technology, today we are living in an era of 'antidotes'. China, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, etc. are trying to build nuclear power. By development of new weapons it is not impossible for such a situation to be created where that moral superiority also becomes meaningless which is believed to be the objective of international politics today.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. The behavioural knowledge of science has been given the name of …… .
2. Technical change is a difficult …… process in which many matters are included.
3. Technical …….. have an important effect on life's every area.
4. Industrial technology increases national power by establishing economic ……. .
5. Through the advanced ……. of communications technology only the exchange of objects, humans and thoughts is possible.
6. From the perspective of international politics, the progress in …….. technology has affected national power a lot.

14.2 Summary

- The behavioural knowledge of science has been given the name of technology. Inventions and all those means come under technical or technology by which there is a help in country's physical prosperity.
- Technical researches have an important effect on life's every area like agriculture, industry, health, administration system, education instruments, communication means, economy and war operation.
- Three areas of international politics have been most affected by technical progress: 1. Military Technology 2. Industrial Technology and 3. Communications technology
- From the perspective of international politics, the progress in military technology has affected national power a lot. The fate of countries and civilizations was mostly decided by the difference

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in war technology. Industrial technology increases national power by establishing economic prosperity.

14.3 Keywords

- **Communication Technology:** Development in any country of the modern means related to the exchange of information
- **Industrial Technology:** To increase production capacity by technical knowledge

14.4 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by science and technology? Describe its effects on international politics.
2. Write notes on:

   (a) Industrial Technology (b) Communication Technology

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Technology	2. Social	3. Researches	4. Prosperity
5. Progress	6. Military		

14.5 Further Readings

Books

1. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
2. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
3. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
4. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
5. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*

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Unit 15 : Inequality Among Nations

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15.1 Economic Inequality among Nations
15.2 Political Inequality among Nations
15.3 American Sovereignty on World
15.4 Summary
15.5 Keywords
15.6 Review Questions
15.7 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know meaning and objectives of political economics.
- Explain economic and political inequality among nations.
- Discuss American sovereignty on world.

Introduction

On international level there are many kinds of economic problems such as relating to currency, economic development, trade and loan. In order to remove economic inequality, it is most important that there should be fast development of underdeveloped countries. For that they would need various kinds of resources, such as money, technique, courage, new ideas and training. Underdeveloped countries have been facing extreme poverty and low-level problems. There is an English proverb, 'Poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere.' The developed countries should think that whatever resources they supply to underdeveloped countries is, in fact, a tiny work for world–peace. It is also a very essential condition for their future. Thus, only after enhancing international help and cooperation, economic inequality can be annihilated.

15.1 Economic Inequality among Nations

Economic disparity is the greatest problem of the world. World's 10% population that resides in rich countries consumes 20% of means of the world. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China constitute 44 % of population of the world. They consume less than 10 % of resources of the world. If we add Africa to this list, 65 % of the population gets only 17% of total resources of the world. Gravity of the situation is that economic inequality has been increasing steadily.

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The super most international institution of the world, The United Nations passed a proposal in its General Assembly on 12th December, 1974, which was signed by all the member states on 16th December, 1975. This proposal was passed for new international system. Important decisions had been taken in these meetings, but most of them were proved to be meaningless because developed and rich nations did not take part in this. They refused to provide their cooperation. A rich man can be forced to provide help to poor men at the level of a nation but on international level a rich nation cannot be forced to render contribution for a poor nation. They can be convinced to provide cooperation with their own will. There are many organizations of humanitarian people among rich countries of the world who put pressure on their governments for such kind of cooperation. Important leaders like **Lester Pearson** and **Willy Brandt** who are associated with developed society, said by clarifying the importance of international cooperation, 'It is extremely necessary to give economic aid to underdeveloped countries not only for whole human society but also for the existence of developed countries in future.'

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Economic ……. is the greatest problem of the world.

   (a) equality (b) disparity (c) neutrality (d) discipline

2. In order to remove economic inequality, it is most important that there should be fast development of ……. countries.

   (a) underdeveloped (b) developed (c) common (d) neutral

3. End of ……. can be considered the end of an era.

   (a) First World War (b) Second World War (c) Cold War (d) Soviet Union

4. By the ……. of a superpower, America is left as a sole superpower.

   (a) creation (b) end (c) salvation (d) arrival

15.2 Political Inequality among Nations

In the years after Second World War, the rivalry between Soviet Union and United States of America was known in the name of Cold War. Although no battle had been fought between two powers, still up to the end of Cold War (1991) without giving any attention to right or wrong, both the powers increased tension and endangered peace. Capitalist America and Communist Soviet Union never thought of giving mutual cooperation to each other, they were engaged in expansion of their domain near the end of Second World War. In rivalry, except weapons, methods of each type had been adopted; such as- propaganda, blockade, economic pressure, economic aid, warning, assurance and expansion of nuclear weapons. Literally, the Cold War was a synonym in peace of war, fear and terror.

The end of Cold War can be hailed as culmination of one era. Although the end of Cold War came abruptly still its process had been going on for a long time. Various elements contributed to the culmination of Cold War, in which the policies of Gorbachev and disintegration of Soviet Union are prominent, but major reasons had been a change in the concept of both the powers. Both the powers understood that if battle is fought in molecular weapons era, there will be destruction of both the sides. There were immediate and far- fetched results of Cold War. First of all, those which influenced the mutual relations of great powers, transfused their furious attitude and instigated competition of weapons and the tendency of direct encounter. Others were those, which drew the countries of Third World in the struggle, transformed local controversies in explosive crisis and did devaluation up to a great limit of non-alignment and Afro- Asian Unity.

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The disintegration of Soviet Union deleted the existence of this super power from the international political scenario. As a result, only United States of America remained as super power. After the end of Cold War, the condition of dual-polarization culminated and the form of world politics was of single polarization under the leadership of America. After the end of Cold War, there had not been capability of any other nation to fill up the blank created by Soviet Union. The nations like China, Russia, Britain and France were not in a position of any competition with America. Other nations were far behind America in economic solidarity, political stability, cultural motility, scientific progress and strategic capacity. From here begins sovereignty of America in the world.

The debacle of Soviet Union from superpower and disintegration of many republics transformed completely world political scenario. With the termination of a super power in the world, America remained as exclusive super power. For being sole super power, there was dominance of America on the world. On the countries of Third World also, dominance of United States of America had been established. Now there remained no power to challenge it. After expiration of Soviet Union, the Cold War going on between Soviet Union and America automatically finished. There was termination of communism in Eastern Europe and multi-party democratic governance system came into existence. Warsaw Treaty Organization was terminated and Soviet Army was called back from Eastern Europe. Due to disintegration of Soviet Union, there remained just formal importance of North Atlantic Organization. The Republics which got separated from Soviet Union have made their status as sovereign and independent nations. Twelve Republics which got separated from Soviet Union formed Commonwealth of independent nations. The countries of Third World have been following the multi-lateral policy of cooperation with member nations of Commonwealth. Owing to disintegration of Soviet Union, the countries of the Third World had to face serious blow. The countries of the Third World used to get economic, military and technical aid from Soviet Union; now the disintegrated Republics did not have that much of capacity to help the countries of the Third World. Nowadays the Third World had been facing threat of Colonialism. The debacle of Soviet Union had inflicted deep blow to communist movement. Now only communist China, North Korea and Cuba are communist countries. With the debacle of Soviet Union, India also had a deep concussion. Soviet Union has been known as reliable companion to India. For defense equipment and other furnishings, India depended on only Soviet Union. In the leadership of Yeltsin, Russia had been considered to be inheritor of former Soviet Union and in Security Council of The United Nations it was accepted as permanent member. Thus, out of all the Republics which had been separated from Soviet Union, political status of Russia was much more than others.

Did You Know? For the United States of America, the Second World War proved to be a blessing. The First World War gave it the form of debt-giving nation from indebted nation and the Second World War infested it with economic dominance.

The reason was emphatic that in the World War America did not have to face mass destruction, like other allies and enemy nations. Germany, Britain, Russia, Italy, France and all other nations became victims of disastrous bombarding and except Britain on territories of all other nations bloody battles were fought. Fortunately, America could escape from that destruction. Neither any battle was fought on its territory nor did it become victim of ghastly bombarding like other nations. So, on one side other countries were completely destroyed from economical and industrial point of view during war-time, on the other side there was no impact of it on America's economic prosperity. After the war, United States of America became leader of capitalist group from military, political and economical, all the three view points. During war period its production grew instead of decreasing. There was growth of 50% in industrial production and about 36% in agriculture production. The secret of nuclear bomb was also with it. It had already given introduction of its destructive capacity by dropping nuclear

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bomb on Japan. So naturally the nations dismantled and demolished by war came in refuge of America and accepted its leadership.

After disintegration of Soviet Union and expiration of communism in East Europe, there is only one greatest power and that is United States of America. There is no one in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe who can oppose America. Through the medium of Gulf War America proved that if stability has to be maintained in the world, America itself would play an active role to protect those values which it concurs as values of justice.

The changes which came in former Soviet Union, East European countries, Germany and other parts of the world after 1987, the Cold War ended due to them, communism had a debacle in East European countries and Liberalism had been adopted by them. There was fusion of West Germany and East Germany. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became free from Soviet Union, Warsaw Treaty broke down, Soviet Union disintegrated, nine former Soviet republics formed a Commonwealth of independent states after getting freedom, communist countries China, Cuba and Vietnam remained aloof and United States of America became stronger in the form of superpower. It sustained NATO. There was dominance of America on The United Nations. Non-Aligned Movement became dull due to its internal weaknesses. The countries of the Third World got entangled in their economic impediments. Germany after unification with East Germany entangled in its internal economical situation and even Japan despite its good economy accepted power of America as unabated. On account all these changes there was drastic transformation in fabrication of world power and a polar system emerged at the world level.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

5. The Second World War proved to be a blessing for the United States of America.
6. Soviet Union's sovereignty was established on the third world countries also.
7. Today only one superpower is there in the world—Soviet Union.
8. America had given the proof of its great destructive capability by dropping nuclear bomb over Japan.

15.3 American Sovereignty on World

The evidence of American Sovereignty is the contribution of later half of 20th Century which is more or less present even today. The form of American Sovereignty can be seen as political, economical, cultural and military sovereignty. Following facts are to be noted in support of this statement:

1. The states of East Europe have come out of communist circle and their relations with countries of Western Europe have been congenial. The Cold War has also come to an end. The wall of Berlin has fallen down and unification of both Germany had taken place. Due to these changes, the role of America in Europe has increased. Owing to disintegration of Soviet Union, America has been fulfiling many responsibilities.
2. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, Russia has become its inheritor but due to its internal conditions, it is not in a position of carrying out active role with its old comrades. In addition, its relation with Ukraine is bitter. Eleven countries out of its comrades have formed Commonwealth. Under such conditions Russia cannot register its presence in world politics like former Soviet Union. So on world stage only America remains as a super power.
3. After the victory of Gulf- War and incessant bombarding on Iraq, bombarding on Yugoslavia in the leadership of NATO, assemblage of American army and naval fleet in Southern- Eastern Asia and invasion of Afghanistan, show the strategy of American Military Sovereignty.

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4. Various institutions, policies and principles had been used to keep control on the economic system of countries of Third World by America. There is impact of American outlook on internal structure of international institutions, work- culture and policy- implementation of World Bank; International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization. The countries of Western Block like France, Germany and Italy, have expressed their resentment time to time against American Economic Sovereignty. American Multi-National Corporation is a forceful medium of strengthening American Economic Sovereignty in underdeveloped and developing countries. In addition to this, specific American laws like Super- 301, implement trade related conditions, one sided only, on other countries and constrain them to be under American impact.

15.4 Summary

- Economic disparity is the greatest problem of the world. World's 10% population that resides in rich countries consumes 20% of means of the world. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China constitute 44% of population of the world. They consume less than 10% of resources of the world. If we add Africa to this list, 65% of the population gets only 17% of total resources of the world. Gravity of the situation is that economic inequality has been increasing steadily.
- The disintegration of Soviet Union deleted the existence of this super power from the international political scenario. As a result, only United States of America remained as super power. After the end of Cold War, the condition of dual-polarization culminated and the form of world politics was of single polarization under the leadership of America. After the end of Cold War, there had not been capability of any other nation to fill up the blank created by Soviet Union. The nations like China, Russia, Britain and France were not in a position of any competition with America. Other nations were far behind America in economic solidarity, political stability, cultural motility, scientific progress and strategic capacity. From here begins sovereignty of America in the world.
- After disintegration of Soviet Union and expiration of communism in East Europe, there is only one greatest power and that is United States of America. There is no one in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe who can oppose America. Through the medium of Gulf War America proved that if stability has to be maintained in the world, America itself would play an active role to protect those values which it concurs as values of justice.

15.5 Keywords

- **Expiration:** Pause, End, Finish
- **Political Desk:** On politics' curtain, under study of politician

15.6 Review Questions

1. Highlight economic inequality between nations.
2. Describe political inequality between nations.
3. Describe expiration of Soviet Union from political desk.
4. Today America is the biggest power of the world. How?

   OR

   Describe American Sovereignty on the world.

Answers: Self Assessment

Notes

1.	(b)	2. (a)	3. (a)	4. (b)
5.	True	6. False	7. False	8. True

15.7 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
3. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
4. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
5. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

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Unit 16 : Global Corporatism and State Sovereignty

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know historical perspective and social dimension of globalization.
- Explain globalization and capitalism.
- Discuss advantages, disadvantages and doubts of globalization.
- Elaborate globalization and poor people of developing countries.
- Know globalization and India

Introduction

Globalization is a process of the worldwide adjustment of political, economic, social, scientific and cultural life, which does a successful attempt to unify the people of the world's different parts on physical and mental level. In the last decade of the twentieth century the concept of globalization emerged fast, which is now also a topic of discussion in the beginning of twenty first century. By scientific research and development, the different parts of the world have come so much closer to each other in behavioural form that from technical perspective, the world is being called as the global village. Through the means of satellite and computer a kind of revolution has come in the communications field. Through email, S.T.D., I.S.D., internet within seconds contact can be made with any part of the world. At present all main newspapers and magazines of the world, United Nations Organization and its other cooperative organizations, legislatures of many countries, prominent books and encyclopedia, etc. are available on the Internet.

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By cheap and express means of transport, the speed of labour, raw material, manufactured goods, technology, etc. has increased. By new system of communications, the transfers of finances too are happening with more transparency and speed. The complete methodology of stock exchanges has become "script less" and "floorless" through the means of ultra-short aperture terminal, under which a client sitting in any city of the world can make a transaction with a stock exchange located in any city of the world.

16.1 Historical Perspective of Globalization

Globalization, which is a thrilling word, presents this will that different nation-states should be unified under the framework of the World Trade Organization. But after somewhat deep thinking, this fact clarifies that this is a modern distribution based on comparative principle of cost benefits, which reputed economics had propagated so that Great Britain could get theoretical basis for unlimited export-import of goods in lesser developed countries, which were colonies at that time. This argument was given that by international specialization such countries will be benefitted which maintain trade relations. Now the same argument is being given by the supporters of globalization. They lay stress on giving preference to the development policy inspired by export as compared to the import-substituting trade policy. In the beginning of eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, imperialistic countries also gave stress to increase the flow of capital technology in colonial countries, but at that time, being rulers they could force these states to accept this policy. But from historical proofs available in this relation it shows that by these flows of trade, capital and technology, the imperialistic countries became successful in exploiting the resources of their colonies. In this way imperialistic countries kept on becoming prosperous through means of colonial countries, whereas the colonies kept stuck in the claws of economic deadlock and poverty.

Globalization is believed to be an important matter in the package of economic improvement. But this question arises that which facts are incorporated in the concept of globalization. According to economists there are four parts of globalization:

1. To reduce trade obstructers so that goods can be exchanged in different countries in unlimited manner,
2. To maintain such a situation in which capital can flow in different states in free form,
3. To maintain such an environment so that technology can flow freely,
4. Last, but not less important from the perspective of developing countries, to maintain such an environment, in which labour in world's different countries can flow freely.

The supporters of globalization, especially supporters of developed countries, limit the definition of globalization to the first three parts, i.e. free trade flow, free capital flow and free technology flow. They put pressure on the developing countries to accept this definition of globalization and stress upon discussion over globalization in the periphery of globalization decided by them. But many economists of developing countries believe that this definition is incomplete and if the last target of the supporters of globalization is to envisage the complete world in the form of a "global village", then its fourth part which is the free flow of labour, cannot be neglected. Debates on this whole issue were done whether in the World Trade Organization or on other platforms, but labour flow was completely neglected, even though it is an important part of globalization.

We will have to understand globalization in historical perspective. Many such changes have been done in the beginning of twentieth century, by which the matter of globalization arose. Many economic, social and political changes happened in this era, by which the nature of global economy changed. The country England considered to be world's superpower between the First and the Second World Wars,

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is struggling today in Europe for protecting its existence. After Bolshevik revolution, the communism challenging capitalism is now moribund and Soviet Union which had spread its dominance in East Europe and Asia and was believed to be second superpower of the world has now been limited to history's pages. On the other end, United States of America is standing as the world's superpower. But today it also could face the challenge of monstrous China. Japan is a strong Asian country from economic perspective, which cannot be ignored. Where developed countries have their own view, there countries like India have a different view towards globalization and liberalization. It has not been easy for poor countries to maintain their conservationist policy considered necessary for development. Customs are being reduced and licenses etc are being removed.

Until twenty years ago developed countries had monopoly over use of ultra-modern technology. Developing countries could use it between the complex and close relations of high technology, high productivity and high cost. Under the limited area of technical education it was not possible for labourers of developing countries also to use it. But situations have changed now. Today world's ultra-modern technology is reaching developing countries with ease. Multinational companies which are spreading their wings in the countries of the Third World are taking new technology with them. The domestic companies of those countries also are importing technology higher than their level. Developing countries are registering their presence in the international market in the form of strong competitors by gaining high level of productivity with high technology and low labour cost.

Information about products produced by the help of communications revolution is easily reaching consumers. The reach of electronic media like television, internet and radio and print media like newspapers and magazines is not only till the country but also till the consumers spread in different parts of the world. The interactions among different cultures are increasing through them. The world's civilians are closer to each other in the matters of food, mode of life, traditions and customs, rituals, festivals etc.

Ironically, today no country of the world can save its existence without the use of technology in any way. Banks, stock exchanges, air services, factories, industries, hotels, hospitals, etc. cannot work without computers. The technology of computers is closely related to rocket science and satellite manufacturing and in it micro-technology has special importance. Computer's generations used to change earlier in years and now in months. On one end the issue with countries like ours is to buy ultra-modern technology or to reduce its usage, and on the other end there is a challenge that our meritorious elemental scientists do not escape to foreign countries in the greed of personal benefit. Hardware, i.e., instruments and software, i.e., programmes utilizing these instruments in a better manner are equally important in the field of computers. India may be backward in the matter of hardware, but is not behind anyone in the matter of software. It is often stated that today second biggest reserve of scientists and engineers is in India. But we do not think about the objective evaluation of the scientific talent left over in our home country. Today multinational companies are active to make the talent leftover in our home country as their servants. In time our policy makers will have to think about the diplomatic influence of this nature.

By the diplomatic efforts going on about the globalization of economy, one fact has completely become clear that western capitalist countries, especially America, is ready for the fact that it maintains its monopoly over these scientific inventions. During the complete consultation linked to the GATT agreement, this fact was repeated insistently that the right to the ownership of intellectual property should have respect. It should get the protection of copyright and patent process should be applicable not only on production or invention, but also on production process and system. Along with this, this fact is also suggested that environment should be considered as a heritage of the complete human race; especially the primitive jungles so that there is no interruption in the scientific research about the species available in them. Two facts are completely clear—first that after the invention of any life saving medicine, or after the invention of any fertile plant, its arbitrary value can be procured in

commercial manner and second that with the pretense of environment protection, foreign companies and countries can interfere in the natural state of those vegetations or species of wild beings.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Through the means of satellite and computer a kind of revolution has come in the …….. field.
2. …….. is believed to be an important matter in the package of economic improvement.
3. Japan is a …….. Asian country from economic perspective.
4. Today second biggest reserve of …….. and engineers is in India.

16.2 Globalization and Social Dimension

Social Dimensions of Globalization formed by International Labour Organization in 2002 published a report in February, 2004 together with world's best intellectuals, politicians, bureaucrats, representatives of non-government organizations and economists, in which it has been said to make globalization appropriate and society-oriented. In this council of joint chairmanship of Tanzania's President Benjamin Mkapa and Finland's President Tarja Halonen, Chile's former Prime Minister and present Director General of International Labour Organization Juan Somavia are also included. Well no firm suggestions have been given in this council's report to deal with the impending dangers of globalization, however, stress has been laid upon the fulfilment of few pre-conditions for some countries running fast towards globalization. Council has given special stress on the following points in the form of pre-conditions of globalization, whose criticizable description is presented here –

1. For any country to achieve economic growth and prosperity, the council has considered democracy's success to be a pre-condition. Here it is ponderable that China and many countries of South East Asia have established high standards of economic development even while remaining aloof from democracy.

2. The importance of informal markets present in developing countries has been discussed in the report, but report is silent in the matter that how these markets function successfully even with heavy unemployment and unskilled labour.

3. The council talks about improving labour standards and to create better opportunities for labourers, but the story of unemployment present on global level is different. According to a report of International Labor Organization, the number of unemployed in the world was approximately 185.9 million in 2003.

4. Official development assistance (ODA) conferred by developed countries for developing countries, is a major source. While accepting this fact, the council has suggested increasing it from the present level of 0.23% of the Gross Domestic Product of developed countries to 0.7% decided by joint agreement.

5. Council has put stress upon increasing multilateral investment and adopting competitive policy, but has not thought about the fact that there is a situation of serious conflicts between developed and developing countries in the World Trade Organization about these issues.

6. In the council's report, the importance of labourers and other citizens going to each other's country has been fully accepted and it has been said to make it completely hassle-free. According to the council, about 10 million people go to other countries every year by crossing international borders.

7. The council has also stressed on adopting more transparency in the conduct of International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

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Notes State's role cannot be neglected in country's economic development. To make this role more effective necessary balance should be established between market and state.

16.3 Globalization and Capitalism

An impression is forming because of globalization that global economy is marching towards capitalism. Although there is truth in this statement but from the perspective of study we should also consider another angle. Following arguments can be presented to explain this statement:

1. Economist like Adam Smith said by presenting the principle of Laissez Faire in the beginning of the eighteenth century that states can encourage "mercantilism". In effect capitalism rose in this form in which the importance of private enterprises is more. But here we will have to understand that all tasks of private enterprises do not get completed in the whole world but the provision of controlled economy or mixed economy has also been done for the public and proletariat society. In a developing country like India, people felt in July, 1991 and the following years that capitalism has arrived here because India had started following the path of liberalization but still railways, insurance companies, print and electronic media are away from the clutches of capitalism to some extent.

