



# **KLE LAW ACADEMY BELAGAVI**

(Constituent Colleges: KLE Society's Law College, Bengaluru, Gurusiddappa Kotambri Law College, Hubballi, S.A. Manvi Law College, Gadag, KLE Society's B.V. Bellad Law College, Belagavi, KLE Law College, Chikodi, and KLE College of Law, Kalamboli, Navi Mumbai)

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## **STUDY MATERIAL**

*for*

## **POLITICAL SCIENCE VI: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ORGANISATION**

Prepared as per the syllabus prescribed by Karnataka State Law University (KSLU), Hubballi

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**SUBJECT: POLITICAL SCIENCE-VI**  
**MAJOR-06-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

**COURSE OBJECTIVES:**

To bring Comprehensive knowledge on international Relations in the Students. The Course Carries exclusive knowledge in Nationalism and Internationalism, which will help the Students to understand the National and Global Challenges with international political and Economic Order. Also, they will be Learning the essentials of foreign policy with subsequent ideas on war and diplomacy in the ambit of several multilateral institutions. In addition to this, they will also study the principles of conflict resolution and the role of international organization in the contemporary world order.

**SYLLABUS**

**Unit-I**

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| <b>I. Nationality</b>        | Meaning, Definition, Elements<br>Meaning, Principles, Merits, Dangers of over nationalism           |
| <b>II. Nationalism</b>       | Reasons for Development and Growth, Importance and Relevance Today, Nationalism Vs Internationalism |
| <b>III. Internationalism</b> | Relationship Between; International Relations-International Politics.                               |

**Unit-II**

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
|                              | Meaning and Importance, Elements of National Power               |
| <b>I. National Power</b>     | Tangible and Intangible Elements, Limitations of National Power. |
| <b>II. National Interest</b> | Meaning and Importance, Limitations of National Interest         |
| <b>III. Foreign Policy</b>   | Meaning and Scope, Determinants and Instruments                  |
| <b>IV. Non-Alignment</b>     | Importance and Factors, NAM- Basis and Achievements              |

### **Unit-III**

- Meaning, Causes, Kinds, Effects and Cures, COLD War
- I. War** Effects of cold war, Wars then and now.
- Meaning and Brief History, Importance, Kinds and Functions
- II. Diplomacy** Privileges and Immunities
- III. International Law** Meaning, Definition; Importance, Kinds; Sources; Codification, Enforceability & Limitations.
- IV. Economic Interdependence** Reasons; Globalization & its Influence, International trade & Commerce

### **Unit-IV**

- I. Collective Security** Meaning, Features; implications & limitations.
- II. Balance of Power** Meaning, Principles, observations; Methods/instruments
- III. Alliances** Need for Alliances, Types & working, NATO & SEATO
- IV. Disarmament** Meaning, Need & importance, Kinds; Attempts & Limitations

### **Unit-V**

- I. Propaganda, Terrorism, Subversion** Meaning, Nature and Causes, Methods & Dangers
- II. Pacific Settlement of Disputes** Need For PSD, Significance Today, Features & Methods Working & Limitations
- III. International Organizations** League of Nations; History, Causes for Failure, U.N.O Formation; Preamble & Aims, Organs; Organization & Working, Achievements & Failures, Specialized Agencies
- WHO, ILO, World Bank (IBRD), UNESCO & UNICEF, UDHR
- IV. Regional Organizations** Causes for Growth; Aims & Goals
- EC & SAARC

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## **UNIT- I**

### **1.1 NATIONALITY**

#### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Definitions*
- *Nationality Versus Citizenship*
- *Nationality Versus National Identity*
- *Nationality and Nationalism*
- *Dimensions of Nationality*
  - *Ancient Understanding of Nationality*
  - *Modern Understanding of Nationality*
- *Elements of Nationality*
- *Concluding Remarks*

### **1.1 NATIONALITY**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Nationality is a legal relationship between an individual person and a state. Nationality is a legal relationship between an individual person and a state. Nationality affords the state jurisdiction over the person and affords the person the protection of the state. Nationality is the state of belonging to a particular country or nation. The term “Nationality” is derived from the Latin word “natus” meaning (to be born), belonging to some racial stock or being related by birth or having blood relationship. Nationality affords the state jurisdiction over the person and affords the person the protection of the state. What these rights and duties are varies from state to state. This relationship generally enables intervention by a State to provide help and protection to its nationals when they are harmed by other States. By custom and international conventions, it is the right of each state to determine who its nationals are. Such determinations are part of

nationality law. In some cases, determinations of nationality are also governed by public international law for example, by treaties on statelessness and the European Convention on Nationality. Nationality differs technically and legally from citizenship, which is a different legal relationship between a person and a country. The noun national can include both citizens and non-citizens. The most common distinguishing feature of citizenship is that citizens have the right to participate in the political life of the state, such as by voting or standing for election. However, in most modern countries all nationals are citizens of the state, and full citizens are always nationals of the state.

### **DEFINITIONS**

- ❖ **Cambridge Dictionary**, “Nationality means a group of people of some race, religion, traditions etc.
- ❖ **Merriam Webster**, “Nationality means a people having a common origin, tradition and language and capable of forming or actually constituting a nation state.”
- ❖ **James A.H.Murray**’s says that, “Nationality is an extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history as to form a distinct race or people, usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory.”
- ❖ **Greenfeld**, “Nationality is the synonym of a people, a polity or even a territory”. This is a non-ethnic use of nationality’.
- ❖ **Samuel Johnson** - “Nationality is people distinguished from another people, generally by their language.... Or government”.

### **NATIONALITY VERSUS CITIZENSHIP**

Conceptually, citizenship is focused on the internal political life of the state and nationality is a matter of international dealings. In the modern era, the concept of full citizenship encompasses not only active political rights, but full civil rights and social rights. Nationality is a necessary but not sufficient condition to exercise full political rights within a state or other polity. Nationality is required for full citizenship, and some people have no nationality in international law. A person who is denied full citizenship or nationality is commonly called a stateless person. Historically, the most significant difference between a national and a citizen is that the citizen has the right to vote for elected officials, and to be elected. This distinction between full citizenship and other, lesser relationships goes back to antiquity. Until the 19th and 20th

centuries, it was typical for only a small percentage of people who belonged to a city or state to be full citizens. In the past, most people were excluded from citizenship on the basis of sex, socioeconomic class, ethnicity, religion, and other factors. However, they held a legal relationship with their government akin to the modern concept of nationality.

### **NATIONALITY VERSUS NATIONAL IDENTITY**

National identity is a person's subjective sense of belonging to one state or to one nation. A person may be a national of a state, in the sense of being its citizen, without subjectively or emotionally feeling a part of that state, for example many migrants in Europe often identify with their ancestral and/or religious background rather than with the state of which they are citizens. Conversely, a person may feel that he belongs to one state without having any legal relationship to it. For example, children who were brought to the U.S. illegally when quite young and grow up there with little contact with their native country and its culture often have a national identity of feeling American, despite legally being nationals of a different country.

### **NATIONALITY AND NATIONALISM**

Nationality is practically a contract between a person and a nation or country. The person will pay allegiance (be a good citizen) to a nation and the nation will protect his or her rights. In case your nation is not worth your nationality, you can change it by gaining or buying citizenship of another country. Nationalism is a feeling. A person generally gets a feeling of nationalism when his or her country has the coronation day of the nation's monarch. For people living in democracy, its generally their Independence Day which arouses the feelings of nationalism.

### **DIMENSIONS OF NATIONALITY**

Two dimensions of Nationality:

1. **ANCIENT UNDERSTANDING OF NATIONALITY:** Nationality refers to ethnic groups which means a group of people who share a common ethnic identity, language, culture, tradition, history.
2. **MODERN UNDERSTANDING OF NATIONALITY:** Nationality is the legal relationship between on individual person and a state. Nationality is something that affords the state

jurisdiction over a person. Membership of a particular nation or state is given by origin, by birth, by naturalization and by ownership.

### **ELEMENTS OF NATIONALITY**

The elements that promote the feelings of Nationality are as follows:

**1) Geographical Unity or Common Residence:** Common residence, common territory or geographical unity is a basic factor which helps to promote the national feelings or the feelings of nationality. The races and the people who do not inhabit a common territory for a long time and who are not geographically united, will not tend to have uniformity and civilization. On the contrary, those races or those people who inhabit a common territory for a long period of time will naturally cherish the passion for patriotism which paves the way to national unity. **For example**, Britain was named after the British, Turkey after the Turks, Hindustan (India is also called) after Hindus, Afghanistan after Afghans etc.

**2) Community of Race:** Racial unity is one of the most universal bases of nationality. It is the strongest bond of cohesion. People belonging to the same race are naturally more united than those who belong to different races. Burgess and Leacock regard racial unity as the only basis of nationality. Professor Zimmern is of the opinion that every nationality enjoys the feelings of group institution which is primarily determined by the racial unity and purity of blood. **For example**, before the World war II, Hitler united Germany and Mussolini united Italy on the racial basis. And if the country is not racially united the development of nationality is hindered.

**3) Community of Language, Tradition and Culture:** The community of language, tradition and culture is closely related to the community of race and helps in promoting nationality. Common language helps a lot in uniting people. People sharing common language also share common culture and literature. It is the unity of language that helps us in keeping contact with other countries. Language is the medium of expression. Similarly, cultural unity develops the sentiment of nationality. It is this cultural unity that separates a particular group of people from the rest of the world. The victorious countries try to force their language and culture on the enslaved countries.

**4) Common Religion:** Religion has played a vital role in developing the national sentiment and in consolidating a nation. In the past it had proved a cementing force for uniting the people in the one nation. According to Dr.Garner, “Community of religion was once regarded as a mark of nationality and in earlier times it played an important basis of national consolidation.” During the Ancient and Medieval ages, Politics was much influenced by religion. It doesn’t mean it has



changed today in modern world but the intensity has decreased. Culture and Language are the two pillars of national unity. And it is religion that provided the people of a particular country with a common language. Common religion helps a lot in promoting the feelings of nationality. For example, during the sixth and seventh century, Islam united the Arabs into one nation. The national development is sometimes hindered by the religious differences, deep-rooted into the soil of a particular country. But in spite of these religious differences and differences of sects, nationality goes on developing.

**5) Common Political Aspirations:** Common political aspirations are regarded these days more important than most other essential factors that promote the feelings of nationality. According to Durheim, “A nationality is a group of the group members who wish to live under the same laws and form a state.” These days nationality goes on developing in spite of the differences of language, caste, creed and culture. These differences are found among the people who share the common political laws and aspirations. Common political aspirations are visible in all national movements, India could see this political unity only because of foreign yoke. In 1962, when China committed an aggression on India, the national feelings gathered force again, and people showed a very rare type of political unity. Similar unity was seen at the time of war with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. After the aggression committed on Germany by Napoleon, the national feelings were promoted in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy.

**6) Common History:** Common history is one of the factors promoting the sentiments of nationality, regards a common historic factor as “the one indispensable factor” in promoting the feelings of nationality. It is the historical background that presents the record of triumphs and achievements, common joy and sorrows, common sufferings and common political bondage, which promotes the sentiment of nationality in people. **For example**, in India the sacrifices made by many kings like Maharana Pratap, Shivaji, the freedom fighters whose heroic struggle even today brings national awakening in India. Napoleon in France, Hitler in Germany and so many heroic people awakened the minds of the citizens of their country.

**7) Common Interest:** Common Interests prove very conducive to the development of nationality. They form one of the bases of nationality. Common interests like economic, social and political act as a fillip in strengthening the ties of unity. For example, common economic interests brought about the “Zoll verein” customs union) which strengthened national bonds in Germany. These glaring examples make it very clear that common interests are very conducive to the development of nationality.

**8) Common Government and Common Administration:** Common Governmental administration is also an important factor which helps in promoting the feeling of nationality. People belonging to different races and enjoying different nationalities reached USA and settled down there. But because afterwards they lived under common administration for a long period of time, they forgot their original nationalities and started calling themselves, Americans instead of English Americans or French Americans.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In modern times, the understanding of nationality is confusing of rather misleading because there is today hardly single nation in the world whose people belong to the same racial stock. Every nation has people of mixed racial background. It is because of immigration, inter racial marriage, the increased racial combinations have made it difficult to find racial purity. So, it can be ascertained that the development of nationality it neither political nor social, but definitely a psychological phenomenon.

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## 1.2 NATIONALISM

### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Definitions*
- *Types of Nationalism*
  - *Ethnonationalism*
  - *Civic Nationalism*
  - *Expansionist Nationalism*
  - *Cultural Nationalism*
  - *Revolutionary Nationalism*
  - *Post-Colonial Nationalism*
  - *Liberal Nationalism*
  - *Religious Nationalism*
- *Principles of Nationalism*
- *National Self-Determination as Principle of Nationalism*
- *Nationalism and International Politics*
- *Dangers of Over Nationalism*
- *Critique of Nationalism*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## 2.2 NATIONALISM

### INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is an ideology and movement that promotes the interests of a particular nation especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining the nation's sovereignty (self-governance) over its homeland. Nationalism holds that each nation should govern itself, free from outside interference (self-determination), that a nation is a natural and ideal basis for a polity, and that the nation is the only rightful source of political power (popular sovereignty). In practice, nationalism can be seen as positive or negative depending on context and individual outlook.

Nationalism has been an important driver in independence movements, such as the Greek Revolution, the Irish Revolution, the Zionist movement that created modern Israel, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Conversely, radical nationalism combined with racial hatred was also a key factor in the Holocaust perpetrated by Nazi Germany. More recently, nationalism was an important driver of the controversial annexation of Crimea by Russia. Nationalism is a doctrine which provides a rationale for a group of people to enjoy a government exclusively of their own and exercise full sovereign rights. It presupposes that mankind is divided into national compartments, each of which can be distinguished by certain common characteristics. According to Hans Khon (1946:3), modern nationalism originated in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, it became a general European movement and in the twentieth, it has become one of the most explosive political philosophies that rule the world today.

### **DEFINITIONS**

- ❖ According to **Hans Khon (19463)** “a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation state and It is living and active corporate will. It is this will which we call nationalism”
- ❖ According to **K.R. Minogue (1967:53)** Depicts nationalism as “a set of ideas a form of self-expression by which a certain kind of political excitement can be communicated from an elite to masses”.
- ❖ According to **C.J.H. Hayes (1926:5-29)**, “Nationalism is ‘a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two phenomena nationality and patriotism”.

### **TYPES OF NATIONALISM**

#### **ETHNONATIONALISM**

Ethnic nationalism defines the nation in terms of ethnicity, which always includes some element of descent from previous generations, ideas of a culture shared between members of the group and with their ancestors, and usually a shared language. Membership in the nation is hereditary. The state derives political legitimacy from its status as homeland of the ethnic group, and from its duty to protect of the partly national group and facilitate its family and social life, as a group. The term "ethnonationalism" is generally used only in reference to nationalists who espouse an explicit ideology along these lines; "ethnic nationalism" is the more generic term, and used for nationalists who hold these beliefs in an informal, instinctive, or unsystematic way.

## **CIVIC NATIONALISM**

Civic nationalism is the form of nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizenry, from the degree to which it represents the "will of the people". It is often seen as originating with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and especially the social contract theories which take their name from his 1762 book *The Social Contract*. Civic nationalism lies within the traditions of rationalism and liberalism, but as a form of nationalism it is contrasted with ethnic nationalism. Membership of the civic nation is considered voluntary. Civic-national ideals influenced the development of representative democracy in countries such as the United States and France. 'State nationalism' is a variant of civic nationalism, often combined with ethnic nationalism. It implies that the nation is a community of those who contribute to the maintenance and strength of the state, and that the individual exists to contribute to this goal.

## **EXPANSIONIST NATIONALISM**

Expansionist nationalism is an aggressive and radical form of nationalism that incorporates autonomous, patriotic sentiments with a belief in expansionism or recovering formerly owned territories. The term was coined during the late nineteenth century as European powers indulged in the 'Scramble for Africa' in the name of national glory, but has been most associated with militarist governments during the 20th century including Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, the Japanese empire, and the Balkans countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania and Serbia. What distinguishes expansionist nationalism from liberal nationalism is its acceptance of chauvinism, a belief in superiority or dominance.

## **CULTURAL NATIONALISM**

Cultural nationalism defines the nation by shared culture. Membership in the nation is neither entirely voluntary, nor hereditary. Yet, a traditional culture can be more easily incorporated into an individual's life, especially if the individual is allowed to acquire its skills at an early stage of his/her own life. Cultural nationalism has been described as a variety of nationalism that is neither purely civic nor ethnic. The nationalisms of Catalonia, Quebec and Flanders have been described as cultural.

## **REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM**

Revolutionary nationalism, also known as radical nationalism, is an ideological theory that calls for a national community united by a shared sense of purpose and destiny. It was first attributed to adherents of the revolutionary syndicalism and heavily promulgated by Benito Mussolini. This intellectual synthesis of "radical nationalism and dissident socialist" formed in France and Italy at the beginning of the 20th century.

## **POST-COLONIAL NATIONALISM**

Since the process of decolonization that occurred after World War II, there has been a rise of Third World nationalisms. Third world nationalisms occur in those nations that have been colonized and exploited. The nationalisms of these nations were forged in a furnace that required resistance to colonial domination in order to survive. As such, resistance is part and parcel of such nationalisms and their very existence is a form of resistance to imperialist intrusions. Third World nationalism attempts to ensure that the identities of Third World peoples are authored primarily by themselves, not colonial powers. Examples of third world nationalist ideologies are African nationalism and Arab nationalism.

## **LIBERAL NATIONALISM**

Liberal nationalism is a kind of nationalism defended recently by political philosophers who believe that there can be a non-xenophobic form of nationalism compatible with liberal values of freedom, tolerance, equality, and individual rights. Ernest Renan and John Stuart Mill are often thought to be early liberal nationalists. Liberal nationalists often defend the value of national identity by saying that individuals need a national identity in order to lead meaningful, autonomous lives and that liberal democratic polities need national identity in order to function properly.

## **RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM**

Religious nationalism is the relationship of nationalism to a particular religious belief, church, or affiliation. This relationship can be broken down into two aspects; the politicization of religion and the converse influence of religion on politics. In the former aspect, a shared religion can be seen to contribute to a sense of national unity, a common bond among the citizens of the nation. Another political aspect of religion is the support of a national identity, similar to a shared

ethnicity, language or culture. The influence of religion on politics is more ideological, where current interpretations of religious ideas inspire political activism and action; for example, laws are passed to foster stricter religious adherence.

### **PRINCIPLES OF NATIONALISM**

The Royal institute of International Relations pointed out the following principles of nationalism in its report published in 1930.

- ❖ **ONE NATION.** An idea of a common government always implies in a nation. It may be the reality of past or present or just an ambition of the future.
- ❖ **GROUP FEELINGS.** There is sense of belonging together among the people of a nation.
- ❖ **DISTINCTION.** There is distinctiveness in a nation that separates it from other nation as language, religion, race and national character.
- ❖ **DEFINED TERRITORY.** There is defined territory large or small.
- ❖ **COMMON INTEREST:** Existence of same common interest shared by all is also one of the most important features of nationalism.
- ❖ **GENERAL PICTURE OF STATE.** A general picture of state in the mind of every individual.

### **NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION AS PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALISM**

Nationalism not only creates a sense of national identity. It presents the state as the most important form of political organization for a people. Nationalism encourages the view that 'nations' should be governed by a 'state' made up of members of that nation. National self-determination really strengthens the validity of the state as an expression of 'nationhood'. This is not a new idea: 'All nations and reasonable men prefer to be governed by men of their own country and nation, who share the same language as them, rather than by strangers.' If this desirable state could not be achieved peacefully then it was to be prosecuted by war, if necessary. Nationalism seemed to offer freedom, wealth and power. Nineteenth-century Europe was characterized by the rise of nationalism as an ideology and the nationalisms of its many peoples. Indeed, the rise of nations was allied to the acquisition of statehood. Italy existed as a nation before its political unification into a state in 1860, as did Germany before Prussia created the Reich in 1871, but both were forged into nation-states by war. Both countries became steadily wealthier after they were unified.

The problem with national self-determination as a major political principle is that few nations exactly correspond to the image of the nation-state. Most have national minorities within their borders. Sometimes this has led to the loss of territory to another state as a response to the vociferous demands of the minority (the Sudetenland Germans in Czechoslovakia during the 1930s, for example). Sometimes such minorities are expelled. In 1945–46 over 8 million Germans were expelled from Poland when its western frontiers were moved further west into formerly German territory. On the partition of British India into India and Pakistan in 1947 millions of Muslims and Hindus moved, forcibly or peacefully, across the new international boundaries about to be created. It is estimated that over 2 million died. In Cyprus, Burma and Rwanda, Palestine, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, national identity has been a source of violent expulsion of national and other ethnic minorities from a particular territory in the desire to create a ‘pure’ ethnonational identity.

### **NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

Nationalism and international politics Nationalism, as we have seen, developed in its modern form during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. First in France and then among the enemies of France, nationalism mobilized the powerful emotions of loyalty and fighting for a cause. By 1815 almost all the nations of Europe had become carriers of ideological nationalism. Evidently, the nineteenth century was the major formative era of modern nationalism. By the end of the century it was a powerful political force in the politics of the emerging European democracies, the German and Austro-Hungarian empires, and the autocracy of the Russian Empire. All governments appealed to national images and national identity as means of building political legitimacy for their governments. The Soviet Union, Communist China and North Vietnam may all have claimed to be socialist states, but their rivalries with each other were deeply influenced by nationalism. Indeed, at times it is difficult to see where the ‘socialism’ lay in their exchange of vitriolic statements, while their ‘nationalism’ is clear. Almost all of the many wars and conflicts in the developing world during the Cold War and afterwards were impelled by nationalism and national aspirations.



## **DANGERS OF OVER NATIONALISM**

### **❖ NATIONALISM IS A FORM OF IN-GROUP/OUT-GROUP THINKING.**

It encourages the kind of “us” vs. “them” attitude that drives sports fandom, making people irrationally committed to one team. When the team wins, they feel victorious (even though they just watched), and they feel pleasure in others’ defeat. As George Orwell put it:

### **❖ COMMITTED TO WINNING AT ALL COSTS, WITH POWER-SEEKING AND SUPERIORITY AS THE ONLY REAL GOAL, NATIONALISTS FEEL JUSTIFIED IN HURTING THE PEOPLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES.**

Selfishness and a will to power instead of morality, mutual benefit, or long-term stability becomes the driving force of foreign policy. Broken agreements, violence, indifference to suffering, and other harms to countries and their peoples destabilize global politics. As the Washington Post said yesterday in its unprecedented editorial board opinion on Donald Trump, “The consequences to global security could be disastrous.”

### **❖ NATIONALISM ALSO CONTRIBUTES TO INTERNAL FRAGMENTATION AND INSTABILITY.**

It requires that we decide who is and isn’t truly part of the nation, encouraging exclusionary, prejudiced attitudes and policies towards anyone within our borders who is identified as part of “them.” Trump has been clearly marking the boundaries of the real America for his entire campaign, excluding Mexican Americans, Muslims, African Americans, immigrants, and possibly even women.

### **❖ A LEADER WITH A NATIONALIST MANDATE WILL FEEL ENTITLED TO BREAKING THE LAWS OF HIS OR HER OWN COUNTRY.**

If the Constitution interferes with nationalist ambition, then the Constitution can be set aside. Trump has discussed controlling the media, interfering with the judiciary, unlawful torture, and extrajudicial murder. Some of his supporters want to imprison his political rivals. None of this is legal, but he doesn’t care.

**❖ A NATIONALIST LEADER WILL HAVE TO LIE AND DISTORT HISTORY IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE ILLUSION OF SUPERIORITY.**

A nationalist regime requires a post-truth politics, one that makes facts irrelevant in favor of emotional appeals. As Dr. Ali Mohammed Naqvi explained: “To glorify itself, nationalism generally resorts to suppositions, exaggerations, fallacious reasonings, scorn and inadmissible self-praise, and worst of all, it engages in the distortion of history, model-making and fable-writing. Historical facts are twisted to imaginary myths as it fears historical and social realism”.

**❖ THOUGHTFUL AND RESPONSIVE GOVERNANCE INTERFERES WITH SELF-GLORIFICATION, SO ALL INTERNAL REFLECTION AND EXTERNAL CRITICISM MUST BE SQUASHED.**

Nationalist leaders attack and disempower anyone who questions the nationalist program and aim to destroy social movements.

**CRITIQUE OF OVER NATIONALISM**

Nationalism is out of favour in the West. Even the alleged ideological benefits of the nationalist tradition, such as its potential for social cohesion, are looked on askance. It has been subject to much criticism over the last fifty years. Up to the mid-twentieth century, socialists believed that nationalism was a liberating ideology because of its support for national self-determination and anti-imperialism. However, they usually saw nationalism as, at best, a distraction from the class struggle and, more often, as a means of manipulating the working class, to divert it from the reality of its exploitation by the bourgeoisie. Nationalism is irrelevant to internationalists in a world where problems transcend national boundaries and must be addressed on a global basis. Liberals see it as an impediment to greater international co-operation and integration. From a conservative standpoint, competing nationalisms disrupt the social order. A socialist, like a Marxist, believes nationalism is at best a diversion from the class struggle, at worst a weapon used by exploiters to divide the international working classes.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The philosophy of nationalism nowadays does not concern itself much with the aggressive and dangerous form of invidious nationalism that often occupies center stage in the news and in sociological research. Although this pernicious form can be of significant instrumental value in mobilizing oppressed people and restoring their sense of dignity, its moral costs are usually taken by philosophers to outweigh its benefits. Nationalist philosophers' distance themselves from such aggressive forms of nationalism and mainly seek to construct and defend very moderate versions; these have therefore come to be the main focus of recent philosophical debate. The internal dialectic driven by concern for ethno-cultural identity might in this way lead to pluralistic and potentially cosmopolitan political arrangements that are rather distant from what was classically understood as nationalism.

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## **1.3 INTERNATIONALISM**

### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Reasons for Development and Growth*
  - *Annihilation of Distance:*
  - *Economic Interdependence:*
  - *Political Factors:*
  - *International Co-Operations:*
- *Factors Affecting in Pace of Development and Growth*
- *International Relations and International Politics, Their Relationship*
  - *International Relations*
  - *International Politics*
  - *Relationship*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## **1.3 INTERNATIONALISM**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Internationalism is a political principle which advocates a greater political or economic cooperation among nations and people. Internationalism is the principle of cooperation among nations, for the promotion of their common good, sometimes as contrasted with nationalism, or devotion to the interests of a particular nation. All the great revolutionary movements, such as Liberal, Democratic, National and Socialist, since the end of the eighteenth century, in other words from the French Revolution onwards, have asserted new models of political life and have been characterized by a strong internationalist component. The word “internationalism” above all expresses the idea that it is impossible to think of the values of freedom, equality, national independence and social justice as principles valid for one country only and limited exclusively to the national area. The quality of universality is inherent in these values. As a result, their realization within the national ambit could only be seen as a necessary stage towards opening the way to their extension to Europe and the world.

### **REASONS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH**

#### **1. ANNIHILATION OF DISTANCE:**

Modern technological means of communications and transport have annihilated distance. The journeys that took months can be finished in a few hours. Bullock carts and slow-moving vehicles have become a thing of the past. Rails and roads have facilitated transport to a very great extent. Aerial navigation has revolutionized the means of transport and communication. Telegraph, telephones, wireless, television, printers and radio have enabled men to send their messages from one corner of the world to another in no time. Rapid means of transport and communication are thus breaking down frontiers and shortening distances every day. Consequent on these inventions the world of ours has become very compact. These achievements have facilitated international intercourse.

#### **2. ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE:**

Economically one state depends upon another for raw materials, machinery or technical assistance. India, for example, depends upon various industrially advanced countries of the world for a variety of its needs in the economic field. She needs capital goods and expert technical

assistance. This is possible only when there is international co-operation. No state can claim self-sufficiency.

### **3. POLITICAL FACTORS:**

From political point of view also internationalism is a necessity. Effective international peace is possible only if the nations of the world agree to have an international organization competent to decide disputes arising amongst them. Isolated political existence of the states will bring about anarchy in the comity of nations. Every nation is supposed to have diplomatic relations with other nations of the world. These relations go a long way in removing differences among the nations and paving the way for the development of goodwill among them. Not only this but also irresponsible attitude of one state may be responsible for disturbing international balance and it may precipitate a global war and a wholesale destruction of entire mankind. International peace and goodwill were never so much needed as today. Advanced nations of the world have developed deadly weapons of war. Nuclear weapons are now in the possession of many countries of the world. A little spark anywhere may put the entire world aflame and might bring about total annihilation of mankind.

### **4. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIONS:**

The need of international co-operation had been recognized from earliest times. Tribal states, in the olden times carried on peaceful commerce with one another. But the relations among the nations before the dawn of the modern era were mostly based on rivalry, jealousy, hatred and enmity. The real need for international co-operation has been recognized by the modern age. Various attempts were made in this connection. Thus between 1840 and 1914 alone, as many as 500 international bodies were set up. These related to industry, trade, labour, temperance, literature, science, abolition of slavery etc. The idea of establishing some inter-state organizations for the prevention of war can be traced in the writing of Piere Dubois who suggested international arbitration and the establishment of international judiciary as early as 1305 A.D. In 1919 that the first great attempt was made at international co-operation in the form of the League of Nations. The League of Nations was visualized as a guarantor of world peace. But it met an utter failure and World War II broke out in 1939. The second great attempt with strong determination of all the major powers of the world was made in the form of United Nations Organization.

World pinned full faith in it but the working of the U.N.O. has revealed that it has not proved to be a successful organ of world peace and order. Clouds of war are gathering and who knows when the third great massacre of humanity may unleash itself.

### **FACTORS AFFECTING IN PACE OF DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH**

There are Some Forms of International Co-operation: Although international organizations have not been successful in checking wars yet in some other spheres, a measure of success has been achieved. And these play a predominantly role in making the development and growth emerge or if failed will make them slow. Some of these organizations may be enumerated as under: -

- **International Red Cross Society:** It is a humanitarian body with its headquarters in Switzerland. It has its branches all the world over. It has rendered valuable service to the war wounded, the sick and the infirm.
- **The Universal Postal Union:** It was formed in 1874. It is based on the principle that all member countries form a single unit in the matters of postal communications. All the countries of the world are its members.
- **The International Telecommunication Union:** It is an organization which aims at international co-operation in matters of telegraphic and telephonic communications. It was formed in 1934.
- **The World Health Organization, the UNESCO and the International Labour Organization:** These were established on conclusion of the World War.
- **International Refugee Organization:** The body seeks to resettle refugees and displaced persons and protect their rights and privileges.

All these organizations are serving humanity in a variety of ways

### **RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

International Politics is concerned with relations and interactions among nations. It has been identified and named differently by various scholars. Some prefer to use the name International Relations, whereas several others prefer to call it International Politics. Some of other popular names used for this discipline are World Politics, World Affairs, International Affairs, Foreign Politics, Foreign Policies and International System. However, these have not been very popular.

## **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

International Relations, encompasses a broad area in that it examines the entire international system. Think of International Politics, then, as a component within that broad spectrum. Therefore, it is a much narrower subject area. The term International Politics is used synonymously with the terms ‘world politics’ or ‘global politics. The definitions for each of these terms are often not helpful and tend to confuse a person even more.

## **INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

International Politics deals with the practical realities of a state’s interaction with another state or several other states. On the academic front, it entails utilizing the theories of International Relations and applying them analytically to the contemporary issues in the international system. Thus, issues in the international system also play a large role in International Politics. More importantly, the concept of power is key to understanding International Politics. Students of International Politics are well aware that power can be both a means and an end. Furthermore, power can be either hard power or soft power. Hard power means military and economic power while soft power is more indirect such as cultural power. International Politics essentially studies how and why states use these types of power to achieve their goals.

## **RELATIONSHIP**

- ❖ International Relations encompasses a broad spectrum of the international arena while International Politics is only a component of International Relations and, therefore, much narrower.
- ❖ International Relations concerns the relations or foreign affairs of nations. International Politics deals only with the political relations of states and focuses on how states collectively respond to the emerging global issues.
- ❖ International Relations is the branch in which we shed lights on relations among states. Those relations between nations could be political relations, economic relations, cultural relations, military-technical cooperation, and more. Thus, IR includes every aspect of relations between states. Whereas International Politics which also refers as Global Politics is just one of the aspects, we discuss in IR. It deals with the practical approach of a nations

interaction with another by using the theories of IR and applying them in the international system.

- ❖ International Politics is a subset, at best, of International Relations. Just as your political relations with others in your town might deal primarily with political issues and partisan elections, but you must also deal with people in a great many other ways. You may interact with others in a church, for example, where, hopefully, politics is not present. You surely have to interact with others every day in the course of normal business. If you think shopping at a supermarket is a political experience, you might be unusual. So International Politics deals realistically with political relations and alliances with other nations. International Relations are far broader, and nations which disagree on political matters must still deal with each other on matters of trade and economics, among many other issues.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Nationalism has done a great harm to the human race. An atmosphere of nervous hostility is created because of extremes of nationalism. World public opinion is, therefore, going against nationalism. A new concept of internationalism is now taking its place. As an ideal, internationalism is far higher and nobler than nationalism because the good of humanity is a far higher good than welfare of a particular country or community. Therefore, Internationalism is an important aspect of the humankind in contemporary times, as collective security is the principle need to be opted by every nation, not only in external aggression aspect but also in every aspect that is needful for peaceful co-operation.

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## UNIT- II

### 2.1 NATIONAL POWER

#### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Definitions*
- *Elements of National Power*
- *Limitations of National Power*
- *Concluding Remarks*

#### 2.1. NATIONAL POWER

#### INTRODUCTION

National Power is a key component of International Politics. Basically, International Politics is the process of struggle for power among Nations in which each nation seeks to secure its desired goals and objectives of National interests. Because of the absence of sovereign or of a fully powerful centralized international machinery making authoritative allocation of values among the nations and because of the sovereign status of each nation-state, the securing of national interest by each state is always done by the use of its national power. National power is the capacity or ability of a nation with the use of which it can get it will be obeyed by other nation. It involves the capacity to use force or threat of the use of force over other nations. With the use of National Power, a nation is able to control the behaviour of other nations in accordance with one's own will.

#### DEFINITION'S

- ❖ **Hartman-** *“National Power denotes the ability of a nation to fulfill national goals. It tells us as to how much powerful or weak a particular nation is in securing its national goals.”*
- ❖ **Paddleford and Lincoln-** *“National power is that combination of power and capacity of a state which the state uses for fulfilling its national interests and goals.*
- ❖ **Morgenthau -** *“Power is the power of man on others” and as a “man’s control over the minds and actions of other men.”*

- ❖ **Schwarzenberger** - *“Power is the capacity to impose one’s will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance.”*
- ❖ **Charles P. Schleicher** - *“Power is the ability to exercise such control as to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward them, or by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they value.”*

### **ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER**

Noted authors of international relations have clarified these elements differently. **Morgenthau** has divided them into two categories permanent and changeable. Relatively stable elements are geography and natural resources whereas elements subject to constant change are military preparedness, population, national character and morale, diplomacy and government. **Organski** classified them into natural and social determinants. The natural determinants are geography, natural resources and population social determinants are economic development, political structure and national morale. **Carr** gave three categories: military power, economic power and power over opinion. **Mahendra Kumar** broadly divided them into three categories: natural, social and ideational. First covers the elements of geography, resources and population, while the second includes economic development, political structure and national morale. The third category consists of ideals, intelligence and wisdom of leadership. **Palmer and Perkins** divided them into tangible and intangible. Geography, raw material, natural resources and population are tangible whereas morale and ideology are intangible. There are several elements and factors which constitute national power. Wealth, resources, manpower, army etc. are the components, which determine the power of a nation. The important elements are:

**1. GEOGRAPHY:** Geography is a most important element of National Power. Geo-politicians give most importance to this component. All other elements develop from the geography only.