2. On world level dozens of countries like America, England, Japan, Germany, France and Singapore are symbols of capitalist economy. On the other hand, China, North Korea, Cuba and to some extent Russia and its preceding states have remained symbols of communism. Apart from this there are such developing countries too of the Third World, which have adopted balanced economy in between these two. In totality the population of countries in the world resting on the strengths of capitalist economy is not more than about 35–40%. Amidst this will it not be inconsistent to consider the framework of basic economy of the countries of the remaining 60–65% population as capitalist economy?

3. By creation of "World Trade Organization" on 31st January, 1995, about all countries have been affected or are getting affected by its policies and provisions and network of multinational companies is spread out. But it certainly does not imply that all countries have become capitalist countries. In recent years the economic evaluation of Mexico, South Korea and other South East Asia Tiger economies proves the fact that developing countries cannot completely follow the path of capitalism. This fact should be understood that the recent activities of worldwide economy can be considered partial gift of capitalism but not complete.

4. Until before the dissolution of Soviet Union in 1991 world's economic-political activities have been in the form of two poles. In the theater of war of the so-called Cold War, by only capitalist group of American leadership remaining behind in a strong form, such hallucination has been generated that the worldwide economy is a synonym of capitalism, whereas this is not the situation. At present regional economic organizations have formed new coalitions with their regional countries, which often also keep heresy with the capitalist American group. In this process too the above activities are not a synonym of capitalism, is not possible.

5. Often affluence and prosperity are considered synonyms of capitalism. If we name the worldwide economy as capitalism, it should imply that there is no trace of poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, etc. in the world, whereas all above problems are increasing in the world instead of seriously decreasing. This paradox itself refutes the concept that global economy is the synonym of capitalism.

6. Due to extensive use of communications system the whole world has become like a global village. Because of this too an illusion has formed the economies of all countries have become capitalist. In

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reality even now all countries have maintained their personal rules and laws for the use of their resources. In such situation economic exploitation of undeveloped countries has happened by some prosperous countries. But its implication should not be understood that the said exploited countries have been included in the category of capitalist countries.

By the above analysis it is clear that global economy is not the synonym of capitalism but traditional economy's nature has been changed. An opinion against this opinion holds much more weight that global economy is a synonym of capitalism. Multinational companies are the strongest example of globalized economy. Today the predominance of capitalism has happened in the different areas of economy. If it is thought in a prudent manner it would be said that in today's era of liberalization there is a necessity of prudent utilization of capital receipts along with its source. If globalization has to be made meaningful in context of developing countries, an improvement will have to be brought in the economic condition of 85% world population.

We want to repeat the fact that after Cold War a theory was established that globalization is nothing else but Americanization. After American victory in the Gulf War, clarifying the implicit distinction in the meanings of globalization and Americanization was extremely cumbersome. In most parts of the world the presence of American army and nuclear weapons, domination of American multinational corporations on the economies of the Third World, American pressure on the decision process of international financial institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund, intrusion of American products in the world market and American clutches on satellite channels and flow of information through communications technology, etc. were such facts, which had turned the world into the direction of Americanization, but fast changing international sequence of events soon started pushing Americanization to the background and provided strength to the process of globalization.

Establishment of World Trade Organization, European unification and commencement of Euro currency, China's emergence in the form of a military and economic power, economic solidarity of Japan and South East Asia, increasing activity of different regional economic organizations, increase in the number of nuclear empowered countries, etc. balanced and controlled the expansion of Americanization. Problems like green house effect, ozone depletion, AIDS, disposal of nuclear waste, global warming, poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, etc. and international contemplation gave important contribution to intensify the process of globalization. Apart from this the interests of the world's countries are related to the benefits achieved from the development of biotechnology. Recently, according to the secrets disclosed by genome project, the development of the complete human race is believed to be from a primitive woman of Africa. This belief has proven the caste, colour or creed based national or continental concepts ineffective and has provided strength to globalization. Matters like plant, insect or human cloning, gene engineering, tissue improvements, space exploration keep global interest by crossing national boundaries.

For the time being international terrorism has played an important role in bringing states closer to each other. Illegal trades of intoxicating substances and organized crime trends have also increased mutual cooperation in countries. At present, different countries have formulated their common national interests in the form of different nation groups, which is reflected by the existence of different regional organizations. The formation of organizations like OPEC, APAC, ASEAN, SAARC, European Union, G-15, G-8 and NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) is the gift of the last half-century. These organizations have been proven successful in promoting the feeling of internationalism, but it should be remembered that many times the interests of one organization collide with each other. United Nations Organizations and its special agencies, Amnesty International, Red Cross Society, and Green Peace, etc. have encouraged countries to bring uniformity in their human rights, social security and environment related policies. It implies that now the world is literally progressing towards globalization but whether the voice of poor countries will ever be heard in this globalization, is a question of complete doubt. The countries of the Third World are finding themselves dependent and rough from economic perspective. The pride of small countries is in danger. Globalization has endangered the 'privacy' of countries by promoting cultural pollution.

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Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Often affluence and prosperity are considered synonyms of …….. .

   (a) communism (b) capitalism (c) religionism (d) nationalism

6. Until before the dissolution of Soviet Union in …….. world's economic-political activities have been in the form of two poles.

   (a) 1991 (b) 1990 (c) 1980 (d) 1995

7. Multinational companies are the strongest example of globalized ……. .

   (a) state system (b) economy (c) religion system (d) communist system

8. After Cold War a theory was established that globalization is nothing else but …… .

   (a) indianization (b) europeanization (c) americanization (d) all three

16.4 Advantages, Disadvantages and Doubts of Globalization

(a) Advantages

1. Supporters of globalization, primarily multinational corporations and private companies and governments of developed countries argue that repudiation of serious problems like poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, illiteracy, prevalent in the Third World can be done by adopting globalization. Investment can be increased with the support of globalization through multinational companies in developing and backward countries afflicted with the problem of lack of capital building. There will be increase in national income and employment by new investment. According to Prof. Sanjay Lal of Oxford University, "An additional increase of 0.36% in manufacturing exports and 0.55% in top technical exports can be done from a mere 1% extra amount of foreign direct investment."

2. Developing countries and very backward countries which have been left behind in the technical development can achieve world's ultra-modern technology through globalization and can develop their production capabilities and in this way can increase exports by including manufactured goods along with primary goods (traditional exports) in the branch of their exports. It is cognoscible that the secret of top economic growth rate of the South East Asian countries which are world's so-called "miracle economies"—Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and South Korea and now China is their export-oriented form which they have built through globalization.

Developing countries like India where high-educated trained labour force is in excess, can search better probabilities of employment in developed and developing countries for their excess labour. India's engineers, doctors, professors, managers, specialists are the acantha of economies of developed countries like United States of America and Britain.

3. By promoting foreign direct investment and by removing all differences between domestic and foreign countries in the matter of investment, roads and highways, railways, ports, airports can be developed. Power houses, oil refineries, basic and major industries can be established.

4. With the help of telephone, cellular phone, internet, e-mail, e-commerce, e-medical, e-education, information technology generated by computer, topmost knowledge situated in any part of the world can be achieved anywhere.

(b) Disadvantages

1. Industrial and developed countries always tried to achieve their interests through globalization. About half population of the world living in extreme poverty has to aliment itself in two dollars or ₹ 120 everyday. About 10 crore people living in developed countries are earning 60% income, whereas

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about 3 billion 50 crore people in countries with less income get less than mere 20% of the world's total income. One billion 20 crore people living in countries of South Asia and Africa do not receive even one dollar a day. International Labour Organization has told in the World Employment Report that globalization has created economic opportunities but the developing countries which have associated with the process of globalization with the desire of becoming developed as soon as possible, have to face many problems like unemployment and backwardness.

2. Under this economy based on the process of globalization, continuous pressure is being put on the governments of developing and backward countries that they should remove all restrictions from international trade and should end all kinds of protections being given to their domestic products – primary and secondary both. By doing this the manufactured goods of developed countries afflicted with the problem of excess production will get new markets, and investors facing losses with low return rates will be able to increase their profits by producing at low expenses through cheap labour available in the countries of the Third World. Under this theory in the Dunkel proposals, poor and undeveloped countries have had to agree to end all types of non-tax restrictions from international trade and to cut customs to bring them to global level.

3. Two countries of the world's developing countries' group 'G-77' Mexico and South Korea experienced high pride by a high flight on the development path by adopting the policies of foreign capital investment and liberalization in huge amounts, but in a short period of time this ambition tumbled when the exchange value of Mexico's currency Peso and South Korea's currency Won fell to 40–60% relative to dollar and the economies of these countries reached the brink of bankruptcy. In the end the citizens of these countries had to bear its aftermaths. Nearly, this situation was of Thailand and Indonesia also. If we see in the context of India, the answers to questions rising after events of farmers' deaths can be found in the effects of globalization. With the objective of earning more profits, the farmers' interest is increasing in production of cash crops instead of food grains. The requirement of cost and irrigation is more for cash crops and because of shortage of power his crops are often destroyed because of increasing rates and insufficient irrigation and his problems become unbearable. These events clarify that World Bank, International Monetary Fund and other international organizations are being given more importance while planning projects and a big section of the public is not being entrusted by bypassing organizations like Panchayats on local levels. In this way under cover of globalization, we are snatching lives of those who are in the foundation of our economy.

(c) Doubts

There are many types of doubts of globalization which has taken the whole world in its hold in uncommon manner in the past one decade, in spite of its many advantages being told. Many leaders of the Third World believe globalization to be a fresh edition of colonialism of the nineteenth century. This is the reason that globalization is given the designation of neo-colonialism. Multinational corporations are neo-colonial danger for the leaders of the Third World. These leaders believe that the way in which in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the multinational corporations of European countries like East India Company had claimed authority over political power in the countries of the Third World, in the name of trade and business, similarly today's multinational corporations are first undertaking occupancy of economic power by entering countries of the third World. It cannot be said that what their political ambition will bring out later.

Critic and opponent of global liberalization **Prof. Noam Chomsky** says that "The present system of globalization has been unsuccessful in fighting against the problem of inequality in communities. On the contrary, it has assisted rich and powerful to establish their mastery over common man. Liberalization has acquired the face of instrument of power and destruction."

Many Indian theorists have said in a cautioning tone that globalization which has been delineated in the form of the sole appropriate solution for India's development, has increased economic inequalities in the society. It has worsened the life of most of the population. In a statement signed by Shabana Azmi, Late Mulk Raj Anand, Romila Thapar, N. Rai, Irfan Habib, G. P. Deshpande, Ghulam Sheikh,

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Kumar Shahani, Sumit Sarkar, Umayalpuram Sivaraman, Prabhat Patnaik and K. Panikkar, it has been clarified in the form of a warning against globalization's political and cultural influence that if multinational corporations are allowed to openly work in India, then—"The power to take decisions in important economic issues—internal and external—will go into the hands of capitalist countries and their mastery will be established." "Globalization has made developing economies weak and innocent towards external pushes because this country is not empowered with the mechanics needed to tackle external imbalances". Considered to be supporters of western ideology, **Prof Jagdish Bhagwati**, has clarified in his book '**In Defense of Globalization**' and **Prof Joseph Stiglitz** in his book '**Globalization and its Discontents'** that capital controls should not be loosened in the name of globalization until the country is not ready for it. Otherwise any country can be a victim of the economic danger stemmed up in South East Asian countries in 1997.

16.5 Globalization and Poor People of Developing Countries

Under globalization the world is being seen as a global village but it seems to be more as an upper display. Developing countries also want to be involved or are being involved in the process of globalization in the greed of developing fast, but they have had to face a lot of problems because of this, in which poverty has come out to be a major problem. Here we consider it expedient to discuss the effects on poor people of developing nations.

1. All developed countries believing policies of protection to be ills of economic development have adopted the first state of development. At that time nationalization and nationalism were more beneficial for them in place of globalization but today these countries are recognizing developing countries to search for new markets for their manufactured goods and are pressurizing them that they remove all restrictions from international trade and should end all kinds of protections being given to their domestic products—primary and secondary both. By doing this the manufactured goods of developed countries afflicted with the problem of excess production will get new markets, and investors facing losses with low return rates will be able to increase their profits by producing at low expenses through cheap labour available in the countries of the Third World.

Under this theory in the Dunkel proposals, poor and undeveloped countries have had to agree to end all types of non-tax restrictions from international trade and to cut customs to bring them to global level. In the end developed countries have gained benefit from this situation. By merely applying the proposals of GATT, losses to developing countries have been estimated to be 600 million dollars every year.

By underdeveloped countries allowing foreign investors to enter freely and providing them equal protection like domestic investors, the domestic investors and producers have become weak in competitive form. Foreign investment, even though its amount is more, cannot guarantee continuous economic development of any country. Two countries of the world's developing countries' group 'G-77' Mexico and South Korea experienced high pride by a high flight on the development path by adopting the policies of foreign capital investment and liberalization in huge amounts, but in a short period of time this ambition tumbled when the exchange value of Mexico's currency Peso and South Korea's currency Won fell to 40–60% relative to dollar and the economies of these countries reached the brink of bankruptcy. In the end the citizens of these countries had to bear its aftermaths. Goods and assets of these countries became excessively cheap in dollar's value and they were bought by multinational corporations of developed countries under "vulture capitalism". Nearly this situation was of Thailand and Indonesia also.

2. Now there has been no doubt left that developed countries want to gain control of developing countries in the name of globalization. They want that developing and backward countries open their markets for producers and investors of developed countries but they themselves keep imposing restrictions on imports from developing countries by finding new excuses.

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Example Restrictions were imposed on carpets, artistic objects of handicrafts made in India at low labor cost by the United States of America and Germany saying that child labour is used in their production.

Today all countries of the west are pressurizing developing countries to end child labour. Nobody refuses that child labour is inhuman and is a social evil. But in this context it should also be seen that most child labourers' relation is with poor families and the income earned by them plays an important role in the maintenance of the family. If they are removed from work, the income of these families will become lower. It is also mentionable in this context that developed countries are raising the issue of giving the labourers in developing countries the same wages in the name of "social clause", as is given in developed countries. Their intention is clear that when developing countries will do so, their competition of manufactured goods will become weaker because their labour cost will increase and then those countries will be easily removed from the market.

3. Developed countries talk about free flow of manufactured goods, primary goods, financial and insurance services, capital, etc. in the name of globalization but oppose free flow of labour. Restrictions are imposed on labour coming from developing and backward countries by saying that by doing so the recoupment of labour will increase, which will lower labour rates and will increase unemployment. Here this fact is ignored that the labourers of developing countries will gain opportunities of better employment in developed countries and their life standards will raise.

4. Experience of many developing countries says that the interest of foreign investors is only of investing in those areas where term of maturity is less and return rates are high and in this way overall risk is low, even though doing so is not in the nation's interest. If you take India's example, after the programmes of liberalization and economic improvements started in 1991, whatever evident investment has happened most is in the areas of foreign liquor, confectionaries, motor car, two and three wheeler vehicles, electronics – TV, VCR, music system, fridge, air-conditioners etc. Time will tell that how much poor people will gain from this.

5. Poor countries also get affected by maleficent conditions in investing. Interest rates are high here because of low credit rating and high currency inflation rate. Government has to pay a big amount every year in the form of interest on the heavy loans taken to fulfil the deficits, because of which funding falls short for expenditure on programs like education and health.

6. By reduction in customs, developing countries especially poor countries face double losses. First – there is decrease in government's revenue by reduction in customs, because of which resources with government start lowering. Because of low resources, enough money is not available for such programmes, whose relation is mainly with the poor. Second—because of reduction in customs and lifting on quantitative restrictions over them, an increase starts happening in imports, especially objects of luxury, because of which foreign currency believed to be scarce for the developing country starts going out of the country.

7. Globalization ends the state's participation in economic area. Because of limited economic arrangements by the government for the losses, privatization of public undertakings, reduction in posts in government services in the name of rationalization, openness in financial markets, heavy reductions have to be done in items like food subsidy, health and education which are used by the poor.

8. Generally, it is said that developing countries get benefits under globalization by liberalization of trade, as they produce such goods which are mainly resource and labour. By this there will be an increase in export and production by more unification in the global market which will increase demand for unskilled labour and will increase the income of the poor. There is reduction in local prices and increase in quality because of increase in competitiveness on international and national level, whose benefit reaches the poor in the end. There is an increase in employment opportunities because of inflow of foreign direct investment. But experience of many countries—Argentina, Chile, Mexico,

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South Korea, Indonesia, Ecuador, Uruguay, etc. tells that as opposed to the above so-called benefits, trade and financial liberalization acquired under globalization has increased inequalities of income and wealth distribution in these countries because dominance of formal sector, where labour cost is more than the labour cost of informal sector, has increased and labourers' situation in this informal sector has worsened as compared to before. Because of increase in in-flow of capital goods by liberalization, the demand for unskilled labour has reduced and demand for skilled labour has increased.

9. Utilization pattern is changing because of globalization. Demand of luxury goods like cars, televisions, air conditioners, refrigerators, cold drinks, fast food, etc. because of which the production of goods used by the poor has either decreased or has become stagnant.

Task Highlight 'Consumer culture is not our culture'.

16.6 Summary

- Globalization is a process of the worldwide adjustment of political, economic, social, scientific and cultural life, which does a successful attempt to unify the people of the world's different parts on physical and mental level.
- Information about products produced by the help of communications revolution is easily reaching consumers. The reach of electronic media like television, internet and radio and print media like newspapers and magazines is not only till the country but also till the consumers spread in different parts of the world.
- Supporters of globalization, primarily multinational corporations and private companies and governments of developed countries argue that repudiation of serious problems like poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, illiteracy, prevalent in the Third World can be done by adopting globalization.
- Industrial and developed countries always tried to achieve their interests through globalization. About half population of the world living in extreme poverty has to aliment itself in two dollars or ₹ 120 every day.
- Critic and opponent of global liberalization Prof. Noam Chomsky says that, "The present system of globalization has been unsuccessful in fighting against the problem of inequality in communities. On the contrary, it has assisted rich and powerful to establish their mastery over common man. Liberalization has acquired the face of instrument of power and destruction."

16.7 Keywords

- **Economics:** Policy of expenditure or budget of a state or country
- **Evolutionism:** A famous principle of modern scientists, according to which the Earth was a basic matter in the beginning from which sequentially all originated.

16.8 Review Questions

1. Comment on the historical perspective of globalization.
2. Clarify the social dimension of globalization.
3. Verify this statement 'Globalized economy is marching towards capitalism'.

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4. Comment on the advantages and disadvantages of globalization.
5. Describe the influences of globalization on the people of developing countries.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Communications	2. Globalization	3. Strong	4. Scientists
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (b)	8. (c)

16.9 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
2. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
4. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
6. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*

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Unit 17 : Human Rights and International Trade

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know human rights and international politics.
- Explain international politics and human rights in the years after the Second World War.
- Discuss jimmy carter and the increasing sensitivity towards human rights.
- Elaborate human rights and national interests.

Introduction

Since two decades, in the sphere of International Politics the agenda of human rights has emerged fast in the form of a burning problem. General consent has not been formed about human rights even up to now. On one side there is declaration letter of human rights in which it is being claimed that human rights are universal and indivisible, and on the other side there are states like China and Singapore who have underlined that it is not right to define human rights like this. They are compulsorily influenced by country's time and cultural diversity seen obviously in the world.

Whenever some countries of Asia have raised the question of violation of human rights and expressed concern over probable crisis to international system, they have been advised to cater to Asian social values. Likewise in Islam world the western establishments of human rights are considered to be against the concepts of this subject of Islam. In reference of disintegration of Soviet Union and downfall of Communist empire, the wise analyzers draw our attention to the point that super power America had continuously tried to weaken its rival Soviet Union on the pretext of protection of human rights. His ally's countries of East Europe instigated discontentment and hostility against it. If we pay close

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attention to this background, this thing becomes clear that the whole debate on human rights cannot be considered as abstract or ideal. It had close relation with conflict of power going on in international world.

17.1 Human Rights and International Politics

On the termination of Second World War in 1945, after the onset of organization of United Nations, the interest of international community had been obviously in human rights. During war, allies exposed the devilry of their enemy, Adolf Hitler, the leader of Nazi Germany who was cruel, Racist and ruthless clan-destroyer. In regime of Nazis, millions of Jews were enclosed in coop like animals and slaughtered in gas chambers. Due to the campaign to eliminate a particular race, Nazis were notorious for their oppressiveness and abuse of human rights. It is difficult to ignore this thing that the Nazis imprisoned unarmed–innocent Jews in miserable condition in Auschwitz and Belzec refugee camps and did such scientific experiments on them about which one cannot even imagine. Construction and sale of consumer goods had been done out of bones, fat and skin of the deceased by Nazi Dictators shamelessly. European historians termed this sad episode as 'Holocaust' The vanquished Germany itself suffered from unprecedented guilt after those incidents were made known. In addition to it, the military squads of victorious ally nations hauled German nation in the dock of crime against humanity.

Notes In the history of International Law, the case of **Nuramvarg** is considered to be a milestone where German war prisoners were convicted of heinous crimes against humanism.

When convicted German officers gave this argument in their defense that they were carrying out orders of their senior officers, this logic was rejected. In other words, by this whole process this principle was propagated that the subject of human rights in international politics has been such, which the domestic laws or dictatorship of a sovereign state cannot straiten or limit. After accepting this logic, for any criminal it becomes impossible to give any argument in his defense that the violation of human rights has been done in accordance with carrying out of laws or mandate. In Nuremberg case many German war criminals were convicted and punished.

The other vanquished country, Japan was also convicted of crime against humanism. This thing will have to be accepted in this reference that during war after subjugation of South-East Asia the arrested Japanese soldiers had exploited and harassed local public treacherously and in pressure of war the violation of human rights have been going on involuntarily. Like Nuremberg, in Tokyo also a specific international court had been formed and on Japanese war criminals, proceedings were initiated to ascertain the responsibility for doing hostile crime against humanism. There is one thing worth quoting about Tokyo court which differentiates it from Nuremberg. Indian Judge **Mr. Radha Vinod** Paul commented while delivering his judgment that it is unjustified to blame only vanquished country for acting against humanism during war. This judgment drew the attention of international community that the allies countries cannot be considered to be innocent in this matter.

The greatest irony had been that for ceasefire America devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki by using atom bomb in which millions of innocent civilians together lost their lives. Prior to this also, in an effort to defeat Germany barbaric bombarding had been carried out over it and no consideration had been taken for the innocent people of Germany.

This sequence of events increased interest about human rights in the international community. It is important for us to turn the pages of history to really understand the importance of human rights. Many misunderstandings in this subject sprout from this fact that often we do not understand it

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important to clarify the differences between human rights and other kinds of rights. Even though human rights are closely linked to civil rights and basic rights or fundamental rights, but they cannot be considered as one. Civil rights are defined for the citizens of a particular state only and fundamental rights have the protection of the Constitutional system and court. Human rights neither had legal protection until now nor was this fact accepted that any citizen can bring that nation-state into legal palisades whose citizen he is.

17.2 Development of Concept of Human Rights

In modern history, the use of this phrase for the first time had been done during American Revolution when founders of American Republic issued Declaration of the Rights of Men. The name of Thomas Pain cannot be forgotten as a prominent writer. After some years, the success of French Revolution once more presented directly or indirectly, the agenda of human rights in the centre of international politics, by sounding the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity (revolutionary world brotherhood). On one side, liberty raised this demand that in any state or society an individual needs freedom from affliction for his all-round development. On the basis of eternal truth of world- brotherhood, an ardent effort has been done to make the right of liberty as universal.