**(I) Extent:** The power of a nation depends upon its size. A small nation cannot become powerful. It may be recognized as a member of the United Nations, but it could not possess all the essential requisites of national power. Contrary to it, a large nation can have large extent of land, population, natural resources and thus can become more powerful. Example: U.S.A, the U.S.S.R, India.

**(ii) Climate:** The development of the nation depends upon its climate. The State situated in North developed industrially due to their temperate climate. North enjoys a permanent natural advantage and thus it developed industrially and economically. The States of South are located in the tropical and subtropical zone, which adversely effects on agricultural development, industrialization, trade and transport and efficiency etc.

**(iii) Topography:** Topography plays an important role in determination of a nation's power. The USA has vast coastal area, rivers which help cheap and efficient water transport, good ports and harbor etc. Great Britain, France, Spain, India, China etc. also have vast coastal areas. Himalayas in the North to India serve as barrier to it from the aggression. Laciness of sea-shores and possessing hill-areas could not help Afghanistan, Nepal etc. in developing.

**2. POPULATION:** It is also an important and essential element to national power. Large populated states could possess strong army. It can utilize the natural resources fully. Small states could not utilize their natural resources, or could not possess armed strength. Example: Kuwait, Bhutan, etc. At the same time, the largest population can also become hindrance to the development of a country. Example: - India, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan etc. The largest population is not only important but it should be equipped with literacy, morals and dedication to nation etc. There must be a good quality among the population, viz., it must possess greater technical capacity, ability to exercise more effective control over the forces of nature and contribute to the growth of national power. The Gulf countries suffer with lesser populations and they require foreigners to bring their natural resources viz, Petrol, Gas etc.

**3. NATURAL RESOURCES:** Petrol, Gas, Minerals, Water, Fertility of Soil etc., are the natural resources. The Gulf countries, the USA have abundant reserves of Petrol and Gas. Therefore, they could earn ore. Great Britain has enormous reserves of coal, that is why it has become an industrially developed state. The USA has vast agricultural land, having good climate, that is why it is in a position to produce more food grains and is in a position to export. However, the natural resources do not by themselves create power. They have to be exploited with the help of capital, technical know-how and skilled labour. The countries should enjoy self-sufficiency in food grains. India has vast natural resources, viz vast area of fertile lands, waters in the rivers. But the water of rivers is flowing into the seas westly. India has no sufficient petroleum, natural gas, due to which it has to incur major portion of its foreign exchange towards them. Thus, the natural resources contribute to the national power.

**4. TECHNOLOGY:** Technology means the application of science and newer methods of production. It has three dimensions (i) industrial technology (ii) communicational technology and (iii) military technology. Industrial technology strengthens the State with economic surplus and stability. It eradicates unemployment. Communicational Technology increases the business and vast and speed development. Military technology defends the nation from aggression. Great Britain could establish its empire three-fourths of the world by its military technology in 18th century and could rule it for three centuries. Even now, the USA ranks the Big Power (now mono-polar power) by its military technology. During the Second World War, Japan, Italy and Germany were defeated only due to their backwardness in military technology comparing with the USA and its alliances. North States are dominating South States by their technology only North States developed industrially and most advanced due to possessing high quality of technology.

**5. NATIONAL CHARACTER AND MORALE:** These are intangible factors. Quantity of the people is not sufficient to make a nation powerful. They must possess good national character and morale in peace or in war. National morale is the degree of determination with which a nation supports the home and foreign policies of its government in times of peace or war. It permeates all activities of a nation, its agricultural and industrial production as well as its military establishment and diplomatic service. The people of nation must love their mother land and devote for the integration of it. They must be prepared to sacrifice. There should not be any internal struggles, regional conflicts and discriminations in a nation. The people of every nation sacrifice their personal interests to the nation's welfare during war times. All stand on the foot, irrespective of their caste, religion, region, language, race, sex, etc.

**6. MILITARY:** Military is one of the essential elements of national power. Military preparedness is the most apparent and tangible factors capable of supporting the foreign policy and promoting national interest. This factor has been recognized as the most important of a nation since the time immemorial. It is apparent and tangible factor. There must be good quantity and quality of military. The technological innovation, leadership and quantity and quality of armed forces are vital factors essential elements in the military preparedness of a State. Military technology pioneer's national integrity and defense. The State which is weak in military can easily be subdued by other State. Examples: - India was defeated by China in 1962. India defeated Pakistan three times and in 1971 it caused the division of Pakistan into two countries. Great Britain subdued three-fourths of the world in 18th century. In the First World War,

Germany gained superiority over British because of the use of submarines. In the Second World War, America gained superiority over Japan and Germany because of the use of nuclear power. A small state cannot be well equipped with sufficient military. Example: - Kuwait.

**7. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:** The technology of modern warfare and communications has made the overall development of heavy industries an indispensable element of national power. The quality and productive capacity of the industrial plant, the know-how of the working man, the skill of the engineer, the inventive genius of the scientist, the managerial organization.... all these are the factors upon which the economic development of a nation and hence its power depend. America, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, Japan, Taiwan etc. got economic development abundantly. Japan was defeated in Second World War, but it retaliated America by developing itself in economy and got its 'sweet revenge'. Japan could only give an appropriate challenge to American economy. Having population, natural resources, geography etc. are not sufficient for the economic development. There must be good industrial policy and dedication of the people. India, Brazil etc. have sufficient human resources, natural resources but could not develop economically, due to their worst policies. The country must have surplus production if it wants to become economically developed. To achieve this target, the entire nation should struggle with devoted mind and good policies.

**8. POLITICAL STRUCTURE:** Having human resources, natural resources etc. are not sufficient to build a strong nation. There must be a proper political structure, whether it is democratic, autocratic or communist, which should coordinate all the essential elements of national power. Whatever the form may be, the government should get the majority people's support in formulating its policies nationally and internationally. The government is answerable for its failure or success in economy, industry, military, foreign policy etc. the government should seek its popular support through propaganda, through political parties and through bureaucracy. Again, the working of bureaucracy reflects in the working of government. Bad bureaucracy causes the decrease of the prestige of government. Thus, national power is also decreased by it. There must be a good political structure commanding over bureaucracy. There should be no bribes, scandals in the working of political structure.

**9. IDEOLOGICAL ELEMENT:** Ideas and ideology are important elements of national power. Ideology is a body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values and goals which pose action programmed for attaining these goals. Ideology is a modern concept. Socialism, Communism, Nazism, Democracy, Liberalism, Nationalism etc. are various concepts of

ideology. Different states follow different ideology. Among all these ideologies, democracy stands first. To-day majority of nations follow democracy ideology. Communism spreader in Soviet Russia, Cuba North Korea, China etc. At present it is declining. Now there is no communism I Russia and its sister nations. The ideology gives unity to nation and a sense of common interest to people. It helps to raise the morale of the people. It tries to solve the problems of the nation. The foreign policy of a nation is guided by the ideology of nation.

**10. ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP:** Palmer and Perkins observed: “Without leadership people cannot even constitute a state; without it there can be no well-developed or integrated technology and without its morale is totally useless, if indeed it can exist at all.” Each State develops and formulates its national and international policies under the leadership of an eminent leader. The leadership must be possessed of both the qualities of the ‘wisdom’ and the ‘knowledge’. The leader inspires the entire nation. Example: - Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru etc. of India; Nelson Mandela of South Africa; Hitler of Germany; Presidents Wilson, Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln, Kennedy etc. of America; Mao of China; Stalin, Brezhnev etc. of Soviet Russia etc. Like this History shows numerous examples to show that the leaders succeeded in rousing their people as one man to give a concerted fight and brought laurels to their country.

### **LIMITATIONS OF NATIONAL POWER:**

The humankind fully realizes the dangers of an unregulated use of national power by each state. The states now themselves realize their increased international interdependence and the need for exercising restraint in the use of power. In this nuclear age, the danger resulting from an unlimited use of power involves the possibility of a total destruction of the humankind by a nuclear war. The new need for sustainable all-round development has again compelled all nations to accept the need for controlling and regulating the use of power by all states in the interest of preventing war and anarchy in the international relations. This objective, is sought to be realized with the help of several devices which act as limitations on national power.

The major limitations on national power of each state can be discussed as under:

**1. BALANCE OF POWER:** Balance of Power is a device of both power management and limitation of power. Its underlying principle is that the power of several equally powerful actors can be a source of limitation on their powers. The major actors should maintain a sort of balance in their power positions. No state should try to become unduly powerful as can endanger the

balance. If a state becomes or tries to become unduly powerful, another state or states should collectively pool their powers and create a preponderance of power against the offending state. Through use of force or coercion or other devices, these states should act to reduce the power of the threatening state and restore the balance. No state should be eliminated completely but the power of the state should be kept under control in the name of 'balance'. Balance of power places restraints upon the states by preventing all attempts at an unjustified increase of power on the part of any member of the balance of power system.

**2. INTERNATIONAL LAW:** International Law is the body of rules that the nation-states accept as binding upon them, and which regulates their behaviour in international relations. It is an important limitation on the power of a nation. It directs and controls the behaviour of the nations engaged in international relations. International law constitutes a legal framework for the orderly conduct of international relations both in times of peace and war. Backed by common consent, natural law, international morality, world public opinion and its utility, International law acts as a major limitation on the misuse of power by the states. It enunciates the do's and don'ts for the states. It declares war as an illegal means for the promotion of interests. It lays down rules for the establishment and conduct of diplomatic relations. Violations of International Law can invoke sanctions against the violating states.

**3. INTERNATIONAL MORALITY:** Just as human behaviour in a society is regulated by a set of moral norms or rules, likewise behaviour of states in the international environment is limited by International Morality. International community accepts certain values peace, order, equality, goodness, mutual help, respect for life and liberty of all, and respect for Human Rights of all, as right and good values which must be accepted and followed by all states. International Morality is "a generally accepted moral code of conduct which nations usually follow in international relations". It acts as a limitation on the national power of each state. It has played a role in strengthening human consciousness against war i.e. against misuse of national power.

**4. WORLD PUBLIC OPINION:** The democratization of foreign policy and the coming of communications and IT revolutions have together made possible the rise of organized and strong World Public Opinion in contemporary international relations. It has emerged as an important factor of international relations. The presence of strong global peace movements, strong movements in favour of Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament, a very strong and healthy global movement for the preservation of Earth's ecological balance, the environment protection



movements, Human Rights protection movements and several other such movements clearly show the presence of a strong World Public Opinion.

**5. INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS:** Since 1919, the world has been living with a world organisation, except for the years of the Second World War. Since 1945, the United Nations has been functioning as a global organisation of all the members of the international community. Its Charter specifies certain aims and objectives which its members are committed to follow. It specifies certain means for pacific settlement of disputes among the member states. It provides for collective security of peace in times of war and aggression. The United Nations constitutes a global platform for the conduct of international relations in a peaceful and orderly manner. Nations are bound by the UN Charter and they are expected to use their powers only in accordance with the dictates of the UN Charter. However, the continued love and respect for sovereignty and nationalism continues to keep the role of international organisation and non-state actors limited.

**6. COLLECTIVE SECURITY:** It is a device of power-management which also acts as a limitation on national power. The system of Collective Security is based on the principle that international peace and security is the common objective to be secured by all the states through collective action against any violation by any state or states. It is a device of power management and its purpose is to maintain international peace and security by the collective efforts of all the states. As such, the power of a state which violates or seeks to violate the freedom, sovereignty or territorial integrity of any other state is limited by the fear that any aggression or any such act committed by it will be met by the collective power of all other states. In this way collective security is considered to be a deterrent against war and aggression i.e. against the misuse of power by any state.

**7. DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL:** Since military power is a formidable dimension of national power and armaments form a formidable part of military power, Arms Control and Disarmament are regarded as devices of limiting the national power. Both Arms Control and Disarmament are based on the belief that by eliminating or reducing the possession and production of weapons, the military power of a nation i.e. the national power of the state can be limited. Any success towards Arms Control and Disarmament can be a source of limitation upon the national power of the states. The decision to adopt arms control and limited disarmament due to internal economic necessities has decidedly limited the role of power in contemporary international relations.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

National Power is a complex subject. There are several factors and essential elements to determine the national power. A nation may have all the elements of power above mentioned, yet it may be remained as a weak state. Similarly, another nation may not possess one or two or more elements above mentioned and yet be an effective power. Palmer & Perkins observed: “National power, like nearly everything else in this world of ours, is relative. A man with a million dollars is not rich in a group of multi-millionaires, a man of forty is old to a child of ten and youthful to an octogenarian. Similarly, with power absolute has little meaning. Fifty divisions, three hundred war vessels, two thousand planes all these may represent overwhelming might against one opponent and miserable inadequacy against another.”

## **2.2 NATIONAL INTEREST**

### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Meaning of National Interest*
- *Definition of National Interest:*
- *Function - Purpose and Need of National Interest:*
- *National Interest and International Relations*
- *Limitations of National Interest*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## **NATIONAL INTEREST**

### **INTRODUCTION**

National Interest' is a key concept in International Relations. All the nations are always engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests. The foreign policy of each nation is formulated on the basis of its national interest and it is always at work for securing its goals. It is a universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests. A state

always tries to justify its actions on the basis of its national interest. The behaviour of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests. Hence it is essential for us to know the meaning and content of National Interest.

### **MEANING OF NATIONAL INTEREST**

National Interest is a vague and ambiguous term that carries a meaning according to the context in which it is used. Statesmen and policy-makers have always used it in ways suitable to them and to their objective of justifying the actions of their states. Hitler justified expansionist policies in the name of “German national interests.” The US presidents have always justified their decisions to go in for the development of more and more destructive weapons in the interest of “US national interest.” To build up a strong nuclear base at Diego Garcia was justified by the USA in the name of meeting the challenge posed by erstwhile USSR as well as for protecting the US interests in the Indian Ocean. During 1979-89, USSR justified its intervention in Afghanistan in the name of “Soviet national interests”. All these and many more examples can be quoted to stress the ambiguity that surrounds the concept of National Interest. This ambiguity hinders the process of formulating a universally accepted definition of National Interest. However, several scholars have tried to define National Interest.

### **DEFINITION OF NATIONAL INTEREST:**

- ❖ **Charles Lerche and Abdul** - *“The general, long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving.”*
- ❖ **Morgenthau** - *“The meaning of national interest is survival the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states”*
- ❖ **Vernon Von Dyke** - *“National Interest is, that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states.”*

### **FUNCTION - PURPOSE AND NEED OF NATIONAL INTEREST:**

One cannot be more specific in explaining the meaning and content of national interest as both its value roots and the process of its synthesis are peculiar to the history, traditions and institutional make-up of a country. One can, however, be quite clear about its function. Lerche and Said explain: As the overriding purpose governing the state’s relation with the outside world, it serves two purposes: it gives policy a general orientation towards the external environment, and more, importantly, it serves as the controlling criterion of choice in immediate situations. The dominant view of, national interest, in other words, dictates the nature of a state’s long-term

effort in foreign policy and governs what it does in a short-term context. National interest also adds an element of consistency in a nation's foreign policy. A country carefully sticking to its national interest in a swiftly changing situation, is more likely to maintain its balance and continue to advance towards its goals than it would be if it altered its interest in adapting to each new situation.

### **NATIONAL INTEREST AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The realist school of international relations (IR) is founded on this notion of foreign policy geared towards pursuing the national interest. The school reached its greatest heights at the Congress of Vienna, which amounted to balancing the national interest of several great and lesser powers, for which Klemens von Metternich would be celebrated as the principal artist and theoretician of. However, Metternich had only ever accomplished more or less of what his predecessor, Wenzel Anton, had already done when reversing many of the traditional Habsburg alliances and building international relations anew on the basis of national interest instead of religion or tradition. Such notions became much criticized after the bloody debacle of the First World War, where some sought to replace the conceptual balance of power with the idea of collective security, whereby all members of the League of Nations would "consider an attack upon one as an attack upon all," thus deterring the use of violence for ever more.

The League of Nations did not work, partially due to the refusal of the United States to join, as well as to the fact that, in practice, nations did not always find it "in the national interest" to deter each other from the use of force. The events of World War II along with World War I, led to a rebirth of realist, as well as the birth of neo-realist, thought, as IR theorists re-emphasized the role of power in global governance. Many such theorists blamed the weakness of the League of Nations on its idealism and ineffectiveness at preventing war, even as they blamed mercantilist 'beggar thy neighbour' policies for the creation of fascist states in Germany and Italy. With hegemonic stability theory, the concept of U.S. national interest was expanded to include the maintenance of open Sea lanes, as well as the facilitation and expansion of free trade.

### **LIMITATIONS OF NATIONAL INTEREST**

- ❖ It does not respect individual right.
- ❖ It does not respect sub-national people in any particular countries.
- ❖ It ignores the cooperation among nations in the region.

- ❖ It is the root problem of the conflicts between nations.
- ❖ National interest, which dominate the world society, is too narrow.
- ❖ It pays attention to only one actor. It does not respect individual right.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

No matter how severely men may criticize war, it will survive as long as the rulers of mankind are unable to agree on an acceptable alternative to it. The reality is that, as Eagleton observed, war is a method of achieving purposes. Many people hate war and strongly suggest that war never pays. On the contrary many believe that war often pays and, moreover, that it has paid not only for bad men with wrong intention but often for good men with good purposes. For that matter it persists as an instrument for the promotion of national interest. However, this instrument is mostly used as a last resort when all other methods prove ineffective.

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## **2.3 FOREIGN POLICY AND IT'S DETERMINANTS AND NAM**

### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Definitions of Foreign Policy*
- *Components of Foreign Policy*
- *Objectives of Foreign Policy*
- *Instruments of Foreign Policy*
- *Determinants of Foreign Policy*
  - *General and Objective Determinants*
  - *Specific, Subjective or Internal Determinants*
  - *External Factors*

## **2.3 FOREIGN POLICY AND IT'S DETERMINANTS**

### **INTRODUCTION**

It is a known fact that the formation of government is essential to run a state and no state can live without maintaining interstate relations which have become so essential in these days. A successful foreign policy enhances a nation's power and prestige in the comity of nations. Foreign policy gains also increase a government's credibility in the eyes of public internally as well as externally. Herein lies the importance of foreign policy. It has become one of the most important core fields of international relations now we discuss Determinants of Foreign Policy.

## **DEFINITIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY**

- ❖ **Hartmann**, “Is a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests.”
- ❖ **Paddleford and Lincoln** “what course it will pursue in world affairs within the limits of its strength and the realities of the external environment.”
- ❖ **Schleicher**, “It refers to the actions of government officials to influence human behavior beyond the jurisdiction of their own state, therefore, foreign policy mainly implies a course of action”.
- ❖ **Rodee**, “Foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests.”

In sum, every state decides its own course of action in international relations in the light of its means and ends. Then it conducts its foreign relations and behaves at international level and regulates the behaviour and action of other states according to that action plan. This is what a nation foreign policy means.

## **COMPONENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY**

**According to LERCHE and SAID, normally foreign policy includes three elements. These are:**

- Formulation of the objective in the most precise terms possible
- The nature of the action to be undertaken, stated with sufficient clarity to guide and direct the state’s other officials and
- The forms and perhaps the amounts of national power to be applied in pursuit of the objective.

**MAHENDRA KUMAR describes four components:**

- Policy makers,
- Interest and objectives

- Principles of foreign policy, and
- Means of foreign policy.

### **OBJECTIVES OF FOREIGN POLICY:**

Interest can be explained as the aims passed on to the policy makers by the community. It may also be defined as the general and continuing ends for the attainment of which a nation conducts its foreign relations. It includes such matters as security against aggression, development of higher standards of living, and the maintenance of conditions of national and international stability. Foreign policy is inconceivable without national interest. At the same time, it must be clarified that national interest does not exclude the significance of international obligation, especially in the present-day world. On the other hand, objectives are the product of national interest. They are in the words of **Mahendra Kumar**, interests spelled out and made more precise in the light of the present-day complexity of international relations. He further clarifies that all interests of a nation will not be regarded as objectives unless they are strongly loved by the political community and the same is prepared to make some sacrifice or take some risk for their realization. In this way, objectives are of a more specific nature than interests.

### **Common objectives of the foreign policy of all nations are:**

1. Maintaining the integrity of the state,
2. Promoting economic interest,
3. Providing for national security,
4. Protecting national prestige and developing national power, and
5. Maintaining world order.

These can be supplemented by specific objectives according to the peculiar problems and conditions of the particular country.



## **INSTRUMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY**

The instruments of foreign policy may be said to be those institutions or devices through which the national power or resources are used for the accomplishment of the interests and objectives.

These are as follows:

**1. DIPLOMACY:** Good diplomats' ambassadors, envoys, ministers etc. and through their art of diplomacy can put country's viewpoint effectively before the world and fulfill foreign policy objectives by means of mutual negotiations and thus spare their country from resorting to coercive methods. Diplomacy reduces the area of disagreement and misunderstanding with other states. It is instrumental in reaching out agreements, treaties and pacts with other nations. It plays its role both during war and peace.

**2. PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA:** These can be used steadily to combat and break down the undesirable attitudes and opinions and to create the desired attitudes and opinions. Propaganda can be used, as it was used by Hitler and later on by super powers during Cold War, for the systematic falsification of true propositions or positions and the establishment of suitable ones. India's factually strong case on Kashmir has been distorted by a systematic and ceaseless propaganda by Pakistan, so much so that quite some people in the world may wonder as to what, after all, the facts of the case are publicity through radio, television magazines and other literature is also used as an instrument of foreign policy. Thus, these three factors diplomacy, publicity and propaganda-are employed by a nation for building up its public relations, for removing undesirable or discreditable factors like embarrassment, misunderstanding, suspicion, fear, etc. between itself and other nations, and for projecting a favorable and acceptable image to other nations. These also help in increasing the power and prestige of a nation.

**3. BALANCE OF POWER:** This method is used for avoiding imbalance of power and strengthening the position of given nations. For example, Britain employed the principle of balance of power for a long time in the European power politics in order to maintain the status quo and prevent any particular power from being too strong.

**4. COLLECTIVE SECURITY:** The principle of collective security is adopted to secure collective defense as threateningly posed or actually mobilized against a powerful nation or nations. Balance of power and collective security are extremely useful as instruments for smaller nations which have a limited capacity to defend themselves.

**5. INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORGANIZATIONS:** These are also used by nations whenever possible for advancing the objectives of their foreign policy. During the post War period, Britain and France used the League of Nations to maintain status quo which was in their favor. Now we see that a number of third World countries are using the platform of the United Nations for some of the basic goals of their foreign policies-anti-colonialism, anti-racialism, disarmament and so on.

**6. ECONOMIC AND NON-POLITICAL METHODS:** Various economic methods are also adopted by various nations to achieve their foreign policy objectives and also to harm the interest of Opponents. Economic organizations are formed for this purpose e.g. E.E.C., E.C.M., COMECON, MI-I Economic methods have already been discussed in detail in the previous chapter on National Interest. Sometimes nations also exploit religious, cultural and ethnic affinity to fulfill foreign policy objectives tag the use of Islam by many Muslim countries.

**7. WAR AND PEACE:** The institutions of war and peace are a kind of ultimate answer to the problems of a nation's foreign policy of the two, peace comes on the heels of war, generally inaugurating a basic change in the foreign policies of nations concerned. But war is generally a devastating answer to the problems of a nation's foreign policy. When objectives of foreign policy cannot be achieved through other means, nations resort to war as an end argument.

### **DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY:**

Foreign policy of states is determined by a number of factors. These important determinants having bearing on foreign policy can be broadly classified into three categories:

- General or objective.
- Specific or subjective or internal.
- External factors.

The general and objective factors determine the framework in which policy choices are to be made and operated. These are the factors which are common to all the countries in determining their foreign policy. While the specific and subjective factors vary from country to country in accordance with their internal conditions and needs. These specific factors determine the specific response of leadership to a particular situation, and therefore indicate the direction of a foreign policy: There are some external factors also that influence a country's foreign policy. All these factors are of great significance, and they clearly indicate that foreign policy can never be satisfactorily explained by any simple determinant.

### **GENERAL AND OBJECTIVE DETERMINANTS:**

These are of four types that play role in determining the foreign policy of all the states.

**1. SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF THE SLATE:** The first factor that every state keeps in mind while formulating foreign policy is the safeguarding of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is the main responsibility of a state to safeguard the property of citizens and to protect their interests whatsoever they are. This responsibility also involves the concept of security of national boundaries and if necessary, to occupy other alien part of the territory. The states aiming at the protection of their own territory, pursue the policy of status quo. The states endeavouring to subjugate occupied or non-occupied territory may be named as pursuing the expansionist policy. The policy of safeguarding the interest of the citizens inside or outside the state, is known as policy of prestige.

**2. INTER-DEPENDENCE OF STATES:** All the states big or small, rich or poor are dependent on one another for one or the other reasons. This inter-dependence may result in -conflict or cooperation so the states under these stresses attempt to create a situation under which international behaviour may not be broken completely. Foreign policy is formulated in such a way as to maintain a balance with bargaining. For example, India did not recognize Israel for long, to dissuade the Arab countries from siding with Pakistan in the event of Indo-Pak dispute.

**3. PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST:** It is the primary duty of all states to promote and further their national interests through their foreign policies. There may be difference between the interests of one state with that of another as they naturally vary according to time, place, location and circumstances, but the interests as self-preservation, security and well-being of its citizens are the common interests on the basis of which foreign policy is generally made.

**4. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONDITIONS:** Foreign policy of every state is conditioned by certain internal and external factors. Internal factors include geography, population, economic needs, ideology, history and culture, military capacity, social structure, personalities, public Opinion etc. External factors are global environment, great power structure, alliances, international organizations, world public Opinion, reaction of other states etc. The degree of influence of these factors on the foreign policy may vary from country to country. That is why they are discussed in detail in subsequent headings.

**SPECIFIC, SUBJECTIVE OR INTERNAL DETERMINANTS:**

Every state has its own specific interests that require specific decision in foreign policy making. A state may be facing certain problems and difficulties and therefore, has to take several internal factors into consideration while formulating its foreign policy. These internal factors are known as subjective or special factors and may differ from state to state. These particular or specific factors are a under.

**1. GEOGRAPHY:** A permanent and stable determinant of foreign policy is geography. It determines the temperature, resources, frontiers and neighbours. The size of the state, topography, shape, location and climate are important components of geography. A size large enough to support a population sufficient to man an adequate military establishment a climate which is uniform and conducive to physical vigoro, preferably either temperate or tropical highland, a topography offering boundaries with natural defence barrier such as mountains, forests, swamps, rivers, deserts and oceans and a shape which is compact rather than disintegrated or scattered and thus easier to defend, provide part of the necessary power potential

allowing a state to pursue an independent foreign policy. Location is one of the crucial elements in moulding the foreign policy outlook.

**2.HISTORY:** Another guide to foreign policy is the history of the country from history alone the nation inherits a style and culture which in turn influence the foreign policy making. History is the past record of the doings of a community, of its failures and successes. History shapes the current tradition and the self-image of a society, and therefore, the specific national style. The British habit of muddling through, the French concern with security, honour and glory, the German ruthlessness, the Soviet obsession with secrecy, and the American habit to interpret international issues as moral issues, India's policy of non-alignment and Panchsheel, have definite and specific historical roots. In every case, such a national style and character influenced the making and execution of foreign policy.

**3.POPULATION:** it, as a determinant of foreign policy, is relevant both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The political, economic and military phases of a nation's foreign policy is also moulded by the size, character and distribution its population. It is believed that the greater the number of populations, the greater will be its power. Manpower determines the standard of living, values, the way of life and even expectation of a nation. The significance of China and India rests partly on the large size of their population. Besides the quantity, the quality of population as revealed in its educational level, skilled labour, technical know-how, health and strong national character, is a determinant of foreign policy. The quality of population also influences the quality of political system, public administration, leadership and even execution of foreign policy.

**4. NATURAL RESOURCES:** Food, minerals, metal, coal, crude oil, water resources constitute an important element of national power and consequently of foreign policy. Availability of these resources in plenty definitely enhances the importance of a country. For example, the presence of petroleum has significantly strengthened the position of West Asian countries in international relations. They have used oil as a tool of their foreign policy. If natural resources are not locally available, they have to be procured through international cooperation. Availability of strategic

and crucial raw materials will place a v country in advantageous position in foreign affairs. On the contrary, a country lacking in these resources will follow a weak foreign policy.

**5. ECONOMIC FACTORS:** Today, no state in the world can boast of economic self-sufficiency. Even the United States is greatly dependent upon world trade for economic prosperity. This mutual interdependence of the economies also works as a determinant of foreign policy. Economic interdependence leads to international economic activity which is expressed in terms of tariffs, import quotas, trade agreements and other financial arrangements. Sometimes adjustments in international economic relationship create tension in the world which further takes the form of political and military action. States are not equally gifted by nature with natural and economic resources nor they are capable of utilizing available resources.

**6. DEVELOPMENT:** Usually, a developed nation tends to follow an independent foreign policy whereas a backward nation is inclined to pursue a dependency policy. The latter, owing to its poverty and military weakness, would rely on developed nations for economic development and or for its protection against a powerful enemy. Such compulsions do not normally perturb strong and developed nations. However, security is a relative term and even the most powerful nation perhaps does not feel fully secure. Many a time developed nation like Britain and France are not able to follow independent foreign policies. They are often required to toe the line of NATO dictated by the United States.

**7. NATIONAL AND MILITARY CAPACITY:** National capacity determines as well as executes foreign policy effectively. If the state increases its national capacity, its foreign policy will need a big change. It will strive to attain a position of distinction in international relations, if it decreases, the state will have to compromise with its poor status for example, at the end of the Second World War Britain became a less powerful state. Change in its national capacity had considerably changed British foreign policy. The change in the US foreign policy after the war was owing to the tremendous rate of economic growth and military success in the war that encouraged it to pursue a policy of involvement instead of isolation.

**8. IDEOLOGY:** There has been a great debate on whether ideology persecutes as a determinant of foreign policy. Some scholars say that democratic nations believe in peace while dictation regimes believe in war, but reality falsifies this hypothesis. America and Britain, by no means, are less war prone than Russia and China. At times a leader makes the use of ideology merely to justify his policy or behaviour in familiar terms which is acceptable to his countrymen. But on the other occasions a nation goes to war not for national security but only to compel others to subscribe to its ideology. An objective view on this matter is that ideology alone is not a policy goal. The foreign policy of India and many other countries despite ideological overtones cannot be explained except in terms of national interests. In short, it can be said that ideologies do not fully determine foreign policy objectives although they influence to some extent their directions.

**9. PUBLIC OPINION:** Specially in democratic countries public opinion cannot be ignored as one of the determinants of foreign policy. It is often vague, volatile, amenable to quick changes and difficult to mobilize. But once on a particular problem public opinion is mobilized and expressed in clear terms, it becomes difficult for the government to overlook it while taking decision on the issue in question. It was the force of the public Opinion in the United States politics, that compelled the government to order withdrawal of the American forces from the South Vietnam. Likewise, it was also under the pressure of public opinion that Krishna Menon had to resign in 1962 after the Chinese aggression. Thus, generally public Opinion acts as a determinant in shaping the foreign policy of a nation.

**10. DECISION-MAKERS:** The attitude of policy and decision makers is also carried weight. Leadership determines the strength and the direction of a foreign policy. The role that a country performs at a particular time, and the foreign policy that will be pursued, are outcome of the qualities of those who are in the position to make decisions. How decision-makers perceive national interest and their image of the external and global environment has much to do with the making of foreign policy as final decision regarding foreign matters lies in their hands. In fact, policy decisions in external matters can never be separated from the psychological traits, the

personality or the predisposition of the leaders. They, and not the abstract state or organization take the most crucial decision concerning foreign policy.

**11. DOMESTIC INSTABILITY:** Sometimes domestic instability also works as a determinant of foreign policy. Quincy Wright, an eminent scholar of international politics as well as war has observed that a ruler prevents sedition by making external war. It is a common saying in India that Pakistan has been continuously following an aggressive and hostile attitude towards India as it has never been able to deal with numerous internal issues challenging its very legitimacy and existence.

### **EXTERNAL FACTORS:**

**1. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:** These include international law, the U.N.O., and its activities, UNESCO, I.L.O, W.H.O., I.M.F., etc. The nations cannot completely ignore international law, treaties and contracts so that their violations may not put in danger the policies. Almost all countries are also members of the U. N O. Its decisions and activities effect the foreign policy of many nations. The Communist China for a long time ignored international organizations and consequently could not secure its due position in the sphere of international relations. In 1971 she became a member of U.N.O. and this fact caused several shifts in China's foreign policy.

**2. WORLD PUBLIC OPINION:** World public Opinion provides dynamism to external environment. It is always changing. It is very difficult to know it unless it becomes very clear and organized. Like a flicker of light, it influences the foreign policy rarely. The characteristic of consistency is absolutely absent in it. Only if domestic public opinion of many countries combines it becomes an effective world public opinion. Then it also serves as a determinant of foreign policy No country howsoever powerful can go ever challenging world public Opinion.

**3. REACTION OF OTHER STATES:** The states cannot always neglect the viewpoint of other states while making their foreign policies. Moreover, every state has some friendly nations or allies. Their reaction about a particular policy has to be given special attention States usually



never attempt to pursue those interests which are totally Opposed to the fundamental interests of other state its police ignores the reaction of other states it has little chance to succeed.

**4.OTHER EXTERNAL FACTORS:** The other external factors that have a bearing upon foreign policy are general world conditions, whether tense or relaxed, cold war like or detente like, war prone or peace oriented. General regional environment, whether surrounded by hostile or friendly neighbours. Special endemic problems inflicting the region like Palestinian problem in West Asia. Political and economic global problems like arms race, nuclear proliferation, economic depression, economic protectionism, economic inequalities e. g. North-South problem, refugee problem etc. Prevailing alliance system and power structure in the world-bipolar or multi polar also influence foreign policy of various states.