In the years after the French Revolution in 19th century, the expansion of Imperialism kept the debate alive for rights and their violation throughout the world. On one side, the Racist-Colonists thought that whites are better than blacks in instinctive form and it is foolish to think slaves as equivalent, they can be accepted as more or less like intelligent animals or innocent–stupid children, on the other side there was no lack of such ideas which challenged these thoughts.

The expansion of Capitalism and Industrialization produced such inequality in even European countries that it is difficult to ignore it. Socialistic ideology which resists Capitalism began to mention the rights of Proletarian labour and underlined universal collective interest of a particular class. The research of thinkers like Marx, finally helped in establishing human rights in 20th century. In 20th century, when Asia-Africa conflict aggravated, this thing got exposed that European countries in Asia and Australia and American Whites in North America did eradication of natives with extreme inhuman cruelty while establishing their sovereignty.

The success of Bolshevik Revolution in Russia awakened consciousness about their rights throughout the world in the exploited and oppressed section. On one side, Western Capitalistic countries were severely criticizing Russian suppression of opposition during Stalin regime and called it inhuman, and on the other side, Soviet government was doing tireless effort to expose barbaric suppressive policies of Colonists and to give support to elements that were fighting for independence of Africa-Asia. Until the explosion of Second World War, the ground had been prepared in which the sapling of human rights could thrive easily. Due to this reason only, Nuremberg and Tokyo cases and Declaration Form of United Nations on human rights, gave momentum to this debate.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Since two decades, in the sphere of International Politics the agenda of …….. has emerged fast in the form of a burning problem.
2. In the …….. of International Law, the case of Nuramvarg is considered to be a milestone.
3. Other vanquished country, Japan was also convicted of crime against ……. .
4. ……. devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki by using atom bomb in which millions of innocent civilians together lost their lives.

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17.3 International Politics and Human Rights in the Years after the Second World War

In about five decades after ceasefire, the agenda of Human Rights, in two different references, and in different methods have been influencing international politics. On one side, it increased pressure to declare apartheid and racialism as an inhuman oppression (violation of human rights) and to punish the offenders. On the other side, to ascertain its victory in Cold War, America tried hard to disgrace communist block as a state of doing violation of human rights. Even Soviet Union itself, severely criticized apartheid poison spread in America and its maltreatment of Blacks.

As far as the question of apartheid and racialism is concerned, it has been comparatively easier to seek consensus about it, on international level. Especially in South Africa, the government implemented the policy of apartheid which treated non-whites with discrimination. The public opinion was against this policy. As the number of non-whites increased in Commonwealth, it became impossible for Britain to save its colleague from political crisis. First of all, the boycott of South Africa was done from sports ground and later on at every international stage particularly in sessions of United Nations, severe condemnation was being done in well-planned way. After a few years, this demand was raised that International System should declare some economic prohibition and restrictions and implement them strictly. This entire campaign not only yielded important contribution to end the policy of apartheid but also distinguished the power of human rights in international world.

In the background of Cold War, due to advocacy of different nations, it was not so easy to call one or other great power guilty of violating human rights. Although in United States of America, members of notorious groups like **Ku Klux Klan** had been proven guilty of heinous crimes like burning non-whites alive, it was not possible to punish them in Southern States which accepted this rightist social inequality spontaneously. Up to the 1960s, the problem of impounding civil rights of non-whites assumed a horrible form and became explosive crisis. To eradicate untouchability from schools and public transport system, Martin Luther King took inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi in the state of Alabama. Luther initiated a forceful non-violent movement on the tune of Satyagraha which met with success to a great extent. But all suffering American non-whites were not agreeable to this non-violent strategy. The leaders like Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad challenged their non-whites brothers to indulge in tit for tat provision. American Blacks at large scale changed their religion and riots broke out in New York and other big cities in 1968. The heading of famous book of renowned American writer James Baldwin was kept as, 'The Fire Next Time'.

During Olympic Games of 1968, world champion Boxer, a non-white, Cassius Clay who changed his name to Mohammad Ali, expressed dramatic protest against violation of human rights in America while gold medal was being conferred on him and gladly sacrificed his title of world champion. During these years, the attention of people went towards this fact that most of the dead American soldiers were non-whites in Vietnam War who were thrown in war as scapegoats. Not only in native country but also in foreign land, America was being accused everywhere with the charge of violating human rights. This thing was being noticed mostly in field of Vietnam War.

Example Brutal massacre of Vietnamese and shortsighted destruction of their environment is an example of this.

As a result, may be for some time only, America itself was placed in the cage in lieu of violation of human rights and its stance remained of defense.

America did not take time in retaliation. It had been its good luck that the behaviour of Soviet Union and Populist China gave many chances to America so that it could accuse them for violating human rights. Especially in Soviet Union, those who dare to dissent, were cruelly suppressed. As such it seemed logical to allege that in communist system there is no place to human rights. First of all, poets

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and novelists and then it was turn of the scientists who became victim of brutality. Boris Pasternak and Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Solzhenitsyn and Aleksandrovich Sholokhov, all were considered to be traitors or at least dangerous for national interest a unsocial elements. Some of them were sent to miserable prisons like Siberia. Some of them were kept as détente and insulted and humiliated. Although in 1956, after 20th congress of Russian communist party, Khrushchev tried to make government system as liberal, but in reality during his regime also, his inheritor Brezhnev's regime also, suppression of rivals continued. Expression of dissent had been considered to be a punishable crime.

The plight of Populist China was not better. The circumstances and the manner with which communist China freed Tibet, forced Dalai Lama to flee and take asylum in India. Here this thing is quotable that whoever individual opposed the system in communist group, was greatly respected by America and other Western countries who wasted no time in encouraging that man. Some one was distinguished for noble prize in Literature and the other for peace. The incident of Dalai Lama or combative leader of Solidarity organization, Lech Walesa of Poland exposed this fact. Under such circumstances, the possibility of strategically use of diplomacy of human rights continuously increased.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. In the years after the French Revolution in 19th century, the expansion of Imperialism kept the debate alive for rights and their violation throughout the ……... .

   (a) society (b) world

   (c) state (d) region

6. The expansion of …… and Industrialization produced such inequality in even European countries that it is difficult to ignore it.

   (a) renewal (b) capitalism

   (c) communism (d) nationalism

7. The success of Bolshevik Revolution in Russia awakened consciousness about their rights throughout the world in the exploited and …… section.

   (a) proletariat (b) exploiter

   (c) exploited (d) best

8. To eradicate untouchability from schools and public transport system, Martin Luther King took inspiration from ……. .

   (a) Mahatma Gandhi (b) Jawaharlal Nehru

   (c) Abraham Lincoln (d) Dr. Rajendra Prasad

17.4 Jimmy Carter and the Increasing Sensitivity towards Human Rights

American President, Jimmy Carter was an atheist Christian and exceptionally idealistic individual. In his youth he had been influenced with the establishment of Peace Core by President Kennedy. His mother has worked as a Peace Core volunteer in India. It will not be correct to dismiss the resolution of Carter, about protection of human rights, by commenting that it is either disinformation of Cold War or part of strategic scheme. In the beginning of his tenure, Carter declared that agenda of human rights will be there in the centre of his foreign policy and he would not hesitate to take stringent action for their protection. His encounter with Soviet Union and his rashness for retribution of fanatic Islam should be analyzed in this reference. It is essential to associate this thing when Ayatollah Khomeini

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dethroned the government of Shah Reza Pahlavi, whose base was not democratic and it had been discredited for ruthless violation of human rights.

After adoption of human rights by Carter, its influence on international system continued to rise. This thing is clear today that to decrease Soviet dominance and in proving Soviet-social system inhuman, the diplomacy of human rights played a significant role. This argument also became influential during these years that liberty of religion and faith is an inseparable part of democratic open society and the negligence of this human right is invalid.

Caution Irony is this — America which holds Soviet Union and other Communist countries as culprits of violation of human rights, had no time to glance at the crossed over condition of its colleagues.

In Ireland bloody civil war had been going for years in which lives of innumerable innocent citizens had been lost or their human rights were impounded. Even greater contradiction is being seen in Western Asia where the treatment of Israelis with Philistines can be termed as inhuman. Yes, America has been trying continuously to tarnish Philistines as extremist and anti-social element. America pretended to be blind towards the clan-destroying violation of human rights of Israeli governments. America never thought it to be essential to link those questions of violation of human rights in which civil citizens became victims in refugee camps of Lebanon or violent intervention in day to day life of Palestinians living under the influential area of Palestine Liberation Organization.

Task Shortly highlight Jimmi Carter's sensitivity towards Human Rights.

17.5 Human Rights and National Interests

In some countries violation of human rights has been going on without armed struggle. America and other Western countries were sad and agitated due to it. In Populist China the members of a group named, Falun Gong were forcibly restricted to do collective prayer, meditation and postures and exercises of yoga at public places. This 'Communal Ideology' had been dubbed only as anti-party and anti-national. Here it is noticeable that in Soviet Union and Maoist China, there was no place for religion. This thing can be considered in accordance with those ideologies of Marx in which he had told that religion is a dangerous intoxication like opium for multitudes. In disintegration of Soviet Union and not only in Poland, Hungry or Romania but also in Philippines, the role of religion for party's sole dominance and for dethroning of dictatorship had been very important.

Did You Know? Marx told that religion is dangerous intoxication of opium for multitudes.

The revolution which changed the government in Iran or shattered Soviet power in Afghanistan had been based on fanatic Islamic ideology only. So China's Communist Party looks apprehensively at any religion or community which could challenge it in future. China has not been able to finish attraction of glory of Dalai Lama or Tibetan Buddha religion even after half a century in Tibet. This

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thing also shows that their animosity for Falun Gong community was 'logical'. From factual point of view this resistance may be 'logical', but in reference to human rights, it can only be called unlawful. International Organizations like Amnesty International have formulated it on international level that to accept any religious sect according to one's faith and conviction and to choose the path of worship is also a basic human right which cannot be deemed as less important than question of life and death. It is difficult to deny that in maximum countries a big part of any individual or society's cultural identity is associated with religion and this identity stands particularly for minorities, is not only important for fundamental rights but also for their existence.

In various countries of the world whose size is very small, many elements of population are enumerated in minorities. Pashtun and Tajik in Afghanistan consider themselves to be harassed and endangered sub nationals and the same situation has been of Kurds in Iraq. The plight of Rohingyas and Chakmas in Bangladesh is not less oppressive. International Community has been expressing its concern for negligence and violation of their human rights. Muslims chose the option of violent terrorism long back for protection of their human rights in Christian majority Philippines and in Southern Mindanao Islands. Likewise, in Indonesia under Malay dominance and oppression, Eastern Iriyan, Timor state and Aceh on Western end of Sumatra have indulged in riots. In African Continent, even after the termination of Colonialism, transformation of tribal society in modern nation state has not been easy. Even after return of Whites, the violent surge of communal riots showed ghastly view of this continent to the world. It may be bloody struggle between Hutu or Tutsi of Central Africa or violent explosion of retaliation in Nigeria or Sudan due to tribal and religious discrimination, it has become almost impossible to sustain human rights in such resultant situation. May be, it is easy to hold Western Multi-National Companies, the death dealers responsible for distress of Africa by showing temptation and selling weapons to them. This thing cannot be ignored that African leaders who were prone to tribal sincerity, blind beliefs and prejudices, never thought it to be essential to take any step to establish human rights. Since last one decade, there has been a situation like Civil War and recently there is a position of deadlock in war field. All successful African leaders have only been nepotistic dictators (Nelson Mandela, perhaps is only exception of this).

After fragmentation of Yugoslavia and Soviet Union in East Europe and territory zone of Eurasia, human rights have been in crisis due to war like atmosphere there. The inhabitants of Chechnya displayed their interest towards fanatic Islamism and adopted the strategy of terrorism to punish central government for violation of human rights by Russians. During last one decade, the condition of civil war has been prevailing in this area and recently there is condition of deadlock in war field.

The problem of human rights has not only been produced due to developing countries, Islamic world and newly formed states out of fragmentation of socialistic empire but the process of Globalization also has influenced it greatly. Without going in for unnecessary details, placing only one example is enough. Workers, skilled artisans have been going to Europe and America from Africa and Asia, at large scale in search of better future and better golden possibilities. At some places their density and representation in population has reached more than the local public. Whites are very much worried concerning Turks in Germany and in France they are worried about Arabs who have reached there from Morocco or Algeria. Argument is given that due to coming of refugees in large number; the great countries of Europe may easily forgo their meaningful identity. The fact is that white labourers and artisans feel that their jobs and business are not in safe. Whites' view of Racialism towards Non-Whites reflects in their policies somewhere or other. The immigrants who were financially weak, have been bearing with diverse restrictions on their freedom because they are very anxious to improve their luck. Sooner or later, there emerges a consciousness, especially in refugee youth generation that they would not accept this discrimination any longer and they will agitate for their human rights. Those countries of the Third World with whom trade has been going on at large scale with

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America and Europe, are not unfamiliar with the fact that the system of World Trade Organization had been adopting double standards concerning this. This thing has been proved so many times that the Western Countries especially America want to implement such indirect restriction on Third World and developing countries in guise of human rights so that the market zones of developing countries remain in their control. Side by side, Western Countries want to maintain their control on their own market-zone.

17.6 Summary

- Since two decades, in the sphere of International Politics the agenda of human rights has emerged fast in the form of a burning problem.
- On the termination of Second World War in 1945, after the onset of organization of United Nations, the interest of international community had been obviously in human rights.
- In modern history, the use of this phrase for the first time had been done during American Revolution when founders of American Republic issued Declaration of the Rights of Men.
- In about five decades after ceasefire, the agenda of Human Rights, in two different references, and in different methods has been influencing international politics. On one side, it increased pressure to declare apartheid and racialism as an inhuman oppression (violation of human rights) and to punish the offenders. On the other side, to ascertain its victory in Cold War, America tried hard to disgrace communist block as a state of doing violation of human rights.
- In some countries violation of human rights has been going on without armed struggle. America and other Western countries were sad and agitated due to it.
- The problem of human rights has not only been produced due to developing countries, Islamic world and newly formed states out of fragmentation of socialistic empire but the process of Globalization also has influenced it greatly.

17.7 Keywords

- **Cooper:** Home or place to live made for animals and birds
- **Satanization:** Tyranny like a Satan
- **Clan destroyer:** One who destroys a complete clan

17.8 Review Questions

1. Scrutinize human rights and international politics.
2. What are human rights? Describe the development of the concept of human rights.
3. Describe effects of human rights on international politics after the Second World War.
4. Comment upon human rights and national interests.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Human rights	2. History	3. Humanism	4. America
5. (b)	6. (b)	7. (c)	8. (a)

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17.9 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
2. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
3. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
5. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
6. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*

Unit 18 : Changing Nature of American Power

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know uncomfortable beginning of Indo-American relations and American Indignation over Indian Nuclear Ambition
- Explain developed cooperation due to globalization and open market.
- American President Election and World Politics and India's Tour of Hillary Clinton

Introduction

From the time soon after independence, ups and downs have been seen in Indo-American relations. It can be said that it has been a 'love-hate relationship'. In the beginning the reservoir of goodwill between the two countries was huge. During the Second World War, American President Roosevelt had supported India's freedom fight and India had the hope that after independence there will not be much trouble in cooperation with America. When Nehru did his first American tour in the form of Prime Minister, the democratic system of both countries was presented as the strong foundation of friendship in the future. Unfortunately, the commencement of Cold War brought non-aligned India into the group against America. Even though Indian government kept repeating strongly that it is as much away from communist coalition as much it is from capitalist group, but American foreign diplomat Dallas believed that whoever is not standing with them, was against them. When America provided military furnishings to Pakistan on a large scale, it was natural for India to get suspicious. In the Security Council of the United Nations Organizations, Pakistan kept getting America's diplomatic

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support under pressure of its strategic necessities on the Kashmir issue too. From Korea crisis to Suez crisis, non-aligned India's independence kept America conspicuous about it.

18.1 Uncomfortable Beginning of Indo-American Relations

India also hoped that it will be able to fulfil its economic and technical requirements with the help of America. Such thinking of India can be termed as innocence. The large scale on which America had prepared the marshal project for the reconstruction of Europe demolished in war; it was not ready to allocate even one-hundredth part for the economic development of India or Asia. It was a different matter for countries like Pakistan or South Korea, whose exploitation America was doing like its pawns on a chessboard. When Pundit Nehru's sister reached America, in the form of special ambassador of Indian Prime Minister, looking for economic help in the form of food-grains, she was insulted badly, as if a dirty beggar has stood with his hands extended at a prosperous relative's house right at the time of dinner. Apart from food grains when India wanted to import technology for the establishment of steel plant, it only got to listen that it did not have the capacity for such extravagance. This fact is worth remembering that Soviet Union never showed any hesitation in helping India to acquire the capability of heavy industries. Bhilai, Sindri are its examples. In this way India's disillusionment from America kept happening and it found itself closer to Soviet Union.

In the 1960s, when America provided food grains to India under the P.L. 480 plan, it collected full price for this donation.

Example

Even though food grains were being given to India for free, but India had to pay the price for its transportation in American ships. Whatever price of this American food grain was pegged was deposited in American accounts in Indian rupees.

According to this agreement, Americans had the authority to spend this money in India's development programmes according to their own will. It is clear that the development projects that Americans used to choose for this grant, they were of the benefit to American diplomats. A big portion of the money was spent on research-education and cultural programmes and on the publishing of textbooks. Along with the exchange of bureaucrats, specialists and scientists, scholarships were also given on a large scale to the talented Indians to study in America. All this had only one objective to form a big army of friends to create public sentiment in India in favour of America. This fact is also worth remembering that the projects that America supported and helped, they never had scarcity of money. Other projects remained half-dead and dried in the scarcity of money. This maxim of **Smt. Gandhi** was not baseless that our priorities of employment were getting jumbled up because of foreign hand and disparity and regional imbalance between different sections of the society were increasing in a dangerous manner. They were a part of the campaign for the propaganda of capitalist western democratic values. Even though at that time humor-liking Members of Parliament like Piloo Mody had reached the house like a collared clown to annoy and tease Smt. Gandhi, the statement of 'Yes I am an agent of the C.I.A.' was not to be ignored as a joke. At that time Smt. Gandhi's Congress party was in minority and it required support from Indian Communist Party to form government. Hence it was easy to convulse that Smt. Gandhi was being outspoken against America with influence from communists, but reality was that America's proud conduct and the war policy of military coalitions of Cold War did not leave any other alternative for non-aligned India.

18.2 American Indignation over Indian Nuclear Ambition

After much difficulty, when America accepted to help India to establish the Tarapur plant after Canada gave help to India in the area of nuclear research, it linked it with the condition of putting restraint

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on India's nuclear programme. India was continuously pressurized that it signs on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and accepts the fact that it will never create any atomic weapons. India itself has always been a supporter of complete atomic disarmament, but it could not be ready for any such agreement in which dual criteria are being applied or its sovereign decline is implicit. India has always persisted that before forcing others to sign on the initial non-proliferation treaty, America should start a dialog with Soviet Union to destroy and reduce its atomic weapons reserve. Profound differences have always remained between the two countries on this subject. When India did its first atomic test in 1974, America imposed many economic restrictions against it to teach it a lesson. Many Indians thought at that time that America is venting that anger with this excuse which had been created with the incapability at the time of Bangladesh freedom movement. In 1978, during the India tour, President Carter clarified that America will not give nuclear fuel for the Tarapur plant. Like parsimony in economic technical help, friendship with Pakistan and the strategic coalition, atomic issue has also dulled relations between India and America and has made them tart, if not bitter.

Usually, there is a fallacy that American Democratic Party administration is more liberal and sympathetic towards India. It is important to break this illusion. It may be Kennedy or Johnson, Carter or Bill Clinton, every American President decides his foreign policy in his national interest only and whether these facts may seem very agonizing but America keeps India quite behind in its priorities of foreign policy, behind Europe, West Asia, Russia, China, Japan and Iran. From the time when Henry Kissinger suggested the matter of reconstruction of international system, India's devaluation became stronger. Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan, Gulf War, unification of Germany and Vietnam and dissolution of Soviet Union were such important events which removed America's attention from India.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Unfortunately, the commencement of Cold War brought non-aligned India into the group against …… .
2. From Korea crisis to ……. crisis, non-aligned India's independence kept America conspicuous about it.
3. India was continuously pressurized that it signs on the …… non-proliferation treaty.
4. In the priorities of American foreign policy …… is kept quite behind.

18.3 Developed Cooperation due to Globalization and Open Market

Basic change in this situation can be seen in the beginning of the 1990s when India declared economic reforms and accepted liberalization and globalization. Then Americans realized that India is not only a big market but also a big reserve of cheap skilled labour and professionals, whose utilization they can do in their interests. After leaving communist group's central placement, it became easier for India to cooperate with capitalist America on the basis of pure profits. Rajiv Gandhi began this task and his successor Narsimha Rao took it forward fast. Until coalition government formed in the center in the leadership of BJP, land was ready for not only economic, but also strategic cooperation with America. Until that time only Russia and China had become America's associate partners and ideology had completely been omitted in international politics. In the National Democratic Front government, the foreign minister Jaswant Singh participated in a long series of dialogs with American Strobe Talbott. Jaswant Singh believes that through his efforts many misunderstandings that were in America's mind towards India could be removed and strong arrangement could be done for mutual

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beneficial relationship in the future. It is required to think about this matter with a cool mind whether this claim is really true or poor Jaswant Singh was fooled by the Americans.

Many rearrangements happened in Jaswant Singh's tenure. Soon after the nuclear test, America imposed restrictions of crores of dollars on India and along with this continuously made efforts to pressurize India that it signs on C.T.B.T. In the leadership of Shri Singh, the Indian board lightened up some of these restrictions after talking to Strobe Talbott. Finally, India came to know that India is not important for America, but America is very important for India. Shri Jaswant Singh could not get much to his country in the part of economic cooperation, but President Clinton's tour proved that the importance of upcoming India is worldwide. There has been another reason for the new friendship of these two democracies—the 'offensive' policies of new American President George Bush. America has lightened its 'pro-Pakistan attitude' in the Kashmir issue also. After the terrorist attacks on America on 11th September, 2001, the Indo-American relations are being seen with a new perspective. Soon after these attacks, the Indian government attracted America's attention towards increasing insurgency. Critics say that welcoming American military forces into South Asian subcontinent with such open hands has not been a correct policy, but India did not have any other option left. In a 'unipolar' world, where strong American military force and its strong economic system had been spreading, doing this had become nearly essential. It has to be seen that in the coming days whereas America has been continuously attacking Afghanistan, what attitude India adopts. One main objective in front of Jaswant Singh remained that how he assures American government that we can prove to be a better friend than Pakistan.