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## **2.4 - NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT(NAM)**

### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Non-Alignment Movement (Nam)*
- *Objectives of The Non-Aligned Movement*
- *Role of Non-Aligned Movement*
- *Achievements of The Non-Aligned Movement*
- *Weaknesses of The Non-Aligned Movement*
- *Advantages of Non-Alignment*
- *Demerits of Non-Aligned Movement*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## **2.4 NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT(NAM)**

### **INTRODUCTION:**

Non-alignment, in international relations, is a policy of keeping out of alliances in general and military pacts in particular. It is very close to neutralism. The basic object of both is “non-alignment in cold war” in particular and in actual war in general. Non-alignment aims at keeping away not only from a particular conflict or issue but from a continuing international situation such as the cold war. Making of military alliances is an important feature of cold war. Non-alignment keeps away from such military alliances. After the Second World War, the United Nations Organization was established. After it, the USA and the USSR emerged as two super powers of the world, one standing for democracy and the other for communism.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, President Nasser of Egypt and President Tito of Yugoslavia met in a two-day Conference at the Yugoslav Island of Brioni on 19-7-1956. The three statesmen declared the non-alignment and also declared their adherence to the Bandung principles and extending them to entire world. Following are the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement:

- To keep the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa away from the rivalry of the two superpowers and preserve their newly acquired national independence.
- To eliminate all those factors and tendencies in the international arena that could lead to war.
- To protect the nascent freedom of the new born Asian and African countries and help them distance themselves from colonial domination.
- To oppose colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination.
- To advocate sovereign equality of all States.
- To encourage friendly relations among countries.
- To advocate peaceful settlement of international disputes.
- To oppose the use of force and nuclear weapons in the international arena.

- To strengthen the United Nations Organisation as an organ of world peace.
- To protect human rights and the environment

### **ROLE OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

The Non-Aligned Movement played its effective role during the Cold War. The increasing number of the countries is the testimony of its success. The following are the achievements of NAM.

**1. ROLE OF BALANCER:** Before the establishment of NAM there was cold war between two super powers (USA & USSR). Even after its establishment, the conflicts between the super powers continued. The members of the NAM could easily escape from the annoyance of both the super powers. NAM worked as a balanced between the two super powers. Further, the super powers wanted to win the favour of non-aligned nations.

**2. LIVE AND LET LIVE:** The policy of NAM is “live and let live”. This ideology of co-existence gained more importance.

**3. DISARMAMENT:** NAM encouraged disarmament. Disarmament is the right way to achieve the international peace and security.

**4. APARTHEID:** NAM supported heartily to the people of South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia etc. where the black was neglected by the policy of apartheid of white minority. NAM has taken several steps in support of Black.

**5. DECOLONISATION:** NAM fought against colonization and neo-colonization.

**6. MEDIATION:** Whenever it was possible, NAM took initiative steps to solve the conflicts between member states by acting as a Mediator.

**7. IDEALISM AND REALISM:** Non-aligned movement offers a new model of blend of idealism and realism.

**8. EVOLUTION OF ONE WORLD:** The main object of NAM is to resolve the conflicts of two super powers and make them amicable and thus to make the world one. The efforts of NAM have been in the side of evolution of one world.

**9. AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER:** NAM is against the nuclear power in any shape in anywhere in the world. It contributed to the reduction of the rigidity of the bi-polar alliances and reduce the role of nuclear weapons in international politics.

**10. ASSISTANCE OF UNO:** NAM is not substitute of UNO. NAM is an effective and useful organ or association of the UNO. It can find the solutions for the political problems of the world. The increasing number of non-aligned countries is the self-testimony. In 1961, there were only 25 States participated in the Non-aligned Conference at Belgrade. The number of participating states has been increasing from Conference to Conference and it reached to 102 countries in Belgrade Summit. 1989. The world public opinion is reflected in the NAM conferences. The NAM's object is to have international peace and security. NAM has been giving its help for the effective working of the United Nations.

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

**END OF VIETNAM WAR:** Due to pressure from the non-aligned movement, the Vietnam War eventually ended in 1975. This was an ideological war between the capitalist bloc. The USA suffered a great loss in this war.

**INDEPENDENCE:** Colonized countries, which suffered oppression and exploitation such as Namibia, South Africa, got their independence. Namibia became independent under SWAPO on 21st March 1990. Then Mozambique on 6/7/1975, Zimbabwe on 18th April 1980 and South Africa on 10th May 1992.

**WITHDRAW OF FOREIGN TROOPS:** In 1976, the French who used to occupy Mayotte Islands of the Comoros withdrew as a result of pressure from the non-aligned movement. In 1985, the Nicaragua was finally relieved from the USA imperialism.

**END OF ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT:** Lots of peace efforts through the signing of treaties with the initiative of the non-aligned have gone into the solving of the Israel-Arab conflict which started many years back.

**TRADE PROMOTION:** It has also promoted trade among the member's states. The poor members of the non-aligned cooperate with the richer members like Cuba, Brazil, India, etc. This was the consequence of increased trade between the members in the 1970s while that with the former masters declined. This also led to the formation of regional trade organizations such as the PTA, ECOWAS, etc.

**REDUCTION OF MILITARY BASES:** Through pressure mounted by the movement, the number of military bases has reduced. It has also enabled the member countries to acquire technical, economic and military assistance as well as capital investment.

**END OF IRAN-IRAQ WAR:** It also helped in bringing about the end of the Iraq-Iran war in 1988 after eight years of serious clashes.

**CONDEMNATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS:** The movement has always condemned the arms race and called for disarmament. The consequence has been the strategic arms Limitation Talks (SALT). There were talks on SALT 1 and SALT 2 and a series of non-proliferation of the treaties.

**CREATION OF A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE:** Due to non-aligned pressure, the creation of nuclear free zone treaty was successful at least on the Pacific. Following the nuclear plant disaster at Chernobyl on April 26th, 1986, two nuclear accident conventions were adopted on 26th September 1986 under the Atomic Energy Agreement.

**END OF ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT:** Also prescribed plans of the Arabs' league to end the conflict of Arab-Israel continued. The freedom of international associations and condemnation of aggression and intervention of big powers - The non-aligned movement through resolutions

and condemnations have been instrumental in bringing about peace in crisis-ridden areas worldwide.

### **WEAKNESSES OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

**POVERTY:** One of the biggest problems arises from the fact that the members of the non-aligned movement are poor and formerly colonies. They are the third world nations, which experienced oppression and exploitation from decade to decade.

**ATTACHMENT TO SOVIET UNION:** Due to political and economic inability, the poor members find themselves inevitably looking for foreign aid from the big powers yet they do not want to associate with them. The communist bloc for instance, was instrumental in the fight for independence. It financed, gave moral and logistical support to many developing countries.

**NEO-COLONIALISM:** It has found it hard to make members condemn and abandon the neo-colonialism in the independent poor states. For instance, we have the Anglophone and Francophone states which continue to have direct dealings with the former colonial masters.

**POOR ECONOMIES:** Poverty has made the members of the movement vulnerable to the scheming of the powerful exploitative states. Financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF have greatly influenced the economies of the non-aligned members. The same influence has infiltrated into the politics of these members. Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda are examples.

**IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES:** In countries such as Cuba, Libya and the Latin America, ideological imbalance has infiltrated too much such that communism is more evident for instance in Cuba. Some leaders within the non-aligned have developed differences. Libya, Israel, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Uganda have many issues which divide them. In 1990, Gadaffi accused the movement for watching on while the USA was molesting the government of Libya while Iran stormed out the meeting simply because Iraq was not blamed for starting the war, and using chemical weapon on Iran.

**FAILURE TO ISOLATE:** It also at times failed to safeguard the sovereignty of some of its member states. For instance, despite threats, on its neighbours by South Africa, some continued to interact politically and economically with South Africa.

**REGIONAL PROBLEMS:** Has also failed to address its self to regional problems. Example is the India/Pakistan poor relations, the Iran-Iraq war that took eight years. Today, Yugoslavia has been reduced to ruins as though it was not a member of the movement

**COUPS:** Its failure to control coups and condemn military leadership and impose sanctions has been one of the major setbacks. Many countries like Nigeria, Algeria, Ghana, Gambia, Sudan, Somali, Rwanda, Chad, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Gambia, Togo, etc have been experiencing the worst military leadership ever known.

**FAILURE TO LIBERATE SOME COUNTRIES:** Some liberation fronts have failed to come near any success such as the Spanish Sahara organization (POLISARIO) and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

**NO ECONOMIC ORDER:** It has also failed to achieve the New World economic order despite being top in the agenda. Member states will continue trading with non-members and worse still, with the former colonizers. The result has been manipulation by the donor nations economically and socially.

**IGNORANCE AND DISEASE:** The third world countries have not moved away from ignorance, poverty and disease, phenomena that are no longer known in the developed countries.

**MASS MEDIA:** In the field of mass media, a lot is desired because the super powers are still leading and the propaganda has continued to dominate more especially the capitalist bloc now that the socialist bloc is in tatters.

### **ADVANTAGES OF NON-ALIGNMENT**

- ❖ It enables countries to exercise influence with world affairs, which would not be possible for a single country.
- ❖ Member countries can seek economic, technical and military and anywhere without strings attached.
- ❖ Promotes self-reliance so that poor countries realized their real political and economic independence. Non alignment enables a country to act according to its best judgement.
- ❖ It brings about mutual reliance between weak and strong countries.
- ❖ It is an umbrella under which widely differing nations can find communication for views such as anti-colonialism, disarmament, and eradication of poverty, ignorance and diseases.
- ❖ In a country where ethnic differences that can be exploited by foreigners do exist, non-alignment helps to emphasize independent foreign policy.

### **DEMERITS OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT:**

- ❖ Extinction of one Super Power: The NAM was established with a view to stay at a far distance to two super powers, viz USA and USSR. In all its Conferences, it explained the purpose of its emergence. The USSR collapsed in 1991. Now there is only one super power. Therefore, the meaning of non-alignment itself becomes meaningless to-day's world politics.
- ❖ National interests: The purposes of NAM are international peace and security. But the members of NAM could come from out of their national interests. Each member to focus its own problems before NAM. This weakened NAM to some extent.
- ❖ Could not stop wars: NAM did not stop the internal conflicts and wars between its members. Examples: Wars between India and Pakistan; Iran and Iraq, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Namibia, Western Sahara etc.
- ❖ Armament: It could not able to prevent armament between its members. There have been arm races between India-Pakistan, Iran and Iraq etc. The members of NAM have been incurring huge expenditure towards the defense.
- ❖ It could not able to resolve the problems in South Africa. Lebanon, Cyprus, Palestine etc.



- ❖ Diversion of opinions: The NAM is spread entire world. There is great variation between the members. The leaders of NAM did not do practically what they preached. Some of the members of NAM were either in the side of America or in the side of USSR. This dichotomy spoiled the very nature of NAM. Therefore, in certain occasions, the NAM could not take effective part in the United Nations.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Despite of its demerits, NAM proved its ability and had become a strong constructive moral force in the international politics. It had greatly contributed to international understanding and promotion of world peace. It promoted collective self-reliance among the non-aligned countries. It helped its members to retain their sovereignty and authentically. It enabled the non-aligned countries to integrate their fragile states into a volatile international system.

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## UNIT- III

### 3.1 WAR

#### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Definitions of War*
- *Causes of War*
- *Types of Warfare*
- *Effects of War*
- *Cold War*
- *Effects of Cold War*
- *War Then and Now*
- *Concluding Remarks*

### 3.1 WAR

#### INTRODUCTION

**What is War:** War is a state of organized, armed, and often prolonged conflict carried on between states, nations, or other parties typified by extreme aggression, social disruption, and usually high mortality. The set of techniques used by a group to carry out war is known as warfare. An absence of war is usually called peace. In 2003, Nobel Laureate Richard E. Smalley identified war as the sixth biggest problems facing the society of mankind for the next fifty years. In the 1832 treatise “On War”, Prussian military general and theoretician Carl Von Clausewitz defined war as follows: “War is thus an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will”.

#### DEFINITIONS OF WAR BY SCHOLARS

- ❖ **Hall** - *“When differences between states reach a point at which both parties resort to force, or one of them does acts of violence, which by the other is considered as a breach of peace*

*and the relation of war is set up, in which the combatants may use regulated violence against each other, until one of the two has been brought to accept such terms as his enemy is willing to grant.”*

- ❖ **Starke:** - *“A contest between two or more states primarily through their armed forces, the ultimate purpose of each contestant being the vanquish the other or others and impose its own conditions of peace.”*
- ❖ **Oppenheim:** - *“In fact, war is an armed conflict between the two or more states, which have aims of imposing conditions, favorable for one, on the other.”*
- ❖ **Haffman Nickerson:** - *“War is the use of organized force between two human groups pursuing contradictory policies, each group seeking to impose its policy upon the other.”*
- ❖ **Lawrance:-** *“A contest carried on by public forces between states with the intention of ending peaceful relations and substituting hostilities for them.”*

### **CAUSES OF WAR:**

There is rarely one single, clear cause of conflict and, ultimately, war. The causes of a war are usually numerous, and several reasons for a conflict can be intertwined in a complicated way. Many theories have been put forth over the years as to why wars happen, and some of the greatest minds have offered their take on the subject.

1. *Economic Gain*
2. *Territorial Gain*
3. *Religion*
4. *Nationalism*
5. *Revenge*
6. *Civil War*
7. *Revolutionary War*
8. *Defensive War*

## 1. ECONOMIC GAIN

Often wars are caused by one country's wish to take control of another country's wealth. Whatever the other reasons for a war may be, there is almost always an economic motive underlying most conflicts, even if the stated aim of the war is presented to the public as something more noble. In pre-industrial times, the gains desired by a warring country might be precious materials such as gold and silver, or livestock such as cattle and horses. In modern times, the resources that are hoped to be gained from war take the form of things like oil, minerals, or materials used in manufacturing. Some scientists believe that as the world's population increases and basic resources become scarce, wars will be fought more often over fundamental essentials, such as water and food.

### Historical Examples of Wars Fought for Economic Gain

- **Anglo-Indian Wars (1766-1849)** – The Anglo-Indian wars were a series of wars fought between the British East India Company and different Indian states. These wars led to the establishment of British colonial rule in India, which gave Britain unrestricted access to exotic and valuable resources native to the Indian continent.
- **Finnish-Soviet War or "The Winter War" (1939-1940)** – Stalin and his Soviet Army wanted to mine Nickel and Finland, but when the Finnish refused, the Soviet Union waged war on the country.

## 2. TERRITORIAL GAIN

A country might decide that it needs more land, either for living space, agricultural use, or other purposes. Territory can also be used as “buffer zones” between two hostile enemies. Related to buffer zones are proxy wars. These are conflicts that are fought indirectly between opposing powers in a third country. Each power supports the side which best suits their logistical, military, and economic interests. Proxy wars were particularly common during the Cold War.

### Historical Examples of Wars Fought for Territorial Gain

- **Mexican-American War (1846-1848)** – This war was fought following the annexation of Texas, with Mexico still claiming the land as their own. The U.S. outfought the Mexicans, retaining Texas and incorporating it as a state.
- **Serbo-Bulgarian War (1885-1886)** – Bulgaria and Serbia fought over a small border town after the river creating the border between the countries moved.
- **Arab-Israeli War or "Six Day War" (1967-1988)** – Israeli forces took the territories of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, from Jordan.

### **3. RELIGION**

Religious conflicts often have very deep roots. They can lie dormant for decades, only to re-emerge in a flash at a later date. Religious wars can often be tied to other reasons for conflict, such as nationalism or revenge for a perceived historical slight in the past. While different religions fighting against each other can be a cause of war, different sects within a religion (for example, Protestant and Catholic, or Sunni and Shiite) battling against one another can also instigate war.

Historical Examples of Wars Fought for Religion

- **The Crusades (1095-1291)** – The Crusades were a series of wars sanctioned by the Latin Church during the medieval age. The aim of crusaders was to expel Islam and spread Christianity.
- **Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)** – When Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II tried to impose Roman Catholicism on the people of his domains, a faction of Protestants from the north banded together, sparking war.
- **Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990)** – The Lebanese Civil War was primarily sparked from conflicts between the Sunni Muslim, Shiite Muslim and Christian Lebanese populations.
- **Yugoslav Wars (1991-1995)** – The Yugoslav wars consisted of the Croatian War and the Bosnian War. The wars were fought between the orthodox Catholic and Muslim populations of former Yugoslavia.
- **Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005)** – This ethnoreligious war was caused by the Muslim central government's choice to impose sharia law on Non-Muslim southerners.

### **4. NATIONALISM**

Nationalism in this context essentially means attempting to prove that your country is superior to another by violent subjugation. This often takes the form of an invasion. Dr. Richard Ned Lebow, Professor of International Political Theory at the Department of War Studies, Kings College London, contends that while other causes of war may be present, nationalism, or spirit, is nearly always a factor. In his essay "Most wars are not fought for reasons of security or material interests, but instead reflect a nation's spirit," he writes: "assumes security is the principal motive of states and insecurity the major cause of war. Following Plato and Aristotle, I posit spirit, appetite and reason as fundamental drives with distinct goals. There can be little doubt that the spirit is the principal cause of war across the centuries." Related to nationalism

is imperialism, which is built on the idea that conquering other countries is glorious and brings honor and esteem to the conqueror. Racism can also be linked to nationalism, as can be seen in Hitler's Germany. Adolf Hitler went to war with Russia partly because the Russians (and eastern Europeans in general) were seen as Slavs, or a group of people who the Nazis believed to be an inferior race.

#### Historical Examples of Wars Fought for Nationalism

- **Chichimeca War (1550-1590)** – The Chichimeca war was one of many wars fought during the Spanish conquest of the Aztec civilization in modern day Mexico.
- **World War I (1914-1918)** – Extreme loyalty and patriotism caused many countries to become involved in the first world war. Many pre-war Europeans believed in the cultural, economic and military supremacy of their nation.

### 5. REVENGE

Seeking to punish, redress a grievance, or simply strike back for a perceived slight can often be a factor in the waging of war. Revenge also relates to nationalism, as the people of a country which has been wronged are motivated to fight back by pride and spirit. Unfortunately, this can lead to an endless chain of retaliatory wars being set in motion which is very difficult to stop. Historically, revenge has been a factor in many European wars.

#### Historical Examples of Wars Fought for Revenge

- **World War II (1939-1945)** – The rise of the Nazi Socialist Party and Germany's eventual domination of the European continent were direct results of the Treaty of Versailles, which imposed strict punishments on Germany.
- **War on Terror** – The September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 prompted President George W. Bush to initiate a war on terror. This global war began with an invasion of Iraq and is ongoing.

### 6. CIVIL WAR

These generally take place when there is sharp internal disagreement within a country. The disagreement can be about who rules, how the country should be run or the people's rights. These internal rifts often turn into chasms that result in violent conflict between two or more opposing groups. Civil wars can also be sparked by separatist groups who want to form their own, independent country, or, as in the case of the American Civil War, states wanting to

secede from a larger union.

Historical Examples of Civil Wars

- **American Civil War (1861-1865)** - The American Civil War was fought by the Union army and the Confederate army as a result of the long-standing controversy over slavery.
- **Russian Civil War (1917-1923)** – The Russian Civil War followed immediately after the Russian Revolution, with the Red Army and the White Army vying to determine Russia's political future.
- **Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)** – The Spanish Civil War was fought between the Republicans, who were loyal to the left-leaning Second Spanish Republic, and the Nationalists, a largely aristocratic conservative group led by General Francisco Franco.
- **Korean War (1950-1953)** – The Korean War was a war fought between North Korea, which was supported by China, and South Korea, which was supported primarily by the United States.

## **7. REVOLUTIONARY WAR**

These occur when a large section of the population of a country revolts against the individual or group that rules the country because they are dissatisfied with their leadership. Revolutions can begin for a variety of reasons, including economic hardship amongst certain sections of the population or perceived injustices committed by the ruling group. Other factors can contribute too, such as unpopular wars with other countries. Revolutionary wars can easily descend into civil wars.

Historical Examples of Revolutionary Wars

- **Portuguese Restoration War (1640-1668)** – The Portuguese revolution ended the 60-year rule of Portugal by Spain.
- **American Revolution (1775-1783)** – The American Revolution gave the 13 North American colonies independence from British rule and established the United States of America.
- **French Revolution (1789-1799)** – The French Revolution was a battle that represented the rise of the bourgeoisie and the downfall of the aristocracy in France.
- **Haitian Revolution (1791-1804)** – The Haitian Revolution was a successful slave rebellion that established Haiti as the first free black republic.



## **8. DEFENSIVE WAR**

In the modern world, where military aggression is more widely questioned, countries will often argue that they are fighting in a purely defensive capacity against an aggressor, or potential aggressor, and that their war is therefore a “just” war. These defensive wars can be especially controversial when they are launched preemptively, the argument essentially being that: “We are attacking them before they inevitably attack us.”

Historical Examples of Defensive Wars

- **Iraqi Conflict (2003-Present)** – An international coalition, led by the US, invaded Iraq on the grounds that the country's leader, Saddam Hussein, was developing weapons of mass destruction, and therefore presented a threat to surrounding countries and rest of the world. The war was controversial as the allegations made about the weapons of mass destruction made by the US and UK were shown to lack substance.

## **TYPES OF WARFARE**

War, to become known as one, must entail some degree, of confrontation using weapons and other military technology and equipment by armed forces employing military tactics and operational part within the broad military strategy subject to military logistics. War Studies by military theorists throughout military history have sought to identify the philosophy of war, and to reduce it to a military science. In general. modern military science considers several factors before a National defence policy is created to allow a war to commence the environment in the area(s) of combat operations, the posture national forces will adopt on the commencement of a war, and the type of warfare troops will be engaged in.

**CONVENTIONAL WARFARE:** Conventional warfare is an attempt to reduce an opponent's military capability through open battle. It is a declared war between existing states in which nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons are not used or only see limited deployment in support of conventional military goals and manoeuvres.

**UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE:** The opposite of conventional warfare, unconventional warfare, is an attempt to achieve military victory through acquiescence, capitulation, or clandestine support for one side of an existing conflict.

**NUCLEAR WARFARE:** Nuclear Warfare is warfare in which nuclear weapons are the primary, or a major, method of coercing the capitulation of the other side, as opposed to a supporting tactical or strategic role in conventional conflict.

**CIVIL WAR:** Civil War is a war where the forces in conflict belong to the same nation or political entity and are vying for control of or independence from that nation or political entity.

**ASYMMETRIC WARFARE:** Asymmetric warfare is a conflict between two populations of drastically different levels of military capability or size. Asymmetric conflicts often result in guerrilla tactics being used to overcome the sometimes-vast gaps in technology and force size.

**CHEMICAL WARFARE:** Intentional air pollution in combat is one of a collection of techniques collectively called chemical warfare. Poison gas as a chemical weapon was principally used during World War I, and resulted in an estimated 91,198 deaths and 1,205,655 injuries. Various treaties have sought to ban its further use. Non-lethal chemical weapons, such as tear gas and pepper spray, are widely used, sometimes with deadly effect.

### **EFFECTS OF WAR**

- ❖ The effects of war, are widely spread and can be long term or short term. Soldiers experience war differently than civilians, although either suffer in times of war, and women and children suffer unspeakable atrocities in particular. In the past decade, up to two million of those killed in armed conflicts were children.
- ❖ The widespread trauma caused by these atrocities and suffering of the civilian population is another legacy of these conflicts, the following creates extensive emotional and psychological stress.
- ❖ Present-day internal wars generally take a larger toll on civilians than state wars. This is due to the increasing trend where combatants have made targeting civilians a strategic objective.

A state conflict is an armed conflict that occurs with the use of armed force between two parties, of which one is the government of a state.

- ❖ The three problems posed by intra-state conflict are the willingness of UN members, particularly the strongest member, to intervene; the structural ability of the UN to respond; and whether the traditional principles of peacekeeping should be applied to intra-state conflict.
- ❖ Effects of war also include mass destruction of cities and have long lasting effects on a country's economy
- ❖ Armed conflict has important indirect negative consequences on, infrastructure, public health provision, and social order. These indirect consequences are often overlooked and appreciated.

## **COLD WAR**

The term “Cold War” was first used by Bernard Baruch, an American statesman on 16th April 1947. Cold war is called a diplomatic struggle between the two super power after the second world war for world supremacy or an expression of two incompatible ways of life those of democracy and totalitarian communism. The Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union lasted for decades and resulted in anti- communist suspicions and international incidents that led the two superpowers to the brink of nuclear disaster.

**K.P.S.Menon explained** Cold War : “Cold War as the world has experienced was a war between two ideologies (Capitalism and Communism) ,two systems (Bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship). Two blocs (NATO and Warsaw Pact), two States (USA and USSR) and two personalities (John Foster Dulles and Stalin). In fact, cold war has been basically a war of nerves between USA and USSR but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of cold war.” **Joseph Frankel** explained: “The cold war may be regarded as a sparring match between the two giant states, a succession of moves and of counter-moves. Cold war embraces all phenomena pertaining to the conflict between Communism and democratic ideologies as well as the protagonists, the Soviet Union and the United States and the two blocs led by the Super powers; nuclear deterrence is an

important strategic aspect of the situation. As the term most aptly expresses, it is neither peace nor war, a conflict which cannot be easily ended by mutual compromise and accommodation or by the use of force, as conflicts were traditionally settled in the past.”

### **EFFECTS OF COLD WAR**

- ❖ The first effected body of cold war was the **United Nations**. The primary purpose of the UN was to make the world as a peaceful arena. This purpose was utterly defeated by the cold war. The position of the UN was reduced to an ordinary forum. The interference of the UN of several occasions was restrained by the super powers, especially by the Soviet Russia by their veto power.
- ❖ Due to the **conflicts between the two super powers** the Communist China could not become a member of the UN until 1971. The western bloc recognized Taiwan (Farmosa) as the real China and neglected to recognize the most populated (now 112 crores population) communist China.
- ❖ **Armament:** There was a mad race of armament between the two super powers and their allies. Huge amounts were spent on conventional and nuclear weapons. The nuclear weapons accumulated by the two super powers can destroy the world 140 times. These two super powers also encouraged their allies to accumulate the armament. Due to the mad race of armament, the economy of the entire world, including of the super powers, was decreased.
- ❖ **NAM:** Due to the cold war, Non-aligned Movement was established. NAM tried to reduce the tensions between East-West conflicts.
- ❖ **Tension:** During the cold war, entire world was in tension. International peace and security were badly affected. Both sides feared each other and distrusted each other. Each side wanted to make herself more and more strong.

### **WAR THEN AND NOW:**

From spears and horses to drones and submarines, war has been intertwined with human existence. Our evolution, according to some leading biologists, has been shaped and molded by conflict and war. But aside from the fact that death and suffering remain constants, today's wars look almost nothing like the wars of our ancestors; and wars of the future will look different still.

In the 21st century, the search for national security has become a source of urban insecurity. The traditional security paradigm in our western-style democracies fails to accommodate a key feature of today's wars: when our major powers go to war, the enemies they now encounter are irregular combatants. Not troops, organized into armies; but "freedom" fighters, guerrillas, terrorists. Some are as easily grouped by common purpose as they are disbanded. Others engage in wars with no end in sight. The main difference between today's conflicts and the first and second world wars is the sharp misalignment between the war space of traditional militaries compared to that of irregular combatants.

Irregular combatants are at their most effective in cities. They cannot easily shoot down planes, nor fight tanks in open fields. Instead, they draw the enemy into cities, and undermine the key advantage of today's major powers, whose mechanized weapons are of little use in dense and narrow urban spaces. The new urban map of war is expansive: it goes far beyond that war zone. The attacks in Madrid, London, Casablanca, New York, Bali, Mumbai, Lahore, Jakarta, Nice, Munich, Paris, Barcelona, Manchester, Brussels and on and on – are all part of this map, whether or not their countries are involved in the active theatre of war. We have gone from wars commanded by hegemonic powers that sought control over sea, air, and land, to wars fought in cities - either inside the war zone, or enacted in cities far away. The space for action can involve "the war", or simply specific local issues; each attack has its own grievances and aims, seeking global projection or not. Localized actions by local armed groups, mostly acting independently from other such groups, let alone from actors in the war zone – this fragmented isolation has become a new kind of multi-sided war. In the old wars, there was the option of calling for an armistice. In today's wars, there are no dominant powers who can decide to end it. Today's urban wars, above all, are wars with no end in sight.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

No matter how they are measured, the costs of war were enormous. Undoubtedly, the most tragic and devastating of the losses caused by the war was the loss of life. Millions of soldiers died in battle, and countless civilians were killed by the side effects of the war: starvation, disease, or in the case of the Armenians in Turkey genocide. Even greater numbers of lives were disrupted. Millions of soldiers survived the war with grave injuries, and families across

the world were ripped apart by the destruction of war. The monetary losses associated with the war were equally enormous. The combatant countries threw millions of dollars into the war effort, straining their economies during the war and for years thereafter.

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## **3.2 DIPLOMACY**

### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *What Is Diplomacy?*
- *Definitions of Diplomacy*
- *A Brief History of Diplomacy*
  - *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961*
- *Functions and Importance of Diplomacy*
- *Main Devices of Diplomacy*
- *Kinds or Types or Styles of Diplomacy*
- *Privileges and Immunities of a Diplomat*
- *Role of Diplomacy in International Relations*
  - *Decline of Diplomacy*
  - *Future of Diplomacy*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## **3.2 DIPLOMACY**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Diplomacy stands accepted as the mainstay and the core process of relations among nations. The process of establishment of relations among nations begins effectively by the establishment of diplomatic relations among nations. A new state becomes a full and active member of the family

of nations only after it gets recognition by existing states. The common way in which this recognition is granted is the announcement of the decision to establish diplomatic relations. Thereafter diplomats are exchanged and relations among nations get underway. As such diplomacy is the means through which nations begin to develop their relations. “Diplomacy is the management of international relations by means of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys the business or art of the diplomats” Harold Nicholson. “Diplomacy is the inevitable outcome of the coexistence of separate political units (states) with any degree of contact.” Frankel Diplomacy is a basic means by which a nation seeks to secure the goals of its national interest. Foreign policy always travels on the shoulders of diplomacy and gets operationalized in other states.

### WHAT IS DIPLOMACY?

The term Diplomacy is used in a variety of ways. Sometimes it is described as “the art of telling lies on behalf of the nation”, or “as instrument for employing deceit and duplicity in international relations.” Stalin once observed: *“A diplomat’s words must have no relation to action otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.”* Another statesman has also observed, *“When a diplomat says yes, he means perhaps; when he says perhaps, it means no; and when he says no, he is not a diplomat.”* No doubt, diplomacy at times attempts to cloak the real goals of national interests with several ideational principles or morality or rules of international behaviors, yet it cannot be described as the art of deceit and concealment. Diplomacy is, in fact, the art of negotiations and conduct of foreign relations. It is the key instrument for implementing the foreign policy of the nation.

### DEFINITIONS:

- ❖ **Paddleford and Lincoln-** Diplomacy is the process of representation and negotiation by which states customarily deal with one another in times of peace.
- ❖ **Sir Ernest Satow** - Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states.
- ❖ **K.M. Panikar** - Diplomacy is “the art of forwarding one’s interests in relation to other countries.
- ❖ **Harold Nicholson** - Diplomacy is the management of international relations by means of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors

and enjoys the business or art of the diplomats.

❖ **Hans J. Morgenthau** - Diplomacy is the promotion of the national interest by peaceful means. On the basis of these definitions, it can be said that, Diplomacy is the mechanism for the promotion of national interest of the nation that it represents. It is done by means of negotiations and conduct of relations with other nations. Diplomacy is always guided and conditioned by the foreign policy of the nation that it represents.

### **A BRIEF HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY**

In ancient world, tribes made agreements with other tribes based on hunting and trade and maintained their relationship through marriages. During primitive times, people had their trust in women the task of negotiating peace. In middle east, Akkadian was considered as the first diplomatic language to have come into existence which served as an international language of the middle east. Later it was changed. Like changes in nature, traditions and law, every century had its own sense of power, different kinds of intellectuals and moral incentives that helped in shaping the international system based on their values. It is said that, if the world truly needs peace, then it should consider applying or practicing American's moral principles of diplomacy. In the 17th century France, under Cardinal Richelieu who was the King's chief minister, who introduced a modern approach towards diplomacy in international relations which was based on the nation-state principle and here, national interest was the ultimate purpose. In 18th century Great Britain talked about the balance of power, which continued to dominate the European Diplomacy for years to come. Later in the 19th century, Metternich's Austria, restructured European diplomacy the superiority of power in the coldblooded game of politics.

In the 20th century, there is no other country than America has influenced in international relations throughout the world with their unique approach in diplomacy which was firmly decisive and its intervention in the domestic affairs of other states, with good intentions, which meant that their values were applied universally. India had a more sophisticated and systemized traditional approach to diplomacy. Kautilya has given a detailed and exclusive description of the meaning of Diplomacy in his book 'Artha-shastra'. It has stated six forms of state policy which are – peace, war, non-alignment, alliances, shows of force and double dealing. To ensure these policies are well executed in reality, ancient India classifies diplomats into 3 categories – ones who are in charge with managing commercial relations and transactions, then there were those who were in charge of collection of intelligence, and those who were acting like secret agents for



the king. Later on, memories of artha shastra were forgotten and replaced by those who came and conquered India.

### **VIENNA CONVENTION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1961**

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961 outlines the rules of diplomatic law, ratified by Canada and implemented by the Foreign Missions and International Organizations Act. This Convention codifies the rules for exchange and Diplomacy by Henry Kissinger, Touchstone book publications, 1994. treatment of representatives between states, which have been firmly established in customary law. It has become an almost universally adopted Convention with 179 states part in it. This Convention on Diplomatic Relations is a fundamental to the conduct of foreign relations and it also ensures that diplomats can conduct their duties without threat of influence by the host government. Some of the rules given in this convention are –

- rules for the appointment of foreign representatives
- the inviolability of mission premises
- protection for the diplomat and his or her family from any form of arrest or detention
- protection of all forms of diplomatic communication
- the basic principle of exemption from taxation
- immunity from civil and administrative jurisdiction, with limited exceptions and
- that diplomats must respect the laws of the host state.

The convention also requires the diplomats to obey local laws and prevents the potential abuse to diplomats in embassy by local authorities of the power of a state's law enforcement system and the diplomats should do the same.

### **FUNCTIONS AND IMPORTANCE OF DIPLOMACY**

**1)Communication and negotiation:** The reason to negotiate well and communicate well is one of the foremost important features of diplomacy. Being able to make the representatives of other nations understand their intentions is something really unique feature or importance of diplomacy. Over the course of time, the structure of diplomacy has changed from being a messy one to that of a more organized one. Even though the structures of diplomat's post changed, their function always remain the same. Usually, by law of nature, in olden times, when people didn't get something, they snatched it from the person who has what they want but how long can that be fine? With change in time people became more systemised than they used to be and with the

knowledge of communication and negotiation, they now used this to get what they want in a simpler and less harm way. Negotiations between two representatives or two diplomats are a key component in diplomacy and in doing so the diplomats find a common interest. When you find a common interest, then it will be easy for negotiations to take place and reciprocal promise could be taken easily because even we agree to do something for them.

**2)Intelligence gathering, image management and policy implementation.** Second important function is being able to put down what they have the knowledge of. Diplomats are in charged in collecting of the information and this information are sent back to their home country after it is organized. The foreign ministry of the home country looks after what is been sent to them. They analyze the data and also determine what foreign policy should be enacted in that situation. All the decisions based on foreign policy implementation is not made by the diplomats themselves.

**3)Representation, reporting and promotion of friendly relations:** this means that the diplomat that is the Ambassador is the personal representative is head of the home country to that of the host country. Diplomats are considered as representatives of their governments who are working in the host country under the leadership of the Head of Mission. Diplomats are not allowed to interfere in the host country's domestic affairs that is, they don't have the right to make public political comments or they cannot carry out commercial activities in their host country. They have to live in discretion while they are there. These diplomats enjoy inviolability, immunity of jurisdiction, and they are exempted from paying taxes. Even though they are not governed by local law, they are not supposed to break the local law, and if they do so then they are punished and prosecuted by their home countries and they can also be expelled for this. Therefore, diplomats must act professionally, have integrity and should behave with dignity.