Another major reason for differences between India and America is the ill will of America towards Islamic states. Especially, after the incident of 9/11, America looks at every Islamic state with a vision of doubt and believes Libya, Iran, etc. to be evil countries. According to President Bush, the jihad of Islamic fanatics was a grave danger for Christianity and western culture and these people should be considered as enemies of humanity. It is ironical that he considered Pakistan to be his friend who encourages atomic smuggling with oppressive backward Saudi government and Taliban. The way in which America has violated international law and tradition and has changed the authority in Afghanistan and Iraq, the whole Islamic world is sad against him. A big part of India's population is of Muslims and it is not possible for India to get involved in this crusade by blindly following America. Its freshest example is Iran.

As far as the history of India's relations with Iran, it is not centuries but thousands of years old. Before Islam setting roots in that country, a prosperous civilization was flourishing there and its comparison has been done with other ancient civilizations of the world. Whether it is Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia or the civilization of the Indus Valley, it is important to remind of the fact that a deep realization of proud history is always there in the Iranian rulers' minds whether it is the dictatorship of Reza Shah Pahlavi or religious rule of Khomenis. This fact is an indelible part of Iranian national memory. During the Gulf War, the enmity between Iran and Iraq was not only the clash between the Shia and Sunni communities, but somewhere it can also be seen in the form of expeditions repeated by two ancient cultures to increase their domain by using military power and protect it. Like Chinese civilization, a special cultural identity is linked with the Iranian empire too in an integral manner. It may be dressing or food, literature history or music, a different identity has always remained alive in India's experience in reflecting this existence.

Persian language has always been an earned treasure of educated intellectual section. It may be Masnavi or Ghazal; both modes have reached South Asia via Persia. Before the development of Urdu, Persian was the language of poets and elite courtsmen. As per many musicians, Sitar and Santoor have reached India in similar manner like Biryani and Pulao. If it is assumed that all these dishes and instruments are typically indigenous and India's holy land is the basic place of the Aryan compilers of Vedas, still it is impossible to deny a historical truth that Indian Aryans and Iranian Aryans were close relatives and many similarities can be seen in the people here in the language, culture, etc.

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Even after the sentiment of respect to Islam, there was never any difference in the closeness of relations between India and Iran. Sufi connections, Chishti Naqshbandi and Qadri reached us from Iran. Even if you do not want to get entangled in all these matters the recent years are not less important. No matter how stressful our relations with Pakistan may have been after division, Iran has been our friend and helper. It is impossible to forget the fact that from beginning itself America's sight has been on Iran's oil reserves. The first crisis in Cold War was about Iran when America was seen solicitous to use strength to prove the refinement of its oil company as licit. Iran's geo-political situation proved as armor for it. Neighbour Soviet Union could not bear that America intervenes or infiltrates in its proximal vital area. Apart from it non-aligned India too was suspicious with American mobilization so close to its borders and in the coming years it gave its unflinching support to Reza Shah Pahlavi while adopting an independent foreign policy. Grateful Iran gave every possible help to India. Today due to the sensitivity towards the environment, the Kudremukh project which is under strain, reminds of the memories of the friendship which comes into use at such thick times. There is no use of making a long list, but still this fact needs to be highlighted that in comparison to America, India has been benefitted more from Iran and can trust it more.

Today Iran's satanization is being done in similar way as it was done for Iraq. Funny fact is that oppressive dictator Reza Shah Pahlavi got complete support from America. Probably, only because he used to spend a big portion of his earnings to buy military goods from America and used to deposit the rest into American accounts and was a solicitor of modernization of western framework. Today Americans upset with Iran's Islamic fanaticism forget that the Taliban seeds in Afghanistan were sowed by them and they only have done the task of pushing Iraq into Jihadi's laps by destroying its communist attitude. Apart from this America is responsible for army in Pakistan and strength of tie-ups of 'fierce mullahs'. A ghastly irony is that America has been ignoring the Islamic military Pakistan which has created its bomb with open smuggling, and Pakistani scientist Dr Khan who has sold his knowledge to countries like North Korea to earn blind profit. The question that should be asked is that why is America so tensed at this juncture? America had deliberately propagated desperation about Iran's nuclear programme one or two years ago, by broadcasting false information about Iran's 'weapons of mass destruction'. It should be thought that this time too ground is being prepared for interventionist attack.

Notes Reality is that the main motive of American foreign policy is only that on international stage there should be no state or group of states remaining to challenge it. The dissolution and disintegration of Soviet Union has made this task easier.

China is the only exception, but its peak lead is very old and there too meltdown and scattering in a dramatic manner can be seen anytime. If this does not happen still American diplomacy will try to keep China along side and discipline the others.

The amount of concern that American has regarding Iran, a little less is about India. American analysts are not unaware of the fact that after Indonesia the biggest population of Muslims in the whole world resides in India. After 9/11 the protectors of the fatherland see this whole community with the look of suspicion and believe that some mad or naïve youngsters can be admitted by the dissatisfied elements available here for bigoted terrorism. They daub the fact that ultimately the dangerous stream of international terrorism flows from their friend country Saudi Arabia which irrigates these poisonous elements everywhere. In totality the task of unnecessarily making Indian politics as communal also seems to be an Iranian problem seen from American spectacles.

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Did You Know? After Indonesia the biggest population of Muslims in the whole world resides in India?

Today we should strongly understand that any superpower does not help any other state to raise or come forward. One has to create its place on international stage on one's own. This fact is well evident from the experience of Soviet Union and communist China. At this time America is entangling India in the mirage that America will be helpful in making it a big power and poor India will never be able to fulfil its aspiration in the lack of this help. Reality is that America's national interest can only be fulfiled when India is weak and dependent in the matter of foreign policy. An essential part of this strategy is to make India dependent on itself in the area of energy. Today only 3% part of our energy requirements is fulfiled by nuclear resources. There is no probability of the fact that until the next thirty-forty years this medium will be profitable from the perspective of profit. Yes, in this entire affair we would have made our capability of hydropower carious and would have bid farewell to that gas pipeline project also which can link us with Afghanistan and Pakistan via Azerbaijan and Iran.

18.4 American President Election and World Politics

American President Elections of the year 2008 can be considered as a milestone in international politics. It was such a decisive turn, which can surely be said as historical from the perspective of change. Obama's victory was an indicator of change in many matters. He is first such an American President who is partially black and partially of Muslim progeny. In terms of age too he is quite younger than his competitor of the Republican Party and a member of different generation. He had beaten a popular and anticipated candidate Hillary Clinton to become a candidate of the Democratic Party. People speculating about the elections believed that America (as became apparent in both elections of President Bush) was about half divided into two parts. People believed that it was a battle of equals and the decision of win-lose can be in favour of any party with very little margin. But victory of Obama was in a landslide fashion with lot of votes by which this fact became apparent that Americans want change. Its best proof was a few days before elections, of America's famous General Colin Powell who had been President Bush's Secretary of State, who left years of advocacy towards Republican Party and supported Obama's candidature. It is difficult to object about Powell whether he did so only because of racist fascination. During his election campaign, the matters on which Obama stressed upon, special agreement could be seen among young American voters. It may be return of forces from Iraq front, beginning of dialog with Islamic world or to get respite to American labourers and entrepreneurs who were victim of economic depression, a big section of American public felt that Obama was worth doing something. During his election campaign Obama gave the assurance that he will bring back those jobs and opportunities of employment to America which have gone to foreign countries through call centers and business process outsourcing.

Before Obama's stepping into the White House these predictions had started how many election declarations will remain after few months. It is well-known that a candidate is compelled to become much more responsible after becoming the President. He doesn't remain a candidate of the party but becomes head of the state of the whole country and in the matter of foreign policy; he has to work while keeping in mind the restraint of the senate. Even though American President is known as the most powerful person of the world, but he is not autocratic. American political system is of 'checks and balances'. President can use Executive Privilege only at the level of war. The probabilities of reshuffling in international role of America were limited at Obama's will. The task of bringing back troops from Iraq happened and also did not happen. The number of American soldiers posted at Iraq was reduced

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but these military contingents were sent to Afghanistan to handle the deteriorating situation. Apart from this President Obama presented a new geo-political ideology named Af-Pak, under which Afghan-Pakistan border was declared as the most dangerous theater of explosive operations. American army kept bombing and launching missiles over Talibans active in this region but along with this the economic and military help given to Pakistan was also increased. Like Condoleezza Rice, Hillary Clinton also remained eager to suggest that to reduce tensions in South Asia and to defeat fanatic Taliban the mutual cooperation between India and Pakistan should be increased. Unexplainably Obama administration has been ignoring the fact that Pakistan does not show any interest from its side to try to stop Taliban activities in India and detests to accept any kind of responsibility. America's diplomatic pressure remains one-sided and restricted to India only.

Where on one end this fact is propagated boldly that Obama has given rise to the probability of creative dialog with Islamic world, there this fact cannot be ignored that Obama administration divides Islamic world into "friends and enemies". Its relations have always remained friendly with Saudi Arabia of medieval barbarian feudal culture and from decades, Iran's counting is amongst evil, perverse states, which are recognized as America's deadly enemies. Improvement in relations with Libya had happened in President Bush's tenure but Sudan is still among those accused of promoting Islamic terrorism. Pakistan has been mentioned before. Indonesia is left, where A large number of Muslims in the whole world reside. Here it is not possible to extensively comment on different types of Wahhabi Arab Islam, Shia Islam of Iran-Iraq or conciliative liberal Islam of Indonesia or South Asia, neither does the fulfilment of America's relations with these states is on this basis. The criterion for friendship or enmity for America is perceptible by the availability of strategic resources like oil in the state or its sensitive geo-political situation. Loyalty towards democratic values or resolution for protection of human rights is used only as cosmetics of realistic policy. Self-contradiction of American policy is clearly seen after Iran and North Korea and this fact discloses the paradox of American policy with India and Pakistan.

With taking the oath of the President, Obama took some important decisions related to foreign policy. He appointed Hillary Clinton in the form of Secretary of State who had fought tough fight as his competitor in the form of a candidate of the Democratic Party. The post of Secretary of State is considered to be the most important post in the American political system after the President and so to many people the outspoken Hillary voicing alternative policies seemed an odd choice. In reality Obama was giving the notion of far-sightedness. By making Hillary a member of his team, this attempt of bringing unity again in the Democratic Party divided during the election campaign, proved to make America's international role quite powerful. Along with winning the President elections in 2008, the Democratic Party had gained majority in Senate and House of Representatives too, and the capability of these houses to control or stop Obama's foreign policy of selecting a different path had become quite low. Still consensus is desired in making American intervention successful in crisis points in the whole world. Apart from this the utilization of Hillary's husband ex-President Clinton also became possible in formal or informal manner in the form of Obama's private envoy.

Obama did not take time in announcing that he is ready to start dialog with Iran and he will not allow American foreign policy to be cumbersomely biased in this matter, as before. Iran's President Ahmadinejad welcomed his announcement. While adding this it is awaited whether any difference comes in America's saying and doing. Progress is not possible in Iran's matter. The year 2009 was the year of elections for President in Iran and an effective lobby in American policy makers hoped that the Iranian public eager to become free from staunch Ahmadinejad, will adopt democratic path of power switch in this election. By unity of deposed leader Rafsanjani and Ahmadinejad's competitor Mousavi, power could be seen deterring in Tehran. Although America itself stopped threatening Iran about its nuclear programme (as it happened in Bush's tenure) but this type of news continuously got published in American media in a sponsored manner that Israel can destroy Iran's nuclear resources by attacking it first for its own protection. Ahmadinejad got victory in

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the elections with heavy majority and his party was blamed for corruption in sub-elections. When Mousavi's supporters took to the streets to express their outrage, they were oppressed barbarously and Iran's topmost leader Ayatollah Khamenei who remained neutral in his power struggle until then, became vocal in Ahmadinejad's favour. Ahmadinejad started blaming that foreign powers have been responsible for creating turmoil in Iran's political stability and this time too they are doing conspiracy to weaken Iran. Certainly with the excuse of election results western media published imbalanced news and comments about the fanaticism of the present Iran government, ignoring the fact that outside America and West Europe there are serious differences about democratic political system of human rights and piousness (not secularism). Wherever such a government is formed or re-elected, which is not favourable to America, it is no longer so easy to form grounds to change powers immediately by terming it as inhuman, communal and undemocratic as was at the time of intervention in Afghanistan or Iraq.

With starting his tenure Obama also accepted that during Bush's tenure there were tyrannies on Taliban terrorists arrested in Guantanamo jail. At that time there was a hope that Obama is free from the attitudes of crusades like Bush and will be able to bring justified changes in American foreign policy. In this matter too Obama and his advisors remained mum and the hope that had been expressed that the guilty will be punished so that such events do not recur in the future became foggy.

Notes The issue before America is really grim. If it adopts gristly soft policy about Islamic fanatics it can be considered as its weakness and if it maintains the old attitude then a wrong propaganda against it in the whole Islamic world as Islam's enemy is natural.

Because of this Pakistan's role in the American foreign policy is being considered as much more important than before. In American policy makers such analyst specialists are not scarce who believe that the birth and progress of Islamic fanatic terrorism has been in Pakistan and Pakistan too can prove to be the most influential partner of America in its eradication. About 85% equipment for the international war being fought in Afghanistan against terrorism is reaching Afghanistan via Pakistan. Apart from this until the Pakistan army engages in the campaign to abolish Pashtun and Afghani Talibans from its northwest frontier, America itself is not seen as an enemy of the Muslims. Obama administration has given economic assistance to Pakistan on a large scale after accepting this fact and has lifted the ban imposed on Pakistan for the purchasing of military equipment. It is ironical that even after being in favour of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and after Pakistan's nuclear smuggling got busted, America has been seeing Pakistan and India with equanimity. Obama's envoys have tried many times that indirectly they accept American mediation or bona fide suggestion to resolve the Kashmir conflict. Strong opposition has been there in India as soon as these suggestions became public knowledge and Indian government has been compelled to explain that it will never stand such type of intervention. Here it needs to be highlighted that where India wants to peacefully solve Kashmir conflict through bilateral talks, there Pakistan considers its internationalization to be in its own interest. Its belief or thought is not baseless in the present dismal international strategic environment, American mediation or suggestion will be in its own favor, not in India's. It should not be ignored that because India and Pakistan both are nuclear powered countries, south Asia has become dangerously explosive crisis region in the perspective of Americans, hence it is necessary to resolve the Kashmir conflict soon to reduce tensions between India and Pakistan. On one end Americans continuously keep suggesting India to adopt lenient attitude, Pakistan gets the message from their statements that it should make efforts in the direction of an agreement satisfactory to both parties. Until it is fighting war against Talibans in the northwest frontier, it does not have to do anything and everyone will keep getting desired rewards.

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Another fact is mentionable about America's policy in South Asia/Pakistan. Obama government did not register any objection or dissatisfaction when the Zardari government announced imposing Sharia law in the bordering region of the Swat district under pressure from fanatic elements. It is ironical that Pakistan's formation had been done as an Islamic state, where Sharia law should have been imposed. If until sixty years from independence different military and civilian governments of Pakistan had not considered doing so as necessary then why suddenly it was needed in 2009? It is evident that on one end under American pressure Pakistan government which was compelled to take military action against the fanatics had started feeling it necessary to prove itself as a well-wisher and protector of Islam. But this strategy of Pakistan of 'live and let live' with the fanatics is full of big dangers of its implications. Only the morale of fanatics has become bolder from this appeasement and they have started demanding that this system should be imposed in Punjab, Baluchistan and Singh also, as soon as possible. Once begun, it is impossible for any Pakistani government to stop the tide of communal fanaticism. America cannot be completely ignorant of the fact that the armed Taliban establishing its self-willed state until terrain which is only 150 kilometers away from Islamabad, can anytime establish a new evil state by forcibly unifying South Afghanistan and Northeast Pakistan's tribal provinces affected and disturbed by lawlessness and separatism. It is apparent that as of now Americans consider this probability as the best alternative in their strategic interests. Then the responsibility of peace and orderliness in this region will not be of their yes-man Hamid Karzai and Pakistan government will also be free from violent tribal rebellion going on from years. We believe that this thinking can soon prove to be suicidal. Far-sighted American analysts accept that once started, the dissolution and disintegration of Afghanistan and Pakistan will not stop. The matter which is the most serious is that if it happens then never will poppy cultivation or crime originated from it will end in Afghanistan and nor will there be any reduction in those providing them shelters to fanatic Islamic terrorists. The part of Obama's foreign policy about Southeast Asia gives rise to serious perils.

Obama's policy seems to be of dual criteria and full of dilemma about nuclear non-proliferation. As far as the question of India goes, approval of agreement about peaceful utilization of nuclear power had happened in President Bush's tenure and Indian government agreed that now there can be no interruption in nuclear cooperation. Even though Obama and Democratic Party have been opposing this agreement, but American self-interests became active in its favour after its completion. American companies making nuclear reactors and those doing fuel recoupment believed that upon removal of the restriction, India could also import these things from any other country like Russia too and if this starts happening then America will simply loose profits from trade of millions of dollars. Obama was not consentient with the decision of International Atomic Commission where it was given exceptional clean waiver based on its agreement with America. He believed that none of the countries that have not signed on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty can be considered as an exception. Obama administration has been indirectly trying to cancel the agreement. This decision was clearly taken with America's consent in the summit of G-8 organized in Italy in July, 2009 that until any country does not sign on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; nuclear cooperation cannot be done with it. It should not be forgotten that on the stage of G-8 France, Germany, Russia, China and Britain are also standing along with America. Hence India's thinking that it can muster nuclear fuel or sophisticated technology elsewhere even after the common decisions given by America or G-8, can be considered as its desipience.

18.5 Obama: Difference between a Statement and an Action

A bizarre atmosphere of good faith about America's new President Obama can be seen not only in his country but also in the whole world. Its reason is the youth. Youth in the whole world are feeling that he is the representative of a new generation and a new era is starting. Along with this it should not be forgotten that Obama is really unique and unprecedented in many matters. Though partially, but he is the son of black and Muslim father. Mother was of white race and he believes in Christian

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religion. The thing which beats all this is that during his election campaign Obama's attitude was idealistic in a combative manner, and he had promised that he will bring a creative change in the country and world. So after taking the oath at the time of his entry into the White House, everyone was listening to the footsteps of a golden future.

The moments of waiting are now over. But after gaining authority, with passing time, he is being seen as changed. It is true that during the election campaign whatever image a candidate presents, under pressure of responsibility, a change essentially comes into that after gaining power. But painful reality is that Obama is being seen as being changed overnight. The type of advisers that he has appointed and the type of explosive behaviour he has started about international crisis places, it seems that he is either incapable or reluctant to completely deny Bush's heritage.

This fact will be clear from some examples. Even though Obama has bluntly said that the world's Muslims should not feel that America is their enemy. But it does not seem so from his conduct that he is going to take any positive step in near future to assure the Muslims. Barbarian attacks of Israelis on homeless Palestinians in the Gaza strip in West Asia are going on from many months. Thousands of innocent women and children have lost their lives. It is well-known that now the Arabs are the shoulders of Israel. Here it cannot be analyzed in detail that how influential the Jewish American citizens and leaders are in America's internal politics, economic and cultural life, who sympathize with Israel. Neither there is time to discuss that in a phase of Cold War due to strategic sensitivity America was compelled to build Israel and to provide protection to this artificial nation-state. Today's bitter truth is that Saudi Arabia which is America's solicitor and dependent on it, is also sulkily agitated on this matter because of America's behaviour. Even though Saudi Arabia's corrupt, nepotistic and orthodox clan of medieval time's feudalistic culture remains America's sycophant; there is no shortage of such fanatic Saudi citizens believing in Islam, who have taken the oath to destroy America. Even though Kenya's Muslim blacks celebrated Obama's victory and Iran's President Ahmadinejad announced in his honesty that it is not reasonable to doubt Obama's intentions, but today it is getting difficult to deny the fact that doubts and distrusts are arising about Obama in the complete Islamic world.

This is not limited to Gaza strip and Palestine. Obama has restored the person working as the Defense Minister in Bush's cabinet on the same post. That general appointed by Bush who had earned his name in the destruction of Iraq, has now been posted on Afghanistan front. America's continuous attacks are going on in the northwest border region of Pakistan.

By bombarding from pilotless drone planes, everyday dozens of innocent citizens are loosing their lives. Pakistan's helplessness is that it can only cry in spite of violation of its sovereignty as it does not have any capability of retaliation against America. Now it is getting clear that American President may be of any party, race, religion or generation, his biggest priority is only of the national interest of America. Obama cannot be an exception. We should always remember that like any other nation-state, a single person cannot define or modify America's national interest. Different types of economic and political interests affect them.

Obama's issue is that he is the President of complete America—not of only youth or minority Americans. Along with this it should also be highlighted that all young Americans do not want humanitarian change, as we think in India. The change, for which majority Americans got him victory, was basically internally linked to politics and focused on economy and social welfare policies.

It may be Iraq or Afghanistan, it is important to safely bring back American soldiers sacrificing their lives on these fronts. As far as the question of south Asia, Obama has appointed Richard Holbrooke as his special envoy. As of now even though he has assured that he has not been granted responsibility for mediation on Kashmir topic or improvement in Indo-Pak relations, this risk is natural that it can be added in the future to the tasks assigned to him. Obama has appointed Hillary Clinton as his Secretary of State who cannot be considered free from the Clinton era South Asian thinking.

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In totality from the way in which Obama has started fixing things, it seems that in the coming days his tactics can be similar to old wrestlers, not like new friendly caliphs. His next step can create worry for India—whether we talk about Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, or B.P.O. outsourcing or rights to intellectual property. If India wants to save its existence in international politics, we will have to take steps to protect our interests and not for any new fight with America. We are not alone in the ring; other young men are also working out—like Russia and China. We should think carefully and coolly before taking the next step.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Basic change in this situation can be seen in the …….. when India declared economic reforms and accepted liberalization and globalization.

   (a) 1995 (b) 1990 (c) 1992 (d) 2000

6. Another major reason for …… between India and America is the ill will of America towards Islamic states.

   (a) thousands (b) neutrality (c) differences (d) enmity

7. History of India's relations with Iran, is not centuries but …… of years old.

   (a) thousands (b) hundreds (c) ten (d) twenty

8. Today Iran's …… is being done in similar way by America as it was done for Iraq.

   (a) humanization (b) satanization

   (c) liberalization (d) globalization

18.6 India's Tour of Hillary Clinton

American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's India's tour raised hope of a new beginning in Indo-American relations. The government's attempt to welcome her by creating an environment similar to the one few years back when she visited India with her husband was unsuccessful. Hillary Clinton tried hard to change her tour in America's interest. In Mumbai she first stayed in the Taj hotel which had been a victim of terrorism few months back. She signed the memorial book and expressed consolation to the mourning families of the bereaved as if she was showing that India and America are standing together in the war against terrorism. She met the actor Amir Khan to fascinate the young generation. She did a photo shoot with women wearing Rajasthani costumes and with some non-governmental voluntary organizations. After giving proof of friendship, that discussion could have begun in Delhi, for which responsible and aware citizens were doubtful.