**4)Protection of interests:** The protection of interest includes upholding of the political, cultural and any other ties that one country has with the other. Both, our country's and the other country with whom we are negotiating with, interests must be taken into account. Only when we join hands with them will we protect foreign policy so it is a need and importance for us to protect interests of both the participating parties. Diplomats are supposed to promote the national interests whatever the sphere may be. These diplomats must be patriotic towards their home country, loyal to their own nation, have national pride and should also hold good knowledge of

national policies.

### **MAIN SIX DEVICES OF DIPLOMACY:**

- (i) **Persuasion:** Through logical reasoning, Diplomacy seeks to convince others of the justification of the goals which it is trying to uphold or promote.
- (ii) **Rewards:** Diplomacy can offer rewards for securing acceptance of desired view of a particular international dispute or issue or problem.
- (iii) **Promise of Reward and Concessions:** Diplomacy can promise matching rewards and concessions for securing a particular change or maintaining a particular view in the policies of other nations.
- (iv) **Threat of use of Force:** Diplomacy cannot use force or violence in promoting the national interest. However, it can use threat of use of force ultimatums, symbolic boycotts, protest walkouts or even threat of war etc., for securing its objectives.
- (v) **Non-violent Punishment:** By depriving a promised reward or concession, Diplomacy can inflict non-violent punishment on other nations.
- (vi) **Use of Pressure:** By using pressure tactics Diplomacy can force other nations to accept the desired view or policy or decision or goals that it represents. Besides these, Diplomacy also uses propaganda, cultural links, exploitation of situations, creation of particular scenes and situations, rigidity or flexibility in negotiations etc. Kautilya, in his Arthashastra, suggests “Sam, Dam, Danda Bheda and Niti” as the tactics of Diplomacy.

### **KINDS OR TYPES OR STYLES OF DIPLOMACY**

- ❖ **Old Diplomacy**
- ❖ **New Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Secret Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Open Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Democratic Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Totalitarian Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Shopkeeper Vs Warrior Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Summit- Conference Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Personal Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Economic Diplomacy**
- ❖ **Atomic-Nuclear Diplomacy**

## **OLD DIPLOMACY**

Diplomacy in its traditional form is known as Old Diplomacy. Old diplomacy is a term which has been used both politically and analytically since the French Revolution. Politically, it emerged as a term of abuse, used to criticize all which had been wrong with inter-state interaction before 1789.

### **Main Features Old Diplomacy**

(i) European Diplomacy, (ii) Aristocratic, (iii) Special Emphasis upon Virtues, (iv) Secrecy, (v) Freedom of Action for the Ambassadors.

## **NEW DIPLOMACY**

New diplomacy is international relations in which citizens play a greater role. Under the old diplomacy, global policymaking was more strictly the purview of governments. New diplomacy began to be observed in the 1990s New diplomacy is being used to address many issues such as humanitarian assistance, labor rights, environmental issues, and fair trade.

### **Salient Features of New Diplomacy**

- (i) New Diplomacy is Global; Old Diplomacy was mainly European
- (ii) New Diplomacy is mostly Multilateral, whereas Old Diplomacy was mostly Bilateral
- (iii) New Diplomacy is less formal than Old Diplomacy
- (iv) New Diplomacy is mostly open and Old Diplomacy was mostly secret
- (v) Democratic Nature of New Diplomacy versus Aristocratic nature of Old Diplomacy
- (vi) New Diplomacy depends more on Propaganda than Old Diplomacy
- (vii) Under New Diplomacy, the role of a Diplomat has suffered a Decline

## **SECRET DIPLOMACY**

Secret diplomacy means diplomacy carried on by kings, presidents and other rulers, without the knowledge or consent of the people and behind closed doors. The term Secret Diplomacy is used to designate the diplomatic practice of conducting secret negotiations and making secret pacts, decisions, alliances and treaties. In Secret Diplomacy no attempt is made to take the people into confidence.

## **OPEN DIPLOMACY**

Open diplomacy means the negotiations and discussions carried out in handling affairs without arousing hostility. It is usually carried on with free access to interested observers and members

of the press. it is argued that the people have the right and duty to know and to participate in foreign policy decision-making. It is also known as PUBLIC or PEOPLE'S Diplomacy.

### **ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF OPEN DIPLOMACY OR ARGUMENTS AGAINST SECRET DIPLOMACY**

- 1) It is the natural right of the people to know everything about the affairs of their government.
- 2) It is the right of the people to keep the government responsible for its acts.
- 3) It is the duty of the people to keep Diplomacy under check and prevent it from leading the nation into an environment of tensions, strains and war.
- 4) Open Diplomacy is the best way of involving the people in the process of securing national interests and making them politically conscious.
- 5) Secret Diplomacy leads to deceit, double dealings, and irresponsibility on the part of diplomats.
- 6) There exists no justification for making secret treaties and alliances because every such instrument has a direct bearing upon the future of the people of the state.

### **ARGUMENTS AGAINST OPEN DIPLOMACY OR ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF SECRET DIPLOMACY:**

- 1) Secrecy in the interest of nation is an absolutely necessary condition for the success of diplomacy.
- 2) Secret negotiations help the diplomats to be free and frank in expressing their views.
- 3) Open Diplomacy can be misleading in practice, because the need for securing public sympathy for an essential state act can make the diplomats practice window- dressing and false propaganda.
- 4) General public has neither the ability nor the time to participate constructively in diplomatic debate that may emerge as a result of public access to all information regarding diplomatic negotiations.

### **DEMOCRATIC DIPLOMACY**

Participation of People in the politics of state and framing of affaires. If the policies of the state are framed on the basis of public opinion, is known as democratic diplomacy.

### **TOTALITARIAN DIPLOMACY**

Diplomacy pursued by totalitarian states like Germany & Soviet in post-World War 1 era was called totalitarian diplomacy where these totalitarian states used their military, economic might to keep countries in their spheres of influence and further expand it.

### **SHOPKEEPER VS WARRIOR DIPLOMACY**

The “Shopkeeper,” diplomacy is characterized as practical, open-minded, candid, and compromising. This characterization was put forth by some scholars and diplomats who either observed or participated in North Korea-United States negotiations and in the inter-Korean summit. In fact, Kim Jong’s practical, candid negotiating style surprised many people who had held a different image of him and other North Korean officials.

The “Warrior,” diplomacy is aggressive, intransigent, recalcitrant stubborn, rigid, impolite, and undiplomatic and usually is found among nations which share a tragic history of conflict and War.

### **SUMMIT- CONFERENCE DIPLOMACY**

Conference diplomacy can be defined as that part of the management of relations between governments and of relations between governments and intergovernmental organizations that takes place in international conferences. It involves direct participation of Foreign Ministers, Heads of State and Heads of Governments in Diplomatic negotiations. Operate through regional organization as well.

### **PERSONAL DIPLOMACY**

Personal diplomacy is a type of diplomacy. It can be defined as when a Head of State/President or Foreign Minister decides to embark on diplomatic visits or meetings by himself rather than using an Ambassador or envoy. The Head of State travels to countries to negotiate personally with the Head of State/President of other countries. Use of normal channels of diplomacy are limited. Heads of States use personal agents to settle delicate Problems in IR. Though it provides a secrecy to the affairs of the world it does tend to make the process a bit undemocratic.

### **ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY**

Economic diplomacy is concerned with economic policy issues, e.g. work of delegations at standard setting organizations such as World Trade Organization (WTO). Economic diplomats

also monitor and report on economic policies in foreign countries and give the home government advice on how to best influence them. ED employs economic resources, either as rewards or sanctions, in pursuit of a particular foreign policy objective.

## **NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY**

ATOMIC -NUCLEAR diplomacy refers to attempts to use the threat of nuclear warfare to achieve diplomatic goals. After the first successful test of the atomic bomb in 1945, U.S. officials immediately considered the potential non-military benefits that could be derived from the American nuclear monopoly. During the Second World War, the United States, Britain, Germany and the U.S.S.R. were all engaged in scientific research to develop the atomic bomb. By mid-1945, however, only the United States had succeeded, and it used two atomic weapons on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to bring a rapid and conclusive end to the war with Japan.

## **PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF A DIPLOMAT**

International Law confers diplomatic immunity on diplomats from the exercise of jurisdiction by receiving States. Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 lays down the different rights and privileges which are granted to diplomatic agents.

### **1. INVIOABILITY OF DIPLOMATIC AGENTS:**

- Article 29 of the Vienna Convention; “the person of a diplomatic agent shall be inviolable”.
- Para 2 of Article 37 says that members of the administrative and technical staff shall enjoy the immunities and privileges as mentioned from Article 29 to Article 35 if they are not nationals or are not permanent residents of receiving State.

### **2. INVIOABILITY OF PREMISE;**

- Article 20 of the Vienna Convention; The sending State has the right to use its flag and emblem on the premises
- Article 21 of the Vienna Convention lays down that, “a permanent diplomatic mission needs premises to operate and receiving State must help the sending State to obtain the premises form mission”.
- Article 22 of the Vienna Convention “the premises of the mission shall be inviolable”.
- Article 30 “private residence of a diplomatic agent shall also enjoy inviolability”.

- Article 41 of the Convention itself lays down that “premises of the mission should not be used in any manner as incompatible with functions of mission or by rules of general International Law.

### **3. INVIOABILITY OF FAMILY MEMBERS**

- Vienna Convention of Diplomatic Relations in its Article 37 Para 1 states that “immunities and privileges to the family members of diplomats.

### **4. INVIOABILITY FROM BEING A WITNESS;**

- Diplomatic agents are completely immune from being a witness in any civil or criminal or administrative court of State to which they are accredited.
- Article 31(2) lays down that “diplomat agent is not obliged to give evidence as a witness”.
- He is also immune from giving evidence before the Commissioner.

### **5. IMMUNITY FROM INSPECTION OF PERSONAL BAGGAGE**

- The bag used by the diplomatic agents for sending articles, letters or documents to the sending states or any other missions of its State to abroad be known as a diplomatic bag
- Para 3 of Article 27; “diplomatic bag should not be opened or detained. But this right is not absolute.
- Article 36 Para 2 inspection can be conducted in presence of a diplomatic agent or his agent if there are serious grounds for suspecting that the article is not for official use”.

### **6. IMMUNITY FROM TAXES AND CUSTOMS DUTIES;**

- **Article 34 of Vienna Convention** lays down that, “*diplomatic agents shall be exempted from all dues and taxes, personal or real, national, municipal or regional*”.

### **7. FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION:**

- Diplomatic agents are free to communicate any information for official purposes to the State by which they are accredited. **Article 27 of the Vienna Convention** lays down that “*the freedom of communication also involves the use of code messages and couriers*”.

### **8. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND TRAVEL:**

- **Article 26** Empowers diplomatic agents to move and travel in the territory of receiving State but subject to laws and regulations of International Law and rules made by receiving State concerning security zone.

### **9. IMMUNITY FROM THE LOCAL JURISDICTION:**

- Article 31, paragraph 1 diplomatic agent shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving State; The immunity extends both to criminal as well as civil



jurisdiction.

#### **10. RIGHT TO WORSHIP:**

- Article 3(1) diplomatic agents have the right to worship any religion they like within the mission premises or residence. But they cannot invite any nationals of the receiving State to take part in the worship and have no right to preach their religion in receiving State.

#### **ROLE OF DIPLOMACY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

- 1) Diplomacy is a technique to implement foreign policy, but it is not the substance of Foreign policy.
- 2) Foreign policy is What you do; and diplomacy is how you do.
- 3) Diplomacy is considered as the Central Technique as: It involves direct government to government interactions so that a particular state can draw inference from such talks or negotiations while formulating its foreign policy.
- 4) Use of Economic measures and embargos and sanctions to influence the events or actions of an aggressor state.
- 5) Diplomacy Leads to better cooperation and helps in resolution of conflict.
- 6) Post-cold war diplomacy has become more complex and also has emerged as foremost weapon in modern day International Relations. Diplomacy is Used to mold the Foreign Policy of Other parties.

#### **DECLINE OF DIPLOMACY:**

In this age of science, technology and IT revolution, Diplomacy has suffered a substantial decline. Its role has suffered a big setback. It no longer performs that spectacular role which it used to perform in the 19th Century.

#### **Four Factors Responsible for The Decline of Diplomacy:**

- (1) Speedy means of Communication:
- (2) The Deprecation of Diplomacy:
- (3) Advent of New Diplomacy:
- (4) The Nature of International System and Role of Diplomacy:

#### **FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY:**

Despite a change in its role and functions, Diplomacy still continues to be a valuable instrument of international relations. It continues to be an important element of both National Power and

Foreign Policy. A change or decline in its role does not mean that Diplomacy stands rejected as an instrument of international relations.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Diplomacy is a way through which foreign relations are well maintained by making negotiations and communicating with the diplomats of the other nations. Diplomacy is a way through which peace can be attained by having reciprocal promises with other nations and working with decorum by continuing to maintain the peace relation that we now have. Sometimes diplomacy may be aggravated due to not following of binding agreements, like take in today's case, when India refused to give Hydroxychlorine supply to USA, and how Donal Trump mentioned that he would retaliate if we do so. This is how diplomatic agreements between nations are disturbed. In some respects, the international affairs environment that now exists exhibits similar characteristics of multi layered complexity, which includes the radical transformation that has taken place after the end of the Cold War, the globalization of diplomacy, and the emergence of new power centers, some of which are labelled "emerging." For continuation of good governance and welfare of the people, it is necessary that out country remains in peaceful agreements with that of the other and have good diplomatic agreements. The diplomats who are residing elsewhere in embassy's are doing their best to maintain this peace that has come along for some time. By remaining away from their home countries, these diplomats work for the betterment of their own countries by staying far away.

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### 3.3 INTERNATIONAL LAW

#### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Definition of International Law*
- *Historical Development in Brief*
- *Importance of International Law*
- *Types of International Law*
- *Sources of International Law*
- *International Law Commission*
- *Enforcement of International Law*
- *Limitations of International Law*
- *Concluding Remarks*

### 3.3 INTERNATIONAL LAW

#### INTRODUCTION

International law, also called public international law or law of nations, the body of legal rules, norms, and standards that apply between sovereign states and other entities that are legally recognized as international actors. The term was coined by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). Law is the element of the society which helps to develop a framework within which rights and duties can be established. The world today requires a method where interstate relations can be conducted, and International Law fills this gap. The United Nations developed this body of International Law for the purpose of promoting international peace and security. Countries come together to make binding rules that they believe will benefit their citizens. International Laws promote peace, justice, common interests and trade. States work together to strengthen International Law because it plays an important role in society. International Law is directly and strongly influenced by the writings of jurists and publicists, instructions to diplomatic agents, important conventions even when they are not ratified, and arbitral awards.

## **DEFINITION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

- ❖ **Oppenheim:** - International Law is a “Law of Nations or it is the name for the body of customary law and conventional rules which are considered to be binding by civilized States in their intercourse with each other.”
- ❖ **Alf Ross:** - “International law is the body of legal rules binding upon states in their relations with one another.”
- ❖ **Lawrence:** – “international law is the rules which determines the conduct of the general body of civilized state in their mutual dealings.”

Thus, International Law can be considered as treaties, set of rules and agreements between countries that are binding between them. International Law governs how nations must interact with other nations. It is extremely useful in regulating the issue of jurisdiction which arises when people trade among different States. The main purpose of International Law is to promote justice, peace and common interest.

## **HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT IN BRIEF**

International law reflects the establishment and subsequent modification of a world system founded almost exclusively on the notion that independent sovereign states are the only relevant actors in the international system. The essential structure of international law was mapped out during the European Renaissance, though its origins lay deep in history and can be traced to cooperative agreements between peoples in the ancient Middle East. The history of international law examines the evolution and development of public international law in both state practice and conceptual understanding. Modern international law developed out of Renaissance Europe and is strongly entwined with the development of western political organisation at that time.

The development of European notions of sovereignty and nation states would necessitate the development of methods for interstate relations and standards of behaviour, and these would lay the foundations of what would become international law. However, while the origins of the modern system of international law can be traced back 400 years. The development of the concepts and practices that would underpin that system can be traced back to ancient historical politics and relationships thousands of years old. Important concepts are derived from the practice between Greek city-states and the Roman law concept of *ius gentium* (which regulated contacts between Roman citizens and non-Roman people). These principles were not universal

however. In East Asia, political theory was based not on the equality of states, but rather the cosmological supremacy of the Emperor of China.

### **IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

International law is an important part of the structure of our international society.

- It adds that states accept it as such, and their record in observing it bears comparison with the level of law observance in many countries.
- It stresses that international law is a part of the structure for it is an integral part of it and not an optional extra; and that it is but one part in the overall equation important, but not to the exclusion of other parts.
- It explains that the importance of international law is a function of its effectiveness and its ability to respond to change. Both, at the present time and for the most part, are adequate, but perhaps only just.
- It adds that neither can be taken away for granted. It clarifies that both need attention and development within a framework of respect for the international rule of law, if a stable international order is to prevail.

### **TYPES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

When discussing the laws that govern the activities between nations, there are three types of international law that can be referenced: public international law, private international law, and supranational law.

#### **PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Public international law is one example of international law, and it deals with those nations and persons that may be affected by those particular laws. Aspects of public international law concern:

- Customary public international law, which involves regular state practices that rely on opinion juris, which is the belief that an action is carried out because of a legal obligation to do so.
- Globally accepted standards that govern behavior.

- Legal codes that are written into agreements referred to as treaties.

### **PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Private international law is different from public international law in that it governs private conflicts between individuals, rather than between the states. Private international law determines the jurisdiction that has authority to hear a legal dispute, and which jurisdiction's laws should be applied to the situation. Corporations in particular are commonly involved in private international law disputes because they frequently transfer their capital and supplies across international borders. The more business that is carried out between nations, the more likely a dispute will arise. For instance, if company A operates in both the U.S. and Canada, and a legal dispute arises, then private international law will determine which country has jurisdiction over the dispute and, consequently, which laws should be taken into account when arguing the facts of the case. This will help the company to understand if its Canada branch or its U.S. branch should be involved in arguing the case.

### **SUPRANATIONAL LAW**

Supranational law refers to the situation wherein nations surrender to the court their right to make certain judicial decisions. The decisions made by a court appointed by supranational law take priority over the decisions that are made by national courts. An example of international law that follows the rules of supranational law is that which is represented by the European Union ("EU"), an organization that deals in international treaties and that uses a supranational legal system. The European Court of Justice rules over all of the courts within the member states of the EU in accordance with European Union law.

### **SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Traditionally international law is made by sovereign states dealing with diplomatic relations, military issues and state territory. The control exercised by states over the making and development of international law contribute to its effective law. At the same time control by state over international law that is useful changes will be delayed if the conflict with the interest of states. The cornerstone of international law is the consent of the state though it emerges from the quite complex process but gives out the typical outcomes. That typical outcome may be described as a treaty. In this globalization the traditional pattern in the legal system may not fit so the new

era of International law emerged. These new areas include human rights, which deals with the behaviour of individuals and groups. Both international law and international economic law controls and regulates the activities of the individuals in the international market and also it gives way to states to deal with it. Two main themes have emerged such as the source of international law do not represent mutual sets of rules that exist side by side but they manifest a complexed decision-making process in which different forms of legal authority inter relations.

❖ **TRADITIONAL LAW OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES:** The sources of international law, typically starts with the key provisions in the statute of international court of justice. This provision deals with the task of deciding the basis of international law shall apply the treaties customary international law and general principles of law and it shall also draw on decisions of courts and tribunals which make evidence out of law. **Treaties:** Treaties are the most obvious source of international law which includes agreements. This can also be explained as pact, agreements, covenant charter protocol memorandum or exchange of letters. Treaties can also be bilateral or multilateral. Some of the treaties have been quite successful or may not be. The best example is the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations. Prime examples for the bilateral treaties are extradition treaties, air transport treaties and bilateral investment treaties to create a new network of bilateral treaties on a single topic. 188 members of the UN, 17000 treaties are being negotiated individually.

❖ **CUSTOMARY LAW:** Customary law is much more common in international law than in most domestic legal systems. In a way, this reflects the inability of international law to develop an efficient method of written law making. Customary international law emerges from patterns of behaviour among states. These behaviour patterns are called practice. If there is also a belief that this practice is based on legal obligation or opinion juris, this could be considered as customary international law. Customary international law is often somewhat vague and open to conflicting interpretation. If the perceived interests of certain states or groups of states change, so will their attitude towards customary international law, and a particular rule may then be challenged. This theme will be elaborated later, in the context of international investment law.

❖ **GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF LAW:** General principles of law are sources of international law that are theoretically equivalent to treaty or customary law. But in actual practice, general principles are mostly to close gaps left by treaties and customary law. General principles of law are established by comparing national legal systems. Any principles common to all or most of these systems, may be applied also in an international law context. Examples would be principles such as the binding nature of agreements, protection of acquired rights, prohibition of unjust

enrichment or principles of procedural fairness before a court of law. It is obviously useful and quite often applied, especially by international arbitral tribunals. But these are also rather unwieldy, and positive proof of their existence and application can be somewhat complicated. Nobody can possibly compare all domestic legal systems. A practical solution is often found by studying some leading representative system of law, derived from different legal cultures such as civil law.

❖ **EQUITY:** The equity and development of international equitable principles have evolved slowly in international law owing to the absence of any force capable of compelling obedience. On the other hand, the use of equality in the law of contract, remedies in Case of mistake, valid consent in the case of legality of contracts, unjust enrichments, and torts are only a few of the equitable concepts in a municipal legal system.

### **INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION**

In 1946, the international law commission (ILC) was given the task of furthering the task of furthering the progressive development and codification of international law. Progressive development was the preparation of draft conventions on subjects that were not regulated yet. Codification is the more precise formulation and systemization of rules in fields where There has already been practice.

### **ENFORCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Looking at the events taking place across the globe today it is clear that a large number of states are repeatedly violating their international obligations. In the absence of a global police, states at times act as if they are above the law. However, international law does set out clear consequences for when the law is broken, and these consequences are on both the collective and individual level. In addition to setting out prohibitions, such as torture or targeting civilians in an armed conflict, international law also outlines the legal ramifications for state when such acts occur. The legal consequences can be broadly divided between state responsibility and individual responsibility under international law.

**1. State responsibility:** Enforcement of international law can be divided into what the violating state must do itself and what others, namely states, must do. The norms on state responsibility can be broken into two categories: Firstly, the rules relating to all violations of international



law; Secondly, the elevated level of rules especially directed towards third states when dealing with particularly serious or grave violations of international law.

- **General rules on state responsibility:** Before the consequences of violations are discussed it is important to remember that obligations must be respected. Without respect, rules become meaningless. The notion of respect for international obligations finds expression in Vienna convention on law of treaties (1969). The notion of respect extends beyond the basic obligation to refrain from illegal conduct. Many international treaties include obligations to ensure respect for the law

- **Serious violations of international law and state responsibility:** International law also sets out obligations that arise when a state commits a serious breach of international law. The obligations are triggered when the serious breach constitutes the violation of a peremptory norm of general international law. Peremptory norms are norms accepted and recognized by the international community of states as a norm from which no derogation is permitted and which can be modified only by subsequent norms of general international law having the same character.

**2. Individual responsibility:** Legal consequences of violations of international law are not limited to those under the purview of state responsibility. Certain violations of international law can entail individual criminal responsibility. Persons who aid, abet, order, supervise and jointly perpetrate international crimes can be held individually responsible.

### **LIMITATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

International law has long been burdened with the charge that it is not really law. This misleading claim is premised on some undeniable but misunderstood facts about international law: that it lacks a centralized or effective legislature, executive, or judiciary; that it favours powerful over weak states; that it often simply mirrors extant international behaviour; and that it is sometimes violated with impunity. International law scholarship, dominated for decades by an improbable combination of doctrinarism and idealism, has done little to account for these characteristics of international law. And it has made little progress in explaining how international law works in practice: how it originates and changes; how it affects behaviour among very differently endowed states; when and why states act consistently with it; and why it plays such an important role in the rhetoric of international relations.

❖ **ASSUMPTION:**

The assumptions the state acts rationally to further the interest are not self-evident. All components of this assumption that the state is the relevant agent, that a state has an identifiable interest, and that states act rationally to further these interests – are open to questions. Nonetheless, we believe State – centered rational choice theory, used properly, is a valuable method for understanding international law. What follows is a brief discussion of our use of the concept of states, state interest, and rationality.

❖ **STATE:**

The existence of a state depends on the psychology of its citizens. If all U.S. citizens stopped believing that they were citizens of Indiana or Texas or some other subunit, then the United States would cease to exist and numerous new states would come into existence. (This is in effect what happened when the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia disintegrated in the 1990s). Moreover, “The state” is an abstraction. Although the identity of the state is intuitively clear, the distinction between the state and the influences on it sometimes blurs. Relatedly, the state itself does not act except in a metaphorical sense. Individual leaders negotiate treaties and decide whether to comply with or breach them. Because the existence of state and state action ultimately depend on individuals’ beliefs and actions, one could reject the assumption that states have agency and insist that any theory about the behaviour of states must have micro- foundations in a theory of individual choice.

❖ **STATE INTEREST:**

By state interest, we mean the state’s preferences about outcomes. State interests are not always easy to determine, because the state subsumes many institutions and individuals that obviously do not share identical preferences about outcomes. Nonetheless, a state-especially one with well-ordered political institutions-can make coherent decisions based upon identifiable preferences, or interests, and it is natural and common to explain state action on the international plane in terms of the primary goal or goals the state seeks to achieve. We generally identify state interests in connection with particular legal regimes by looking, based on many types of evidence, to the preferences of the state’s political leadership.

❖ **RATIONAL CHOICE:**

It is uncontroversial that action on the international plane has large instrumental components. Rational choice theory provides useful models for understanding instrumental behaviour. Political scientists' use of rational choice tools has brought considerable insight to many aspects of international relations and has opened many fruitful research agendas. We believe in rational choice, and can shed similar light on international law. There is a massive literature critical of rational choice theory, components of which we address here. Word on collective rationality. As understood by economics, rationality is primarily an attribute of individuals, and even then, only as an approximation. The term's application to collectivities such as corporations, governments, and states must be performed with care.

**CONCLUDING REMARKS**

A discussion earlier, international law has traditionally been based on the notion of state sovereignty, but that concept has been breaking down because of globalization. Interactions between states have become more complicated, involving a wide array of issues that require them to give up some of their sovereignty to have effective relations with each other. Similarly, international law has begun to deal with issues traditionally inside the borders of individual states, such as human rights. These developments have become very controversial, however. International law is often criticized for a lack of legitimacy. The starting point for my reflection on sources of international law is this proposition that 'general principles' is the most peculiar source of international law. The Austrian representative noted that the source of international law known as "general principles of law" was subject to the most divergent interpretations and needed urgent clarification. 'Law' in domestic terms is traditionally viewed as a set of commands backed up by threats, such as the law against murder that carries the threat of a long prison sentence.

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### **3.4 ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDANCE**

#### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Definition and Meaning*
- *Why Does Interdependence Bring Economic Growth?*
- *Examples of Economic Interdependence*
  - *Causes for Economic Interdependence*
- *Economic Interdependence Effects*
- *Aspects Responsible for The Growth of Economic Interdependence*
  - *Trade*
  - *Comparative Advantage*
  - *Finance*
  - *Globalisation*
- *Reasons for Globalisation*
- *Global Interdependence and India's Economy*
- *Concluding Remarks*

### **3.4 ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDANCE**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The concept of economic interdependence came about 19th and 20th centuries was stymied initially by the Great Depression and Cold war. The foremost economic powers raised rates against each other to improve one's own economy which led to collapse in international trade. When organizations including World Health Organisation, International Monetary Fund increased the levels of international trade and investment on a worldwide level, it led to economic

interdependence. Due to labour specialization many fail to acquire certain skills or knowledge necessary to produce complete finished goods. It can be a complicated system involving many layers of society including businesses and people. Labour is often separated in such a way that most people work towards providing service/resource to other firms or individuals. People seldom work to source for themselves certain goods and services. Often, the countries that are advanced depend on other countries to provide for raw materials which again give rise to dependency.

The finished goods are then sold to the lesser developed countries because they do not have the necessary resources, machinery to manufacture the goods. As a populace for the product grows then the country either advances to manufacturing its own commodities or continues to seek out commodities and raw materials further afield. Countries like the UK and US rely on other nations for manufactured goods such as clothing, electronics and even food. However, note that it's not just the manufacturing of goods that forms the reliance. Certain countries are the only ones to produce a needed product, such as oil or rice. Therefore, a heavier burden is placed on these nations to meet the demand.

### **DEFINITION AND MEANING**

Economic interdependence is a condition that exists when two or more countries, regions, participants, organizations exchange goods and services with the purpose of filling out each other are multiple needs. This term is used in situations of intensive training among two or more participants to ensure proper availability of goods and services to each of them. Economic interdependency exists everywhere. Organizations, industries, nations are all dependent on each other. Each company is economically dependent on many other firms and this creates a large complex connection of interdependent entities. If one of the entities is impacted then the entire network will be affected to some extent or suffers substantial changes in its network. Such interdependency happens when the firms specialize in only certain things, thus producing only narrow lane of products. Specialization often results in higher efficiency and quality; hence they can focus only on certain fields or just some products. However, this specialization leads to more dependency on other firms producing materials required for manufacturing their product. So, higher the specialization higher the interdependency. If an organization produces ready-to-eat cereals as a for-profit business, it is surely dependent on companies that provide wheat, sugar, cardboard and plastic packages, along with stationery products, cleaning products, transport

services, etc. Economic interdependence is when people rely on others to provide the goods and services required for supporting lives or for personal usage.

**EXAMPLE:** Top management must be aware of economic interdependence and identify which are the highest risks associated to that. For example, depending on only one tested supplier of a key raw material can be risky because this supplier could increase prices too much or simply fail in its supply capacity. A strategy to diminish the risk might be searching for a second supplier. In other cases, the company prefers to lower some dimensions of the interdependence. For example, a manufacturing firm with numerous machines may decide to eliminate the dependence on external maintenance and therefore to create its own technical maintenance department.

### **WHY DOES INTERDEPENDENCE BRING ECONOMIC GROWTH?**

With economic interdependence comes economic growth, this affiliation allows socialist industries to thrive. The success of this interdependence leads to increase in the wage/salaries and overall increase in the lifestyle and wealth of the people. With this reliance there is less inclination to go to war. Countries that have less or no economic interdependence are not exactly threats but they have very little bargaining power. Politically strong countries seemingly benefit from economic interdependence. Nevertheless, these international trading and does not reduce the threat of future wars. It is argued that in spite of increase in the global economic wealth; there is still a division between the rich and the poor states around the world. While economic interdependence makes countries wealthy, it may make developing countries politically unsafe and/or unable to sustain democracy because of its defenselessness to global economic market movements. So, it can be said that consumption by countries with stronger economies and government, advanced technology is capable of driving economic growth considerably.

Consequently, when interdependency blossoms, so will trade networks which act as key to the flow of goods. From this world wide trading turns into globalization. The current global political economy presents the world where no country can live in isolation. These thematic areas include Economic interdependence; environmental independence, political interdependence and socio-cultural interdependence. It can be observed that, as much as there are some benefits associated with the robust global interdependence in the world, the platform is uneven and this allows some countries (rich and strong countries) to benefit greatly at the expense of others (poor and weak countries). Economic interdependence can have a positive effect on world trade as well as within individual countries.

However, each country has to be aware that interdependence alone will not fix fundamental problems such as unemployment, or outmoded manufacturing infrastructures. It would be of benefit to invest in the education of one's own work force, therefore increasing retention and becoming a stronger trading partner.

### **EXAMPLES FOR ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE**

Economic interdependence is primarily a phenomenon involving a nation with an advanced economy. In a nation that has multiple industries and manufacturers, such as the United States, not all companies can produce all the inputs that they need to make the products they sell. Therefore, each industry must rely on other industries to make their components. For example, the auto industry relies on the steel industry and the computer industry to make many of the components found in its cars. Another example is Wal-Mart, the largest chain store in the world. Wal-Mart relies upon hundreds of other companies and manufacturers for goods to sell in its stores. The suppliers also rely on Wal-Mart to sell their goods; it's a co-dependent relationship in which each company relies on the other for goods, services, and sales.

### **CAUSES FOR ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE**

The primary cause for economic interdependence is industrialization and the advancement of a nation's economy. First, economic interdependence occurs within the nation shortly after industrialization, as the economy advances. Then, interdependence takes place with other nations that have industries not found in the home nation. An example would be the creation of the auto industry in America. As it developed it became reliant upon Southeast Asian nations to provide rubber to make tires for cars since rubber was not produced in America. As a nation develops it will either advance further to create the goods it needs within its own borders, or it will continue to seek goods and raw materials from other nations. As a nation advances it also transitions from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-based economy; therefore, it needs to rely on other nations for manufactured goods. This is the case with the United States and its reliance on other nations for manufactured goods such as electronics, clothing, and, in some cases, food.

## **ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE EFFECTS**

The effect of economic interdependence can vary based upon a nation's type of economy and what that nation has to offer. It can be argued that more advanced nations have more to benefit from economic interdependence with smaller, less developed nations. This is because goods and services from less developed nations tend to be cheaper and labor costs are much lower. However, both an advanced economic nation and a less developed one experience both positive and negative effects from economic interdependence.

## **ASPECTS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE**

**TRADE:** As with barter system, the reason people traded was that someone else had something they wanted. Stone Age people traded obsidian to make weapons. During Bronze Age, since the shipping and trade routes developed, lumber, tin, spices were traded. Ancient Rome may have been a true superpower; they controlled most of trade routes in the Mediterranean and built a network of roads that led to a transcontinental empire that also facilitated trade. What does trade involve? Then as now it involved a lot of risks. Long sea voyages were a gamble and time and competition were always a factor. If you were an owner you risked capital; if you were a ship's captain or a crew member, you potentially risked your life. Perhaps your ships would return later than a competitor's, and you would receive a lesser price for the commodity you carried into port. There was also the risk of piracy. But if all went well then one could expand their venture and be able to pay salaries of themselves and their employees and also the profits or turnover would be huge. The same is true even today. Trade also had certain consequences, while colonization was agreed by those who did the colonizing it was not favourable for those who were being colonized. The demand for certain commodities like silver or cotton brought with it the demand for slave labour in silver mines and cotton fields. Trade can also shift the location of economic prosperity, as in Africa, when interior trade routes shifted to the coasts during the 17th and 18th centuries.

**COMPARITIVE ADVANTAGE:** Comparative advantage is when a country can produce one thing more efficiently than then it can produce the other thing. The idea is straightforward enough: if Germany is better at making beer than it is at making pizzas it has a comparative advantage in brewing. But economists get really excited about the idea of comparative advantage because of what it implies about international trade. To start, it's helpful to explain a related idea:



absolute advantage. Germany is better at making beers than Italy, while Italy is better at making pizzas than Germany, so they have comparative advantage over each other in those respective objects. Not every country is the best at producing something. But every country is comparatively better at producing some things than the other. This implies that if every country were to specialize and produce what it has a comparative advantage in and then trade, the entire world could be better off. Since the theory came into 1800's, it has been one of the most popular important arguments for free trade. But not everyone is convinced the theory translates so well into real life (as the difficulties of shipping pizzas across Europe might indicate). It is worth pointing out that with theory of comparative advantage, the world can do better and produce more than without it. Whether that's a good idea or not is a much messier and complicated issue.

**FINANCE:** Money is a liquid asset—that is, it is easily exchanged. Today, the mobility of money is increasing as never before. One of the factors in this mobility is what is known as financial integration, this is when financial markets, places where assets such as stocks and bonds, currencies, and derivatives are traded (e.g., the New York Stock Exchange, or NYSE), are linked regionally, nationally, or globally through such activities as information sharing, using new technologies, buying and selling financial products such as insurance policies, investing in international markets, and others. Financial integration is another aspect of economic interdependence. Multination corporations have integrated local and national economies into global and regional networks. The distinction between domestic economic activity and worldwide economic activity, as the range of products in any superstore will confirm, is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain. These multinational corporations have become the primary conduit for selling goods and services abroad. Perhaps the easiest way to think of this aspect of economic interdependence is as a sort of financial openness that encourages buying, investment, and growth. Globalization has resulted in many businesses setting up or buying operations in other countries. When a foreign company invests in a country, perhaps by building a factory or a shop, this is called inward investment. Companies that operate in several countries are called multinational corporations (MNCs) or transnational corporations (TNCs). The US fast-food chain McDonald's is a large IVINC - it has over 34,000 restaurants in 119 countries.

**GLOBALISATION:** Globalisation means the world is becoming interconnected by trade and commerce and because of that cultural exchange. It becomes extremely interconnected due to exchange or import and export of goods and services and it has also increased their produce. The biggest companies are no longer national firms but multinational corporations. Globalisation has

been occurring since many years but has taken a huge turn or sped up enormously over the last half century.

Globalisation has resulted in:

- increased international trade
- a company operating in more than one country
- greater dependence on the global economy
- freer movement of capital, goods, and services
- recognition of companies such as McDonalds and Starbucks

Although globalization has helped in creating more wealth in developing countries it has not made the gap between rich and the poor any closer.

### **REASONS FOR GLOBALISATION**

There are several key factors which have influenced the process of globalization:

**Improvements in transportation** - larger cargo ships mean that the cost of transporting goods between countries has decreased. Economies of scale mean the cost per item can reduce when operating on a larger scale. Transport improvements also mean that goods and people can travel more quickly.

- **Freedom of trade** - organizations like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) promote free trade between countries, which help to remove barriers between countries.
- **Improvements of communications** - the interne and mobile technology have allowed greater communication between people in different countries.
- **Labour availability and skills** - countries such as India have lower labour costs (about a third of that of the UK) and also high skill levels. Labour intensive industries such as clothing can take advantage of cheaper labour costs and reduced legal restrictions in LEDCs.

### **GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND INDIA'S ECONOMY**

Our share in global trade, at 1.94% is much lower than where it should be. Collaborative efforts would go a long way in helping the country meet its aspiration to become a high-tech

manufacturing hub. India's GDP growth slowed down to 7% during the April-June quarter IN 2017. While India could benefit from technology transfer and employment generation facilitated by foreign engagements, overseas firms will gain from having market access to India's vast, high growth market. In the life of a nation, as in the lives of individuals, entering the eighth decade is a momentous milestone. For India, the last seven decades have been enormously transformational. While India's current record as one of the fastest growing economies is top of mind today, it's worth remembering that soon after Independence, the nation had a promising start. It was a forerunner in development planning and achieved an average industrial growth of more than 8% per annum between 1954-55 and 1964-65. Since Independence, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has expanded more than forty-fold to exceed \$2 trillion today.

A key lesson to be learnt from the Indian economy's journey from Independence is that the country has gained from increasing its interdependence. India has been a beneficiary of globalization and it's imperative that we continue the move towards greater openness India's current share in global trade (1.94%) is much lower than where it should be. There are many ways to deepen India's economic and commercial connections. For instance, a focus on advanced economies such as the US, UK, Japan and Israel can unleash immense economic benefits. India-Japan collaboration for developing North eastern corridors can provide better connectivity to East Asia.

Similarly, strengthening India's commercial relations with the US holds important implications for enhancing our defense manufacturing and Make in India. Going beyond bilateral collaboration, India could benefit from multilateral synergies. A three-way collaboration of India-US-Israel holds economic promise. Combining US and Israel's expertise in advanced technologies with India's large talent base would enable businesses in the three countries to gain competitively. Likewise, promoting collaboration at the level of the respective country's states, between large economies like the U.S. and India, will open new economic opportunities.

While India could benefit from technology transfer and employment generation facilitated by foreign engagements, overseas firms will gain from having market access to India's vast, high growth market. Well-designed collaborative efforts would go a long way in helping the country meet its aspiration to become a hub for high-tech manufacturing. India's economic prosperity will be driven by its global interdependence, in increasing trade and investments into and from

India, helping drive GDP growth and prosperity for all Indians. We have an opportunity to build on the progress of the past 70 years to further advance the benefits of globalization for India.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Globalization of economic activity and hence growing economic interdependence is an inescapable fact, although its implications are not always fully recognized or understood. International economic interdependence means that competing economies have a common interest in assuring macroeconomic stability, an open world economic system and a multilateral framework of rules and institutions to manage global economic activity. Sustained economic growth in the new market economies and the developing countries, and their integration into the emerging global economic system will benefit the industrialized countries as well. It is in the interest of the latter to promote world-wide economic development. India's economic prosperity will be driven by its global interdependence, in increasing trade and investments into and from India, helping drive GDP growth and prosperity for all Indians. We have an opportunity to build on the progress of the past 70 years to further advance the benefits of globalization for India.

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## **UNIT- IV**

### **4.1 COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

#### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Meaning*
- *Definition*
- *Features of Collective Security*
- *Implications of Collective Security*
- *Ideal Conditions for The Success of Collective Security*
- *Collective Security and Balance of Power*
- *Limitations - Criticism of Collective Security*
- *Concluding Remarks*

#### **4.1 (A) NATO - SEATO AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

- *Introduction*
- *Historical Background About NATO & SEATO*
- *Treaties and Alliances*
- *Present Viability of NATO and SEATO*
- *Developmental Policy of NATO*
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- *NATO's Role on Collective Security*
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- *Concluding Remarks*

## 4.1 COLLECTIVE SECURITY

### INTRODUCTION

Collective Security system guarantees the security of each state of the world against any war or aggression which may be committed by any state against any other state. It is like an insurance system in which all the nations are bound to protect the victim of an aggression or war by neutralizing the aggression or war against the victim. Collective Security is currently regarded as the most promising approach to international peace. It is regarded as a valuable device of crisis management in international relations. It is designed to protect international peace and security against war and aggression in any part of the world. UN Charter includes a system of collective security which is designed to meet an international crisis resulting from war or aggression or a threat of war or aggression in any part of the international system. Balance of Power has lost its relevance as a device of power management and Collective Security has gained recognition as a modern device of power management which can enable the international community to meet a crisis situation.

### MEANING

Collective Security is a device of crisis management which postulates a commitment on the part of all the nations to collectively meet an aggression that may be committed by any state against another. War or aggression is viewed as a breach of international peace and security and collective security stands for collective action by all the nations in defence of peace. Collective security stands for meeting any war or aggression by the creation of a global preponderance of power of all nations against the aggression. Collective Security is also regarded as a deterrent against aggression in so far as it lays down that the collective power of all nations will be used to repel aggression or war against any state. It is based on the principle, 'Aggression against any one member of the international community is an aggression against international peace and security. As such it has to be met by the collective efforts of all the nations'

### DEFINITION

- ❖ **George Schwarzenberger** - *“Collective Security is machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order.”*

- ❖ **Palmer and Perkins** - *“Collective Security clearly implies collective measures for dealing with threats to peace.”*
- ❖ **Schleicher**- *“In essence, Collective Security is an arrangement among states in which all promise, in the event any member of the system engages in certain prohibited acts (war and aggression) against another member, to come to latter’s assistance.”*

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

### **FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

- ❖ **A DEVICE OF POWER MANAGEMENT:** Collective Security is a device of power management or crisis management. It seeks to preserve international peace through crisis management in the event of any war or aggression in the world.
- ❖ **IT ACCEPTS UNIVERSALITY OF AGGRESSION:** Collective Security accepts that violations of the security of a nation are bound to occur and that wars and aggressions cannot be totally eliminated from international relations.
- ❖ **ALL NATIONS ARE COMMITTED TO POOL THEIR POWER FOR ENDING AGGRESSION:** Collective Security believes that in the event of a violation of international peace by any aggression in any part of the world, all the nations are committed to pool their power and resources for taking effective steps against every aggression for restoring international peace.
- ❖ **GLOBAL PREPONDERANCE OF POWER:** Collective Security stands for the creation of a universal or global preponderance of power involving all the nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under it all the nations are ready to defend international peace and security through collective military action against aggression.
- ❖ **ADMITS THE PRESENCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION:** Collective Security presupposes the existence of an international organisation under whose flag a global preponderance of power is created for ending the aggression.
- ❖ **COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IS A DETERRENT AGAINST WAR:** Collective Security can be an effective deterrent against a state with aggressive designs. Under this system each nation knows that any aggression against another nation shall be met



by the collective power of all other nations. As such no nation tries to commit aggression and war because it knows that such an action will invite collective security action against it. This realization acts as a deterrent against any war or aggression.

- ❖ **AGGRESSION/WAR IS THE ENEMY AND NOT THE STATE WHICH COMMITS IT:** Collective Security regards 'aggression' or 'war' as the enemy and not the state which may resort to war or aggression. A collective security action is limited to the elimination of war, aggression or threat of war or aggression. It does not stand for the elimination of the state which commits aggression. Its sole concern is to get the aggression vacated, to prevent the aggressor to gain out of its aggression, to restore the health of the victim of aggression, and to restore international peace and security. As such Collective Security stands for securing international peace and security through collective efforts of all the nations. Security is the common objective of all the nations and it has to be secured through collective efforts of all.

### **IMPLICATIONS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

#### ❖ **IDEAL CONDITIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

Collective Security system can successfully operate when the following conditions are present in the international system:

- Agreement on the definition of Aggression.
- Broader based and more powerful United Nations.
- More powerful role of UN Security Council and strong commitment of its permanent members in favour of collective security of international peace and security.
- Existence of a permanent international peace keeping force.
- An established procedure for termination of every collective security action.
- Popularization of peaceful means of conflict resolution.
- Sustainable socio-economic development of all the nations.
- Strengthening of peaceful means of crisis-management and international peace-keeping.

### **LIMITATIONS - CRITICISM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

- ❖ **IT IS IDEALISTIC IN NATURE AND SCOPE:** The concept of Collective Security is based upon certain idealistic assumptions which make its operationalization difficult. For example:
  - (1) It assumes that there can be a complete international understanding regarding the nature of all threats or aggressions against international peace and security.
  - (2) It is assumed that all nations could and would come forward to name the aggressor and to take up collective security actions against the aggressor.
  - (3) The concept of “collectivity” meaning, “All acting for one and all” is basically an idealistic concept since it ignores the fact; all nations are not active in international relations. Nor can all the nations be expected to join a collective security action.
  
- ❖ **AT TIMES IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY THE AGGRESSOR:** Another major defect of the Collective Security system is that it wrongly assumes that in the event of an aggression against any nation, the aggressor and the nature of its aggression can be really and easily identified. In practice, it is very difficult to determine and name the aggressor as well as to identify the nature of aggression. Often the aggressor acts in the name of self-defense and justifies its aggression as a defensive action.
  
- ❖ **ADMITS WAR AS A MEANS:** Collective Security is self-negating in so far as it first denounces war or aggression as an illegal activity and then indirectly accepts that wars and aggressions are bound to remain present in international relations. It wrongly believes the most effective way to deal with such situations is to undertake a collective security war.
  
- ❖ **RULES OUT ‘NEUTRALITY’ IN TIMES OF WAR:** The concept of Collective Security makes it an international obligation of all the nations to pool their resources and undertake collective action in the event of an aggression. It, as such, rules out neutrality. Many nations often prefer to remain away from war. It makes Collective Security war an international obligation and wrongly assumes that all nations are willing to participate in such a war.
  
- ❖ **A LIMITED CONCEPT:** The concept of Collective Security, as laid down in the U.N. Charter, has two inherent limitations. It accepts the right of the states to undertake war as a measure of self-defense against any aggression. In practice this provision gives a legal basis to an aggression or war in the name of action in self-defense. Secondly, it admits the right of

the nations to establish regional defence pacts and organizations for protecting their security. It admits regional security systems as devices for preserving peace and security. The working of regional security systems has in-fact been a source of strain upon international peace and security.

- ❖ **ABSENCE OF A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL PEACE KEEPING FORCE:** Another major limitation of the Collective Security system is the absence of a permanent peace keeping force. It is only after a decision of the Security Council to take military action against an aggressor is taken that the constitution of a collective security military force is initiated. This process is so slow and difficult that it takes a long time to raise the force and press it into service. The time-gap between the date of aggression and the date on which the United Nations is actually able to send its peace keeping force for restoring peace is very big, and the aggressor gets all the time needed for reaping the fruits of aggression.
  
- ❖ **LACK OF PROVISIONS FOR THE TERMINATION OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY ACTION:** Another drawback of the U.N. Collective Security System is that whereas elaborate provisions have been laid down for implementing the system, no provision has been made regarding the method of terminating the Collective Security action.
  
- ❖ **DEPENDENCE ON POWERFUL STATES:** One of the basic principles of Collective Security is that all the states should have an equal say in arriving at collective security decisions. In actual operation, it fails to work on the principle of equality. Powerful states always dominate collective security decisions and actions. In fact, only the powerful states can play an effective role in executing a collective security action. At times the powerful states are reluctant to put their power behind a collective security action which does not strictly conform to their national interests.
  
- ❖ **DANGEROUS:** Some critics hold the view the Collective Security system is a dangerous system as it can transform a local war into a global war involving all the nations. On the basis of these points critics describe the collective security system as an idealistic and limited system.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

However, despite these points of criticism and recognized weaknesses of the Collective Security system, it cannot be denied that the system has not been totally meaningless and without positive features. It has brought into vision the idea and possibility of collective steps for the preservation of world peace through crisis management in the event of a war. The chances for a more purposeful and successful use of Collective Security in this post-cold war world have brightened. Currently it is being operationalized in several different parts of the world. Collective Security constitutes a modern device of crisis management. All the members of community of nations are expected to act and save the humankind from the scourge of war and aggression and to use the collective security system for this purpose.

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## **4.1.(A) NATO - SEATO AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

### **INTRODUCTION:**

**NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)** is an international alliance that consists of 30 member states from North America and Europe. It was established at the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) established to create a counterweight to Soviet armies stationed in central and eastern Europe after World War II. Its original members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Joining the original signatories were Greece and Turkey (1952); West Germany (1955; from 1990 as Germany); Spain (1982); the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland (1999); Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia (2004); Albania and Croatia (2009); and Montenegro (2017). France withdrew from the integrated military command of NATO in 1966 but remained a member of the organization; resumed its position in NATO's military command in 2009.

**The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)** was an international organization for collective defense in Southeast Asia created by the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, or Manila Pact, signed in September 1954. Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), a regional-defense organization from 1955 to 1977, created by the Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty, signed at Manila on September 8, 1954, by representatives of Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Treaty came into force on February 19, 1955. Pakistan withdrew in 1968, and France suspended financial support in 1975. The organization held its final exercise on February 20, 1976, and formally ended on June 30, 1977.

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ABOUT NATO & SEATO:**

the role of the United States in the formation of the United Nations, NATO, and SEATO.

#### **The United Nations**

- The United Nations is an outgrowth of the Atlantic Charter.
- It appeared in the Declaration by the United Nations on January 1, 1942.
- Their main inspiration was the League of Nations.
- Their goals were to rectify the League's imperfections to create an organization that would be "the primary vehicle for maintaining peace and stability."

#### **The North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO**

- An intergovernmental military alliance based on the North Atlantic Treaty.
- Signed on April 4, 1949.
- The NATO headquarters are in Brussels, Belgium.
- For its first few years, NATO was not much more than a political association.

#### **The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)**

- SEATO was created by the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty or Manila Pact.
- Signed on September 8, 1954, in Manila.
- These treaties and agreements were intended to create alliances that would contain communist powers.
- SEATO was planned to be a Southeast Asian version of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Unlike the NATO alliance, SEATO had no joint commands withstanding forces.

### **TREATIES AND ALLIANCES:**

**SEATO** The South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) grew out of the Manila Pact signed in September 1954, following France's defeat in and withdrawal from Indochina. The defense pact was designed to block further communist advances in the region. Its signatories were Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States. South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were offered protection under the Treaty without being formally included. Significantly, India, Indonesia, and Malaya declined to take part.

**SEATO:** has been commonly cited as the key reason for New Zealand's participation in the Vietnam War. But while the American, Australian, and New Zealand governments used it to justify their involvement, SEATO did not act collectively in this war, which some of its members opposed.

**NATO:** The North Atlantic Alliance was founded based on a Treaty between the Member States entered into freely by each of them after public debate and due parliamentary process. The Treaty upholds their rights as well as their international obligations following the Charter of the United Nations. It commits each member country to share the risks and responsibilities as well as the benefits of collective security. It requires each of them to undertake not to enter into any other international commitment that might conflict with the Treaty.

NATO's structure comprises separate civil and military structures and various organizations and agencies. Within the civil structure, the main bodies are the NATO Headquarters (HQ), the Permanent Representatives and National Delegations, The Secretary-General, and the International Staff (IS). The main bodies of the military structure are the Military Committee, the Chairman of the Military Committee, Strategic NATO Commanders, International Military Staff, Allied Command Europe (ACE), and Allied Command Atlantic (ACLANT).

### **PRESENT VIABILITY OF NATO AND SEATO:**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), were considered necessary in the postwar period to protect member-countries from Communist aggression and conspiracy. Subsequent developments have not always reflected the tidiness of inflexible and implacable confrontation, however. Thus, the viability of this postwar

structure of alliances is raised ever more insistently. The view gains ground in western Europe that there is now considerable diversity in the Communist world, and that a policy of positive coexistence should be pursued in the tackling of common problems with such countries as are ready to do so. In this fluid situation, a policy of movement is desirable, especially in Europe, where economic as well as political initiatives on behalf of a reconstructed NATO can provide pointers for the continued viability of SEATO. The pending renegotiation of the NATO Pact can provide such economic initiatives. It can also provide the model of a self-supporting security system under the Soviet-American nuclear balance.

### **DEVELOPMENTAL POLICY OF NATO:**

Security in our daily lives is key to our well-being. NATO's purpose is to guarantee the freedom and security of its members through political and military means.

**POLITICAL - NATO** promotes democratic values and enables members to consult and cooperate on defense and security-related issues to solve problems, build trust and, in the long run, prevent conflict.

**MILITARY - NATO** is committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes. If diplomatic efforts fail, it has the military power to undertake crisis-management operations. These are carried out under the collective defense clause of NATO's founding Treaty - Article 5 of the Washington Treaty or under a United Nations mandate, alone or in cooperation with other countries and international organizations.

**Member countries**, every day consult and make decisions on security issues at all levels and in a variety of fields. A "NATO decision" is the expression of the collective will of all 30 member countries since all decisions are taken by consensus. Hundreds of officials, as well as civilian and military experts, come to NATO Headquarters each day to exchange information, share ideas and help prepare decisions when needed, in cooperation with national delegations and the staff at NATO Headquarters.

### **DEVELOPMENTAL POLICY OF SEATO**

SEATO's main goal was to stop the spread of communism, and the organization did this in various ways. First, each country participated in yearly joint-military exercises, which involved different armed forces training together. Second, SEATO worked hard to build up the economies

of countries in the region. The belief was that if people in Southeast Asia enjoyed a higher standard of living, then they would be less likely to succumb to communism. The organization was also responsible for hosting various regional events and promoting educational initiatives.

### **NATO'S ROLE ON COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

NATO military activities carried out since the end of the Cold War. The great majority of these activities were conducted not under the provisions of the Washington Treaty, and in particular Article 5, but rather based on ad hoc decisions adopted by the North Atlantic Council following the Alliance strategic doctrines. These developments did not amount to a tacit revision of the Washington Treaty, nor rendered indispensable such a revision. However, ad hoc decisions could be considered as international accords concluded in simplified form. Different legal grounds were invoked to justify not always convincingly these activities, which consisted of peacekeeping operations, implementation of peace accords, and military coercive measures. The most striking feature of NATO involvement in the management of international crises, in any event, remains the progressive erosion of the UN Security Council authority, which culminated with the intervention in Kosovo. The recent crisis in Iraq, however, demonstrates that there is no agreement among NATO members on whether obtaining an authorization from the Security Council before resorting to force is a legal requirement or a matter of political expediency. Attention will finally be paid to the activities recently carried out under article 5 of the Washington Treaty, and in particular, the naval operations conducted on the Mediterranean Sea and the measures taken to protect Turkey in the context of the United States-led military campaign against Iraq.

### **SEATO'S ROLE IN COLLECTIVE SECURITY:**

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was a military alliance created to defend Southeast Asia against communist aggression and subversion during the Cold War. SEATO was the organization formed in 1955 to implement the Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty, also known as the Manila Pact, signed in Manila in September 1954. Signatory members included Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom (UK), and the United States of America (US). The roots of SEATO can be found in one of the main events of the Cold War: communist victory in the civil war in China, leading to the establishment



of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949. SEATO's declared purpose was to organize collective security to deter, or if necessary, defeat, Chinese communist aggression in the region. The Treaty and the organization it produced were the direct response to the military victory won by the communist-led Vietminh in their war to expel French power from Vietnam. The struggle to contain communism in Vietnam defined SEATO from start to finish; massive American military intervention sidelined SEATO in 1965. This led many scholars to dismiss SEATO as an abject failure. This is hasty, but it does stem from something central: the relationship between the nature of the alliance and the problems it confronted.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

By the latter part of the 1950s, the United States and Britain were de facto members of the three major alliances NATO and SEATO. While it would be unrealistic to expect that both countries would have sacrificed all thought of their self-interests when aligning with the organizations, nevertheless, it would appear reasonable to presume that membership would have resulted in defense collaboration. Yet it has been the contention of this study that the United States and Britain subordinated the organizations to their national military plans because they regarded the alliances as serving only a limited part of their interests. When their national perspectives diverged with those of their allies, neither the US nor the UK made serious efforts to reconcile their differing views. The only relationship in which the US and the UK demonstrated a strong desire for collaboration was in the bilateral relationship between themselves. There was a far greater commitment towards a shared defense effort here than there was towards other alliance members.

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## 4.2 BALANCE OF POWER

### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Meaning and Nature of Balance of Power*
- *Definition*
- *Principals and Postulates of Balance of Power*
- *Instruments - Methods of Balance of Power*
- *Role and Relevance of Balance of Power in International Relations*
- *Critical Evaluation of Balance of Power*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## 4.2 BALANCE OF POWER

### INTRODUCTION

Balance of power is one of the oldest concepts of international relations. It at once provides an answer to the problem of war and peace in international history. It is also regarded as a universal law of political behavior, a basic principle of foreign policy of every state through the ages and therefore, a description of a significant pattern of political action in international field. Before the present inquiry into a general theory of international relations, the balance of power was regarded as the only tenable theory of international relations especially from fifteenth to the nineteenth century.

### MEANING AND NATURE IN BALANCE OF POWER

To know the meaning of balance of power one may take the analogy of a balancer with a pair of scales. If the weights in the two scales are equal, there is balance. The same thing can be applied to international relations. The two states or two coalitions of states are in balance if they are equally powerful. In a world where a large number of nations with different degree of power exist and in which each nation endeavors to maximize its power, there is a tendency for the entire system to be in a balance. In other words, different nations manipulate and group themselves in

such a way that no single nation or group of nations is strong enough to dominate others because its power is balanced by that of a rival group. It is believed that so long as this kind of balance is established, there is peace and the independence of small nations is protected.

### **DEFINITION**

- ❖ **Lord Castlereagh** - *Balance of Power means “the maintenance of such a just equilibrium between the members of the family of nations as should prevent any one of them from becoming sufficiently strong to impose its will upon the rest.”*
- ❖ **Sidney B. Fay** - *“Balance of Power is such a ‘just equilibrium’ in power among the members of the family of nations as will prevent any one of them from becoming sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon others.”*
- ❖ **George Schwarzenberger** - *“Balance of Power is an equilibrium or a certain amount of stability in power relations that under favourable conditions is produced by an alliance of states or by other devices.”*
- ❖ **H.J. Morgenthau** - *“Whenever the term Balance of Power is used without qualification, it refers to an actual state of affairs in which power is distributed among nations with approximately equality”.*

### **PRINCIPALS AND POSTULATES OF BALANCE OF POWER:**

#### **(A) FIVE PRINCIPAL ASSUMPTIONS:**

- (1) Firstly, Balance of Power assumes that states are determined to protect their vital rights and interests by all means, including war.
- (2) Secondly, vital interests of the states are threatened.
- (3) The relative power position of states can be measured with a degree of accuracy.
- (4) Balance of Power assumes that “balance” will either deter the threatening state from launching an attack or permit the victim to avoid defeat if an attack should occur.
- (5) The statesmen can, and they do make foreign policy decisions intelligently on basis of power considerations.

**(B) MAJOR POSTULATES OF BALANCE OF POWER:**

- (1) A nation following balance of power is prepared to change its alliances or treaties if the circumstances may so demand.
- (2) When a nation finds that a particular preponderance of power is increasing menacingly, it gets prepared to go to war for maintaining the balance.
- (3) Balance of Power postulates that no nation is to be totally eliminated in war. War is aimed only at the weakening of power of the violator of the balance. After war a new balance of power system is achieved.

The basic principle of Balance of Power is that excessive power anywhere in the system is a threat to the existence of others and that the most effective antidote to power is power. From the above discussion of the features, assumptions, postulates and purposes of Balance of Power, it becomes clear that Balance of power is a device of power management which is used by several major powers for maintaining a balance in their power relations.

**INSTRUMENTS - METHODS OF BALANCE OF POWER:**

Balance of Power is not automatic; it has to be secured by the states following this policy. In fact, there are several methods by which states try to secure and maintain balance of power. “Balance of Power is a game which is played by actors with the help of several devices.”

**I. COMPENSATION:** It is also known as territorial compensation. It usually entails the annexation or division of the territory of the state whose power is considered dangerous for the balance. In the 17th and 18th centuries this device was regularly used for maintaining a balance of power which used to get disturbed by the territorial acquisitions of any nation. For examples the three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795 were based upon the principle of compensation. Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed to divide Polish territory in such a way that the distribution of power among them would be approximately the same. In the latter part of the 19th century, and after each of the two world wars of the 20th century, territorial compensation was used as a device for weakening the powers of the states whose actions had led to a violation of the balance. It was applied by the colonial powers for justifying their actions aimed at maintaining their imperial possessions.

**II. ALLIANCES AND COUNTER ALLIANCES:** Alliance-making are regarded as a principal method of balance of power. Alliance is a device by which a combination of nations creates a favourable balance of power by entering into military or security pacts aimed at augmenting their own strength vis-a-vis the power of their opponents. However, an alliance among a group of nations, almost always, leads to the establishment of a counter alliance by the opponents. History is full of examples of such alliances and counter alliances. Whenever any nation threatened the balance of Europe, other states formed alliances against it and were usually able to curb the power of the over- ambitious state. After the Triple Alliance of 1882, a rival alliance. The Triple Entente, was slowly formed through bilateral agreements over a period of 17 years (1891-1907). In post-1945 period, alliances like NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Pact emerged as devices of Balance of Power. The first two were established by the USA and the third one was organized by the erstwhile USSR for strengthening their respective power positions in the era of cold war.

**III. INTERVENTION AND NON-INTERVENTION:** Intervention is a dictatorial interference in the internal affairs of another state/states with a view to change or maintain a particular desired situation which is considered to be harmful or useful to the competing opponents. Some times during a war between two states no attempt is made by other states to intervene. This is done for making the two warring states weaker. As such intervention and non-intervention are used as devices of Balance of Power. Mostly it is used by a major power for regaining an old ally or for picking up a new ally or for imposing a desired situation on other states. British intervention in Greece, the US intervention in Grenada, Nicaragua, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, and (Erstwhile) USSR's interventions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Afghanistan can be quoted as examples of interventions carried out by the big powers.

**IV. DIVIDE AND RULE:** The policy of divide and rule has also been a method of balance of power. It has been a time-honored policy of weakening the opponents. It is resorted to be all such nations who try to make or keep their competitors' weak by keeping them divided or by dividing them. The French policy towards Germany and the British policy towards the European continent can be cited as the outstanding examples. The rich and powerful states now do not refrain from

using divide and rule for controlling the policies of the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

**V. BUFFER STATES OR ZONES:** Another method of balance of power is to set up a buffer state between two rivals or opponents. Buffers, observes V.V. Dyke, “are areas which are weak, which possess considerable strategic importance to two or more strong powers, Buffer is a small state created or maintained as a separating state i.e. as a buffer state for keeping two competing states physically separate each stronger power then tries to bring the buffer within its sphere of influence but regards it as important, if not vital, that no other strong power be permitted to do so. The major function of a buffer is to keep the two powerful nations apart and thus minimize the chances of clash and hence to help the maintenance of balance.”

**VI. ARMAMENTS AND DISARMAMENTS:** All nations, particularly very powerful nations, place great emphasis on armaments as the means for maintaining or securing a favourable position in power relations in the world. It is also used as a means to keep away a possible aggressor or enemy. However, armament race between two competitors or opponents can lead to a highly dangerous situation which can accidentally cause a war. In this way armament race can act as a danger to world peace and security. Consequently, now-a-days, Disarmaments and Arms Control are regarded as better devices for maintaining and strengthening world peace and security. A comprehensive disarmament plan/exercise involving nuclear disarmament can go a long way in strengthening the balance (peace) that exists in international relations.

**VII. THE HOLDER OF THE BALANCE OR THE BALANCER:** The system of balance of power may consist of two scales plus a third element ‘holder’ of the balance or the balancer. The balancer is a nation or a group of nations, which remains aloof from the policies of the two rivals or opponents and plays the role of, “the laughing third party.” It poses temptations to both parties to the balance, and each contending party tries to win over the support of the laughing third party the balancer. Normally, the balancer remains away from both the parties but if any party to the balance becomes unduly weak resulting into a threat to the balance, the balancer joins it and helps the restoration of balance. After that the balancer again becomes aloof. Traditionally

Britain used to play the role of a balancer in Europe. However, in the era cold war no state could perform the role of a balancer in international relations. The rise of unipolarity after 1991, involving the presence of only one super power has now further reduced the chances for the emergence of a balancer in international relations. These are the seven major methods or devices of Balance of Power. These have been traditionally used by nations pursuing the policy of a balance of power.

### **ROLE AND RELEVANCE OF BALANCE OF POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

“As long as the nation-state system is the prevailing pattern of international society, balance of power policies will be followed in practice, and in all probability, they will continue to operate, even if effective supranational groupings on a regional or world level are formed” -**Palmer and Perkins**. In contemporary times, Balance of Power has lost much of its utility due to several changes in the international relations.

**(1) End of the era of European Domination and the dawn of era of Global Politics:** The structure of international politics has undergone a radical change from the classical period. From a narrow European dominated international system, it has come to be a truly global system in which Asian, African and Latin American states enjoy a new and added importance. Today Europe is no longer the center of world politics. European politics constitutes only one small segment of international politics. This change has considerably reduced the operation ability of balance of power.

**(2) Changes in Psychological Environment:** The characteristic moral and intellectual consensus that characterized European nations during the classical period of Balance of Power (1815-1914) has ceased to exist. Each major power now seeks to protect its interests as universal interests and hence tries to impose these upon others. The use of propaganda and ideology as instruments of national policy has increased manifold. This development has further checked the importance of balance of power.

**(3) Rise of Propaganda, Psychological and Political Warfare as instruments of National Policy:** Previously, diplomacy and war used to be the chief means of conducting foreign policies. The decline of diplomacy, rise of new diplomacy and the new fear of war as a means, have brought into operation two new devices- Propaganda and Political warfare, as the instruments of

national policy. These have in turn reduced the popularity and role of balance of power principle in international relations.

**(4) Emergence of Ideology as a Factor of International Relations:** The new importance of ideology and other less tangible but, nevertheless, important elements of national power have further created unfavorable conditions for the operation of balance of power.

**(5) Reduction in the Number of Major Powers:** The most obvious structural change that has seriously limited the role of balance of power has been the numerical reduction of the players of power-politics game. For its operation, Balance of Power needs the presence of a number of major power actors. The presence of two superpowers during 1945-91 discouraged the operation of balance of power and now there is present only one super power in the world.

**(6) The Bipolarity of Cold War period and the new era of Unipolarity:** The bipolarity (presence of two super powers and their blocs) that emerged in the cold war period reduced the flexibility of the international system. It reduced the chances of balance of power whose working requires the existence of flexibility in power relations, alliances and treaties. Presently unipolarity characterizes the international system.

**(7) The End of the Era of Colonialism and Imperialism:** Another big change in the structure of balance of power has been the disappearance of imperialism and colonialism: It has limited the scope for the exercise of power by the European powers, who in the past always worked as the key players of the principle Balance of Power.

**(8) Disappearance of the “Balancer”:** The rise of two super powers the disappearance of the “holder of balance” or the “balancer” considerably reduced the chances of balance of power politics during 1945-91. Traditionally, Britain used to play such a role in Europe. The sharp and big decline in the power of Britain in the post-war period compelled it to abandon its role of balancer between the two super powers. No other nation or even a group of nations was successful in acting as a balanced between the USA and the (erstwhile) USSR. The absence of a balancer further reduced the role of balance of power in post-war international relations.

**(9) Change of Concept of War into Total War:** The emergence of nuclear weapons and other revolutionary developments in war technology has produced a big in change the nature of war.



The replacement of war by Total War has made war the most dreaded situation in international relations. This has forced nations to reject war as an instrument of balance of power which rests upon the assumption that nations can even go to war for preserving or restoring the balance.

**(10) The Emergence of Global Actors:** The rise of the United Nations and several other international and regional actors in international relations has given a new look to the international relations of our times. The presence of the UN has made a big change in the structure and functioning of the international system. With a provision for collective security of international peace and security, the United Nations constitutes a better source of peace. Due to all these changes in international relations, Balance of Power has come to suffer a big decline. It has definitely lost much of its relevance.

### **CRITICAL EVALUATION OF BALANCE OF POWER**

Balance of Power has been strongly praised as well as severely criticized. Some Scholars observe: *“Balance of Power is nearly a fundamental law of politics as is possible to find,”* - **Martin Wright**, *“Balance of Power is a basic principle of international relations.”* - **Palmer and Perkins**. As against this several others like Richard Cobden criticize it as unreal, inadequate and uncertain system. They hold that Balance of Power admits war in the have balance and makes the nations power hungry. The supporters of Balance of Power advance a number of arguments in favour and give example of the 1815-1914 period of history to prove the effectiveness of balance of power as a device of power management.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In contemporary times, Balance of Power has ceased to be a fully relevant and credible principle of international relations. However, it still retains a presence in international relations, more particularly, in the sphere of regional relations among states. Indeed, the concept of Balance of Power is bound to continue so long as the struggle for power among nations continues to characterize international relations. Even the staunch critics of Balance of Power like, Martin Wright and Friend rich admit that Balance of Power is still a basic element in international relations. Balance of power is neither totally obsolete nor dead. Its role, however, has changed from a global device to a regional device of power management.