In the last few days one thing has been clarified that Obama and Hillary Clinton's America does not consider the terrorism that India has been enduring to be a part of terrorism, whose victim it became on 9/11. When the American government announces that India and Pakistan both are victims of terrorism, it weighs both on the same scale in an unjust manner, by completely ignoring that the murderous batches carrying out terrorist activities in India are sent from Pakistan, whereas the form of terrorism in Pakistan is domestic. Pakistan has to become a target of fanatic Islamic terrorist violence because it is America's partner, cooperator and treaty friend, which the Islamic world considers as its major enemy. Apart from this it cannot be forgotten that America itself gave birth to the Taliban monsters to defeat Soviet armies from Afghanistan. In this way it is useless to say that south Asia has become the most dangerous explosive area because of nuclear weapons. America is not less responsible for this too. It closed its eyes for years towards the nuclear smuggling of Pakistan's atomic bomb creator Dr A.Q. Khan. Today when Af-Pak geo-political ideology is established then

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India's devaluation happens spontaneously in America's strategic priority. Today not many people are left in India who believe the stupidity that Obama government will let India benefit from that nuclear agreement (without collecting more price for it) which was signed on in the Bush tenure. In the meeting of G-8 it has become well-known that America's diplomacy is of 'Give from one hand and take back from the other'. Overall the main objective of Hillary's India tour was – to make India agree to sign on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Hillary or her President is not unacquainted from the fact that Manmohan's government was spared from falling because of the issue of this agreement. It is better to not to reminisce the situations in which it was spared. It was probably the most shameful chapter of Indian Parliament's history.

Caution Today if in spite of all this if America's boldness to do arbitrary conduct with India has increased, it is only because the leftist parties putting restraint on the coalition government have long died. Congress Party has gained more than needed majority and the Prime Minister feels that he can create new history about America and Pakistan.

Unfortunately, Pakistan is not cooperating with him. In the Non-Aligned Summit in Sharm el Sheikh the joint statement that our Prime Minister had released with Pakistan's foreign minister, is surrounded by controversies before his home return and mention of Baluchistan in it is not only a gross mistake but can also prove to be a fatal colic in the future. Another similar stupidity is that the problem of terrorism has been separated from the Indo-Pak dialog. Now you may object that Kashmir has not been mentioned this time but can anyone hope that Indo-Pak dialog can progress without solving this conflict? In recent days Kashmir valley has again started seething. Small events which seem to be a part of well-planned conspiracy have started arousing separatist violence on a big scale. It is evident that Pakistan's strategy is to keep Kashmir in the headlines. After this it can leave this task to its friend and protector America, which will increase pressure on India to normalize reconciliation and relations with Pakistan to reduce tensions. The statements given by Hillary endorse this analysis.

Hillary understands this fact very well that her task is not easy. There are many other disputed matters between India and Pakistan apart from the sensitive issue like nuclear policy from strategic perspective. America which is stuck in the claws of economic depression, cannot promote unemployment in America by granting profits of B.P.O. and call centers to India. America's attitude on the topics of patent and piracy is protectionist in the terminology of economics. Hence it is going to keep the doors of its markets closed for others. More dangerous changes are being seen in diplomacy. America cannot have the boldness to pressurize China. India's elbow can be sprained in this matter also. It needs to be understood that why a smiling Hillary got another photo clicked with Jairam Ramesh in the 'green' house of I.T.C. Company.

Hillary was eager that the Indian government soon bookmarks those places where reactors bought from America will be placed. America well understands the core meaning of 'Possession True, Claims False'. If once this deal is finalized, India's condition will not be to buy it from someone else. A golden dream is being shown to coat sweet syrup over this bitter medicine that Americans can create programs to send their satellites or other objects on Indian rockets. It is important to remain alert towards the danger that even though from economic perspective it is profitable but it will make India's space programme also hostage like the nuclear program.

India is not Pakistan. It does not need American crutches to save its existence. For the world's second largest populated country, which has thousands of years of proud history, nothing can be more important than its independence and autonomy. It can be called as collective selfishness or national interest.

Notes

18.7 Summary

- From the time soon after independence, ups and downs have been seen in Indo-American relations. It can be said that it has been a 'love-hate relationship'.
- The large scale on which America had prepared the marshal project for the reconstruction of Europe demolished in war; it was not ready to allocate even one-hundredth part for the economic development of India or Asia.
- India was continuously pressurized that it signs on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and accepts the fact that it will never create any atomic weapons.
- In the beginning of the 1990s, when India declared economic reforms and accepted liberalization and globalization, Americans realized that India is not only a big market but also a big reserve of cheap skilled labour and professionals, whose utilization they can do in their interests.
- Where on one end this fact is propagated boldly that Obama has given rise to the probability of creative dialog with Islamic world, there this fact cannot be ignored that Obama administration divides Islamic world into "friends and enemies".
- In the last few days one thing has been clarified that Obama and Hillary Clinton's America does not consider the terrorism that India has been enduring to be a part of terrorism, whose victim it became on 9/11.

18.8 Keywords

- **Primordium:** Beginning of any task
- **Old-fashioned:** Having old and narrow thoughts
- **Terrorism:** Horror or scare spread or created by terrorists

18.9 Review Questions

1. Describe uncomfortable beginning of Indo-American relations and analyze American indignation over Indian nuclear ambition.
2. Throw some light on the Indian international relations developed due to globalization and cooperation of open market.
3. Describe reasons for differences between America and India.
4. Comment upon the present relations of India and Iran while describing their history.
5. Describe the effects on world politics because of elections in America.
6. Describe American foreign policy of America's President Obama.
7. Describe America's dual policy towards India.
8. Highlight main reasons of Hillary Clinton's India tour.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. America	2. Suez	3. Nuclear	4. India
5. (b)	6. (c)	7. (a)	8. (b)

Notes

18.10 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
2. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
3. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
4. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
5. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
7. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*

Unit 19 : China as an Emerging Power

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Objectives
Introduction
19.1 Emerging Power of China
19.2 Developmental Review of China
19.3 Summary
19.4 Keywords
19.5 Review Questions
19.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know emerging power of china.
- Explain developmental review of China

Introduction

There is no doubt left on the subject that China is a mighty entity in international politics today. During Cold War, only two countries could claim to be super powers. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, the comparison of any country cannot be done with America. In such changing scenario China considers itself equal to at least Russia. Many economists admit that the economic system of China will be the biggest economic system in the world by the middle of 21st century. The effect of this is beginning to appear that China has been successful in controlling population growing at alarming rate and by the mid of 21st century, India will take its place as the highly populated country in the world. Many other things are being underlined about China again and again. Deng Xiaoping started a modernization, in spite of that liberalization, the sole right of communist party has been sustained in China and it is not at all eager that it should be identified as democratic form of state. China has selected the option of one state and two systems policy to take advantage of market. In the area of Hong Kong and Guangdong the implementation of free trade economy almost of capitalist pattern has been going on successfully for years together. The special financial zone established in Southern territory of China has proved to be quite successful.

19.1 Emerging Power of China

In spite of all these facts, the number of critics is not less who thinks that China may be looking quite strong from outside but internally it is hollow and weak. They draw our attention to this fact

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that for the last about 8–10 years, the economic development rate of China has never been less than 9.5% and this progress is three times the economic development of America. This thing cannot be ignored that this development has deranged regional balance. This condition may become volatile any time in future. Population experts are of the view that the average income of Chinese population has considerably increased. In other words, in a few years, the working population of China will be much less in proportion to retired population who would depend upon this class. In addition to this, Mao implemented the policy of family planning of one child per family whose unexpected results are coming before them. Not only parents but also grand-parents adored the only child so much that by the time he becomes young, he is spoiled.

Example

Due to too much love lost, to discipline youth, is becoming very difficult. The feeling of patriotism and sacrifice is not to be seen in this generation which used to be there in former generation due to laborious life.

There cannot be two opinions about this, that in the frontier areas of Xinjiang province, in Tibet and in connecting territory with Mongolia in Eastern Turkmenistan, tribal-communal unrest and indignation has been taking form of separatism and often its culmination has resulted in violent explosions. Some years ago, suppression of supporters of Dalai Lama was done with ferocious force and recently, it became necessary to use force to stop the demonstration of furious Muslims. About 175 people lost their lives in this struggle. Last year in organizing Olympic Games also, Chinese Government showed its extreme sensitivity towards protests of dissidents abroad, whereby some experts expressed the apprehension that the government of China is extremely worried about political stability. The Chinese experts believe that the generation of present leaders is above 70 in age and it has not been able to nominate and educate comparatively young descendents for the coming years. At the time of change of government in near future, this disturbance may assume the form of anarchy.

This thing should be remembered here that the comparison of China cannot be done with Russia. Ninety percent of population of China belongs to Hanoi. They have consensus towards other Chinese minority as they have common selfish ends. Chinese feel that the western sparsely populated area is heroic area for them. Wild Waste of America also had the same importance in 19th century, as this one for the Chinese. In addition to this, for many thousand years, Confucius musings have been acting as a strong foundation for Chinese families and social thinking. Quite before Mao or Marx, the entire creation has been considered as more important than the individual. Despite various ups and downs of dynasties, Chinese world-philosophy has not basically undergone any change.

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In view of Chinese Administrators only intermediate civilized society is that out of whose border, savages live and to keep them under one's control is a must for the conservation of one's culture and civilization.

It is spurious to think that China with population of about one and a half billion will suddenly fall like pack of cards. Soviet Union was a multi- nation's state which during the reign of Stalin forcibly installed a federal system in czarist structure. Due to artificially created differentiation, the disintegration of Russia took place rapidly. There was no reason to think that the destiny of China would also be the same.

There is one indubitable thing about China that the determination and execution of internal policies is done behind thick curtain of secrecy. The Chinese Experts gave it the name 'Bamboo Curtain', in the same way as during Cold War, the idiom of; Iron Curtain was used. Except big cities like Beijing,

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Shanghai, Wingding the access of foreign media is very limited in expanded area of China. People can know about series of events through only broadcasted and published news by government media and according to teaching 'less said but understood more' and by reading between the lines, they do their analysis. Once after the interval of ten years, when the session of Chinese Communist party takes place, only then something can be said in certified way about basic policy and change in leadership. To draw attention towards all this is essential because this thing has been proved so many times that the communist party of China has neither is of one opinion nor it can be like this on matters of war, finance and for internal political policies. From Mao's era till today, the internal differences of the party have been giving birth to internal power struggle in relation to ideology or in reference to determination of strategic policy in changing international scenario. The rise and fall of fortune of once considered all powerful leaders like Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping has been seen only because of this reason. Although at this time, Hu Jintao and his colleagues do not appear to be disturbed because of internal dissent and rivalry, still this thing cannot be denied that in coming years there will be continuity of their policies.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. China is a …….. entity in international politics today.
2. …… has selected the option of one state and two systems policy to take advantage of market.
3. In view of Chinese Administrators only intermediate …… society is that out of whose border savages live.
4. Comparison of China cannot be done with …… .
5. The determination and execution of internal policies of China is done behind thick curtain of …….. .
6. China has adopted a far-sighted policy for its …….. security.

19.2 Developmental Review of China

About one-fourth century ago when China started the expedition of modernization by adopting liberal economic policies then many western experts had expressed the hope that political rejuvenation will also slowly start in China along with economic change. With the influence of their foreign collaborators, sensitivity towards human rights will increase in Chinese government and gradually they will make the administration more democratic, along with which independence of expression will be seen in media too. The events of Thien An Mon Square are thirty years old now. At that time it could be said about China that it was keeping its first steps on the new path and lacked self-confidence to take risks. Thinking so about today's China is desipience. If numbers of economic development of China are trusted then China's rise has happened in the last two decades in the form of a big economic power. Consumption of oil or gas indicates that the speed of development of industrialization and urbanization has been quite fast. At the time of organization of Olympic Games in 2008 China had opened its gates for international media. Almost everyone openly appreciated that how fast China has made its infrastructure of international level. Foreign entrepreneurs trading with China and industrialists establishing productive units in special economic areas also believe that environment of economic development is quite favorable in China – laborers and artisans are cheap and disciplined, they do not have to face power or water cuts and peace and orderliness can be strongly maintained

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in these areas. Doubts about this are baseless that China's economic situation can be dismal in the near future. China has adopted a far-sighted policy for its energy security. It has done oil-gas related agreements and deals with many countries from neighboring Siberia to remote Africa.

It is also estimated about the sea bottom oil reserves in South China Sea that China can tap them if needed. Some scholars, in whom famous journalist Selling Harrison is included, believe that the reason for the struggle of China with Vietnam is the reserves of oil resources in the area near a disputed island group.

On the other hand some experts believe that the strength of the mammoth China is based on this misunderstanding that the dictatorship of Communist Party crushing democracy can continue for a sustained period and China's majority public will quietly keep suffering regional imbalance or tribal discrimination in the matter of economic development.

Caution If there are large numbers of casualties because of natural calamities – flood, earthquake, tsunami or famine, then it will be cumbersome to maintain political stability or evade from coming into the clutches of economic depression. In such a situation China can become lawless and can turn the public's attention from internal crisis to foreign enemy.

In our understanding such thinking is misconception of experts tempted for wish fulfillment. In recent years China has faced horrific natural calamities in which earthquake, flood and famine all are included. China did not accept any foreign help for relief works and fulfilled its insistence that it will complete the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction on its own. Critics of the present Chinese government have the objection that China did not allow foreign help to enter for relief work because they will then become witness to China's decaying condition in front of the whole world. Before this scholars like Amartya Sen have focused out attention towards the fact any government of China does not accept its weakness, incapability or mistake. In his opinion the correct evaluation of this fact is impossible that in recent years in how big areas the situation of famine has been prevalent in permanent form because of lack of production of food items because of government policies and how many lives have been lost in it. For a country with nearly 1.5 billion population, the value of life is evaluated to be lesser than traditional manner especially in those areas where the population density is sparse. India itself is the example of this fact that because of large number of casualties every year in natural calamities, very soon the government and maximum citizens, who are not directly affected by such events, start insensitive conduct. All this cannot be said about China's condemnation and criticism. It is extremely important for those studying international politics to understand that China is capable of enduring such big calamities because of its large size and big population and traditional and historical experiences. This needs to be kept in mind while estimating instability or probabilities of lawlessness over there. International community has been criticizing contemporary China because of one more reason.

China seems indifferent in the field of environment. It may be the urgency to transform cities into steel and concrete jungles in the competition of making them modern or the Three Gorges Dam project. India itself is very well acquainted with the fact that the construction of big dams can create big crisis for environment and social and political systems. Displaced population not only looses its livelihood but is forced to lead refugee life because of destruction of its familiar lifestyle and intimate surroundings. Apart from this China has been blamed to use Tibet in the form of nuclear dustbin. It should be highlighted that there has been no impact of this criticism on the Chinese government and in spite of this, it has continued the construction. In near future these neglected issues can give rise to serious crisis.

Notes

19.3 Summary

- There is no doubt left on the subject that China is a mighty entity in international politics today. During Cold War, only two countries could claim to be super powers. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, the comparison of any country cannot be done with America. In such changing scenario China considers itself equal to at least Russia.
- Many economists admit that the economic system of China will be the biggest economic system in the world by the middle of 21st century. The effect of this is beginning to appear that China has been successful in controlling population growing at alarming rate and by the mid of 21st century, India will take its place as the highly populated country in the world.
- There is one indubitable thing about China that the determination and execution of internal policies is done behind thick curtain of secrecy. The Chinese Experts gave it the name 'Bamboo Curtain', in the same way as during Cold War, the idiom of 'Iron Curtain' was used.
- If numbers of economic development of China are trusted then China's rise has happened in the last two decades in the form of a big economic power. Consumption of oil or gas indicates that the speed of development of industrialization and urbanization has been quite fast.
- China seems indifferent in the field of environment. It may be the urgency to transform cities into steel and concrete jungles in the competition of making them modern or the Three Gorges Dam project, China has still continued construction.
- In recent years China has faced horrific natural calamities in which earthquake, flood and famine all are included. China did not accept any foreign help for relief works and fulfilled its insistence that it will complete the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction on its own.

19.4 Keywords

- **Rejuvenation:** Renewal of any thing or object or changing its form.
- **Dictatorship:** Arbitrary use of authority, in which all the authority is in the hands of a single person.
- **Communism:** That principle in which everyone gets equal opportunity to participate in the country's political and economic activities.

19.5 Review Questions

1. Analyze China as an emerging power.
2. Highlight the rationale of the statement – 'The power of the mammoth China is based on the dictatorship of the Communist Party'.
3. Write a developmental review of China.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Mighty	2. China	3. Civilized	4. Russia
5. Secrecy	6. Energy		

Notes

19.6 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
2. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
3. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
5. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
7. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*

Unit 20 : Ethnic Resurgence and Identity Wars

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20.1 Environment for International Security
20.2 Nuclear Arms
20.3 Challenges of Nation-State System
20.4 Summary
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20.7 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know environment for international security.
- Explain nuclear arms.
- Discuss challenges of nation-state system.

Introduction

Qualitative changes have come in dangers produced for security in the post Cold War world. In traditional manner, both states and scholars centered their focus on the external dangers to security. Security has always been related to military aspect. All states, whether they are strong or weak, adopted the path of signing military treaties to acquire weapons or against regional dangers to ensure their own security so that they can safeguard themselves from foreign intervention.

During the end of the 9th decade of the 20th century, the end of Cold war created a completely new global security environment in which there was stress on civil wars instead of inter-state wars. In the beginning of 21st century a new global danger emerged. The attacks of 9th September, 2011 on America showed a new challenge of international terrorism clearly, whereas later events increased tensions of danger from proliferation of nuclear weapons and other untraditional weapons. This cast its shadow on the people of the entire world.

Today civil wars have been taking place between different sections of world's different countries. Probably their number is more than the wars happening between different countries. About 90% violent struggles come in the category of civil wars. Afghanistan, Angola, former Yugoslavia, Central African Republic, Georgia, Haiti, Siberia, Ruanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tajikistan, etc. are few such countries where civil wars have been taking place and in struggles severe oppressions took place on

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lakhs of innocent people with the use of small weapons like AK-47 rifles, hand grenades, underground tunnels, etc. and they lost their lives. Racial purity which was adopted in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Ruanda, forcibly using boys as soldiers and gang rapes of women are some such uncivilized and indecent behaviour which have become normal in modern civil wars. According to estimation, the number of people dying in civil wars is about 95%. We can say that in Cold War era the problem of state-centric security has now changed into the problem of human security.

Apart from separatism and racial nationalism there are some other elements which create danger for internal security. Religious insurgence, businessmen of intoxicating substances, businessmen of weapons, etc. have enlarged this net with their black money. International terrorism has put question marks on state system by putting the state's security in danger. India and Sri Lanka are afflicted with terrorism from many decades and now this disease is fast spreading in Bangladesh, Nepal, Malaysia, Indonesia, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan etc.

Today's struggles are full of many complexities—their roots can be basically internal and because of adjacency with cross-border, they become complex. This cross-border adjacency can be by countries or economic interests or other non-governmental elements. The recent struggles of Africa have shown the deadly relation between civil struggle and illegal import of natural resources, mainly diamonds, to increase purchasing of weapons. Apart from this the results of struggles because of flow of illegal weapons, terrorism, smuggling of intoxicating substances, movement of refugees and environmental degradation can soon become international.

20.1 Environment for International Security

Disturbed Areas—in last years Africa, African Continent, Asia-Pacific, Europe were seen as sitting on a pile of gunpowder from the perspective of international security. Mozambique in South Africa (1992–94) and Angola (1975–2002) remained eclipsed with Civil War. From the time of the country's independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola remained eclipsed with destructive Civil War by intermittent struggle between government and opposing military force (UNITA). Ruanda and Central African Republic remained centers of disturbance in Mid-Africa. In Ruanda in 1990 a fight started between Hutu government and Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) under the leadership of Tutsi. 8 lakh people were killed in Ruanda which had a population of 79 lakh, 20 lakh people migrated to other countries and 20 lakh people became displaced internally. As a result of internal crisis going on in Burundi from a long time, an attempt was made to change the authority in 1993, in which first time democratically elected President who was a Hutu and six ministers were killed. These instigated the battle of groups in which 1,50,000 people were killed in three years. In Ruanda after the manslaughter of 1994 and formation of a new government about 12 lakh Rwanda Hutu in which those participating in manslaughter were also there, escaped to the Kivu Province of Eastern Zaire. Here a rebellion started in 1996. The rebel forces stood in opposition to the army of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, under the leadership of Laurent-Désiré Kabila.

Notes In 1997, the coalition of democratic armies of Kabila captured the capital Kinshasa with the help of Ruanda and Uganda for the freedom of Zaire-Congo and renamed the country as 'The Democratic Republic of Congo'.

As a result of this Civil War, more than 4,50,000 people became displaced in the refugees and internal forms. Battle in Central African Republic started when the troops did many rebellions in the middle of the ninth decade.

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Cameroon-Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Eretria have remained as disturbed areas in West Africa. Tensions flared between Cameroon and Nigeria about topics related to land border of 1600 km spread from Chad Lake to Bakassi and a maritime boundary in the Guinea Gulf and in the end of 1993, the tension changed into a military combat. In December 1999 some officials and soldiers in the leadership of General Robert Guei overthrew the constitutional government of President Konan Bédié. After civil struggle of eight years, an elected government was formed by democratic method in Liberia in 1977 but political instability and insecurity remained and in 1999 a fight started between official shafts and rebellion group Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy. Until May 2003, the rebellion groups were controlling 60% area of the country and with the displacement of thousands of people, the human situation was serious. Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone also remained victim of civil wars. In 1991 in Sierra Leone the fighters of Revolutionary United Front started a war from the country's eastern part to overthrow the government. In May 1998, a war started in Ethiopia and Eretria about border disputed areas.

In the last one and a half decade, America region has also been disturbed and insecure. Countries like Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and Columbia have remained victims of civil wars and foreign intervention. Civil War went on for three decades in Guatemala and ceasefire took place in 1996 and about two lakh people were killed. In 1991, a military grab of power in Haiti pushed it towards instability by ending democratic rule.

In the post Cold War era, non-military dangers apart from military dangers are also getting serious for security. The issues related to economic and financial stability like recoupment of energy, global warming, changes in climate and violation of human rights have together created crisis for the security arrangement of the world community.

Example

Due to climate change a danger of getting submerged into the ocean is posing in front of small island countries Nauru and Kiribati, the forest fires of Indonesia are tocsin for adjacent provinces, many countries of Africa are hit by drought because of environmental depreciation.

The economies of countries like Mexico, South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Japan started shaking because of economic liberalization. The government in Argentina collapsed because of riots which enflamed for food items. The problem of loan took a ghastly form in Africa's underdeveloped countries.

In Asia and Pacific region, the Arab-Israel struggle of Middle East, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Indo-Pakistan, Tajikistan, Cambodia, Papua New Guinea have remained disturbed areas. Arab-Israel struggle has not yet been resolved. Wars were fought in 1956, 1967 and 1973 because of it. In 1982, Israeli armies entered Lebanon after intensive bombarding on South Lebanon and Israel-Lebanon border, reached Beirut and surrounded it. Taliban group forcible took control of most of the country in the Civil War of Afghanistan in 1995 and made the country a fertile land for the smuggling of terrorism and intoxicating substances. On 11th September, 2001 the Al Qaeda group of Bin Laden hijacked four commercial jet planes in the United States of America and crashed two into New York's World Trade Center and one into Pentagon in which about 3,000 people were killed. On 7th October, 2001 American and British armies attacked the Taliban's military locations in Afghanistan and Laden's training centers by missiles.