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### **4.3 ALLIANCES**

#### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *History of Alliances*
- *Formation of Alliance-Types of Alliances*
  - *Triple Alliance*
  - *Dual Alliance*
  - *Triple Entente*
- *Need for Alliances*
- *Non-Alignment Movement*
- *Concluding Remarks*

### **4.3 ALLIANCES**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

International government and its existence to the recognition that peace and order are the products, and specific device meeting a particular problem, but under the common bonafides an integrated society under a common authority and a common perception of justice. How to find such an authority in a society of sovereign states and to create such a conception of justice is then, the task any authority or international government must try to solve. Each of the three world wars of the last century and a half was followed by an attempt to establish an international order and peace called forth and overall effort to maximise international order and peace secure. The holy alliance followed the Napoleonic wars, the league of nations, the first world war, the united nations, the second world war.

## **HISTORY OF ALLIANCES**

The international government commonly called the holy alliance was based upon three treaties; the treaty of Chaumont of march 9, 1814, the right of any people to circumscribe the power of their king. The compact is known as the neo-holy alliance. Castlereagh, in two dispatches of the same year, refused to have any part in policies whose purpose was to interfere by force in the internal affairs of other countries. His successor, George Canning, maintained this principle at the congress of Verona in 1822, the last of the congresses Great Britain attended. When the news of the failure of the congress of Verona reached him, Canning, in a letter, to the British diplomat Bagot of January 3, 1823, hailed the end of international government by congresses and the beginning of a new era, as far as Great Britain was concerned by invoking the religious principle of the holy alliance with a vengeance: “ every nation for itself, and God for us all” after two more abortive attempts- one with reference to the Spanish colonies, the other concerning Greece and Turkey came to end in 1825.

The system of an overall international government instituted by article VI of quadruple alliance of November 20, 1815, did not last even a decade. The lifetime of the system of ambassadorial conferences for the settlement of special problems was even shorter. It too, was established by the treaties of 1815 and consisted of three agencies; the ambassadors to France of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, dealing mainly with the problems raised by peace treaties with France, yet acting in a general way as the paramount executive organ of the quadruple alliance; the ambassadors of the great powers meeting in London to organize the abolition of the slave trade; and the ambassadorial conference at Frankfurt for the discussion of German problems. All these agencies had disappeared by 1818

## **FORMATION OF ALLIANCE-TYPES OF ALLIANCES**

### **❖ TRIPLE ALLIANCE**

Secret agreement between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy formed in May 1882 and renewed periodically until World War I. Germany and Austria-Hungary had been closely allied since 1879. Italy sought their support against France shortly after losing North African ambitions to the French. The treaty provided that Germany and Austria-Hungary were to assist Italy if it were attacked by France without Italian provocation; Italy would assist Germany if Germany were attacked by France. In the event of a war between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Italy promised to remain neutral. This abstention would have the effect of freeing Austrian troops that

would otherwise have been needed to guard the Austrian-Italian border. When the treaty was renewed in February 1887, Italy gained an empty promise of German support of Italian colonial ambitions in North Africa in return for Italy's continued friendship. Austria-Hungary had to be pressured by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck into accepting the principles of consultation and mutual agreement with Italy on any territorial changes initiated in the Balkans or on the coasts and islands of the Adriatic and Aegean seas. Italy and Austria-Hungary did not overcome their basic conflict of interest in that region, the treaty notwithstanding. On November 1, 1902, five months after the Triple Alliance was renewed, Italy reached an understanding with France that each would remain neutral in the event of an attack on the other. Although the alliance was again renewed in 1907 and 1912, Italy entered World War I in May 1915 in opposition to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

#### ❖ **DUAL ALLIANCE**

also called Franco-Russian Alliance, a political and military pact that developed between France and Russia from friendly contacts in 1891 to a secret treaty in 1894; it became one of the basic European alignments of the pre-World War I era. Germany, assuming that ideological differences and lack of common interest would keep republican France and tsarist Russia apart, allowed its Reinsurance Treaty (q.v.) with Russia to lapse in 1890. In the event of war, France wanted support against Germany; and Russia, against Austria-Hungary. The two powers slowly came closer together, upsetting the system of alliances that had been established by Otto von Bismarck to protect Germany against such a potential "two-front" threat. In August 1891 they made a preliminary agreement to consult in case of aggression against either of them. This agreement was strengthened by a military convention in August 1892. To preserve secrecy, it was necessary to bypass discussion and ratification by the French Parliament, the alliance being formalized through an exchange of letters (Dec. 27, 1893–Jan. 4, 1894) that accepted the previously agreed upon terms. The new alliance was to be in force as long as the Triple Alliance (q.v.) of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, and its terms were to be secret. It provided that in the event of an attack on France by Germany or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia would field 700,000 to 800,000 men to fight Germany; in the event of an attack on Russia by Germany or by Austria-Hungary supported by Germany, France would field 1,300,000 men to fight Germany. Provisions for specific military plans and organizations were also made. The alliance was renewed and strengthened in 1899 and 1912.

### ❖ **TRIPLE ENTENTE**

In 1882 Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy formed the Triple Alliance. The three countries agreed to support each other if attacked by either France or Russia. France felt threatened by this alliance. Britain was also concerned by the growth in the German Navy and in 1904 the two countries signed the Entente Cordiale (friendly understanding). The objective of the alliance was to encourage co-operation against the perceived threat of Germany. Three years later, Russia, who feared the growth in the German Army, joined Britain and France to form the Triple Entente. In contrast to the Triple Alliance, the terms of the Entente did not require each country to go to war on behalf of the others, but stated that they had a "moral obligation" to support each other. The Russian government was also concerned about the possibility of Austria-Hungary increasing the size of its empire. It therefore made promises to help Serbia if it was attacked by members of the Triple Alliance.

### **NEED FOR ALLIANCES**

Why Alliances Matter Alliances are universal components of relations between political units, irrespective of time and place. 'Every state must have an alliance policy, even if its purpose is only to avoid alliances' argued by Robert. E Osgood is illustrative of the importance of an alliance (Osgood 1968). In the realist view, "the historically most important manifestation of the balance of power . . . is to be found in the relations between one nation or alliance and another alliance" (Morgenthau, 1959) because "alliances and regional coalitions among the weak to defend themselves from the strong have been the typical method for preserving balance" (Wright, 1965).

Similarly, George Liska, one of the important international relations alliance theorists maintains that alliances are an integral part of international relations, and in fact, "It is impossible to speak of international relations without referring to alliances; the two often merge in all but name" (Liska 1968). Ole Holsti, Terrence Hopmann, and John Sullivan correspond with this idea by stating, "alliances are apparently a universal component of relations between political units" (Holsti, Hopmann, Sullivan 1973). Since alliances are woven into the fabric of world politics, it is important to understand how they work and what holds them together or pulls them apart. Alliances have helped states go to war, provide for their own security, and even open the doors to peace. Therefore, to have a clear understanding of international politics and the international.

Forming economies of scale Partnerships can generate economies of scale that will enable the participating companies to marshal a broad set of resources and achieve the critical mass needed for international success. Companies with complementary skills can rely on each other's proven expertise instead of spending time and resources to independently develop what has already been achieved. Enhancing competitiveness Many international trade projects require expertise from different fields. Traditionally, companies have tried to develop or maintain all the required skills in-house. However, as technological and administrative complexity increases, companies are learning that they cannot do everything by themselves. As a result, the most competitive corporations are adopting a strategy of maintaining their core competencies only. Gaps in the skill bases are then filled by partnering with a company that has the missing skills.

### **NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT**

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), international organization dedicated to representing the interests and aspirations of developing countries. In the early 21st century the Non-Aligned Movement counted 120 member states. The Non-Aligned Movement emerged in the context of the wave of decolonization that followed World War At the 1955 Bandung Conference (the Asian-African Conference), the attendees, many of whose countries had recently gained their independence, called for "abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers." In the context of the Cold War, they argued, countries of the developing world should abstain from allying with either of the two superpowers (the United States and the U.S.S.R.) and should instead join together in support of national self-determination against all forms of colonialism and imperialism. The Non-Aligned Movement was founded and held its first conference (the Belgrade Conference) in 1961 under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia.

As a condition for membership, the states of the Non-Aligned Movement cannot be part of a multilateral military alliance (such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]) or have signed a bilateral military agreement with one of the "big powers" if it was "deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts." However, the idea of nonalignment does not signify that a state ought to remain passive or even neutral in international politics. On the contrary, from the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement, its stated aim has been to give a

voice to developing countries and to encourage their concerted action in world affairs. Unlike the United Nations (UN) or the Organization of American States, the Non-Aligned Movement has no formal constitution or permanent secretariat. All members of the Non-Aligned Movement have equal weight within its organization. The movement's positions are reached by consensus in the Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government, which usually convenes every three years. The administration of the organization is the responsibility of the country holding the chair, a position that rotates at every summit. One of the challenges of the Non-Aligned Movement in the 21st century has been to reassess its identity and purpose in the post-Cold War era. The movement has continued to advocate for international cooperation, multilateralism, and national self-determination, but it has also been increasingly vocal against the inequities of the world economic order.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Traditional Balance of Power theory proposes alliance formation as a conscious move of states to balance the preponderant power of other states which is considered dangerous for state security and sovereignty. Kenneth Waltz while subscribing to the same view says states form alliances to balance the capabilities (power) of other states but offers a different reasoning from classical realists. For Waltz it is not the conscious or deliberate move of states rather it emerges automatically out of states disposition to achieve security and survival. However, Stephen Walt in his *The Origins of Alliances* offers a refined theory known as Balance of Threat theory. For Walt states form alliances to balance threat not simply aggregate capabilities or power, were power is one condition coupled with other conditions like intentions, proximity and offensive capabilities. In contemporary times, Balance of Power has ceased to be a fully relevant and credible principle of international relations. However, it still retains a presence in international relations, more particularly, in the sphere of regional relations among states. Indeed, the concept of Balance of Power is bound to continue so long as the struggle for power among nations continues to characterize international relations. Even the staunch critics of Balance of Power like, Martin Wright and Friend rich admit that Balance of Power is still a basic element in international relations. Balance of power is neither totally obsolete nor dead. Its role, however, has changed from a global device to a regional device of power management.

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## 4.4. DISARMAMENT

### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Definition*
- *Need and Importance of The Disarmament*
- *Arms Control: And Need for Arms Control*
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  - *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT):*
  - *Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)*
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  - *Indian and FMCT*
- *Other Disarmament Conferences and Treaties*
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### 4.4 DISARMAMENT

#### INTRODUCTION

Disarmament It is elimination or reduction of armaments to preserve international peace and security by averting wars. Disarmament is the act of reducing, limiting, or abolishing weapons. Disarmament generally refers to a country's military or specific type of weaponry. Disarmament is often taken to mean total elimination of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms. General and Complete Disarmament was defined by the United Nations General Assembly as the elimination of all WMD, coupled with the “balanced reduction of armed forces and



conventional armaments, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security.”

### **DEFINITION**

- ❖ **Morgenthau:** *“Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armament race”.*
- ❖ **Charles P. Schleicher:** Disarmament *“means of reducing or eliminating the material and human instrumentalities for the exercise of physical violence”.*
- ❖ **V.V. Dyke** *“Any regulation or limitation having to do with armed power is treated as a measure of Disarmament”.*

### **NEED AND IMPORTANCE OF THE DISARMAMENT**

It is generally difficult for states to ensure that rivals will not attempt to gain undue influence over them through the use of violence, trust is often lacking in relations, which leads opponents to seek increasingly greater capacity to inflicting violence on others that can result into stockpiling of pernicious weapons. So, disarmament can be used to reduce these fears and tensions and pave the way for greater cooperation. In addition to humanitarian considerations, nuclear disarmament by the nuclear-weapon States is a necessary condition for international peace and security as well as its stability, based on the premise that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) regime must be preserved as one of the cores. Disarmament is also needed to restrict the terrorists from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. So, disarmament is needed not only to reduce the danger of war but to prevent the waste of human and material resources and to strengthen the world peace and security.

### **ARMS CONTROL: AND NEED FOR ARMS CONTROL**

Arms Control In its general conception, arms control is any type of restraint on the use of arms, any form of military cooperation between adversaries. Arms control can be implicit or explicit, formal or informal, and unilateral, bilateral, or multilateral. It is a process of jointly managing the weapons-acquisition processes of the participant states in the hope of reducing the risk of war...Arms control [refers] to formal agreements imposing significant restrictions or limitations on the weapons or security policies of the signatories.

**NEED:** Helps to reduce incentives to initiate attack, Enhances the predictability regarding the

size and the structure of forces, thus reduces the fear of aggressive intent, ensuring confidence in compliance through effective monitoring and verification & Ultimately contributing to a more stable and calculable balance of power.

### **DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DISARMAMENT AND THE ARMS CONTROL**

Disarmament is the reduction of the number of weapons and troops maintained by a state. It always implies the decrease of the weapons or even abolishing certain categories of weapons. Whereas Arms control refers to treaties made between potential adversaries that reduce the likelihood and scope of war, usually imposing limitations on military capability. Although disarmament always involves the reduction of military forces or weapons, arms control does not. In fact, arms control agreements sometimes allow for the increase of weapons by one or more parties to a treaty.

### **KINDS OF DISARMAMENT**

Disarmament may be distinguished **General** and **Local** and also as **Quantitative** and **Qualitative**.

- **General disarmament means** a kind of this disarmament in which all the concerned nations participate such as the Washington Treaty of 1922 for the limitation of naval armaments. This Treaty was signed by major naval powers of the world.
- **Local disarmament** implies that only a limited number of nations are involved. This type is exemplified in Rush Bagot Agreement of 1817, in which Great Britain and the United States Limited the naval armament on the great lakes to three vessels for each power.
- **Quantitative or comprehensive disarmament** is the overall reduction of armaments of almost all types. example is the world disarmament conference called by the league of nation in 1932.
- **Qualitative disarmament** aims at the reduction or abolition of some social types of armament as was discussed in the atomic energy commission of the UNO.

### **MAJOR AGREEMENTS OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL**

#### **❖ THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT):**

The NPT was signed simultaneously in London, Moscow and Washington on 1 July 1968 and came into force on 5 March 1970. **Aim:** limiting the spread of nuclear weapons globally. About 189 countries are till date party to the treaty. Five members among these have nuclear weapons.

They are the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and the People's Republic of China. India, Israel, Pakistan and North Korea are not signatories to this Treaty. India and Pakistan both possess and have openly tested nuclear bombs. Israel has adopted a policy of deliberate ambiguity regarding its own nuclear policy. North Korea acceded to the Treaty, violated it, and later withdrew itself. The Treaty consists of a Preamble and eleven articles and is considered as having three pillars: non-proliferation, disarmament, and the right to peacefully use nuclear technology.

- (a) **Non-proliferation:** Under Article I, the five Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) agree not to transfer “nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices” and “not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce” a Non-Nuclear Weapon State (NNWS) to acquire nuclear weapons. Article II contains that NNWS parties to the NPT agree not to “receive,” “manufacture” or “acquire” nuclear weapons or to “seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons”. Article III states that NNWS parties also agree to accept safeguards by the IAEA to verify that they are not diverting nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.
- (b) **Disarmament:** Article VI urges all state Parties to the NPT, both nuclear-weapon states and non-nuclear-weapon states, “to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control”.
- (c) **Peaceful use of nuclear energy:** The NPT allows for and agrees upon the transfer of nuclear technology and materials to NPT signatory countries for the development of civilian nuclear energy programmes in those countries, as long as they can demonstrate that their nuclear programmes are not being used for the development of nuclear weapons. The Treaty recognizes the inalienable right of sovereign states to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but restricts this right for NPT parties to be exercised “in conformity with Articles I and II.

**Indefinite Extension of NPT:** - On 11 May 1995, at a Global Conference held to review the NPT, the state Parties to the Treaty agreed by consensus and without formal dissent that the Treaty would continue in force permanently and unconditionally. The extension of NPT, however, legitimized the possession of nuclear weapons by the five nuclear powers. India, Pakistan and Israel still rejected the Treaty as discriminatory.

### ❖ **COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT)**

The Treaty was opened for signature at New York on 24 September 1996 and it is yet to come into force. It bans all nuclear explosions in all environments, for military or civilian purposes. The CTBT was negotiated in the **Conference on Disarmament (CD)** between January 1994 and August 1996, and adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 1996. The CTBT has not entered into force, although all the five declared nuclear powers are currently observing testing moratoria. In order to bridge the period until the Treaty's entry into force, on 19 November 1996 the Preparatory Commission of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO PrepCom) was established. Seventy-one states, including five of the eight the then nuclear-capable states signed the Treaty. At present, the CTBT has been signed by 180 states and ratified by 145 states. India, Pakistan and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) did not sign. In fact, India and Pakistan conducted back-to back nuclear tests in 1998, while North Korea withdrew from the NPT in 2003. US Senate has not yet ratified it yet.

### **INDIA AND CTBT:**

From the beginning India was a vociferous proponent of a nuclear test ban. In 1954, India initiated a global call at the U.N. Disarmament Commission for an end to nuclear testing and a freeze on fissile material production. Likewise, in 1978 and 1982 at the Special Sessions on Disarmament, India proposed measures for banning nuclear testing, and in 1988, it introduced the Rajiv Gandhi Action Plan for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. However, after co-sponsoring a resolution for a test ban treaty in November 1993, India reversed course and tried to block the treaty text that was negotiated at the Conference on Disarmament. Given the strategic security environment in South Asia, India has limited options as a non-nuclear weapon state to deal with the lurking challenges from China's nuclear arsenal and Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. By signing the CTBT, India would have foregone the right to test nuclear devices, yet its primary nuclear-armed adversary, China, would be able to retain its nuclear weapons under the treaty and could even upgrade them through subcritical experiments. CTBT was inadequate in terms of securing disarmament commitments from the nuclear weapon states under declared deadlines. It saw this as a discriminatory replication of the imbalance inherent in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Much has changed since then. India's 1998 nuclear tests, growing nuclear arsenal, and partial integration into the nonproliferation regime via the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) waiver that was part of the 2008 U.S.-India nuclear deal--along with the Obama

administration's moves to revive the treaty, have caused New Delhi to reconsider its approach to the CTBT. Although opposition to the treaty remains, several domestic justifications for a nuclear test ban have emerged. India rejected the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996 as a non-nuclear weapon state. But today, as a de facto nuclear weapon state, it is reevaluating its position. **Apprehensions:** prospective nuclear technology supplier states will stipulate India's commitment to the CTBT as a precondition for nuclear trade. However, it will still be difficult for India to support the treaty unless it adopts a time-bound disarmament process and New Delhi's security establishment certifies the Indian arsenal as a credible minimum deterrent. China signed the CTBT on 24 September 1996 (the second country to do so after the United States), but has not yet ratified it. China's last nuclear test was conducted on 29 July 1996. After the test, China adhered to the voluntary international moratorium on testing.

#### ❖ TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME (MTCR)

The Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is a set of guidelines regulating the export of missiles, unmanned air vehicles (UAVs), and related technology for those systems capable of carrying a 500-kilogram payload at least 300 kilometers, as well as systems intended for the delivery of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The MTCR was originally concerned only with nuclear capable delivery systems. In January 1993, the Partners extended the guidelines to cover delivery systems capable of delivering all WMD (nuclear, chemical, and biological). During the August 2002 meeting in Warsaw, parties to the MTCR decided on greater clarity in the definitions of "range" and "payload." Members agreed that the current range of 300 kilometers would be the distance achieved at "range maximizing" capability. The definition of payload was expanded to include the cover support structures and countermeasures. The MTCR was formed in 1987 by the G-7(Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Great Britain, and the United State) partners, and is an informal voluntary arrangement, not a treaty or an international agreement. The MTCR has 34 members. The MTCR's annex of controlled equipment and technology is divided into "Category I" and "Category II" items. Category I includes complete rocket systems, unmanned air-vehicle systems such as cruise missiles, target and reconnaissance drones, specially-designed production facilities for these systems; and certain complete subsystems. Category II covers a wide range of parts, components and subsystems such as propellants, structural materials, test equipment and facilities, and flight instruments.

## **INDIA AND MTCR**

The Indian Navy is set to carry Shipboard Supersonic Missiles on most of its ships and submarines. The Indian Navy has always been 'missile savvy' and 'pro missilery' since both its historic attacks on Karachi on 4th Dec (Op Trident) and 8th December, 1971 (Op Python) which were path breakers in missile warfare for the world to emulate. In the Indian Navy, a band of Soviet-trained officers nicknamed 'The Killers' led the campaign for the fitting anti-ship SSMs, and ship to land missiles on ships. After several successful trials, at least two vessels, INS Rajput and INS Ranvir, have already been fitted with the BrahMos supersonic missiles while efforts to put it on board submarines, as well as naval and Indian Air Force (IAF) aircraft is also on. The Indo-Russian BrahMos is the first operational supersonic missile in the world and the Indian Navy, which has always been missile savvy, is the first to carry any supersonic cruise missile. The range of the missile is limited below 300 km and the payload is also restricted to less than 500 kg in accordance with the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) which India has observed without being a signatory. Notably though, the other equal partner in the BrahMos venture, Russia, is a signatory to the MTCR, and therefore obliged not to cross these limitations.

### **❖ FISSILE MATERIAL CUT-OFF TREATY (FMCT)**

**Background:** Since the entry into force of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), a significant issue for the disarmament and arms control has been the continued production of fissile materials the key ingredient for producing nuclear weapons. Many states have long been calling for a ban on the production of these materials. The issue has been on the UN's agenda since 1957 and on the proposed agenda of the Conference on Disarmament (CD) for many years. In December 1993, the UN General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 48/75 recommending the negotiation of a non-discriminatory, multilateral, and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

This treaty is commonly known as a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT). On 25 January 1994, the CD appointed a Special Coordinator, Ambassador Gerald Shannon of Canada, to investigate the views of member states on the most effective way to negotiate a fissile materials treaty which met the requests of the UN General Assembly. The resulting report, CD/1229, came to be known as the "Shannon Mandate" and proposed that an ad hoc committee be convened to pursue negotiations and settle several of the outstanding issues including whether existing stocks

should be included in the treaty or not. Ultimately, efforts to establish the committee failed, but many states continue to refer to the Shannon Mandate as the basis for future negotiations.

### **INDIAN AND FMCT**

Whether India will be unable to acquire enough weapon-grade fissile materials for its perceived credible minimum deterrent requirement after it concludes the 123 Agreement with the United States and frees itself from the technology apartheid is at the heart of the debate on the civilian nuclear deal with the US. Some have focused, as often happens, on US policies and raised the question whether India concentrating on the verification issue would be considered a breach of understanding two countries collaborate on progressing towards the conclusion of a Fissile Materials Cutoff Treaty. The consequences of not signing the NPT are well known. India is being subject to technology apartheid. India did not suffer very much for not joining the CTBT, thanks to the US Senate action the treaty did not come into force. However, India should be prepared for the consequences of not going along with US on the discussions leading to the FMCT If India stays out of FMCT, then India will have to devise a strategy to reach the stage III of the Bhabha plan. Otherwise the shortage of indigenous uranium will slow down and bring to a halt our nuclear programme unless new discoveries of uranium ore are made in the country.

China too will depend upon imported uranium for its nuclear reactor requirements. But China already has a significant arsenal and has accepted all conditionalities imposed by the US 123 agreement, the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the recent agreement with Australia for supply of uranium ore. In 2002, the MTCR was supplemented by the International Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (ICOC), also known as the Hague Code of Conduct, which calls for restraint and care in the proliferation of ballistic missile systems capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction, and has 119 members, thus working parallel to the MTCR with less specific restrictions but with a greater membership.

### **OTHER DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES AND TREATIES**

1675: Strasbourg Agreement (1675)

1899: Hague Peace Conference

1919: Treaty of Versailles

1925: Locarno Treaties

1927: Kellogg-Briand Pact

- 1932–34: World Disarmament Conference
- 1960: Ten Nation Disarmament Committee
- 1962–1968: Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee
- 1969–1978: Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
- 1979–present: Conference on Disarmament (CD)
- 1908–1909: London Naval Conference
- 1921–1922: Washington Naval Conference
- 1927: Geneva Naval Conference
- 1930: London Naval Conference leading to the London Naval Treaty
- 1935: London Naval Conference leading to the Second London Naval Treaty
- 1967: Outer Space Treaty

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Security cannot be achieved through the continued reliance on weapons, but only through international cooperation in developing and maintaining effective, binding, and verifiable multilateral agreements such as embodied in the peaceful regimes of Disarmament and Arms Control. Disarmament and Arms Control must be given highest priority across the globe. Fulfillment of commitments is integral to maintaining the Arms Control and the Disarmament. As to bring world to the peace every Nation- State has to do its Bit no matter Big or small. As it's a long process before the peace is attained through them but every single step towards it defines will we ever attain it or not.

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## UNIT-V

### 5.1 PROPAGANDA

#### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Origin of Propaganda*
- *Definitions*
- *Principles of Propaganda*
- *Important Techniques of Propaganda*
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- *Propaganda & International Relations*
- *Concluding Remarks*
- 

#### 5.1(A) TERRORISM AND SUBVERSION

- *Introduction*
- *Definitions of Terrorism*
- *Subversion: Definition of Subversion*
- *Causes for Terrorism*
- *Methods - Tactics Which Are Used by Terrorist Organizations*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## 5.1 PROPAGANDA

### INTRODUCTION

**Propaganda** is a mode of communication used to manipulate or influence the opinion of groups to support a particular cause or belief. Over the centuries, propaganda has taken the form of artwork, films, speeches, and music, though it's not limited to these forms of communication. In the most general terms: Any attempt to persuade persons to accept a certain point of view or take a certain action is propaganda. Propaganda is the manipulation of symbols to transmit accepted attitudes and skills. Propaganda is the spreading of rumors, information or an idea in order to influence the opinion of the society. It may advance an idea or bring it into disrepute. Writers use propaganda as a literary technique to manipulate the public opinion for or against an idea. In history, we can search a profusion of literary works used as propaganda to shape the public perceptions, and direct their behaviour to get a response. Generally, propaganda is a technique for convincing people; it is misleading in nature and promotes a viewpoint or a political cause.

### ORIGIN OF PROPAGANDA

The term originated with the Roman Catholic Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, and order of the Church establish by Papal Bull in 1622. The term propaganda came to refer to a certain type of communication strategy. The ultimate goal of propagandists is to change the way people act and to leave the believing that those action are voluntary, that the newly adopted behaviour and the opinions are their own.

### DEFINITION

- ❖ **Bertrand Russell-** *“Propaganda may be defined as any attempt by means of persuasion, to enlist human beings on the side of one party to any dispute.”*
- ❖ **Edward Bernays-** *“The advocacy of what we believe in is education. The advocacy of what we do not believe in is propaganda.”*
- ❖ **Webster’s third International-** *Propaganda is “dissemination of ideas, information, or rumors for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person.”*

### PRINCIPLES OF PROPAGANDA

- Propaganda is in the eye of the beholder.
- Propaganda has a strong ideological bent.

- Propaganda is institutional in nature
- It is practiced by organized groups like
- Propaganda relies on mass persuasion
- Propaganda tends to rely on ethically suspect methods of influence

### **IMPORTANT TECHNIQUES OF PROPAGANDA**

- ❖ **NAME-CALLING:** This technique consists in giving a bad name to a person, a group, an idea or an event. The name so given arouses an emotional attitude of hostility and rejection. The terms “capitalist,” “fascist,” “war-monger”, “right-reactionary” create an emotional attitude of hatred toward the person. Thus, J.P. Narayan was called by the Congress leaders a right reactionary and the B.J.P. has been called after the Ayodhya incident a fascist party and a communal organisation.
- ❖ **GLITTERING GENERALLY:** Under this technique the propagandist uses some attractive or impressive words or ideas which mislead the people. He may call his party “the protector of Hinduism” or the “Saviour of Dalits” or use the words like secularism, equality, justice, democracy to influence the public.
- ❖ **TRANSFER DEVICE:** In this device, the propagandist presents his cause as an integral part of a larger cause by identifying himself and his cause with the collective representation acceptable to the public at large. Thus, to safeguard “people’s democracy” the communists condemn all non-communists as “counter- revolutionaries.” The Congress invokes the name of Gandhi in order to bolster its position. The opposition parties use the word ‘secularism’ to defeat the Bhartiya Janta Party.
- ❖ **PLAIN-FOLK DEVICE:** This device is used extensively by politicians. The politician professes that he is just like others, with their common virtues and vices. Thus, a leader may embrace a child in a slum area or take his lunch sitting with the slum dwellers on a mat to impress upon them that he is one of them.
- ❖ **TESTIMONIAL:** Propaganda can hinge on the ability of an unrelated person to successfully sell an idea, opinion, product, or action. In modern day advertising, companies may enlist celebrities to help sell their products as part of their public relations efforts. Oftentimes, these

celebrities don't have any personal experience with the products or background with the science utilized to create them, but their testimonial can increase sales simply because they provide a recognizable and sometimes trustworthy face to the public. Viewers of this type of propaganda put their faith in the testimonial rather than judging the product, idea, or company on its own merits.

- ❖ **CARD TACTICS:** This device requires skill and ingenuity. The true facts are twisted and coloured by the propagandist to suit his interest and impress his listeners. Thus, a politician may weave a story and present it as a true event.
- ❖ **BAND-WAGON:** Under this technique the propagandist advertises that since everybody is doing a thing, therefore, you may as well do it. Thus, the advertisement, "Five crores of people in India are using Alias bicycle so you also should have it today" is a band-wagon technique.

### **TYPES OF PROPAGANDA**

#### ❖ **BLACK PROPAGANDA**

Black propaganda is a form of propaganda intended to create the impression that it was created by those it is supposed to discredit. Black propaganda contrasts with grey propaganda, which does not identify its source, and white propaganda, which does not disguise its origins at all.

#### ❖ **WHITE PROPAGANDA**

White Propaganda is a type of Propaganda where the correct author of the information is clear and the purpose of the information is transparent. Because of the public accountability of the author, it is suggested that White Propaganda is often mainly based on the fact, and although the whole truth is often not told, it is not intentionally deceptive. White Propaganda differs from Black Propaganda, where the true source is falsely attributed for deceptive measures. It typically uses standard public relations techniques and one-sided presentation of an argument.

#### ❖ **GREY PROPAGANDA**

Grey Propaganda is a type of Propaganda where the correct source of the information is never directly credited and the sponsor's identity is concealed. Defined by its lack of clear source, the information contained in Grey Propaganda does not necessarily have to be inaccurate; it could

be true or false.

### ❖ NAZI PROPAGANDA

The pervasive use of propaganda by the Nazi is largely responsible for the word 'propaganda' itself. acquiring its present negative connotations. Propaganda is the coordinator attempted to influence public opinion through the use of media was, skilfully used by Nazi party in the year leading up to and during Adolf Hitler's leadership of Germany. **Hitler** and **Gobbles** said that the "big lie" is something that we always convince the people.

### PROPAGANDA & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Propaganda is a powerful weapon in war; it is used to dehumanize and create hatred toward a supposed enemy, either internal or external, by creating a false image in the mind. This can be done by using derogatory or racist terms, avoiding some words or by making allegations of enemy atrocities. Most propaganda wars require the home population to feel the enemy has inflicted an injustice, which may be fictitious or may be based on facts. The home population must also decide that the cause of their nation is just. Propaganda is also one of the methods used in psychological warfare, which may also involve false flag operations. Propaganda or psychological warfare as the British called it has become in the mass-media age a common feature of national foreign policy in time of war. But, since the eclipse of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, there is no great power of which propaganda is such an ingredient, day in and day out, as it is of the Soviet Union. For, though the Chinese People's Republic is wholly addicted to the Marxist-Leninist dogma, and the rigid conformity of thought which it imposes, it is not so organically committed, as the Russians are, to its world-wide propagation as a weapon of power politics.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Propaganda, whether used in promoting a positive or negative thing, alters people's original thoughts and ideas, persuading them into believing in something that may or may not be true. Sooner or later, the society will fail to realize the difference between true and false advertisement. Propaganda, all propaganda, brainwashes the public and manipulates society, deteriorating the world in many ways.

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## **5.1.(A) TERRORISM AND SUBVERSION**

### **INTRODUCTION:**

TERRORISM – It is the calculated use of violence to create to a general among the people or the whole population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective. Terrorism has been practiced by the political organization for their own objectives let it be by religious groups, by revolutionaries and even by state institutions such as armies, intelligence services, and even the police. But this terrorism gained its mainstream popularity in the 1970s during the conflict of NORTHERN IRELAND, the Basque country and Palestine. The increase use of suicide attacks from the 1980s onwards was typified by the September 11 attack in New York and the Washington in 2001

### **DEFINITIONS OF TERRORISM**

Definitions of terrorism are usually complex and controversial, and, because of the inherent ferocity and violence of terrorism, the term in its popular usage has developed an intense stigma. It was first coined in the 1790s to refer to the terror used during the French revolution by the revolutionaries against their opponents. The Jacobin party of Maximilien Robespierre carried out a Reign of terror involving mass executions by the guillotine. Although terrorism in this usage implies an act of violence by a state against its domestic enemies, since the 20th century the term has been applied most frequently to violence aimed, either directly or indirectly, at governments in an effort to influence policy or topple an existing regime. UN General Assembly Resolutions: Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

### **SUBVERSION: DEFINITION OF SUBVERSION**

Subversion is the undermining or detachment of the loyalties of significant political and social groups within the victimized state, and their transference, under ideal conditions, to the symbols and institutions of the aggressor. **Charles Townshend** described subversion as a term, "so elastic as to be virtually devoid of meaning, and its use does little more than convey the enlarged sense

of the vulnerability of modern systems to all kinds of covert assaults. Subversion refers to a process by which the values and principles of a system in place are contradicted or reversed, in an attempt to transform the established social order and its structures of power, authority, hierarchy, and social norms. Subversion can be described as an attack on the public morale and, "the will to resist intervention are the products of combined political and social or class loyalties which are usually attached to national symbols. Following penetration, and parallel with the forced disintegration of political and social institutions of the state, these loyalties may be detached and transferred to the political or ideological cause of the aggressor". Subversion is used as a tool to achieve political goals because it generally carries less risk, cost, and difficulty as opposed to open belligerency. Furthermore, it is a relatively cheap form of warfare that does not require large amounts of training. A subversive is something or someone carrying the potential for some degree of subversion. In this context, a "subversive" is sometimes called a "traitor" with respect to the government in power.

### **CAUSES FOR TERRORISM**

#### **PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE:**

Those who engage in terrorism may do so for purely personal reasons, based on their own psychological state of mind. The motivation is nothing more but hate towards some organization or desire for power. For example, in 1893 Auguste Vaillant bombed the French chamber of deputies. Prior to the conviction and subsequent execution Vaillant explained his motivation for his hate towards the middle classes. Vaillant wanted to spoil the sense of economic and social success by tainting it with his violence. In many respects these terrorists are interested in getting attention from others for his/her act, rather than some grand ideological or strategic goal.

#### **IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE:**

Ideology is defined as the belief, values and principle by which a group identifies its particular aims and goals. Ideology may encompass religion or political philosophies and programs. Example of terrorist group motivated by their ideology that include the IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA), in SRI LANKA the LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL ELAM (LTTE) and the BADER MEINHOF in GERMANY. The IRA is motivated by a political program to oust the UNITED KINGDOM from IRELAND and unite IRELAND under one flag. Similarly, the LTTE seeks to establish a separate state for Tamils in SRI LANKA. Finally, the BADER MEINHOF was a terrorist group made up of middle- class adults who opposed the capitalism and sought to



destroy capitalist infrastructure in GERMANY.

### **STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE:**

Terrorism is something seen as a logical extension of the failure of the politics. When people seek redress of their grievances through government, but fail to win government's attention to their plight, they may resort to violence. From this viewpoint, terrorism is the result of a logical analysis of goals and objectives of a group, and their estimate of the likely hood of gaining victory. If victory seems unlikely using more traditional means of opposition, then one might calculate that terrorism is much better a option. For example, in South Africa the African national congress only turned to use terrorism after political avenues were explore and that had failed. Of course, not just individual may feel let down by the political process. State may use terrorist in the pursuit of their own strategic interests. State may sponsor terrorists' groups especially when the objectives of the state and the terrorist group are similar. For example, Libya used terrorist to explode a bomb aboard PAN AM 103 flying from London to New York in 1988, allegedly in response to US and BRITISH bombing of Libya.

### **METHODS - TACTICS WHICH ARE USED BY TERRORIST ORAGANISATIONS**

The tactics and techniques of terrorism have changed over the decades, but it has always been a poor man's form of warfare. Partly this is a result of technology. Chemical, biological, and electronic warfare were not available to terrorists in the mid-1800s, and few terrorists can afford the heavy weapons tanks, warplanes, missiles of a national army. But terrorists fight their campaigns with the same determination as governments fight wars. One major concern is that in the future terrorists may acquire much more powerful weapons, such as nuclear bombs, poison gases, or biological agents.

### **RANDOM MURDER OF CIVILIANS:**

While many terrorist attacks are directed at specific targets, a military base, for example, some terrorist groups have targeted civilians, such as tourists. In general, a random attack on civilians is a tactic used by terrorists who are motivated by a religious or nationalist cause. Terrorists working for a political cause know such attacks are unlikely to build support for their movement among citizens who think they might become the next victims. Another Islamic organization, the Islamic Jihad in Egypt, adopted a similar tactic to that of the Algerians. Gunmen or bombers attacked tourist buses carrying Europeans or Asians to the historic pyramids of Egypt and other

sites. Although these attacks did not kill nearly as many people as the GIA did in Algeria, their intent was the same: to drive foreigners (again, non-Muslims) out of Egypt and prevent others from coming. A secondary purpose in both countries were to hurt the tourist industry and thus put additional pressure on the non-Islamic governments in Cairo and Algiers.

### **BOMBING:**

Bombing as we have discussed above is one their favorite method or technique of terrorist organization. Although bombs have become very sophisticated over the years but the appeal to the terrorist remain the same. The kill many people at once with the help of this and also it is very easy to smuggle the bomb in to the country or a city. They always explode bombs in a very big city where the crowd is more so there can be maximum casualties.

### **GRENADES:**

Grenades are metal containers filled with a powerful explosive. The metal has grooves carved into it, so that it shatters into several dozen small pieces when the explosive goes off. The fragments behave like bullets, flying in all directions. They do not cover a wide area when they explode, but unlike a firearm, grenades do not need to hit their target precisely. Anyone within a few yards of the spot where the grenade explodes is likely to be killed or severely wounded. Most grenades are designed to be thrown by hand at a target. Hand grenades, which are a bit larger than a baseball, are easy to conceal in a pocket or a briefcase. They are easier to hide than a pistol or rifle, and in many cases, they are more effective.

### **CAR BOMB:**

The car is a favorite way for terrorists operating in a city to deliver a bomb. Very powerful bombs weigh several thousand pounds and are too big to fit inside a car. But a terrorist can easily hide a smaller weapon in a car's trunk, strap it underneath the vehicle, or conceal it in the fuel tank. The terrorist can then drive the car to the target site and park it on the street. Target sites can be diplomatic offices, shopping districts, houses, or cars that carry government officials, diplomats, or other targets. Terrorists can use remote-control devices to set off an explosion at the right moment. Alternatively, the terrorist can set a timer to explode the bomb when the area will be crowded or the nearby office occupied. Car bombs are hard to guard against since most urban areas are jammed with automobiles, and inspecting all of them would effectively shut down the entire city. Cars also help terrorists sow fear among civilians, who may begin to worry that any car could contain a bomb.

### **AIRPLANE AND SHIP HIJACKING:**

Seizing control of an airplane in mid-flight and demanding something from the government in exchange for the passengers' lives was one of the most commonly used terrorist tactics between 1968 and 1980. Terrorists armed with pistols or knives simply had to display the weapons and threaten to kill a passenger or crewmember to force the pilot to land at an airport, where the plane and its passengers could be held hostage. The terrorists often demanded the release of their colleagues from prisons in Israel and elsewhere; sometimes they also held the passengers for ransom. Hijackings have drawn different responses from governments. Some hijackings have ended peacefully, with the hijackers forcing a plane to take them to a friendly country, and the passengers flew safely home. In some cases, hijackers have gotten governments to give in to their demands even though there are international treaties and conventions forbidding this. In September 1970, for example, Palestinian terrorists forced three planes one British, one Swiss, and one American to land in Jordan and Cairo. They demanded the release of jailed Palestinians, including the woman who had headed up the failed hijacking attempt, in exchange for the lives of more than three hundred hostages aboard the planes.

After the terrorists took the hostages off the planes and blew up the aircraft, the involved governments agreed to release the prisoners. On many occasions trained commandos have stormed hijacked planes on the ground and freed the hostages, although usually a number of passengers died in the assault. In addition to attacks on airplanes, there have been occasions when terrorists hijacked ships at sea. In 1985 four Palestinian terrorists took over an Italian cruise ship called the Achille lauro. One American tourist was killed and his body thrown overboard. After two days, the hijackers surrendered in exchange for safe passage off the ship; however, U.S. fighter jets intercepted the plane carrying the hijackers, and Italian authorities took them into custody.

### **PLANE AS BOMB:**

On September 11, 2001, terrorists introduced a new weapon: the airplane itself. Terrorists had long hijacked planes (see "Airplane and ship hijacking," below), but September 11 was the first time the planes themselves had been used as bombs. The terrorists hijacked planes just after takeoff on flights that were headed across the United States and were fully loaded with jet fuel. The hijackers flew them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, destroying the World Trade Center buildings. Investigators later discovered that the intense fires

started by the planes' fuel in effect caused the towers to melt at the point of impact, sending the top floors crashing onto lower floors and causing the two 110-story buildings to collapse.

### **CONCLUSION**

It is impossible to say for sure what causes terrorism. A person's psychological make up certainly, will play role, but to what extent is unclear. Some may come to terrorism, not out of violence, but to rather further their ideological goals. Others may be motivated to use terror simply because it appears to be useful strategic alternative, or may further the state's objectives. Indeed, terrorism may occur for psychological, ideological and strategic grounds all at once. An individual may decide terrorism fits his or her own view of the world that it makes sense. A group may come to use terrorism because it furthers and it is supported by ideologies. Finally, groups or persons may use terrorism because it fits with their strategic objectives and goals.

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## 5.2 PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *Pacific Settlement of Disputes*
- *Need for Settlement of Disputes*
- *Common Reasons for International Disputes*
- *Kinds of Disputes*
- *Methods-Techniques of Pacific Settlement of Disputes*
  - *Negotiation:*
  - *Enquiry:*
  - *Mediation*
  - *Arbitration*
  - *Resort to Regional Agencies or Arrangements*
  - *Judicial Settlements*
- *Other Peaceful Means of Their Own Choice*
- *Concluding Remarks*

### 5.2 PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

#### INTRODUCTION

**What is an International Dispute?** In the Mavromattes case, the PCIJ defined a dispute as ‘a disagreement on a point of law or fact, a conflict of legal views or interests between two persons’  
A dispute may be defined as a specific disagreement concerning a matter of fact, law or policy in which a claim or assertion of one party is met with refusal, counter claim or denial by another. In the broadest sense, an international dispute can be said to exist whenever such a disagreement involves governments, institutions, juristic persons or private individuals in different parts of the World.

### **PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

Pacific settlement of disputes which requires the parties themselves to seek a solution to their dispute by any peaceful means of their own choice, and that the Council should give every opportunity to the parties to do so. The General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes is a multilateral convention concluded in Geneva on September 26, 1928. It went into effect on August 16, 1929.

### **NEED FOR SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

- To end the War and Violence.
- To counter the Rivalry B/W States.
- To ensure Co- Existence without Fear.
- To respect Sovereignty of Independent States.
- To find Peaceful Solutions to Border problems b/w States.
- To ensure the Political and Economic Cooperation's b/w States.
- To end the Global threats like Terrorism together.
- To establish Democratic Diplomatic Relationships.

### **REASONS FOR INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES**

- ❖ **TERRITORIAL CLAIM:** The War Between many States may be started from territorial claim such as territorial boundary claim, seas, rivers; channels are also the sources of war.
- ❖ **EXTREME NATIONALISM:** Felling of nationalism may arise conflict between states. Strong nation wants to attack against weaker nation.
- ❖ **ARM RACE:** Arms race between the neighboring states creates suspension of other state and increases the disputes between the neighboring states.
- ❖ **SUPREMACY OF ECONOMIC CONTROL:** International trade is the source of the richness of a nation. Domination over the world made some countries rich and the competition between these nations created world wars.

### **KINDS OF DISPUTES**

- ❖ **POLITICAL DISPUTES:** Non- justiciable, political or non-legal issues
- ❖ **LEGAL DISPUTES:** Involves not only questions of law but also the law itself

## **METHODS-TECHNIQUES OF PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

**Art.33** of the UN Charter provides for the means of settling disputes:

### ❖ **NEGOTIATION:**

Settlement of disputes by direct discussions or exchange of views through diplomatic representatives. It is the first and the simplest method of peaceful settlement of disputes. Usually the negotiations are carried on either by the head of the states or their appointed authority. Each party needs to explain its own interests and listen carefully to the opposition and understand his sympathy. The negotiation should take place without the intervention of a third party.

### **Major Characteristics of Negotiation:**

There are **four** characteristics of a good negotiated settlement:

1. Fairness 2. Efficiency 3. Wisdom 4. Stability

Negotiations took place (from 14–16 July 2001) between India and Pakistan when the Indian prime minister Mr. Vajpayee and Pakistan President Mr. Pervez Musharraf met at Agra (India) to settle all the disputes pending between India and Pakistan including Kashmir.

### ❖ **ENQUIRY:**

Inquiry as a Diplomatic means of Dispute Resolution is a specific institutional arrangement between the parties which is resorted to by the parties, when they wish to have the dispute to be investigated independently alternatively to the judicial means of settlement. Ascertainment of pertinent facts and issues in a dispute Use of effective fact-finding bodies in accordance of **Art.33 of the Charter**. Commission of Inquiry' as a mechanism was established in 1899 and 1907 by Hague Conventions for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. Basic purpose of Inquiry Commission is to facilitate solution of the Dispute that occur from difference of opinion on the facts by clarifying such facts, it is for this reason it is termed as "Fact-Finding Commission". Inquiry mechanism was used in few cases only, Dogger Bank in 1904, Tavnano case in 1912, Tiger case in 1918, Tubantia case in 1922 and Red Crusader in 1961.

### ❖ **MEDIATION:**

Mediation is a non-binding procedure in which an impartial and neutral third party, (the mediator) assists (to help) the parties to a dispute in reaching a mutually satisfactory and

agreed settlement of the dispute. Settlement of disputes undertaken by a third state, group of state, an individual, an agency or an international organization. The mediation process is informal and an assisted negotiation of a dispute settlement. The mediator actively participates in the dispute. However, the suggestions made by the mediator are not binding on the parties. **Example:** Tashkant agreement between India and Pakistan in 1965-66. The soviet Russia took initiative steps to reduce the conflicts between India and Pakistan and created a propitious atmosphere for settlement.

❖ **ARBITRATION:**

Resolution of differences between states through a legal decision of one or more umpires or of a tribunal chosen by the parties. A dispute of two nations is referred to an arbitrator to whom they appoint with their mutual consent. The arbitrator hears both sides and gives his decisions, which is called AWARD. According to John Parris, arbitration is “A settlement of a dispute by an arbitrator who has absolute control and who is chosen by the parties to decide a dispute”. Under the UNO charter the permanent court of arbitration was replaced by the court of international justice. The Kutch arbitration award 1968 there was an armed conflict between India and Pakistan. Pakistan claimed 3500 sq. miles of land situated at the Rann of Kutch. India & Pakistan agreed to cease-fire, & to refer the matter to arbitration. Three arbitrators were appointed with mutual consent. The arbitral court gave its award in 1968 allotting 320 sq. miles to Pakistan and the rest to India.

❖ **RESORT TO REGIONAL AGENCIES OR ARRANGEMENTS:**

Regional Arrangements under which states of a region undertake to regulate their relations with respect to the question of the settlement of disputes. Regional agencies Regional international organizations created by regional multilateral treaties under a permanent institution with international legal personality to perform broader function in the field of the maintenance of peace and security, including the settlement of disputes.

❖ **JUDICIAL SETTLEMENTS:** Submitting a dispute to a pre-constituted international court or tribunal composed of independent judges whose tasks are settle claims on the basis of international law and render decisions which are binding upon the parties. The states may settle their dispute through the international court of justice. Article 92 to 96 of the charter of U.N.O. explains about the international court of justice. Each member of the U.N.O. is obliged



to comply with the decision of the court in any case to which it is a party. It is situated in Hague.

❖ **OTHER PEACEFUL MEANS OF THEIR OWN CHOICE:**

This is laid down in Article 33 para 1 of the charter of the United Nations and reiterated in the 5th para of the relevant section of the Friendly Relations Declaration and in section 1, paras 3 and 10, of the Manila Declaration. Both makes it clear that recourse to, or acceptance of a settlement procedure freely agreed to with regard to existing or future disputes shall not be regarded as incompatible with the sovereign equality of states.

**CONCLUDING REMARKS**

It is a process of formal proposals of settlement after an investigation of the facts and an effort to recon ciliate to accept or reject proposals formulated. The process of adjusting or settling disputes in a friendly manner through extra judicial means. it means bringing two opposing sides together to reach a compromise in an attempt to avoid taking a case to trial. The parties are not bound to accept conciliation. It produces quicker resolution of dispute. It reserves the freedom of the parties to withdraw from conciliation.

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## 5.3 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### SYNOPSIS

- *Introduction*
- *What Is an International Organizations?*
- *What Is League of Nation*
- *Origin of League of Nations in Brief*
- *Aims and Objectives of League of Nations*
- *Principal Organs of League of Nations*
- *League of Nations: Successes and Failures*
- *Causes of Failure of League of Nations*
- *Role of International Labour Organization in League of Nations*
- *The Functions of The ILO Which Supported the Aims of LoN*
- *Concluding Remarks*

### 5.3 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: LEAGUE OF NATIONS

#### INTRODUCTION

**What is an International Organizations?** An international organization is an organisation established by a treaty or other instrument governed by international law and possessing its own international legal personality, such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization and NATO.

**What is League of Nation?** The League of Nations, abbreviated as LN or LoN, was the first worldwide Intergovernmental organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace.

**Origin of League of Nations in Brief:** The League of Nations was to be an organization where representatives of the world's Nations would meet settle their difference by discussion instead of war. It was founded in Geneva Switzerland in 1919. In the year 1914 the world was involved in a conflict (The Great War). The war had finished in 1918 and The Treaty of Versailles was created. It was the peace settlement signed after World War One.

### **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

The basic aims and objectives of the League of Nations were found in articles 9 to 17 and 23 -24 of the league covenants. Generally, the League was formed due to political, social and economic considerations.

1. To maintain peace and to end war.
2. To protect the territorial integrity and independence of states
3. Promotion of Diplomacy
4. Reduction of arms race
5. Suppression of sea Pirates
6. To Control Drug Trafficking.
7. Social Political and Economic Co-operation.
8. To Improve the Condition of workers.
9. Administration of Mandate States.
10. To Preserve the achievements of the Paris peace settlement

### **PRINCIPAL ORGANS**

The main constitutional organs of the League were

- ❖ The Assembly
- ❖ The Council
- ❖ The Permanent Secretariat.

**It also had two essential wings:** The Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organization. In addition, there were several auxiliary agencies and commissions. Each organ's budget was allocated by the Assembly. The relations between the Assembly and the Council and the competencies of each were for the most part not explicitly defined. Each body could deal with any matter within the sphere of competence of the League or

affecting peace in the world. Particular questions or tasks might be referred to either. Unanimity was required for the decisions of both the Assembly and the Council, except in matters of procedure and some other specific cases such as the admission of new members. The Permanent Secretariat, established at the seat of the League at Geneva, comprised a body of experts in various spheres under the direction of the general secretary.

The Assembly consisted of representatives of all members of the League, with each state allowed up to three representatives and one vote. It met in Geneva and, after its initial sessions in 1920, it convened once a year in September. The special functions of the Assembly included the admission of new members, the periodical election of non-permanent members to the Council, the election with the Council of the judges of the Permanent Court, and control of the budget. In practice, the Assembly was the general directing force of League activities. The League Council acted as a type of executive body directing the Assembly's business. It began with four permanent members (Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) and four non-permanent members that were elected by the Assembly for a three-year term. The first non-permanent members were Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain. The composition of the Council was changed several times. The number of non-permanent members was first increased to six on 22 September 1922 and to nine on 8 September 1926.

### **LEAGUE OF NATIONS: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES**

- The League quickly proved its value by settling the Swedish-Finnish dispute over the land Islands (1920–21), guaranteeing the security of Albania (1921), rescuing Austria from economic disaster, settling the division of Upper Silesia (1922), and preventing the outbreak of war in the Balkans between Greece and Bulgaria (1925). In addition, the League extended considerable aid to refugees; it helped to suppress white slave and opium traffic; it did pioneer work in surveys of health; it extended financial aid to needy states; and it furthered international cooperation in labor relations and many other fields. The problem of bringing its political influence to bear, especially on the great powers, soon made itself felt. Poland refused to abide by the League decision in the Vilnius dispute, and the League was forced to stand by powerlessly in the face of the French occupation of the Ruhr (1923) and Italy's occupation of Kérkira (1923). Failure to take action over the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931) was a blow to the League's prestige, especially when followed by Japan's withdrawal from the League (1933).

Another serious failure was the inability of the League to stop the Chaco War (1932–35; see under Gran Chaco) between Bolivia and Paraguay.

- In 1935 the League completed its successful 15-year administration of the Saar territory (see Saarland) by conducting a plebiscite under the supervision of an international military force. But even this success was not sufficient to offset the failure of the Disarmament Conference, Germany's withdrawal from the League (1933), and Italy's successful attack on Ethiopia in defiance of the League's economic sanctions (1935). In 1936, Adolf Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland and denounced the Treaty of Versailles; in 1938 he seized Austria.
- Faced by threats to international peace from all sides the Spanish civil war, Japan's resumption of war against China (1937), and finally the appeasement of Hitler at Munich (1938) the League collapsed. German claims on Danzig (see Gdansk), where the League commissioner had been reduced to impotence, led to the outbreak of World War II. The last important act of the League came in Dec., 1939, when it expelled the USSR for its attack on Finland.
- In 1940 the League secretariat in Geneva was reduced to a skeleton staff; some of the technical services were removed to the United States and Canada. The allied International Labor Organization continued to function and eventually became affiliated with the United Nations. In 1946 the League dissolved itself, and its services and real estate (notably the Palais des Nations in Geneva) were transferred to the United Nations. The League's chief success lay in providing the first pattern of permanent international organization, a pattern on which much of the United Nations was modeled. Its failures were due as much to the indifference of the great powers, which preferred to reserve important matters for their own decisions, as to weaknesses of organization.

### **CAUSES OF FAILURE OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

During 1920's League provided a useful but modest addition to international diplomacy where round of negotiations and diplomatic relations develop. Stress was made on sitting together of nations for the settlement of disputes. Security was provided to frontiers and problems of Disarmaments was solved. but unfortunately, League was helping and solving matters of minor states because of influence of BIG POWERS on world League failed to implement its will on them which gave a true picture of its contradiction of covenant. League failed in its main object

of maintaining peace in the world. In spite of its efforts for two decades, the whole world was involved in a war in 1939. By that time, the machinery of the League of Nations had completely broken down.

**01. ABSENCE OF GREAT POWERS:** It was unfortunate that the covenant of the League of Nations was made a part parcel of the peace settlement. It would have been better if it had kept separate. There were many states which consider the Treaty of Versailles as a treaty of revenge, and were not prepared to ratify the same. By not ratifying the treaty, they refused to be the members of the League. The absence of the great powers from the international organization weakened her and was partly responsible for its ultimate failure. Japan, Germany and Italy also left the League and their defection must have weakened the League.

**02. DOMINATION OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND:** It was felt that the League of Nations was dominated by England and France and consequently the other states began to lose their confidence in that organization.

**03. RISE OF DICTATORSHIP:** The rise of dictatorship in Italy, Japan and Germany also weakened the chances of success of the League of Nations. Japan was determined to acquire fresh territories and her unscrupulous patriotism threw to the winds of all principles of international law and morality. If the League was to prepared to condone her fault of conquering Manchuria. She was to prepared to give up her membership of the League and that is exactly what she actually did. When League decided to take action against Italy on account for her aggression in Abyssinia, Italy left the League. In the wake up spreading dictatorship states continued to be the members of the League so long as their national interest were not in any way endangered and sacrificed.

**04. LIMITATIONS OF LEGAL METHODS:** The League of Nations demonstrated the limitations of the legal methods. The League was fairly efficient in structure and probably would have worked if there had existed a realization of a community of interest. Law grows out of public opinion cannot operate in disjunction with it. In the case of League law proposed and opinion disposed.

**05. LOSS OF FAITH IN LEAGUE:** Small nations lost their faith in the effectiveness of The League to save them from any aggression. The principle of collective security was not applied in

actual practice. Each state decided to follow her own policy, the principle of security weakened and thus there was nothing to check the aggressive policy of Hitler.

**06. CONSTITUTIONAL DEFECT:** The League of Nations failed because of certain constitutional defects. In the cases of disputes brought before the council of the League under Article 11, decisions of the council had to be unanimous in order to adjudge a nation guilty of having violated the covenant by resort to war or unjustifiable aggression, In Article 15. If the decisions were not unanimous verdict under Article 11, the disputing parties were free to resume the hostilities after a period of 3 months. By allowing exceptions, the covenant seemed to assumed that was remained the normal solution of international disputes.

**07. NARROW NATIONALISM:** Narrow nationalism was still the dominant among the peoples of the world. France was increasingly concerned with her national security, while Great Britain considered that problem less urgent than promoting commerce by fostering international trade. Japan intoxicated by her emergence as a world power, while Italy was desperate to redress her damage. Germany was indulged to retain her national prestige even at the cost of an aggressive military adventure.

**08. LACK OF MUTUAL CO-OPERATION:** The member of the league lacks mutual co-operation which is always essential for the success of an organization. For France the League was an instrument for providing her security from Germany. On the other hand, Great Britain wanted League protecting her imperialist interest. Hitler found League a great hurdle on the way of rise of Germany.

**09. SEPARATE LINES OF THOUGHTS:** The League was the offspring of a marriage of two separate lines of thoughts. In one of these which were developed by Mr. Taft and others in the U.S. The stress was on organized forces. There has to be “League of enforced peace” On the other hand the British attitude was extremely hesitant in its approach to the nation of enforced peace. If the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson are consulted, we find that a general association of nation is projected “for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity” In its proposal the world peace is not mentioned and international co-operation is restricted to one limited object. These two inconsistent principles were incorporated in the fabric of the League itself and no wonder it failed.

**10. MANCHURIAN CRISIS:** On the night of Sep. 18-19, 1931 some Japanese soldiers making an attempt to blow off the railway line near Mukdan. Japan took full advantage of this minor incident and on the 18th Sep.1931 She invaded Manchuria and also occupied all Japanese cities north of Mukdan. League of Nations failed to implement sanctions on Japan and on March 27, 1933 Japan decided to withdraw her membership of League of Nation.

### **ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION IN LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

Role of International Labour Organisation (ILO) is very significant. as a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) dedicated to improving labour conditions and living standards throughout the world. Established in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles as an affiliated agency of the League of Nations, the ILO became the first affiliated specialized agency of the United Nations in 1946. ILO supported League of Nations to achieve its objectives of the abolition of slavery and protection of associated human rights. In recognition of its activities, the ILO was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1969.

### **THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ILO WHICH SUPPORTED THE AIMS OF LoN**

- ❖ The development and promotion of standards for national legislation to protect and improve working conditions and standards of living.
- ❖ The ILO also provides technical assistance in social policy and administration and in workforce training; fosters cooperative organizations and rural industries.
- ❖ ILO compiles labour statistics and conducts research on the social problems of international competition, unemployment and underemployment, labour and industrial relations, and technological change.
- ❖ It helps to protect the rights of international migrants and organized labour.
- ❖ During the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s the ILO sought ways to combat widespread unemployment. With the postwar breakup of the European colonial empires and the expansion of ILO membership to include poorer and less developed countries.
- ❖ the ILO addressed new issues, created by the liberalization of international trade, the problem of child labour, and the relationship between working conditions and the environment.



### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The League was doomed to fail simply because it was a noble idea that was hatched too soon. There was simply too many major problems and grievances left unresolved. Furthermore, the status quo that the League presided over was seen as greatly unfair to many nations, such as Germany and Japan. It is intriguing that this was only seen clearly with the benefit of hindsight. The League despite its deep flaws and continued inept performance as the alternative to its failure was too desperate to contemplate.

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## **5.4 UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION**

### **SYNOPSIS**

- *Introduction*
- *Formation of UNO*
- *Objectives and Principles of UNO*
- *Structure of UNO*
- *Principal Organs of UNO*
  - *Why Does India Seek Permanent Seat of UNSC With Veto Power?*
  - *International Response to India's Demands*
- *Achievements of United Nations*
- *Failures of UNO*
- *Special Agencies of United Nations*
  - *International Labour Organization (ILO)*
  - *World Health Organization (WHO)*
  - *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)*
  - *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*
  - *United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)*
  - *International Court of Justice*
- *U.N. and Human Rights*
- *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*
  - *United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC)*
  - *United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*
- *India and the UN Reforms*
- *Concluding Remarks*

## **5.4 UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

**UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION:** The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization that aims to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations. UN is an organization of sovereign states, which voluntarily join together to create a forum. It is founded after World War II with the aspiration to avoid future wars through diplomacy and dialogue among nations.

### **FORMATION OF UNO**

- ❖ **1 January 1942.** The name "United Nations" is coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was first used in the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, during the Second World War, when representatives of 26 nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers.
- ❖ **24 October 1945.** The United Nations officially comes into existence in 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference to draw up the United Nations Charter.
- ❖ **26 June 1945.** The Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 by the representatives of the 50 countries. (Poland, which was not represented at the Conference, signed it later and became one of the original 51 Member States).
- ❖ **Members.** 51 Primary Member States. In 1945, the UN opened with 51 Member States. Currently, 193 countries are UN Members; the latest state to join was South Sudan in 14 July 2011.
- ❖ **United Nations Day.** United Nations Day is celebrated on 24 October each year.

### **OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNO**

The UNO aims at four objectives. These are:

1. To maintain peace and security all over the world;
2. To develop friendly relations among the nations of the world;
3. To promote the social and economic progress of the world;
4. To offer a common centre for mobilisation of world opinion and actions.

**The UNO is based on the following seven principles:**

1. It is based on the sovereign equality of all its members;
2. All member states are required to have good faith in discharging the obligations enjoined on them;
3. All disputes of the world are to be settled peacefully;
4. All member states will eschew violence or force in settling international problems;
5. No non-member state will be allowed to be a danger or threat to international peace and security;
6. The UNO will not interfere in the domestic affair of any state and
7. All member-states will be under an obligation to assist the UNO in any action taken by it according to its.

**UNO: STRUCTURE**

**The six main UN organs:** According to Article 7 of UN Charter 06 Principal organs are there to carry out the work of the United Nations in almost all over the world:

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

**The Six Official Languages:** help ensure clear communications among the Member States, the United Nations has six official languages: 1. Arabic, 2. Chinese, 3. English, 4. French, 5. Russian, 6. Spanish.

**OFFICIALS OF UNO**

❖ Secretary-General	António Guterres
❖ Deputy Secretary-General	Amina J Mohammed
❖ General Assembly President	Tijjani B Muhammad
❖ Economic and Social Council President	Mona Juul
❖ Security Council President	Dang Dinh Quy

**Headquarters:** New York City.

## **PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF UNO**

- 1. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:** Composed of all United Nations member states, the assembly meets in regular yearly sessions, but emergency sessions can also be called. Led by a president, elected from among the member states on a rotating regional basis, & 21 vice-presidents. Major work area of General Assembly consists of: Election of members to other UN organs Admission, suspension, and expulsion of member states Budgetary matters by majority of votes i.e. 2/3rd of the members present & voting, Make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the UN, except matters of peace and security that are under consideration by the Security Council Elects the non-permanent members of the UNSC; all members of ECOSOC; the UN Secretary General (following proposal by the UNSC); and the fifteen judges of the International Court of Justice (ICJ).
- 2. SECURITY COUNCIL (Policemen of The World):** Charged with maintaining peace and security among countries, While other organs of the UN can only make “recommendations” to member states, the Security Council has the power to make binding decisions on member states, 5 permanent members (Veto power) + 10 Non-permanent for 2 years, The five permanent members hold veto power over UN resolutions, allowing a permanent member to block adoption of a resolution, though not debate. The ten temporary seats are held for two-year terms, with member states voted in by the General Assembly on a regional basis. The presidency of the Security Council rotates alphabetically each month. Permanent Members: **1.USA 2. China 3. Russia 4. Britain and 5. France.**

### **❖ WHY DOES INDIA SEEK PERMANENT SEAT OF UNSC WITH VETO POWER?**

India seeks permanent UNSC with veto power in the following grounds:

- **Representation of Population:** One-sixth of global population resides in India.
- **Faith in Un:** India has shown considerable faith in UN and abided by its values such as anti-colonization and racism, international peace and security, etc.
- **Size of economy:** India is one of the fastest growing economies of the world. India has the third largest GDP in the world in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP).
- **Contribution to UN Peace keeping mission:** India has been the largest troop contributor to UN peace keeping missions since its inception. India has contributed nearly 180,000 troops, the largest number from any country. India troops participated in more than 44 missions out

of the 69 UN peace keeping operations mandated so far and 158 Indian peacekeepers have been killed on UN missions. Even presently, India is amongst the largest troop contributors with around 8000 personnel deployed with ten UN Peacekeeping Missions, including the first Female Police Unit under the UN.

❖ **INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO INDIA'S DEMANDS**

- **G-4:** It is the group of four nations, namely India, Japan, Brazil and Germany. These nations support each other's claim for permanent membership of UNSC with veto power.
- **Coffee club:** It is a group of coffee exporting nations headed by Pakistan and Italy. Coffee club is against the increase in Permanent members of UNSC but supports expansion of non-permanent members of UNSC.

**3. SECRETARIAT:** Headed by Secretary-General who acts as the de facto spokesperson and leader of the UN, Secretary-General is appointed by General Assembly, after being recommended by the Security Council Carries out tasks as directed by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and other UN bodies.

**4. INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE:** Composed of 15 judges who serve 9-year terms; appointed by the General Assembly; Every sitting judge must be from a different nation. Hear cases related to war crimes, illegal state interference, ethnic cleansing, and other issues. ICJ's primary purpose is to adjudicate disputes among states.

**5. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL:** Assists the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social co-operation and development. Has 54 members, which are elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term. The president is elected for a one-year term and chosen amongst the small or middle powers represented on ECOSOC.

**6. THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL:** Established to help ensure that trust territories were administered in the best interests of their inhabitants and of international peace and security. Authorized to examine and discuss reports from the Administering Authority on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of Trust Territories. In consultation with the Administering Authority, to examine petitions from and undertake periodic and other special missions to Trust Territories.

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF UNITED NATIONS**

### **1. THE IRANIAN CASE:**

This the first case referred to the Security Council. The Soviet troops interfered in the international affairs of Iran, who reported the matter to Security Council. Discussions were held in Security Council and Soviet Russia walked out of the discussions. Security Council resolved that Soviet Russia should withdraw its forces from Iran. After two months Soviet Russia withdrew its forces from Iran.

### **2. INDONESIAN DISPUTE:**

Holland troops started military operations in Indonesia in 1947 and arrested the leaders of Indonesia. India and Australia reported the matter of Security Council on 1-8-1947. Security Council called upon both the parties to cease hostilities and settle their disputes by peaceful means. A Good Offices Committee was appointed. After a prolonged effort, Holland withdrew its forces from Indonesia in 1948 and ultimately Indonesia became independent.

### **3. THE ISRAELI-PALESTINE PROBLEM:**

This problem has been a burning problem in Gulf area. There was a conflict between Jews and Palestinians. On 29-11-1947, the UN partitioned Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs. A new Zionist state called Israel was proclaimed in the Jewish area of Palestine on 15-5-1948. Neighboring Arab States, viz. Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc. Invaded on Israel. In January, 1949 ceasefire took place. PLO was founded in 1964 to have Palestine State. The UN granted it permanent observer status in 1974. 80 Nations including India recognized Palestine in 1974. Israel did not accept to recognize. However, after 44-year-old Arab-Israeli conflict came to an end in August, 1993 Israel approved limited Palestinian autonomy. Israel would withdraw from Gaza Strip and Jericho. In September, PLO and Israel announced mutual recognition. On 13th September, 1993 historic accord was signed in Washington. On May 13, 1994, Israeli handed over Jericho to Palestinian police and on 5-7-1994 Arafat established a Palestinian self-government there.

### **4. THE CORFU CHANNEL COMPENSATION:**

In January 1947 British warship was destroyed in Corfu Channel by explosives of Albania. Britain complained to Security Council, which matter was referred to the Court of Justice. Court of Justice held that Albania was responsible and ordered to pay compensation to Britain.

#### **4. THE CYPRUS PROBLEM:**

Up to 1924 Cyprus was under the control of Greece. In 1925, the UK occupied it. In 1955, Greece complained to UN that Cyprus be transferred to her. The General Assembly made a resolution calling for negotiations according to the Charter. Ultimately, Cyprus gained independence in 1960. Turkey claimed over Cyprus. There was tension between the Greek Turkey and Cyprus. On 4-3-1964, the Security Council recommended for the establishment of UNFICYP, a peace-keeping force in Cyprus. The Security Council also appealed immediate cease-fire. Profs. Palmer and Perkins observed: "The United Nations in preventing a major explosion on Cyprus and the UN has done what it can to persuade the powers most directly concerned to avoid intervention and to resolve their differences peacefully."