Did You Know?

Before Taliban's decline, the United Nations Mine Action Service delineated Afghanistan as the country with the world's maximum landmines? Amazingly there were 90 lakh 70 thousand landmines.

Notes

On 2nd August, 1990 the armies of Iraq's military ruler Saddam Hussein attacked neighbouring state Kuwait. On 17th January, 1991 multinational army in the leadership of America started severe bombarding against Iraq. After about 40 days of smoky bombing, on 24th February, 1991, the multinational army started ground war in the leadership of America. On 20th March, 2003 America attacked Iraq again. America named this war as 'Operation Iraqi Freedom'. American-British coalition gave the argument for the main reason of the war that Saddam (Iraq) had biological and chemical weapons for manslaughter; hence in the interest of humanity it had become essential to attack Iraq to destroy those weapons. In May 1999, Pakistan violated the Line of Control by sending infiltrators in the Kargil area of Jammu-Kashmir. Sri Lanka is bearing the brunt of Civil War from the last 15 years and more than 35 thousand people have been killed. After the disintegration of Soviet Russia (1991) Tajikistan came in the clutches of Civil War. Before the implementation of the Paris agreement in 1991, Cambodia was in the situation of a deep internal struggle and isolation. Armed struggle went on for a decade for the independence of the Bougainville Island and the related parties signed on the Bougainville peace agreement on 30th August, 2001.

Cyprus, Georgia, Balkan, Kosovo and Chechnya etc areas have remained disturbed areas in Europe. The attempts to detach Azerbaijan from the Republic of Georgia which had become independent in 1991 changed into armed rivalry in 1992, hundreds of people were killed and about 30,000 people migrated to the Soviet Union. In 1991, two republics of former Yugoslavia declared independence – Slovakia and Croatia. Croatian Serbs dedicated to the national army opposed this step and a war started between Serbia and Croatia. The war became severe which gave rise to the biggest refugee crisis in Europe after the Second World War. In 1995 Croatia carried out big attacks on the Serb populated regions. NATO began severe aerial attacks against the continuous bombing of Sarajevo by Bosnian Serbs. Bosnian Serb armies captured the safe regions of Srebrenica and Zepa and they killed about 7000 unarmed men and boys in Srebrenica. This was the worst massacre in Europe after the Second World War. In 1989 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ended the local self-government in Kosovo where more than 90% Albanians lived. Kosovo Albanians expressed disagreement by which the tension increased. Kosovo Liberation Army started attacks on Albanians supporting Serb officials and Serb administration. In March 1999 after warnings to Yugoslavia and in the background of Serb attacks in Kosovo, NATO started aerial attacks against Yugoslavia. Yugoslav armies started attacks against Kosovo Liberation Army and engaged in the collective eviction of Albanians from Kosovo. A situation of unprecedented departure of about 8,50,000 refugees was created because of this.

In the annual report 2005-06 (Page 2) of the Ministry of Defense of the Indian government, it has been said by highlighting the challenges created from the security environment of the country that along with state-sponsored terrorism, tensions have increased about terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, narcotic substances, small arms and misbehavior of people and more no-state actors using violence under cover of religious fanaticism to further take their political agenda forward.

India is also facing the rebellion spread by racial and tribal nationalists who have the desire to acquire self-government, left-wing extremism and insurgency inspired by the present social-economic deprivation and internal dangers created from communal struggle inspired by religious conservatism and racial struggles.

Traditional weapons – After the end of Cold War the international community had to face the creation of struggles inside the states in many parts of the world in which small weapons and light weapons were the favorite weapons. Although they were not the main reasons for the struggles but these weapons agitated the violence. They made it easier to use children and youth as martial. 40 to 60 percent part of small weapons in world business is estimated to be illegal.

Landmines – Today the proliferation and uncontrolled use of landmines in the whole world is endangering security. Every year thousands of people, in which most are children, women and old people, are either made handicap or killed by these 'silent killers'. Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia-Eretria, Kosovo, South Lebanon, Sudan, former Yugoslavia etc regions have remained most affected by landmines.

Notes

Intoxicant Smuggling—Smuggling of intoxicants has made many countries insecure. Till the end of the ninth decade Afghanistan had become notorious in the form of the source of world's 80% illegal opium. Opium is the source of heroin. About one percent part of the total agricultural land of Afghanistan, about 640 square kilometers was used for the farming of opium. On October 2003 the United Nations Office of Drug Crime informed that Afghanistan is fulfiling two-thirds part of the world's opium. About 10 lakh 70 thousand Afghans, which is about 7% of the country's population, engage in this industry.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. …….. changes have come in dangers produced for security in the post Cold War world.
2. International ……. has put question marks on state system by putting the state's security in danger.
3. India and Sri Lanka are afflicted with terrorism from many ……. .
4. In the post Cold War era, non-military dangers apart from military dangers are also getting serious for …… .

20.2 Nuclear Arms

Where five nuclear powers of the world admonish nuclear non-proliferation, there after 1945 they have conducted nuclear tests at an average of one every nine days.

In the beginning of August 1945, America had only two nuclear bombs and nuclear bombs reserve had emptied with their use in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But on 29th August 1949, American monopoly ended in the area of nuclear bomb knowledge and reserves, when Soviet Union conducted its first successful nuclear bomb test. In this way nuclear arms race or competition started. America in May 1951 and Soviet Union in November 1952 conducted their first Hydrogen power tests. Britain in 1952, France in 1960 and China in 1964 got included in the race for nuclear arms. In 1974, India also showed nuclear explosion in Pokharan. After successful test of Russian Sputnik in October 1957, the era of intercontinental missiles started. A fresh example of the race for weapons is America's 'neutron bomb'. Neutron bomb is such a bomb in which intense explosion does not happen and hence destruction of property is also minimal, but on the contrary immediate and delayed death of humans and other flora and fauna is certain from the neutron gases released from it.

Caution Neutron bomb is a satanic nuclear weapon. Creatures will get destroyed from it and industries and banks will be protected because their relation is only with profits, not with human values.

Until now total eight countries have conducted nuclear tests—America, Soviet Russia, Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan and North Korea. America and Russia have the most number of nuclear arms. The third country making fast progress in this direction is China. Eight countries apart from these seven countries are such which have the capability of creating nuclear weapons, they are—Canada, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, South Africa, Sweden and Switzerland. There are about a dozen such countries which can make their nuclear bombs in the next few years. Today so much more literature has come in the market about nuclear science that by getting means and facility, any meritorious scientist can make a bomb. At this time about sixty thousand atomic weapons are ready in the world. If we study their capacity, it is astonishing that by these weapons the present world can be destroyed

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not one or two times, but a dozen times! Many scientists believe that whatever radioactivity has been spread from the nuclear experiments that have been done till now, in the end will prove to be fatal for the human race. Such a universal danger has been created in the form of nuclear weapons which has brought the whole human race on the verge of catastrophe.

On one end the nuclear countries continued to propagate Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and on the other end kept on increasing their coat of nuclear weapons. Till May 1998 America has done 1032, Russia 715, France 210, Britain 45, China 45, India 6 and Pakistan 6 nuclear experiments. North Korea has also made the peace loving countries concerned by conducting its first nuclear test on 8th September, 2006.

Dangers from chemical and biological arms—Today maximum danger to international security is from chemical and biological arms. After confirmation of anthrax, danger of bio-terrorism is spreading in the world. Such epidemics can be spread with the use of chemical and biological arms whose treatment is not possible.

Terrorism—Today the complete humanity is affected with terrorism. Terrorism has put the security of all countries in danger. Expression of terrorism is seen in many forms. The first form of terrorism is human bomb—human bomb is such a weapon whose encounter is not available with any security agency, government and army of the world. The second form of terrorism is seen in the form of funded organization in streamlined and adequate manner which terrorizes the complete population with its violent and powerful activities. The third form of terrorism is state-sponsored terrorism and fourth form is Islamic terrorism. Today different types of deadly weapons and explosives are available with terrorist organizations. Nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and biological weapons are also in the perimeter of their access.

Nuclear Tests: Overview

	America	Russia	France	Britain	China	India	Pakistan	North Korea
Number of Tests	1032	715	210	45	45	6	6	1
First Explosion	1945	1946	1961	1952	1964	1974	1998	2006
Last Explosion	1992	1990	1996	1991	1996	1998	1998	2006
Nuclear Weapons	12070	22.500	500	380	450	65	–	–

After the event of 11th September, 2001 (attacks on World Trade Centre and Pentagon) the world has become more insecure than before. Now terrorism is increasing fast. Now it has spread till Southeast Asia, Europe, Britain and America. Now it is being believed that the world is on the path of the Fourth World War, the 'Cold War' is considered to be the Third World War. Remember the time between the fall of Berlin's Wall (1989) and 9/11. America was the sole super power but now it is not so. There are armed enemies in front of America and they are—Al Qaeda and Islamic insurgency. The American expedition started against Al Qaeda turned into a long war. The whole world came into the clutches of this war and India was on the advance front in it.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. ……. has been delineated as the country with the world's maximum landmines.

   (a) India (b) Pakistan (c) Afghanistan (d) Iraq

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6. On 2nd August, ……. the armies of Iraq's military ruler Saddam Hussein attacked neighbouring state Kuwait.

   (a) 1990 (b) 1985 (c) 1995 (d) 2000

7. Opium is the source of ……..

   (a) drugs (b) heroin (c) ganja (d) tobacco

8. Until now total …….. countries have conducted nuclear tests.

   (a) five (b) seven (c) eight (d) ten

20.3 Challenges of Nation-State System

Following challenges of the nation-state system have emerged in context of the changing concept of national security, because of which a crisis of its existence has been created:

1. Rise of state-sponsored agents – terrorist groups, religious movements, racial groups and multinational corporations are included in these agents.
2. International terrorism
3. Role of science and technology and international dependence
4. Rise of territorial states and international system
5. Globalization
6. Increasing role of international organizations
7. Worldwide communications system
8. Increasing importance of international law
9. Internationalization of human rights
10. A polar world system
11. Depreciation of the concept of nationality and resurgence of ethnicity
12. Ethnic groups and religious fanaticism
13. Increasing role of non-governmental groups

Task Shortly highlight terrorism.

20.4 Summary

- Qualitative changes have come in dangers produced for security in the post Cold War world. All states, whether they are strong or weak, adopted the path of signing military treaties to acquire weapons or against regional dangers to ensure their own security so that they can safeguard themselves from foreign intervention.
- In last years Africa, African Continent, Asia-Pacific, Europe were seen as sitting on a pile of gunpowder from the perspective of international security. Mozambique in South Africa and Angola remained eclipsed with Civil War.
- Today the proliferation and uncontrolled use of landmines in the whole world is endangering security. Every year thousands of people, in which most are children, women and old people, are either made handicap or killed by these 'silent killers'.

Notes

- Where five nuclear powers of the world admonish nuclear non-proliferation, there after 1945 they have conducted nuclear tests at an average of one every nine days.
- Today the complete humanity is affected with terrorism. Terrorism has put the security of all countries in danger. Expression of terrorism is seen in many forms. The first form of terrorism is human bomb—human bomb is such a weapon whose encounter is not available with any security agency, government and army of the world.

20.5 Keywords

- **Nuclear Arms:** Weapon or bomb related to the power created from the explosion of a nuclear molecule
- **Civil War:** Mutual war of civilians inside a country

20.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by international security? Describe the different environments of international security.
2. Analyze nuclear arms and its tests by different countries.
3. What are the challenges of nation-state systems? Describe.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Qualitative	2. Terrorism	3. Decades	4. Security
5. (c)	6. (a)	7. (b)	8. (c)

20.7 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
2. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
4. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
5. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
7. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*

Unit 21 : Displacement of Population

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21.1 Definition and Importance of Population
21.2 Contribution of Population in Building of National Power
21.3 Summary
21.4 Keywords
21.5 Review Questions
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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know definition and importance of population.
- Explain contribution of population in building of national power.

Introduction

To realize our whole concept of national power, it is essential to analyze its human components. In the life of a nation its citizens are the most important because they are conscious elements of the nation. The development of a nation depends on its inhabitants' character, mental status and conscientious attitude. This is the element which uses geographical and natural resources and stabilizes the criteria of prominent national character, mental strength, leadership and talent. Someone has quoted rightly that, "Neither natural means, nor technique and nor any other element, but only common public is prominent and decisive source of any nation's power." Population is the main human element of national power.

21.1 Definition and Importance of Population

Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau has written—"When we discuss only pure human elements leaving aside physical and integrated, physical and human elements, by whom the strength of a nation is determined, we should understand difference between their qualitative and quantitative organs. Qualitative elements are associated with national character, national courage and leadership, qualitative status of diplomacy and general qualities of the government. From the point of view of quantity, we should assess this element from the criteria of population."

Nowadays there are not any serious differences about this among scholars as to what is the importance of population as a source of national power.

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Notes **Schleicher** has written that, 'As long as there is need of people for production and war, the state which has got multitude of people for these two tasks, will be the most capable if other elements are the same.'

Mussolini told Italians urging them to increase population: "Start thinking clearly about it - what entity of four crore Italians is in front of nine crore Germans and twenty crore Slavs." History is evidence that the main cause of gaining power by Roman Empire had been its immense population. After just two generations of Augusts, the main reason of downfall of Rome had been its decreasing population. In the opinion of Aristotle, the reason of downfall of Greek had been regular decrease in population.

Did You Know? The main reason of destruction of Sparta had been its lack of population.

Montesquieu has specifically written while discussing thirty years war of Europe, that the most exterminating factor of destruction of nations has been, continuous fall in population. This is not a new dictum that 'God is always with the largest battalion'. It suggests that if other things are the same, excess population can be deciding factor. We believe that big population does not decide that the state will be a big power, but no nation can become great power without large population. **Morgenthau** writes, "It will not be correct to say that the more the population, the more powerful the state becomes, because if there had been relation between figures of population and national power, China with one hundred crore population would have been the most powerful state in the world and India with 88 crore population would have been number two powerful state. The United States of America with 25 crore population at third and Russia with 15 crore of population would have been on fourth position. But it will not be wise to think like this that if the population of a certain country is more than the population of all other countries, that country will certainly be the most powerful country. But in addition to this, it is also a truth that such a country can neither become a powerful country of first category, nor become powerful if it is not one of the most populated countries."

Large population can enhance the power of a nation from economical and military point of view. For first grade military force or powerful nations, it is necessary to have enormous population. It is convenient to select big army, more workers and best individuals from large population. The outcome of economic output of any country depends on this factor out of various factors, as to how much worker force and labour class that country has got which is mandatory for appropriate economic system. **Morgenthau** writes, "It is impossible without dense population to construct and manage necessary industrial factories for successful operation of modern wars. Without large population it is neither possible to present big number of units of soldiers to fight on land, water and air nor other workers can be procured, whose number is greatly more than the fighting soldiers who deliver food, means of transport, letters, messages, weapons and ammunition to fighters." Actually, in international politics the military efficiency of a country depends on its probable industrial productivity and industrial productivity depends on large population.

If scientific progress, technical development, industrial status and other power elements of two nations are same, large population will always be helpful in enhancing power of the nation. One country, whose population is less in comparison to its rival, will be worried about the decreasing speed of its population when the population of rival country may have been increasing at rapid rate. This situation existed for France in comparison to Germany between 1870 and 1940. The population of France increased by 4 million whereas Germany's population increased by two crore 70 lakh. In 1940, one and a half crore people were available for military service to Germany whereas the number

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of such people was only 50 lakh for France. One of the reasons of defeat of France had also been this. In 1800, every seventh European individual was French, and in 1930 every thirteenth individual was French. In 1940, Germany had one and a half crore people available for military training, whereas France had only fifty lakh.

Example After 1870, Germany used to be worried on seeing the population of Russia. It had been increasing rapidly in comparison to Germany. Actually, in defeating Hitler's army, in Second World War, there was a great role of enormous population of Russia.

At the end of nineteenth century when only British Empire was the world power, its population was about forty crore. It was about one–fourth of the world population.

In construction of national power, there is certainly importance of abundance of population because the morale of members of a nation is high. The nation with large population can successfully indulge in passive resistance against any invader. However, the nation being a strong state depends actually upon nature, character and quality of the population. Many things are important from the point of view of the quality of population, such as whether the number of old people is more or number of youth is more, number of men is more or number of women is more in their population, how is the health of the people there, the population is educated or illiterate, what is the number of minorities and whether the people are rich or poor. From the point of view of population the question of age is directly connected with economic development. For achieving military and industrial aims the excess of youth and adults in population is useful. In the states where there is lack of minorities and one kind of people is found in composition of population, they are comparatively stronger and there is no problem of fragmentation of national unity. We all know that in India sometimes the presence of minorities creates conditions of challenge for national unity. As a matter of fact, national strength is combined name of public zeal, character, production capability, health, education level and economic incentive. This is the reason that China and India are two immensely populated nations but they are weaker than America and Russia.

Caution On one side population is helpful in enhancing national power; but it also presents hindrances in development of national power. If the nation is not capable of nourishing more population, the population may raise multitude of different problems for it.

In highly populated country there is a big problem of national unity and there is need of great amount of food-grains to keep all people alive. Before enormous population of India, the problem of food- crisis is always there. It is a lamentable situation. Sometimes in order to accommodate large population the state is forced to expand its area by which there is outbreak of imperialist foreign policy which ultimately is adverse to world peace. We all know that at the root of intention of expansion of Germany, the main reason was increasing population. In the opinion of Kingsley Davis, the population of poor countries has been increasing the most and in near future these countries will be forced to adopt revolutionary policies because they have the largest population and the least resources.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. In the life of a nation its …….. are the most important because they are conscious elements of the nation.

Notes

2. The main cause of gaining power by Roman Empire had been its immense …… .
3. Large population can enhance the power of a ……. from economical and military point of view.
4. In international politics the military …….. of a country depends on its probable industrial productivity.
5. For achieving military and industrial aims the excess of …… and adults in population is useful.
6. At the root of intention of …… of Germany, the main reason was increasing population.

21.2 Contribution of Population in Building of National Power

Population is an important organ of national power because it organizes man-power for military activities and economic production. It is worth stating here that a nation may have unlimited man-power but if it is not bound in military organization, there will not be any increase in national power. There is military advantage to nations with population because it is difficult to win over a country with large population and even if is won over, it is difficult to stabilize that victory. This is a fact that during Second World War, Japan also had to face this difficulty in China. Excess population contributes in increase in economic output and increase in national power.

In reality, with excess of population, there is no guarantee of powerful army and industrialization of highest category. Actually, these two advantages depend upon other reasons of national power, especially on this point how much industrial expansion the particular nation has done and how far they have modernize their military force and production system.

21.3 Summary

- In the life of a nation its citizens are the most important because they are conscious elements of the nation.
- Someone has quoted rightly that, "Neither natural means, nor technique and nor any other element, but only common public is prominent and decisive source of any nation's power."
- Mussolini told Italians urging them to increase population: "Start thinking clearly about it - what entity of four crore Italians is in front of nine crore Germans and twenty crore Slavs."
- For first grade military force or powerful nations, it is necessary to have enormous population. It is convenient to select big army, more workers and best individuals from large population.
- If scientific progress, technical development, industrial status and other power elements of two nations are same, large population will always be helpful in enhancing power of the nation.
- Sometimes in order to accommodate large population the state is forced to expand its area by which there is outbreak of imperialist foreign policy which ultimately is adverse to world peace.
- In reality, with excess of population, there is no guarantee of powerful army and industrialization of highest category. Actually, these two advantages depend upon other reasons of national power.

21.4 Keywords

- **Accretion:** Overabundance, increase in power and money
- **Passive:** Whose activity or speed has stopped in between

Notes

21.5 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by population? Comment on the power of population.
2. What is the contribution of population in the building of national power?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Citizen	2. Population	3. Nation	4. Efficiency
5. Youth	6. Expansionism		

21.6 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
3. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
5. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
6. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
7. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*

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Unit 22 : Role of NGOs

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know history of NGOs.
- Explain types of NGOs.
- Discuss evil plotting of capitalist imperialist and NGOs.

Introduction

Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) is such a word which has been extensively accepted to refer to lawfully organized non-governmental organizations formed by natural or legal persons without any governmental participation or representation. The matters in which non-governmental organizations are fully or partially funded by governments, NGOs maintain their non-governmental office and keep the government representatives out of the membership of the organization. Opposite to the word 'Intergovernmental Organization', 'Non-Governmental Organization' is a word of common usage, but its definition is not legal. Many courts are defined in the form of a 'Civil Society Organization' or are designated with other names.

It is estimated that on international level the number of active non-governmental organizations is 40,000. National number is even more—there are 2,77,000 non-governmental organizations in Russia, between 1 and 2 million in India.

22.1 NGO: Brief Introduction

Notes

The term non-governmental organization is not really signatorial. Non-governmental organizations get financial help from imperialistic agencies, imperialistic governments and brokers' governance and are directed by them. They work as a link between public and government. They are the means through which the ruling class influences the opinion of civil society. They are servants of imperialistic capital. About all non-governmental organizations are directed by the invisible hands of imperialists who make them stand according to their strategic objectives and give financial help. Hence, in the name of development, social justice, human rights, ground populistism, etc, heavy funds are put into the pockets of non-governmental organizations. In the last decade World Bank and other national federal agencies are stressing on the fact that funds should be used only through the means of non-governmental organizations. Different governments are doing so. Non-governmental organizations work as elite organizations with this heavy funding that are completely cut off from the public. In spite of this they show themselves as those working in the interest of the public. It is estimated that hardly 10–15% of the allocated imperialist fund reaches the needy people whereas most portion is spent on the maintenance of non-governmental organizations and on the running costs of the so-called volunteer workers. The ways, in which the non-governmental organizations function, they can be divided into three categories. In the first category of non-governmental organizations are those organizations that provide immediate relief to victims of war, natural calamities, accidents, etc. After the Second World War, these types of non-governmental organizations only were the most prominent ones at the time of European reconstruction.

The second category of non-governmental organizations focuses its attention on long-term social and economic development. They primarily emerged in Europe in the 1960s. These types of non-governmental organizations engage in giving technical training and in the building of schools, hospitals, public toilets, etc. in the countries of the Third World. They claim to encourage self-dependency, development of local productive resources, development of rural market and participation of public in development activities. They encourage help groups, organizations giving loans on small scale etc.

The third category of non-governmental organizations focuses on social activities. They talk about strengthening public's capabilities, looking for implicit probabilities in them, increasing public's social awareness, emerging from the effects of former capitalist systems. These non-governmental organizations form agreements with World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization and other United Nations agencies and advocate reforms. They rally the public in peaceful manner and pressurize these imperialistic agencies and governments to bring reforms and change policies.

Mainly, Christian religious organizations like churches come in the first category of non-governmental organizations. Although they are also present in the second and third categories of non-governmental organizations. Broadly, the first category of non-governmental organizations can be termed as charitable organizations, second category as development organizations and third as participatory and global organizations. The first category of non-governmental organizations was the specialty of the era of direct colonial governance, second category of Cold War era and third category is active in the era of globalization. Although the tasks of some non-governmental organizations are mixed in their matters but still their categorization has been done based on their main activity. It needs to be kept in mind that in different times the tasks of non-governmental organizations have been decided as per changing needs of the imperialists.

Non-governmental organizations were seen mainly in the 20th century, although handful of non-governmental organizations was also present in the 19th century. 344 non-governmental organizations were present in the West during the First World War. The main objective of these non-governmental organizations was to publicize and expand cultures and values of colonial powers in their colonies. Along with this, they were also involved in gathering important information and secret activities. Hence they had support from the colonial governments. Missionary organizations like churches

Notes

were the main form of non-governmental organizations at that time. They provided every possible support to colonial rulers.

22.2 History of NGOs

The beginning of non-governmental organizations happened in ancient times. The date scheduling of the history of non-governmental organizations is at least from 1839. Rotary, later Rotary International was established in 1905. It has been estimated that 1083 non-governmental organizations had been established till 1914. International non-governmental organizations were important for anti slavery movement and women suffrage movement and reached on the top at the time of World Disarmament Conference. "Non-governmental organizations" came into popularity in 1945 with the formation of United Nations Organization. Chapter 10 Article 71 of the United Nations Charter forms the basis for granting non-governmental organizations Consultative Status and those organizations which are neither governmental nor member of a state will be called "International non-governmental organization". The definition of INGO was given on 27th February 1950 in ECOSOC Resolution 288 (X): It has been defined as "any international organization that is not founded by an international treaty". The important role of non-governmental organizations and other groups in portable development has been given recognition in Chapter 27 of Agenda 21, as a result of which an intense arrangement was done for a consultant relation between United Nations and non-governmental organizations.

Quick development of non-governmental areas in western countries happened as a result of the processes of reorganization of welfare state. Additional globalization of that process happened after the decline of communist system and Washington was an important part of this unanimous consent.

During the 20th century globalization promoted the importance of non-governmental organizations. Many problems cannot be solved within a country. International treaties and international organizations like the World Trade Organization was considered very much focused on the interests of capitalist industries. Some people argued that in the effort of this poised nature, non-governmental organizations have developed to stress upon humanitarian issues, progressive help and portable development. One of its main examples is the World Social Forum, which is a competitor convention of World Economic Forum organized every year in January in Davos, Switzerland. In January 2005 in the fifth World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, representatives of more than 1000 non-governmental organizations were present. Some say that in such types of conventions non-governmental organizations take the place of activities of those who should be related to poverty. Other people argue that non-governmental organizations are often imperialist in nature. Sometimes they work in a generic manner in prominent countries and that they complete the work similar to work completed by pastors during the colonial era.

Notes Philosopher Peter Hallward argues that NGOs are a grand morph of politics.

Meanwhile, this concept indicates that organizations of indigenous people are not represented, which is incorrect. Whatever may be the matter, the international network of non-governmental organizations is now extensive.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. The beginning of non-governmental organizations happened in ……. times.
2. During the 20th century …… promoted the importance of non-governmental organizations.

Notes

3. The international …….. of non-governmental organizations is now extensive.
4. The primary objective of advocacy non-governmental organization is to …….. a specific topic.

22.3 Types of NGOs

Often alternative words are used except "NGO". For example, autonomous region, volunteer region, civil society, grassroots organizations, international social movement organizations, private voluntary organizations, self-help organizations and non-state actors (NSAs).

Non-governmental organizations are an odd group. A long list of acronyms has developed around the word "NGO".

The following are included in them:

- **CSO –** Civil Society Organization
- **DONGO –** Donor Organized NGO
- **ENGO –** Environmental NGO, like Global 2000
- **GONGO –** non-governmental organizations operated by the government, which are established by the government to look like non-governmental organizations, so that they can be made eligible for external help or to promote interests of governments surrounded by disputes.
- **INGO –** word is used for international non-governmental organizations. Oxfam is an international non-governmental organization.
- **QUANGO –** Quasi non-governmental organizations, like International Standards Organization (ISO) for standardization. In reality ISO is not purely a non-governmental organization, because its membership is by country and every state's description is broadly done by the representative standardization body of the state. That body can also be a non-governmental organization.

Example The United States of America has been stated in the ISO by the American National Standards Institute, which is free from the federal government. Other countries are stated by national government agencies, this is the prevalence in Europe.

- **TANGO –** Technical Assistance NGO
- **GSO –** Grassroots Support Organization
- **MANGO –** Market Advocacy NGO
- **CHARDS –** Community Health and Rural Development Society

There are many classifications of non-governmental organizations. The typology used by the World Bank divides them into Operational and Advocacy.

The primary objective of an operational non-governmental organization is to design and implement development-related projects. A classification used often is the division into relief-oriented versus development-oriented organizations. Their division can also be according to this that they put more stress on providing service or on participation or are they religious or secular and are they more public or private-oriented. Operational non-governmental organizations can be community-based, national or international.

The primary objective of advocacy non-governmental organization is to defend or promote a specific topic. As opposed to operational project management, these organizations typically try to raise awareness, acceptance and knowledge by lobbying, press work and activist event.

Notes

USAID references non-governmental organizations as 'private voluntary organizations'. Though many scholars say that this definition is excessively uncertain because many non-governmental organizations are literally funded by states and companies, and handle projects with professional workers.

Non-governmental organizations are present for many reasons, generally to encourage political or social targets of their members or original holders. Included in examples are—improving situation of natural environment, promoting following of valid rights, improving welfare of the deprived or representing any company's agenda. Although, there is a big number of such organizations and their objectives include an expansive category of political and philosophical posts, they can easily be imposed on private schools and sports organizations also.

22.4 Functions of NGOs

There is difference in the procedures of non-governmental organizations. Some mainly indulge in lobbying whereas others mainly conduct programmes and activities. For example, a non-governmental organization like Oxfam which is related to poverty alleviation provides instruments and skills to the needy to find out about food and clean drinking water, whereas non-governmental organizations like FEDA provide help in the matters of investigation and human rights violation by documents and provide legal help to people who are victims of human rights harassment. Organizations like Afghanistan Information Management Services provide special technical products and services to implement development activities in the region.

Public Relations

Non-governmental organizations require healthy relations with the public to achieve their objectives. Organizations and religious institutions use sophisticated public relations campaign to use standard lobbying technique with the government and to increase funds. Interest groups can be of political importance because of the capability of influencing their social and political results. A code of ethics was established in 2002 by the world organization of non-governmental organizations.

Consultation (Project Management)

There has been an increase in the awareness that management technology is important to display success in non-governmental organizations. Commonly the non-governmental organizations which are private or those that have a community or are inclined towards the environment, raise many issues like religious, emergency aid or humanitarian matters. They provide public support and voluntary contribution. They often have strong contacts with community groups in developing countries and often work in such areas where government help is not possible. Non-governmental organizations are accepted in the form of a part of international relations landscape and whereas they affect national and multilateral policy-making, they are directly involved in most local activities.

Did You Know? that all persons working in non-governmental organizations are not volunteers?

Staffing

Volunteers are not necessarily completely philanthropic and with skills, experience and contacts, can provide immediate benefit to themselves along with those whom they are serving.

Notes

There are some disputes related to this whether migrants should be sent to developing countries. Again and again employment is provided to such type of persons to satisfy the benefactor who wants to see that the aided project is managed by a person of any industrial country. Specialty, which is in these workers and volunteers, can be offset by many types of components. The expense of foreigners is usually high, basic contacts are not there in the country where they are sent and local specialty is mostly estimated less.

The non-governmental organizations' area is an important employer from the perspective of numbers. For example, until the end of 1995, CONCERN Worldwide, an international non-governmental organization that works against poverty, provided employment to 174 immigrants and 5000 national workers working in Africa, Asia and ten developing countries like Haiti.

Financing

The annual budget of big non-governmental organizations can be hundreds of millions or many million dollars. For example, the budget of American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) was more than US$540 million in 1999. Most non-governmental organizations have to do important efforts to make arrangements for such kind of financing. Membership fees, sale of things and services, help from international organizations or national governments and private donations are included in the financing of non-governmental organizations. Many European Union grants provide finances to non-governmental organizations.

Although the word 'non-governmental organization' displays independence from governments but most non-governmental organizations are very much dependent on governments for their finances. In 1998, one-fourth part of the US$162 million finances of the Famine-relief organization Oxfam was donated by the British government and European Union. Christian relief and development organization 'World Vision' collected materials equal to US$55 million in 1998 from the American government. Nobel Prize winner Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is known with the name of Doctors without Borders in USA and it gets 46% of its finances from government sources.

Inspection and Control

In a March 2000 report on United Nations Reform priorities, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan wrote in favour of international humanitarian intervention, arguing that the international community has a "right to protect" citizens of the world against ethnic cleansing, genocide and crime against humanity. On the heels of the report, the Canadian government launched the 'Responsibility to Protect' R2P PDF (434 KiB) project, outlining the issue of humanitarian intervention. While the R2P doctrine has wide applications, among the more controversial has been the Canadian government's use of R2P to justify its intervention and support of the coup in Haiti.

Years after R2P, the World Federalist Movement, an organization which supports "the creation of democratic global structures accountable to the citizens of the world and call for division of international authority among separate agencies", has launched Responsibility to Protect – Engaging Civil Society (R2PCS). A collaboration between the WFM and the Canadian government, this project aims to bring NGOs into lockstep with the principles outlined under the original R2P project.

The governments of the countries an NGO works or is registered in may require reporting or other monitoring and oversight. Funders generally require reporting and assessment, such information is not necessarily publicly available. There may also be associations and watchdog organizations that research and publish details on the actions of NGOs working in particular geographic or programme areas. In recent years, many large corporations have increased their corporate social responsibility departments in an attempt to preempt NGO campaigns against certain corporate practices. As the logic goes, if corporations work with NGOs, NGOs will not work against corporations.

Notes

In December 2007, Dr. S. Ward Casscells, the United States Department of Defense Assistant Secretary of Defense (Health Affairs) established an International Health Division under Force Health Protection & Readiness. Part of International Health's mission is to communicate with NGOs in areas of mutual interest. Department of Defense Directive 3000.05, in 2005, requires DoD to regard stability-enhancing activities as a mission of importance equal to warfighting. In compliance with international law, DoD has necessarily built a capacity to improve essential services in areas of conflict such as Iraq, where the customary lead agencies (State Department and USAID) find it difficult to operate. Unlike the "co-option" strategy described for corporations, the OASD (HA) recognizes the neutrality of health as an essential service. International Health cultivates collaborative relationships with NGOs, albeit at arms-length, recognizing their traditional independence, expertise and honest broker status. While the goals of DoD and NGOs may seem incongruent, the DoD's emphasis on stability and security to reduce and prevent conflict suggests, on careful analysis, important mutual interests.

Legal Status

The legal form of non-governmental organizations is diverse and every country's law and tradition depends on adaptations. Meanwhile, four main families of non-governmental organizations can be found in the world:

- Non-corporate and voluntary organizations
- Organizations, charities and foundations
- Organization and non-profit
- Special non-governmental organizations or registered or formed organizations under non-profit laws

NGOs are not subjects of international law, as states are. An exception is the International Committee of the Red Cross, which is subject to certain specific matters, mainly relating to the Geneva Convention.

The Council of Europe in Strasbourg drafter the European Convention on the Recognition of the Legal Personality of International Non-Governmental Organizations in 1986, which sets a common legal basis for the existence and work of NGOs in Europe. Article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights protects the right to freedom of association, which is also a fundamental norm for NGOs.

Citizen Organization

There is a growing movement within the "non"-profit and "non-government" sector to define itself in a more constructive, accurate way. Instead of being defined by "non" words, organizations are suggesting new terminology to describe the sector. The term "civil society organization" (CSO) has been used by a growing number of organizations, such as the Center for the Study of Global Governance. The term "citizen sector organization" (CSO) has also been advocated to describe the sector—as one of citizens, for citizens. This labels and positions the sector as its own entity, without relying on language used for the government or business sectors. However some have argued that this is not particularly helpful given that most NGOs are in fact funded by governments and business and some non-governmental organizations are clearly against the organizations of people planned in an independent manner.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

5. All people working in non-governmental organizations are volunteers.

Notes

6. The annual budget of big non-governmental organizations can be hundreds of millions or many million dollars.
7. Part of International Health's mission is to communicate with NGOs in areas of mutual interest.
8. The word non-governmental organization is in reality self namesake.

22.5 Evil Plotting of Capitalist Imperialist and NGOs

For fulfilment of which objectives in India are the capitalist imperialist countries providing huge amounts of money to non-governmental organizations, its investigation should be done by Indian government by a joint parliamentary committee of Lok Sabha or any other capable investigation agency. Those people of India's land will have to come forward to expose those who are doing conspiracy against the democratic system of India, election process, attempt to ignore the Constitution and doing mischief and propagating against the Parliament. India's patriots will have to track the deeds of non-governmental organizations receiving lakhs and crores of rupees from the foreign countries. A question keeps coming up in mind whether a conspiracy is being formed by those in charge of non-governmental organizations to unsettle India, spread unrest and to end the democratic system to receive money and respect from foreign countries. Corrupt government officials also track the non-governmental organizations operated with government help for division of funds but no influential administrative control can be seen over the non-governmental organizations operated with foreign money. Their attitude and functioning are both very mysterious. Their effective monitoring is immediately required. It is being said that the making of an effective Lokpal Bill will be an effective measure to stop corruption. The process of forming Lokpal Bill is going on. Parliament has sent total 5 proposed bills to the drafting committee of the Parliament. To be noted and matter of serious concern is that a self-constituted and so-called civil society's people who demanded from the Prime Minister also and threw off everything in the demand to bring Lokpal, specially demanded to bring small government officials also under Lokpal, that where on one hand the common public will get a relief from corruption, there on the other hand the parthenogenetic people of this civil society are opposing the demands to bring all non-governmental organizations under Lokpal. The drill and attempts to keep these non-governmental organizations out from an effective Lokpal brings the intentions of the people of the so-called civil society under suspicion. Do these non-governmental organizations operated by these people get foreign help and if yes, then why? What can be the reason that these people do not want to bring all non-governmental organizations under an effective Lokpal? Is foreign money being used for wrong deeds in India? Is it not corruption of the people of this civil society? All activities of these people bringing the whole country in the dock of democracy reflect their anti-Constitution mentality and social character. Bringing non-governmental organizations under effective Lokpal was discussed in the Parliament. We also suggest that any activist of any non-governmental organization getting foreign help and foreign respect should not be made Lokpal. Every patriot of India believes completely in Lokpal. This belief was provided perseverance by the Parliament and its members. Rejecting the dogma of this so-called civil society, Parliament sent their demands to Parliament's drafting committee, where it will be discussed along with other proposed bills. India's government had asked proposal and suggestion from all citizens over Lokpal Bill. The Drafting Committee will outlay an effective Lokpal Bill by thinking over all received bills and recommendations.

Caution Parliament forms legal bill of the house in democratic system. Governments should deal harshly with those trying to do anti-Constitutional act of controlling the house by standing outside the house.

Notes

The house and the government are requested to take immediate steps in national interest in the direction of finding out the foreign contact and intention of activists of non-governmental organizations receiving foreign money. Their intentions seem to be to spread lawlessness and creating social separatism.

22.6 Summary

- Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) is such a word which has been extensively accepted to refer to lawfully organized non-governmental organizations formed by natural or legal persons without any governmental participation or representation.
- On international level the number of active non-governmental organizations is 40000. National number is even more – there are 2,77,000 non-governmental organizations in Russia, between 1 and 2 million in India.
- The beginning of non-governmental organizations happened in ancient times. The date scheduling of the history of non-governmental organizations is at least from 1839. Rotary, later Rotary International was established in 1905.
- There are many classifications of non-governmental organizations. The typology used by the World Bank divides them into Operational and Advocacy.
- There is difference in the procedures of non-governmental organizations. Some mainly indulge in lobbying whereas others mainly conduct programmes and activities.
- The term non-governmental organization is not really signatorial. Non-governmental organizations get financial help from imperialistic agencies, imperialistic governments and brokers' governance and are directed by them. They work as a link between public and government.
- For fulfilment of which objectives in India are the capitalist imperialist countries providing huge amounts of money to non-governmental organizations, its investigation should be done by Indian government by a joint parliamentary committee of Lok Sabha or any other capable investigation agency.

22.7 Keywords

- **Bill:** The proposed form of that legislation or law that is presented in the Assembly for getting passed.
- **Project Plan:** Solution related to appropriation related to trade.
- **Dumping:** Predatory pricing in context of international trade.

22.8 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by NGO? Describe history of NGOs.
2. Give a short introduction of NGOs and describe their types.
3. Describe functions of NGOs.
4. Highlight evil plotting of capitalist imperialist and NGOs.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Ancient	2. Globalization	3. Network	4. Promote
5. False	6. True	7. True	8. False

22.9 Further Readings

Notes

Books

1. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
2. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
3. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
4. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
5. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

Notes

Unit 23 : Concept of Justice in International Relations

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know meaning and definition of the international and municipal law.
- Explain relation between international law and municipal law.
- Discuss practice of international law in some countries.

Introduction

International Law is the law used for the mutual relations of states, whereas Municipal Law is applied on people, organizations, corporations, etc. living in the geographical boundary of the state. Certain scholars believe that International Law and Municipal Law are absolutely different from each other because the relation of Municipal Law is with people and International Law is with states. Apart from this, Municipal Law is essentially valid. State has the power to penalize those contemning it, but in relation with International Law it can only be said that independent states respect it. On the other end, scholars like Kelsen believe that International Law is a law but its adherence also depends on many situations.

Now the question arises that who should be given priority—Municipal Law or International Law. Most scholars believe that International Law should be given priority and Municipal Law should be applicable until it is not against the International Law. The question of priority of International and Municipal Law creates dilemma in that circumstance, when there is some such disputed issue before International Court by which there is a difference between National and International laws. In this situation there is dilemma before the International Court whether they must decide as per the Municipal Law or the International Law.

23.1 Meaning and Definition of the International and Municipal Law

Notes

International Law disciplines the mutual relations of independent states. That group of rules and principles is believed to be International Law which civilized states accept by their mutual relations. Their foundation is the consent of sovereign states.

Notes According to Pitt Krabbe, "International Law is the summation of rules which have been accepted by civilized states towards each other and towards each other's public to decide their conduct.

Meaning of Municipal Law

Intent of National or Municipal law is with the laws made by any country for its national interests. Municipal Law controls relations between people in the state and relations between state and people. Municipal Law is created by a country, which is for the internal power and peace of the country's citizens. Every citizen is bound to abide by its Municipal Law. According to Hall, "Municipal Law keeps the top power in its state, the different parts of Municipal Law are courts, judiciary, etc. and are bound to abide by it."

Differences between International Law and Municipal Law

There is difference between International and Municipal Law from the perspective of production, area, subject matter, bindingness, etc. But in behaviour both of them become perceptible while mixing with each other and influence one another.

Difference can be done between them in the following ways:

1. The main subject of International Law is state, where Municipal Law controls the behaviour of people. According to Hans Kelsen, "International Law regulates the state's external relations, whereas Municipal Law controls the state's internal relations".
2. It is not so binding to abide by International Law as by Municipal Law. The citizen of a state can disregard International Law but cannot contemn Municipal Law.
3. If there is opposition somewhere in International Law and Municipal Law, the citizen of a state can be made bound to abide by his Municipal Law.
4. The organizations creating Municipal Law are clearer, like the Parliament in India and England, but still there is scarcity of organizations creating International Law.
5. Police, courts, etc. are powers behind Municipal Law but there are no such powers behind International Law. In this way International Law is weak as compared to Municipal Law.

As per **Schwarzenberger,** "The methods of International Law and Municipal Law are isolated and are independent of one another, till the limit that the rules of one cannot be used principally and behaviourally in another's method."

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. International Law is the law used for the mutual relations of …….., whereas Municipal Law is applied on people.

Notes

2. International Law disciplines the ……. relations of independent states.
3. Every citizen is bound to abide by its Municipal …… .
4. International Law is …… as compared to Municipal Law.

23.2 Relation between International Law and Municipal Law

What is the relation between International and Municipal Law? We can weigh their mutual relations on four principles. Separate analysis of these principles can be done in the following ways:

1. Monistic Theory: According to this theory, the subject of both laws is the same and there is no difference between them. The regulation of conduct of a state is by one and conduct of a person by the other. In other words, we can say that law is such a command which binds the subjects under it to essentially abide by it, whether it is state or a person. Contemning the state's law is also a crime in the way contemning International Law is a crime. According to Kelsen, "There is similarity between Municipal Law and International Law, finding dissimilarity in it is neglecting side of the law". According to **Prof. Dugvi,** "Not only the country, but also every person of the country is under International Law".

The adherents of this theory believe International Law to be an extensive form of Municipal Law. According to them, International Law and Municipal Law keep the same basic nature. Both can be said as two faces of a coin. Both do not have independent power because outbreak of both is from one top law.

Kelsen, Duegit, Durkheim, Krabbe, Kung, Wright and Verdross are in those believing in the above belief. According to them, complete legal system is an entity. Different laws keep a hierarchical place in this entity and International Law is distinguished at the pinnacle of this hierarchy. They believe International Law to be a high system, whose parts are Municipal Laws. According to these unionists the foundation of both laws are the principles of Right and Wrong.

2. Dual Theory: According to this ideology, International Law and Municipal Law are fundamentally different. This difference between both is dependent on many bases. Triepele and Anzelotti are prominent amongst supporters of this ideology. According to them the differences between these two forms of law are as follows:

1. Difference in Sources: Both laws take birth from different sources. The sources of Municipal Law are traditions and statutes developed under the borders of the related state. On the other end, the sources of International Law are traditions developed between different states and the lawmakers' treaties signed by them.

2. Differences in Relations: Relations between citizens living in the states are regulated by Municipal Law, on the other end mutual relations between states are regulated by International Law.

3. Differences in Nature: Municipal Law is the order of the sovereign and keeps highest authority on the country's citizens. The creation of International Law is through mutual agreements between different states and there is no sole sovereign behind them. This sovereign is the law between the states, not above them.

4. Recognition related Law: The recognition and respect of International Law is dependent on the states' will, but the recognition of Municipal Law is not dependent on the person's will. Immediate binding action is taken on violation of the state's laws.

According to **Oppenheim,** "According to dualists, the sources of International Law and Municipal Law are different, their subject-area is different and nature is different".

In this way the dualist principle believes a mentionable difference between Municipal Law and International Law. The basic principle of Municipal Law is its essential pursuit, whereas the basis of International Law is the belief that the mutual agreements of states should be respected. Because of these basic differences between these types of laws there is no probability of struggle between them.

Notes

Criticism: A description of the different faults of the Dual Theory has been done by the supporters of Monistic Theory. According to the beliefs of these critics, National and International Law are two aspects of the same object. The creation of Jurisprudence is done by coupling both of them. Both are complementary to each other. Subject of International Law is the state, but there is no importance of the state beyond the person. In the words of Fenwick, "Even when people are not members of the international community, they can be considered subject to International Law". The relation of the difference branches of this law is not with the state, but with people; like— Domicile, rights and duties of foreigners in the country, privileges of foreign ships in national ports, navigation in oceans etc. Although the laws for these subjects are made between the states, but in their behavioural usage they are considered as personal rights. In international arbitrators judicature many times persons are present in the form of plaintiffs-defendants. Hence, it is not correct to consider National and International laws to be separate and independent on the basis of struggle.

3. Transformation Theory: According to Stork, "The rule which is imposed after transforming it is kept under Transformation Theory. According to this theory, every state controls the behaviour of people by transforming those international rules which are decided through treaties, etc. into Municipal Law through its Parliament. Transformation is not accepted in formal way, but is a necessity."

When any international treaty is converted into a form of Municipal Law, it is not merely formal, but a reality. No International Law is legal without it and neither can it be forced to follow it. The special law of the state accepts International Law. In this meaning this theory is also known as special Adoption Theory. For example, under English law there is no power to render an escaped convict to the foreign country through extradition activities without expressing statutory authority. But from the time an international law has been created from it, this law has been vindicated by England's Order-in-Council and laws have been created on this topic, which are merely transformation of the International Law.

Example India has not signed on the 'Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty' hence until this international treaty is not endorsed by the central government and Parliament, or its transformation is not done in Municipal Law, it is not necessary for India to follow it.

4. Delegation Theory: It is also known as Dedicational Theory. According to this theory states are the subjects of International Law. Power is transferred to these states in the working area through International Law. Every state is delegated the authority that it itself decides that how and when a treaty will be applied and how it will be made as a part of Municipal Law.

This theory can be reviewed on the basis that it accepts wrongfully that International Law is more important as compared to Municipal Law. This theory has not clearly revealed anything in relation to state and International Law hence it is an incomplete theory.

International and Municipal Laws are Complementary to each other

After a critical analysis of different theories, it can be said that both these types of laws are dependent on one another and are not completely free. State gains its statehood through International Law. Sometimes theories of International Law are included in Municipal Law, but this does not mean that Municipal Law is a part or parcel of International Law.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. According to the …… principle, the subject of both laws is the same and there is no difference between them.

   (a) dualistic (b) monistic

   (c) transformation (d) delegation

Notes

6. According to the Delegation Theory, …….. are the subjects of International Law.
   (a) world (b) courts
   (c) states (d) sovereignty
7. The recognition and respect of …… Law is dependent on the states' will.
   (a) international (b) municipal
   (c) religious (d) social
8. In Britain, the traditional …… of International Laws are accepted as a part of Municipal Laws.
   (a) religions (b) rules
   (c) customs (d) laws

23.3 Practice of International Law in Some Countries

Britain and International Law

In Britain, the traditional rules of International Laws are accepted as a part of Municipal Laws. These rules are accepted in normal form. Blackstone told in 1765 that International Law has been accepted by the country's Common Law and is a part of England's law. Blackstone told that if any question arises in relation to the laws of countries from the perspective of jurisdiction then it should be considered under the Common Law and it should be accepted that it is a part of the country's law. Before this in 1764 in the Triquet vs Bath matter Lord Mansfield gave the dictum recalling observations by Lord Talbot in an earlier case of 1735, that "Laws of countries are completely a part of England's laws". The above approach was also fostered in the matters of Dolder vs Hantingfield, 1805, Wolff vs Oscholm and Emperor of Austria vs. Day, 1861.

This traditional belief was rejected in 1876 at the time of Franconia matter. It was said in it that from the perspective of international law, if in the regional oceans three miles from England's coast crimes are carried out by foreigners then British courts will not have the right for a hearing against it. As a result of this decision the theory believing International Law to be a part of British Law ended. This theory was propagated from this decision that the rules of International Law cannot become a part of the British legal system without being duly adopted by the Parliament. Immediately, the Parliament passed a law (1878) to bring the territorial waters under British jurisdiction. But with Franconia's decision this principle became doubtful whose propagation was done by Blackstone and whose confirmation is found in decisions of judges like Lord Mansfield and Lord Eldon.

After this it started being believed that if International Law has been accepted by civil society then British courts also accept the power of these rules. In the matter of West Rand Central Gold Mining Company Ltd vs. The King, Lord Alverstone wrote, "It is quite true that whatever has received the common consent of civilized nations must have received the assent of our country, and that to which we have assented along with other nations in general may properly be called international law, and as such will be acknowledged and applied by our municipal tribunals when legitimate occasion arises for those tribunals to decide questions to which doctrines of International Law may be relevant." In this way in the Chung Chi Cheung vs. The King matter Lord Atkin said that "The Courts acknowledge the existence of a body of rules which nations accept amongst themselves. On any judicial issue they seek to ascertain what the relevant rule is, and, having found it, they will treat it as incorporated into the domestic law, so far as it is not inconsistent with rules enacted by statutes or finally declared by their tribunals."

Notes

It is mentionable with reference to Great Britain that the treaties which affect personal rights and normally the country's courts have to function for their working; they should be provided parliamentary approval through Parliament's law.

Did You Know? Even after being a part of International Law, the binding treaties do not become a part of the country's law until it is not done so by the Legislative?

Lord Macmillan wrote in the matter of Compania Naviera vs Cristina matter – "It is an essential attribute of the sovereignty of its realm, as of all sovereign independent states possess jurisdiction over all persons and things within its territorial limits and all causes, civil and criminal, arising within these limits."

The courts of Britain also believe that if there is struggle in any Municipal and International Law then they give preference to the Municipal Law.

British courts consider such matters out of their jurisdiction which are related to executives or with war declaration or with belief or with any prerogative to the Crown.

The USA and International Law

United States of America has applied this theory that "International Law is a part of the country's law" without any ambiguity. All international laws which have been established by America and such international conventional laws which have gained approval from the United States are binding on American courts whether or not they are adverse to the statute of contract. The Constitution of the United States of America gives most importance to statutes. In Article 6 of American Constitution, it is specially mentioned that "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." Its result is that as soon as the President signs on any treaty, it gets changed into American law.

Justice Gray had said in the matter of Paquete Habana and the Lola that,"International Law is a part of our law." Supreme Court had said in the matter of Hilton vs. Guyot—"International law, in its widest and most comprehensive sense, is a part of our law." In the matter of Over the Top, it was said that, "International Law is law only till the limit to which we accept it." This means that treaties have the same place in Municipal Law as laws passed by the Congress. Doubtlessly it is necessary for treaties to be compatible with the Constitution like laws. In Reid vs Covert (1956) it was said that, "This Court has regularly and uniformly recognized the supremacy of the Constitution over a treaty". There is another restriction in the implementation of a treaty. The treaty should not be adverse to any such law which has been passed by the Congress after the treaty. Supreme Court has adhered to this principle in many matters. By emulating the decisions given in matters of Taylor vs. Martin, Clinton Bryn, Ropes vs. Clinch and Bertram vs. Robertson, the Supreme Court gave the decision in 'Poll Tax Matter' that – "If the Sections of any law of Congress are against any international treaty then the sections of the law will be applied in the courts of this country."

In short, the situation of America is – **First**, only those international laws will be applied by the courts which are either accepted by America or behind which there is public opinion or agreement. Second, these rules are not anti-Constitution. In Tag vs. Rogers this decision was granted that court will not impose such rules of international law which are against the Constitution. Third, these rules should not be adverse to those laws passed by the Congress which Congress has passed after the development of customary International laws.

Notes

Holland and International Law

According to Article 63 of Holland's Constitution, government can form treaty even by disregarding the Constitution for the development of international law system, but for such treaties it is necessary to get approval of two-thirds majority of both houses of the Parliament.

India and International Law

In Indian Constitution, International Law has been given excessive importance in the chapter of policy directive principles of the state. Section 51 of the fourth chapter of the Constitution does this provision in relation to international peace and security that there should be increase in respect of responsibilities created from international law and treaties in countries' mutual behaviour. These directive principles of the policies of states cannot be applied by any court. These will be considered basic in the governance and management of the state and the state will try to give practical shape to these principles while making laws.

Under the Article 253 of Indian Constitution, Parliament has been given the authority that it can form law to impose any treaty, agreement or convention or decision of any international convention, association or other body and this law will be imposed on the whole country. The internal importance of this system is that if the central government infringes upon the jurisdiction of state governments through treaty then it will be legal, but it is clear from this provision that treaties can only be imposed through parliamentary law. Parliament has given international contracts the form of national law from time to time; for example, on 9th August, 1972 Lok Sabha passed a bill to give the basic provisions of the Vienna Convention, 1961 as a form of a law. The basic sections of the Vienna Convention have become a part of the Diplomatic relations (Vienna Convention) law, 1972 passed by the Indian Parliament.

India has not given lesser stress than any state in giving respect to the International rules. Courts in India have also confirmed to this principle in their decisions. In Shri Krishna Sharma vs. State of West Bengal, the Supreme Court had presented the view that "In interpreting and applying Municipal Law, these Courts will try to adopt such a construction as will not bring it into conflict with rights and obligations deducible from rules of International Law."

Caution Those treaties which are a part of International Law but have not clearly been adopted by the Legislature cannot be applied by the court in the area of State Law.

India's Supreme Court has given this decision after the State of Madras vs. C.G.Menon case that middle extradition agreement cannot be applied by a court between India and other states until it is not adopted by the Parliament as an Act. India has given freedom to foreign Head of States from Indian Civil and Military law collections by giving priority to International Law.

France and International Law

International Laws are a part of Municipal Law in France, on condition that they are never against the Constitution. Same rule is not found in French courts about treaties. Sometimes they become so liberal that they believe the rules of treaties to be even bigger than Municipal Law and sometimes they begin to conduct in contrast. For example, an arrangement has been done in the Articles 53 and 55 of the French Constitution (1958) to confirm treaties by law. According to Article 55, "Treaties or agreements regularly ratified or approved have, from the time of publication, an authority superior to that of laws, provided, in the case of each agreement or treaty, that it is applied by the other party."

Notes

Soviet Union and International Law

After Communist revolution, Soviet Union adopted only those rules which had no paradox with the Communist ideology while considering International Law as bourgeoisie.

Rules of International Law were considered compulsive which were created from contractual agreements in Soviet Russia and bindingness of customary International Law was considered after it being incorporated in the Municipal Law by Parliamentary regulations. But in the situation of conflict or paradox between Municipal and International Law, Municipal Law was given supremacy. From this perspective Soviet Union is seen as a supporter of the traditional Dual Theory. In the words of famous Russian writer "International Law, like Municipal Law is a symbol of the will of the ruling class. There have been capitalist and socialist state rulers in the world for a long time and they have done the utilization and format determination of International Law according to their own will and convenience. They maintain the rules that seem appropriate to them and protect their interests. This perspective of states reduces the bindingness of International Law and creates differences between states. This is the reason that the rules of International Law should be adopted with caution and alertness."

In short, International Law was an explicit consent law in Soviet perspective whose bindingness depends on cooperative and approved environment between states.

Germany and International Law

It was accepted in Germany's Weimar Constitution that the rules of International Law are legal and are a part of Germany's federal law. But in 1933 Germany's Supreme Court gave importance to the country's sovereignty and told that Germany has the right to decide which matters should be considered international and which should not be. Germany reserves the right to make law against any treaty.

Article 25 of former West German Constitution is unique because it considers International Law to be above Municipal Law. According to it, "General rules of International Law shall be an integral part of federal law; they will be considered above federal law and will directly decide rights and duties for the citizens of the federal state."

Task Shortly highlight France and International Law.

International Law in Other Countries

It is necessary in Belgium and Poland that treaties should first get approval from Parliament. They can be applied only after getting approval. Denmark's law normally gives recognition to International Law and activities but sometimes refuses them. Spain's Constitution (Section A) considers International Law to be a part of Municipal Law. In the states of Latin America the relation between Municipal and International Law is argumentative. Still many Latin American states have incorporated this special provision in their constitutions that International Law is a part of their country's law.

Conclusion: The relation between International Law and Municipal Law has become close as per the special circumstances these days. Hence the feeling of violent nationality is not as strong in states as it was in the beginning of the 20th century. World public opinion is now fast marching towards internationalism. With impartial decisions of the International Court and tireless efforts by United

Notes

Nations Organization the feeling of respect towards International Law is increasing. That time will soon come when all countries will start giving preference to International Law as compared to Municipal Law.

In the beginning era of evolution of International Law, Municipal Law made the development of International Law possible because at that time Municipal Law was considered basis for formation of rules of international behavior. Like—Authority on state, subjection, ordered customs, etc. words were adopted from Roman law. Development of other agreement related rules of treaties and sensitive nature happened according to Municipal Law.

In present times International Law is being dominant over Municipal Law in many areas. Many rules are being formed in International Law about topics such as Labour related law, copyright, peaceful use of nuclear power, industrialization of undeveloped countries, public health, etc. which are influencing Municipal Law of states because of being related to people because it is necessary to incorporate these rules into Municipal Law.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True / False:

9. The Constitution of the United States of America gives most importance to statutes.
10. Russia is seen as a supporter of the traditional Dual Theory.
11. World public opinion is not fast marching towards internationalism.
12. In present times International Law is being dominant over Municipal Law in many areas.

23.4 Summary

- International Law is the law used for the mutual relations of states, whereas Municipal Law is applied on people, organizations, corporations, etc. living in the geographical boundary of the state. International Law disciplines the mutual relations of independent states.
- According to **Hall,** "Municipal Law keeps the top power in its state, the different parts of Municipal Law are courts, judiciary, etc. and are bound to abide by it."
- We can weigh their mutual relations on four principles. These principles are as follows – Monistic Theory, Dual Theory, Transformation Theory and Delegation Theory.
- According to **Prof. Dugvi,** "Not only the country, but also every person of the country is under International Law".
- In Britain, the traditional rules of International Laws are accepted as a part of Municipal Laws. These rules are accepted in normal form.
- United States of **America** has applied this theory that "International Law is a part of the country's law" without any ambiguity.
- In Indian Constitution, International Law has been given excessive importance in the chapter of policy directive principles of the state.
- After Communist revolution Soviet Union adopted only those rules which had no paradox with the Communist ideology while considering International Law as bourgeoisie.

23.5 Keywords

- **International Law:** Law used in the mutual relations of states
- **Principle of Monotheism:** The topic of national and international laws is the same in this
- **Converted Principle:** In which the law is applied after conversion

23.6 Review Questions

Notes

1. Clarify the difference between International and Municipal Law by defining them.
2. Comment upon the mutual relations between International and Municipal Law.
3. Highlight the International Law of Great Britain.
4. Write a comment on United States of America and International Law.
5. Comment upon India and International Law.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. States	2. Mutual	3. Law	4. Weak
5. (b)	6. (c)	7. (a)	8. (b)
9. True	10. False	11. False	12. True

23.7 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
3. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
5. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
6. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

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Unit 24 : Human Security

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know human security and rights.
- Explain criticism of human rights in india.

Introduction

Today's world community is completely awakened and one country becomes completely familiar with another country's internal situations. Now if any country or its ruling class wishes that it will secretly exploit its citizens and there will be no international reaction over it, then it will be its mistake. Not only by neighbouring countries, but also by the complete world community the criticism of wrong attempts starts. In recent years the issue on which discussion is going on by the whole world, is – human rights. In effect, every person in the world is born independent and with his special identity, but the interpretation of his rights is done on the basis of the circumstances of the machinery of the government in which he is born. A person's birth is independent but his independence is not established completely because he becomes a social animal in the situation of gaining sense because of which his rights become analogous to the society. If seen on world level, it seems that the nature of human rights is separate.

24.1 Human Security and Rights

"All humans are born independent with equal existence and rights. They are associated with conscience and intelligence and they should make efforts in the direction of the feeling of brotherhood." The declaration of worldwide human rights was with these words, in which the theory of humanity is clearly expressed. Although this concept has developed from western political traditions, but it resembles many other traditions and beliefs. This influential background and later the declarations of

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United Nations related to human rights had worldwide effect and subjected all types of governments to apply their principles and concepts for the protection of human rights.

From traditional perspective the natural rights of humans are defined in the form of personal rights, whether they are in context of past social historical situation or are analogous to past social imaginary concept. The recognition of human rights is analogous to the nature of community or society and not in context of the comparison of one person to another.

Notes The development of the concept of human rights is in reference to those rights which are necessary in any society or community in positive or negative form.

The analysis of human rights is done by keeping the person in the center. These basic requirements are inevitable for the personal development in any community, where every person of the community is with different existence and of special importance in himself. But collective interest is also linked with personal interest. In such situation the form of human rights changes and identifying human rights becomes disputable. In such situation we can identify human rights in the form of those moral rights which every person, whether it is man or woman, should get in the form of a human being, for the personal and collective interest.

At worldwide level the human rights can be seen under these categories—(i) Right to live, (ii) Right to independence, (iii) Right of opinion and expression, (iv) Right for organization and meeting, (v) Right to property and (vi) Economic and social rights. Approximately, all these rights have been provided to the Indian citizens through the Constitution. It has been said in the preamble of the Indian Constitution that the state will recognize every person as a human being. The Constitution arranges for basic rights for equal development of every person. If the person's basic rights are violated, under the provisions of the Constitution he can get protection in the court. In the Constitution in Part IV there has been a description for the directive elements of the state to arrange for the happiness of the citizens. State's directive elements are based on the social, economic and political justice and freedom, equality and feeling of brotherhood cited in the Constitution's preamble. Under the directive elements this duty of states is decided that it should arrange for general justice for every citizen, provides equal opportunities for women and men, stops child labour, ensures their rights for getting employment to every person, getting education and getting public help in the situation of illness or any other incapability.

Indian Constitution provides rights for coequality, independence, exploitation resistance, religious independence, culture and education and Constitutional remedies to its citizens under the basic rights (Part III). The Constitution arranges for coequality in the law for equality in citizens, equality of opportunity in the subject of public employment, end of untouchability and end of titles on the basis of religion, caste, origin, dynasty, sex, birthplace etc.

Example Freedom of speech and expression, peaceful weaponless convention, creation of institution or union, seamless transmission, residence, etc. has been given by the Constitution to the citizens.

The proposal says that every person keeping belief in Constitution is Indian. India has been declared as a democratic state by the Constitution. Article 51 arranges for international peace, camaraderie, security and development. From this perspective it is clear that the Indian Constitution provides complete protection to human rights and from the angle of human rights, all ideal provisions are provided in it.

In America, it has been clarified in the rights related bill that the state has the power that it can restrict a person's basic rights until doing so is necessary for collective interests or the court gives such a

Notes

direction. In India, the Legislature does not have any right to restrict personal rights under the power of judicial review. From this perspective we can see that there are more appropriate provisions for the protection of personal independence and basic rights in India as compared to America and Britain. The provision of re-review of the decisions of the courts under judicial review by the Supreme Court provides it even more splendid position.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. All humans are born ……. with equal existence and rights.
2. The analysis of human rights is done by keeping the ……. in the center.
3. The Constitution arranges for basic rights for equal ……. of every person.
4. Poverty alleviation and resuscitation of basic needs through …….. creation are primary needs in India.
5. India gained independence merely …….. decades ago.
6. A national …….. commission was established under an act of Parliament in 1993.

24.2 Criticism of Human Rights in India

After gaining independence, the situation of human rights in India can be compared with the situation of developed countries. This comparison does not seem expedient in that situation when we estimate on the scale of development in India and the scale of development in developed countries and evaluate the difference between historical and cultural situations in both. Poverty alleviation and resuscitation of basic needs through employment creation are primary needs in India, whereas developed countries try to develop luxurious life. There has been enough economic development in developed countries and because of it they are successful in acquiring human rights. Here it is necessary to note that these countries do not provide protection to human rights in accordance with their level. The situation of human rights cannot be called as good in India. Different forms of exploitation are revealed by the media from time to time—rape of women and innocent girls, encouragement to child labour, death in custody, unofficial intervention by security forces, manslaughter by extremists and terrorists etc. Tada laws made for the prevention of terrorism were opposed because of violation of human rights. This law was such a law in which a person was captivated before being proven guilty and the guilty had to prove his innocence.

Did You Know? The biggest violation of human rights in India was in the emergency invoked in 1975–77?

India is criticized in the international world for the situation of human rights and is said that here the rights of humans are not safe. It is said that child labour is encouraged here and appropriate remuneration is not given for human labour, there is unequal distribution of income and because of it most population is deprived of the basic needs for living. In issues of Punjab and Kashmir in the past and Kashmir at the present too, the issue of violation of human rights is tossed.

But the countries criticizing India should first completely scrutiny of realities. India gained independence merely six decades ago. It had to face long slavery before that. Today the countries that are in the developed category and advocate human rights, their development process is of centuries. The speed with which India has made efforts for poverty alleviation is commendable.

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Caution Imposing President's rule in Punjab and Jammu-Kashmir for a long time and restricting the political rights of people there was linked with extensive national interest and national unity and integrity; hence this step was completely appropriate.

The establishment of a national human rights commission under an act of Parliament in 1993 was in reality an uncommon event of forming such kind of organization by the administration of independent India. As these kinds of organizations were formed in other countries, same was doubted about it in this country too whether this type of organization will really be able to function with independence and honesty. Along with it questions started being raised whether Protection of Human Rights Act 1993, in which laws related to the commission are embodied, can present enough foundation to make the basic efforts for the enhancements of human rights in the country.

To encounter the dual challenge the commission decided that leading and clear steps should be taken for it. In this reference the first action that the commission took was related to that event occurring in Bijbehara in Jammu and Kashmir in which some elements of security forces were also involved. Apart from this, even after the serious threats being given by the terrorists, which are a continuously hanging danger, the commission urged to not renew the Disruptive Activities Prevention Act, 1987. Its reason was that the commission reached the conclusion after extensive hearings and analysis that this act is badly abused by implementing it, because of which the civil and political rights of Indian people are violated. Just after 6 months of its establishment, the commission proposed certain amendments in the Protection of Human Rights Act 1993 but later after gaining more experience, the commission reached the conclusion that independent and extensive investigation needs to be done about this Act.

Now arrangements for education are being done for all from children to the old. Complete arrangements are being done to stop social, economic, political and religious exploitations. All these steps are good indicators for human rights in India but more efforts need to be done to achieve world-level class of human rights.

24.3 Summary

- Today's world community is completely awakened and one country becomes completely familiar with another country's internal situations. In recent years the issue on which discussion is going on by the whole world, is—human rights and their protection.
- From traditional perspective the natural rights of humans are defined in the form of personal rights, whether they are in context of past social historical situation or are analogous to past social imaginary concept. The recognition of human rights is analogous to the nature of community or society and not in context of the comparison of one person to another.
- We can identify human rights in the form of those moral rights which every person, whether he/she is a man or woman, should get in the form of a human being, for the personal and collective interest.
- Poverty alleviation and resuscitation of basic needs through employment creation are primary needs in India, whereas developed countries try to develop luxurious life.
- The establishment of a national human rights commission under an act of Parliament in 1993 was in reality an uncommon event of forming such kind of organization by the administration of independent India.

Notes

24.4 Keywords

- **Renovation:** Bringing in new form again
- **Destructor:** One who destroys

24.5 Review Questions

1. Give detailed description of human security.
2. Highlight criticism of human rights in India.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Independent	2. Person	3. Development
4. Employment	5. Six	6. Human rights

24.6 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
2. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
3. **International Relations—***V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
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