#### **5. THE SUEZ CRISIS:**

In July, 1956. President Nasser of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. He also freezes the Suez Canal Company Funds in Egypt. Great Britain and France had the considerable interest in the Suez Canal Company, which was established under the Treaty of Constantinople of 1888. Great Britain and France raised the nationalism on the fundamental question that Egypt had no authority to nationalize. Israel, Britain and France attacked the Suez Canal in October, 1956. The case was referred to the Security Council, which adopted a unanimous resolution urging: (i) there shall be free and open transit through the canal without discrimination; (ii) Egypt's sovereign; etc. Soviet Union used its veto to certain parts of the SC's proposals. However, after a prolonged discussion with the intervention of the UN, a final agreement was reached in June, 1958. Thus, the UNO played an effective role in checking a situation which could pose a threat to world peace and finding out a mutually acceptable solution.

#### **6. POLICY OF APARTHEID:**

The United Nations objectives are to afford fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Britain ruled over the Rhodesia (now known as Zambia and Zimbabwe) and South Africa following the policy of apartheid. The United Nations is against the Policy of Apartheid. Britain followed the policy of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. The minority White Rule made several difficulties to the black Africans. Mahatma Gandhi was also one of the sufferers by the policy of apartheid while he was in South Africa.



**Apartheid Zimbabwe:** White settlers of Southern Rhodesia (now known as Zimbabwe) declared independence on 11-11-1966. The Britain was already following the apartheid policy and the Black were cruelly ruled. The minority white settlers under the Prime Minister Mr. Ian Smith followed apartheid. Equal rights were not given to black natives. The issue was referred to the United Nations. The UN Security Council tried to solve the problem by giving the ruling authority to black, which was not heeded by minority whites. The Security Council imposed mandatory economic sanctions against the Rhodesian government in December, 1966. In March, 1968 the Soviet Union complained to the United Nations that country to the mandatory economic sanctions of the UN, the Britain carried trade transactions with minority White Government. The UNO imposed Rs.10.62 crores fine on UK. After a bitter struggle against the white government in power, Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) got independence on 18-4-1980.

**Apartheid in South Africa:** South Africa includes the original white colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State. Formerly known as the Union of South Africa (formed in 1910), it became a republic in May, 1961. The country adopted a policy of Apartheid, the separate development of racial groups. There were different homelands for different Tribes of black. The white minorities followed 'divide and rule' policy. The black struggled for their independence under the leadership of Nelsen Mandela, who was confined to prison for 27 years. India referred the question of apartheid in South Africa to the Security Council which had imposed mandatory economic sanctions on the white minority government and suspended from UN Membership. After a long-standing struggle by South Africans, Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Constitutional talks began in December, 1991. Parliament adopted a transitional constitution paving the way for a new multi-racial parliament in December, 1993. The first general elections are South Africa on the basis of a one-person one-vote system took place in April 1994. On May 10,1994. Mandela was sworn in (the first black) President. The Homelands system and apartheid were ended. South Africa was again admitted in UN General Assembly, ONA, NAM.

## **7. THE INVASION OF KUWAIT:**

On 2-8-1990, Iraq invaded against Kuwait (a small country measuring 17,656 sq, kms) and having 2.0 million population with an armed aggression. Kuwait complained to UN. The Security Council immediately responded and resolved (Resolution No.660, dt 2-8-1990) against Iraq. Security Council condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and demanded Iraq with withdraw

immediately and unconditionally all her forces to the position in which they were located on 1-8-1990. Iraq did not heed the resolution of Security Council. Security Council again met on 6-8-1990 and passed Resolution No.661, imposing mandatory economic sanctions against Iraq and to take armed action against it. Iraqi forces were between back by a united force under the U.N. Still now the mandatory economic sanctions are being under implementation against Iraq.

## **FAILURES OF UNO**

### **1. THE GREEK PROBLEM:**

In 1947, the Greek complained to the UN that three States, viz Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were aiding with arms to the guerillas warfare in Greece and they were interfering with their internal affairs. Hot discussions were conducted in the Security Council. The decisions of the Security Council were vetoed by the USSR. The problem was shifted to the General Assembly, which adopted a resolution calling upon the three states not to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece and not to assist the Guerillas. However, these three States and the USSR did not stop their activities.

### **2. THE KASHMIR ISSUE:**

When all the states and province in India decided on accession to India or Pakistan during 1947, after leaving English people from India. The Maharaja of Kashmir acceded to India on 26-10-1947 by signing the instruments of accession. In the meantime, the state became the subject of an armed attack from Pakistan and occupied certain areas of Kashmir. The Indian army protected the remaining area. In January, 1948 India complained against Pakistan, Security Council passed a resolution. A United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan was formed for the investigation of the situation on the spot.

Further both the countries were asked:

- (i) Pakistan would withdraw its troops recently sanctioned in the state and do its best to secure the withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistan national not normally residents there.
- (ii) Pending a final solution, the territory evacuated by troops would be administered by local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission.
- (iii) (iii) Where the Commission notified India that Pakistan was complying with these terms: India would begin to withdrew the bulk of its forces in stages to be agreed on with the Commission etc. India accepted the resolution, but Pakistan did not accept. Again in

1965 and 1971 wars took place between India and Pakistan. Shimla Agreement was accorded between Smt.Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in July, 1972. But no progress could be achieved later on. Still tensions have been occurring between two nations. The UN could not achieve any success in this matter. Pakistan is now procuring nuclear weapons and other conventional armament. India too is compelled to increase its armament and nuclear power. Kashmir posed a serious threat and danger to the International peace and security.

### **3. THE KOREAN ISSUE:**

During the Second World War, Korea was divided into two nations – North Korea (Communist nation) and South Korea (democratic nation). North Korea has been under the influence of Soviet Russia and China. South Korea has been under the influence of America. North Korea formed into the Democratic People’s Republic on 9-9-1948. The Republic of Korea formally proclaimed on 15-8-1948. There have been conflicts between these two nations due to the instigation of super powers. In June, 1950 North Korea invaded on the South Korea. The International legal writers described that war as “The greatest international crisis since the end of World War-II”. The USA complained to Security Council, which resolved to take UN’s armed intervention. 53 States supported the Security Council’s Resolution. Soviet Russia vetoed the Security Council’s resolution. The UN forces landed in South Korea to protect it against North Korea. The Communist China openly helped North Korea; Ceasefire took place in April 1953 in accordance with the Indian proposal. However, the problem remained still as it is. The UN could not solve any amicable solution to solve the conflicts between North Korea and South Korea.

### **4. THE KAMPUCHEA PROBLEM:**

Vietnam invaded on Kampuchea (which is also known as Cambodia, Khmer Republic) in January, 1979. Kampuchea complained to the UN. Security Council resolved to cease-fire and to withdrawal of Vietnam. Soviet Russia vetoed. The problem remained for 14 years. In 1983 Vietnam withdrew its forces from Kampuchea. After withdrawal of Vietnam also, there were conflicts between political groups of Kampuchea headed by Prince Sinhanouk and Pol Pot (Khmer Rouge leader). In May, 1993. The country held multi-party elections, under the supervision of UN. However, the UN could not play vital role to solve the problem within the time.

## **5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA PROBLEM:**

It was a republic of former Yugoslavia. It has explosive ethnic mix of three groups and three religions (Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox). There have been conflicts between Croats, Serbs, Muslims, Croats and Muslims voted for independence in October, 1991. A referendum for independence was passed in February, 1992. A 'Serb republic' was established in Serb-populated Bosnia territories, Serbs opposed. A violence clashes and bombings took place between Serbs and other groups. Serbs killed thousands of Bosnia civilians and occupied majority of Bosnia territories. The problem was referred to the UN. The fights between Serbs, Muslims and Croats continued. The war continued for three-and half years. All these years, the UN could not make any effective steps to prevent massacre. In September, 1995 the warring groups settled the issue by cutting the nation into two parts one for the rebel Serbs and the other for Muslims and the Croats.

### **5.4.(A) SPECIAL AGENCIES OF UNITED NATIONS**

The following are the Special agencies of United nations

1. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
2. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
3. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
4. International Labour Organization (ILO)
5. International Maritime Organization (IMO)
6. International Monetary Fund (IMF)
7. International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
8. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
9. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
10. Universal Postal Union (UPU)
11. World Bank Group (WBG)
  - 11.1 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
  - 11.2 International Finance Corporation (IFC)
  - 11.3 International Development Association (IDA)
12. World Health Organization (WHO)
13. World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
14. World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

15. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO or WTO)
16. International Organization for Migration (IOM)
17. Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
18. World Trade Organization (WTO)
19. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)

#### **5.4.A.1 INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION (ILO)**

The International labor organization (ILO) was established in 1919, under the Treaty of Versailles, as an autonomous institution associated with the League of Nations. It was founded on the idea that “universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice”, and for the aim to improve the labor conditions of the working Peoples. ILO Constitution constituted Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. ILO was brought into affiliation with the United Nations when an agreement establishing the relationship between it and the United Nations was approved in 1946, thus ILO became the first specialized agency affiliated with the United Nations. The ILO is composed of 177 member states. Its headquarters is located in Geneva, Switzerland.

#### **AIMS AND FUNCTIONS OF ILO**

- The aim of ILO is to promote social justice and internationally recognized human and labor rights for the working peoples everywhere. In order to achieve this aim.

#### **ILO performs the following functions:**

- It formulates international policies and programmes to help improve working and living conditions for the working peoples.
- It establishes international labor standards to serve as guidelines for national authorities in putting their policies into action.
- The ILO sets standards that cover child labor, disabled workers, discrimination, equality of treatment, freedom of association, human rights, maternity protection, pensions, and the elimination of forced labor.
- It provides technical assistance to member nations in order to facilitate the adoption and enforcement of ILO standards. It engages in training, education and research to help advance its works. It supervises the application of ratified conventions in national law and practice.
- One of the most important functions of ILO is the adoption of conventions and

recommendations which set international labor standards in such areas as freedom of association, wages, hours and conditions of work, workmen's compensation, social insurance, vacation with pay, industrial safety, employment services, and labor inspection.

#### **5.4.(A).2 WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)**

The World Health Organization (WHO) was established in 1948; it came into being on 7 April 1948. This date is observed annually as World Health Day.

#### **PURPOSES**

The ultimate objective of the World Health Organization, as stated in its constitution, is the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health. This objective is based on the premise that the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being. The Constitution defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

#### **FUNCTIONS OF THE WHO**

- acting as the directing and coordinating authority on international health work;
- assisting Governments, upon request, in strengthening health services;
- furnishing appropriate technical assistance and, in emergencies, necessary aid upon the request or acceptance of Governments;
- stimulating and advancing work to eradicate epidemic, endemic and other diseases;
- stimulating the generation, translation and dissemination of valuable knowledge;
- Stimulating the generation, translation and dissemination of valuable knowledge;
- Setting norms and standards and promoting and monitoring their implementation;
- Promoting co-operation among scientific and professional groups which contribute to the advancement of health;
- Monitoring the health situation and assessing health trends; and Proposing conventions, agreements and regulations, and make recommendations.

### **5.4.(A).3 INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IBRD)**

#### **ORIGIN OF IBRD**

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) was created at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, known as the Bretton Woods Conference, held in July 1944 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire (United States of America) for the purpose of shaping a program for international economic cooperation that would avoid a repetition of the disastrous economic policies which contributed to the Great Depression of the 1930s. The IBRD came into being in 1945 when its Articles of Agreement, drawn at Bretton Woods Conference, was signed by the required 28 member nations. Initially, IBRD helped rebuild Europe after the Second World War. Its first loan of \$250 million was to France in 1947 for post-war reconstruction. Reconstruction has remained an important focus of the Bank's works. The IBRD is one of four institutions of the World Bank Group.

#### **PURPOSES OF IBRD**

- To assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of its members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes.
- To promote private foreign investment and, when private capital is not readily available on reasonable terms, to supplement private investment by providing finance for productive purposes.
- To promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade and the maintenance of equilibrium in balances of payments by encouraging international investment for the development of productive resources of members.

#### **ACTIVITIES-FUNCTIONS OF IBRD**

IBRD achieves its purposes by means of **LOANS**, and **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**.

**(A) IBRD provides low interest loans to member states, to their political subdivisions or to private business enterprises in their territories.**

- IBRD must lend for productive purposes, such as agriculture and rural development, energy, education, health, family planning and nutrition, roads and railways, telecommunications, ports and powers facilities. IBRD must pay due regard to the prospects for repayments.
- IBRD must assure itself that the necessary funds are unavailable from other sources on

reasonable terms. Loan must be guaranteed by the Government concerned.

- Except in specific circumstances, a loan must be for specific projects. IBRD's decisions to lend must be based only on economic consideration.

**(B) IBRD provides a wide range of technical assistance services to member states.**

- It provides analysis, advice and information to member countries so they can deliver the lasting economic and social improvements to their people need. Economic research on broad issues such as the environment, poverty, trade and globalization.
- It evaluates a country's economic prospects by examining its banking systems, financial markets and public expenditure, as well as trade, infrastructure, poverty and social safety net issues.
- It also draws upon the resources of its "knowledge bank" to educate clients so they can equip themselves to solve their development problems.

**5.4.(A).4 UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)**

**ESTABLISHMENT**

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is a specialized agency of the United Nations aimed at contributing to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was founded at a conference convened in London in October 1945 where the constitution of UNESCO was signed. UNESCO came into being in 1946. UNESCO composed of 191 member states and 6 associate members. Its headquarters is located in **Paris**, France.

**AIMS OF UNESCO**

- to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.



## **FUNCTIONS OF UNESCO**

- To promote a culture of peace and human and sustainable development.
- To promote education for all adapted to today's need, and to develop higher education.
- To encourage national cultural values and the preservation of cultural heritage.
- To promote the social sciences as instruments for the realization of human rights, justice and peace.
- To promote the free flow of information, press freedom and the development of pluralistic and diverse media.
- To support the strengthening of the communication capacities of developing countries.
- To promote environmental research through international scientific programmes.

## **PROGRAMMES OF UNESCO**

The works of UNESCO are performed by means of UNESCO's programmes concerning education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, culture, and communication. **In Education:** UNESCO helps train teachers, educational planners and administrators and encourages local building and equipping of schools. **In Social and Human Sciences:** UNESCO focuses on teaching and promoting human rights and democracy, combating all forms of discrimination, improving the status of women, and encouraging action for the prevention of AIDS. **In Culture:** UNESCO concentrates chiefly on safeguard cultural heritage; it established the World Heritage List which includes 400 sites, both cultural and natural, in 100 countries. It also concentrates on promoting the cultural dimension of development, encouraging creation and creativity, preserving cultural identities and oral traditions, as well as promoting books and reading. **In Communication:** UNESCO surveys needs and assists developing countries to set up infrastructures in the field of communication. **In Works:** UNESCO cooperates with international and regional organizations, as well as with more than 600 non-governmental organizations and foundations.

#### **5.4.(A).5 UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)**

##### **ESTABLISHMENT**

Established on 11th December 1946 by United Nations General Assembly. To provide emergency food and healthcare to children in countries that had been devastated by World War II. Ludwik Rajchmann a Polish bacteriologist, is regarded as the founder of UNICEF. In 1953, UNICEF became a permanent part of the United Nations System. In 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Children. In 1961 mainly focused on education to children. UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965 and the Prince of Asturias Award of Concord in 2006. Headquarters in New York.

##### **PURPOSE**

Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day. Reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger. Achieve universal primary education and ensure all boys and girls complete a full course of primary schooling. Provide long term humanitarian and development assistances to children & mothers in developing countries. Emphasize developing community level services to promote health & well-being of children. To ensure the basic nutrition, health and education needs of children are met. To give children the opportunity to expand their potential. To create an international ethical standard of behaviour towards children.

##### **FOCUSED AREAS OF UNICEF**

**CHILD NUTRITION:** Low cost protein rich food; With FAO, aided Applied Nutrition Programme; Enriched food in endemic areas of nutritional def. **IMMUNISATION;** Production of vaccines & distribution; Prevent spread of HIV; Antiretroviral medicines for children & mothers with HIV, **WATER-SANITATION-HYGIENE;** UNICEF TAP PROJECT in 2007, New York, For clean accessible water. **BASIC EDUCATION & GENDER EQUALITY;** Quality based education for boys & girls; Providing educational supplies. **CHILD PROTECTION;** from -violence -exploitation -abuse. **GOBI CAMPAIGN;** To encourage strategies for child health revolution; G-Growth charts to monitor child development; O-Oral rehydration, **B**-Breast feeding, **I**-Immunization.

## **MAJOR PROGRAMMES**

The organisation began its work in India in 1949. Working on the Programmes; 1. Reproductive & child health, 2. Child development & nutrition, 3. Child environment, 4. Child protection & education.

In 1975- Integrated Child Development Services., 1985 - National Mission on Immunization., 2001 - Gujarat Earthquake., 2004 - Tsunami relief., 2012 – Polio Campaign.

## **5.4.(A).6 INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE**

The International Court of Justice (also called World Court) is the judicial branch of the United Nations. It is located at Peace Palace in The Hague, the Netherlands. It settles legal disputes between states and gives advisory opinions to the UN and its specialized agencies. Only a state can sue another state in ICJ. Neither state can sue an individual / organization nor an individual / organization can sue the state in ICJ.

## **COMPOSITION**

The International Court of Justice is composed of 15 judges elected for a nine-year term of office by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. These organs vote simultaneously but separately. In order to be elected, a candidate must receive an absolute majority of the votes in both bodies. This sometimes makes it necessary for the number of rounds of voting to be carried out. Elections are staggered, with five judges elected every three years to ensure continuity within the court. If a judge dies in office, the practice has generally been to elect a judge in a special election to complete the term. There is a provision that every sitting judge should be from a different nation.

All judges of ICJ should be elected regardless of their nationality amongst persons of high moral character, who are either qualified for the highest judicial office in their home states or known as lawyers with sufficient competence in international law. There is an informal understanding that the states will be distributed by geographic regions so that there are five seats for Western countries, three for African states, two for Eastern European states, three for Asian states and two for Latin and American and Caribbean states. The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (France, Russia, China, the United Kingdom and the United States) always have a judge on the Court, thereby occupying three of the Western seats, one of the Asian seats and one of the Eastern European seats.

## **CRITICISM OF ICJ**

- ‘Compulsory’ jurisdiction is limited to cases where both parties have agreed to submit to its decision. According to the principle of sovereignty in international law, there is no entity that could force the states into practice of the law or punish the states, in case any violation of international law occurs. Thus, membership in the UN and ICJ does not give the court automatic jurisdiction over the member states, but it is the consent of each state to follow the jurisdiction that matters.
- Organizations, private enterprises and individuals do not have access to International Court. This also means that the potential victims of crimes against humanity, such as minor ethnic groups or indigenous people cannot go to International Court.
- UN agencies likewise cannot bring up a case except in advisory opinions (a process initiated by the court and non-binding)
- Other international courts such as the International Criminal Court are not under the umbrella of the International Court. Numerous international courts sometimes make it hard for the courts to engage in effective and collective jurisdiction.
- The International Court does not enjoy a full separation of powers, with permanent members of the Security Council being able to veto enforcement of cases, even those to which they consented to be bound.

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## **5.5 UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. The promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the main mandates of the United Nations (UN), as set out in its Charter. Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1948, the UN has developed a wide range of international human rights standards and norms, as well as mechanisms to promote and protect those rights.

### **INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS:**

1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights
2. Core International Human Rights Treaties
3. Other International Human Rights Instruments

#### **❖ UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS(UDHR)**

Adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948. The UDHR is a foundational document of the UN human rights system. The UDHR contains a preamble and 30 articles. Which include a general prohibition of discrimination set forth various types of rights and obligations, including political and civil rights expression, opinion, assembly and association. Economic, social and cultural rights.

#### **❖ CORE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES**

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1976)
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1976)
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) (1969)
- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1981)
- The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) (1987)
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1990)

- The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICRMW) (2003)
- The International Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2008)
- The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2008.)
- Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2008)
- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW-2012)
- Declarations, resolutions, world conferences at a universal level (2019)

#### ❖ **OTHER INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS**

- Declaration on the Right to Development of 1986
- Declaration on Human Rights Defenders 1998
- Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of 2007

#### **5.5.(A) UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL (UNHRC)**

The UNHRC is responsible for promoting and protecting human rights around the world. Its 47 seats are filled by member states elected for three-year term. The UNHRC is the successor to the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR). The council works closely with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). The General Assembly established the UNHRC by adopting a resolution in 2006, in order to replace the previous CHR, which was ineffective in protection of human rights. The UNHRC addresses human rights related situations in all UN member states. The UNHRC also addresses important human rights issues such as freedom of association, freedom of expression, freedom of belief and religion, women's rights, LGBT rights and the rights of racial and ethnic minorities. The UNHRC holds regular sessions three times a year, in March, June and September. The UNHRC can decide at any time to hold a special session to address human rights violations and emergencies at the request of one-third of the member states.

### **5.5(A).1 UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (OHCHR)**

UNGA established the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights to promote and protect the effective enjoyment by all people of all civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, including the right to development. It further held that the High Commissioner should function as the UN official with principal responsibility for global human rights efforts. The High Commissioner acts under the direction and authority of the Secretary-General. OHCHR represents the world's commitment to universal human rights and is the principal UN office mandated to promote and protect the human rights of all people. OHCHR also serves as the secretariat to the Human Rights Council. The High Commissioner is appointed by the Secretary-General and approved by the General Assembly, with regard to geographical rotation. Appointments are for a fixed term of four years, with the possibility of one renewal for another fixed term of four years.

#### **UNIVERSAL PERIODIC REVIEW:**

An innovative and important part of the HRC's machinery is the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) mechanism, through which the HRC periodically reviews the fulfilment by each of the UN's 192 Member States of their human rights obligations and commitments.

#### **SPECIAL PROCEDURE OF HRC:**

“Special Procedures” are the mechanisms established by the Commission on Human Rights and assumed by the Human Rights Council (HRC) to address either specific country situations or thematic issues in all parts of the world.

#### **NGO's AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL:**

Only NGOs in consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) may be accredited to participate in regular and special sessions of the Human Rights Council (HRC). NGOs in consultative status with ECOSOC may submit written statements ahead of a given HRC session; make individual and/or joint oral interventions during substantive items of the HRC's agenda, including in debates, interactive dialogues, and panel discussions.

## **OTHER INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS**

### **INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNALS:**

Faced with widespread violations of international human rights and humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda in the early 1990s, the UN Security Council decided to establish two international criminal tribunals. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda were set up in 1993 and 1994, respectively. Their mission is to prosecute individuals responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and other breaches of international humanitarian law committed in the territories.

### **THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT:**

The International Criminal Court (ICC), is another important human rights mechanism. It was established by a UN conference in 1998 which adopted the Rome Statute. The Statute entered into force in 2002. It is the first permanent international court with the authority to try individuals accused of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

### **UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES' MECHANISMS:**

Some UN specialized agencies have put in place specific mechanisms to protect human rights in their respective fields of competence. In 1978, the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) laid down a procedure for the examination of complaints concerning alleged violations of human rights in the Organization's fields of competence, namely education, science, culture and information, one of UNESCO's permanent subsidiary organs.

## **5.5.(A).2 INDIA AND THE UN REFORMS**

India has always supported the restructuring of the United Nations. It believes that a strengthened and revitalized UN is desirable in a changing world. The most important demand of India is regarding the restructuring of the security council. It supports an increase in the number of both permanent and non-permanent members. It also argues that an expanded council, with more representative, will enjoy greater support in the world community. India itself wishes to be a permanent member in a restructured UN. India is the world's largest democracy and the second most populous country in the world. The country's economic emergence on the world stage is another factor that perhaps justifies India's claim to a permanent seat in the Security Council.



Despite India's wish to be a permanent veto holding member of the UN, some countries question its inclusion. They are concerned about Indo-Pak relations, India's nuclear capabilities etc.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Despite all this UN is most Universal body, the priority of the UN and its Agencies is to live up to their original mandate, which was to bring all nations of the world together to work for peace and development, based on the principles of justice, human dignity and the well-being of all people. Also, UN, should mobilize International Civil Society and global public opinion to carry forward a vision for a just and fairer world. Its strength is evident from the fact that when the United Nations passes a resolution, it is seen as speaking for humanity as a whole, thus giving it unique legitimacy and support for an action to be taken by a country. 193 member states should embark on a Reform agenda for security council which will make UN accountable, transparent and democratic decision-making body, an organization fit for facing challenges and threats of 21st century successfully. The image of UN also suffers because people consider it Panacea. United Nation Foster the environment of cooperation and provide due assistance to the state are people in need, however the onus lies on the head of states to play their role diligently. As some rightly said that UN is not to take people to the heaven rather it is to for to save people from hell.

1. There has been criticism that the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, who are all nuclear powers, have created an exclusive nuclear club that addresses the strategic interests and political motives of the permanent members.

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## 5.6 REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

### SYNOPSIS

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- *Definition of Regional Integration*
- *Regional Integration: Old & New Regionalism*
- *Amis And Objectives of Regional Organizations*
- *Causes-Motivations for Growth of Reginal Organizations*
- *Type of Reginal Organizations*
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- *Limitations or Challenges of Regional Organizations*
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### 5.6.(A) SAARC

#### (SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION OF REGIONAL COOPERATION)

- *Introduction*
- *The Objectives of SAARC*
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- *Members of SAARC*
- *Areas of Cooperation*
- *SAARC Summits*
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- *Achievements of SAARC*
- *Significance for India – (INDIA and SAARC)*
- *Challenges of SAARC*
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## **5.6 REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

### **INTRODUCTION:**

In the 21st century, regions have emerged as “a driving force in world politics”, such as in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas. Regional Organizations have become new “new global and scape”. Regions vary widely in terms of their scope, institutional forms, membership and identity. Europe has developed formal bureaucratic-legalistic institutions. Regionalism in Asia is more informal and non-legalistic.

### **DEFINITION OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION**

Regional integration is a process in which states enter into a regional cooperation framework in order to enhance regional cooperation and reduce regional tension. It can be defined as an association of states based upon location in given geographical area. Regional integration is the joining of individual states within a region into a larger whole. The degree of integration depends on the willingness and commitment of independent sovereign states to share their sovereignty.

### **REGIONAL INTEGRATION: OLD & NEW REGIONALISM**

Idea of regional integration or regionalism can be traced back to the 19th century, but given serious attention in the 1950s to 1960s. However, regional integration in many parts of the world, except in Europe, were not very successful. In the 1990s, regional integration became increasingly wide-spreading, mainly due to rising globalization and slow progress in the WTO negotiations.

### **AMIS AND OBJECTIVES OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

- To evolve regional solutions to their historical duties and weaknesses and to develop alternative Institutions and conventions to build a more peaceful and cooperative regional order.
- To transfer the countries in region into prosperous economics and to make regional development at par the fast-growing global economy.
- To accelerate economic growth through the social progress and cultural development and promote regional peace and stability based on the rule of law and the principles of United Nations Charter.

## **CAUSES-MOTIVATIONS FOR GROWTH OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Following factors responsible for the establishment of Regional Organizations

- 1. Political Motivation:** Which includes the factors like Power, Dynamics, Identity, Ideology, External Threats, Domestic Politics and Leadership.
- 2. Economic Motivation:** Which includes the factors like Reducing negative effects of bilateral FTA by stimulating trade creation, and reducing trade diversion, expanding trade and investment opportunities, providing impetus or incentive to undertake domestic reform, coping with the dark side of globalization and Countering regional integration in other parts of the world.

## **TYPE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**(1) Region As Geographical Unit** is confined more or less by natural physical barriers and marked by ecological characteristics: “Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals”, “Africa from South Africa to the Sahara”, “the Indian subcontinent”, and “East Asia” from the west coast of the Pacific Ocean to the east coast of the Indian Ocean.

**(2) Region as Social System Implies Trans-**local relations between human groups. “East Asia” used to refer region strongly influenced by Confucianism (China, Japan, ROK, Taiwan, Vietnam, even though Vietnam is geographically a Southeast Asian country)

**(3) Region as Organized Cooperation** in any of fields, such as cultural, economic, political, or military fields. It could be called the “formal” region driven by “geo-political” or “geo-economic” interests. This kind of Regional Organizations is therefore based on common strategic interests, instead of geographical proximity, e.g. “APEC region” and “EAS region”.

**(4) Region as Acting Subject with Distinct Identity**, actor capability, legitimacy and structure of decision-making. This regional process is similar to state formation and nation building and the ultimate outcome could be a “region-state” whose terms of scope can be compared to the classical empires but in terms of political order constitutes a voluntary evolution of a group of formally sovereign national political units into a supranational security community where sovereignty is pooled for best of all (EU).

## **ROLE OR UTILITY OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

According to **Prof. Eichelberger**, the following are the advantages of the regional organisations:

- It is proper and natural for neighbours in any region to organize to meet their common problem.
- The members of the U.N. if they are regionally organized are able to resist the threat more effectively.
- The regional arrangements enable the states to proceed without the obstructionism of the Soviet Union.

Although the regional arrangements were expected to act as a useful adjunct of the U.N. system, due to East-West power struggle and disillusionment with the capacity of the U.N. to act as an effective instrument of general security, they have started working independently. This change in their role is justified on the plea that they have a primary responsibility for security, both within their spheres and against their outside enemies.

## **LIMITATIONS OR CHALLENGES OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

### **COMMON CHALLENGES:**

Critical common challenges Like Political instability, water vulnerability and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, although not directly related to regional integration are sufficiently serious in geographical scope and developmental impact to be major obstacles to the process of integration. Internal political insecurity serves as both a driving force and threat for cooperation and integration in the sub-region.

### **OVERLAPPING MEMBERSHIP ISSUES:**

The sub-regions remain a fluid operating environment due to evolving regional and international trade agendas. Countries that are members of more than one arrangement will be required to choose between them as it is impractical to claim membership of different customs unions.

### **INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES:**

The Regional integration organizations have limited institutional capacities for regional integration and international relations: All of the RIAs and their respective organizations are important implementers of NEPAD. However, their capacities to do so are limited in various ways. They have limited capacities for implementation and monitoring of their own regional

integration agenda and no less for aligning these with NEPAD. At the same time, they are involved in onerous trade and development multilateral and bilateral negotiations. On the side of the RIAs this has implications not only for their choices in what they are doing and how they do these, but also for the international partners, e.g. in the complexity of and differences in operational procedures for applying their funds.

#### **POLICY DESIGN ISSUES:**

Ambitious regional integration agendas and unclear prioritization and sequencing of programs and activities: Socio-economic performance and outcomes in the sub-region are attributable to both policy reforms and other influences. Exogenous influences such as adverse changes in climatic conditions, political instability and deteriorating risk perceptions as well as the global economic environment and commodity markets have been driving a wedge between domestic economic policies and outcomes. In addition, other non-policy factors operating in the sub-region's economies such as their weak institutional, financial and physical infrastructure and administrative capabilities may also explain the observed discrepancies between policies and outcomes and the shared failures in terms of low economic growth, unemployment and poverty.

#### **RISK OF POLARIZATION:**

To accommodate sub-regional objectives such as 'balanced development' there is a need for counterbalancing or countervailing mechanisms, but none of the predominant countries is sufficiently wealthy for consideration of introducing outright compensatory mechanisms.

### **REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPING(REC/EC)**

**Regional economic groupings** aim at creating a larger economic unit from smaller national economies. For this purpose, they aim to remove trade barriers and establish closer co-ordination and co-operation among the countries involved.

Regional economic groupings like European Union (EU) and Association of South East Nations (ASEAN) have buried centuries of bitterness between neighbours and transformed them into vibrant economic powerhouses. The main cementing factor is regional economic interdependence. In Europe, centuries of war and enmity between France and Germany has been buried and has resulted in massive economic prosperity for both countries. The factor of unity is very much a prerequisite for prosperity in a region. Regional economic groupings create trading

blocs, eliminating unnecessary trade barriers to facilitate free movement of goods, services, labour and capital. In a particular area, countries not members of the regional trading bloc face tariffs and quotas. It would be interesting to see how Britain would cope after 'BREXIT' is implemented. There are reports of international Banks migrating to other countries. It has also created fissures between the mother country and Scotland and North Ireland.

### **INDIA AND ECONOMIC GROUPING**

India during the period up to disintegration of the Soviet Union kept out of regional groupings and focused on global organizations. India's experience in regional cooperation has been unsatisfactory. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has achieved nothing worthwhile other than an annual meeting of executive heads of state. Even this has not been achieved because of the seemingly unbridgeable chasm between India, Pakistan and China's efforts to wean away India's neighbours into its fold. Cost of imports from overseas would be reduced in case imports are from neighbours.

India has a massive adverse balance of trade with China. Joining an economic grouping where the latter would have unrestricted access to Indian markets would further exasperate the balance of trade and risk domestic industry and agriculture. As long as China considers India as a strategic rival in Asia, it will never offer un-impeded access to Indian goods and services. The recent meeting between the Indian PM and Chinese President at Mahabalipuram hoped to rectify the imbalance. It has been agreed to set up a high-level political mechanism to find ways to enhance India's access to Chinese Markets. There are two other regional groupings of which India is a member. The first is BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation) comprising Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Nepal. The other is BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Bilateral relations have cantered mainly on non-interference, equality and mutual benefit, nothing very substantial economically. India has recently declined to join the 'Regional Cooperation for Economic Partnership' (RCEP) which was intended to comprise 10 ASEAN plus 6 'Free Trade Area' (FTA) countries. Now 5 FTA countries remain and hopefully India will ultimately join, on its terms. Being plugged into the global economy, through trade agreements, and enhancing domestic competitiveness are inter-related.

The Government must pursue domestic reforms, simultaneously with negotiations, to expand India's basket of trade agreements. Indian manufacturing cannot compete with China and ASEAN countries, where work ethics and discipline are more conducive to efficient production.

### **5.6.(A) SAARC**

#### **(SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION OF REGIONAL COOPERATION)**

##### **INTRODUCTION:**

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established with the signing of the SAARC Charter in Dhaka on 8 December 1985. The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was first raised in November 1980. After consultations, the foreign secretaries of the seven founding countries Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka met for the first time in Colombo in April 1981. Afghanistan became the newest member of SAARC at the 13th annual summit in 2005. The Headquarters and Secretariat of the Association are at Kathmandu, Nepal.

##### **THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SAARC**

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



## **PRINCIPLES**

Cooperation within the framework of the SAARC shall be based on:

Respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and mutual benefit. Such cooperation shall not be a substitute for bilateral and multilateral cooperation but shall complement them. Such cooperation shall not be inconsistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations.

## **MEMBERS OF SAARC**

SAARC comprises of eight member States: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. There are currently nine Observers to SAARC, namely:

(i) Australia; (ii) China; (iii) the European Union; (iv) Iran; (v) Japan; (vi) the Republic of Korea; (vii) Mauritius; (viii) Myanmar; and (ix) the United States of America.

**What is the difference between member states and observers? Member states** are full-time members and are an integral part of the grouping. They have full voting rights and can propose resolutions. **Observers** on the other hand have been given a privilege to participate in the activities of the organization. They neither have voting rights nor can they propose resolutions.

## **AREAS OF COOPERATION**

**1.**Human Resource Development and Tourism **2.** Agriculture and Rural Development **3.** Environment, **4.** Natural Disasters and Biotechnology **5.** Economic, Trade and Finance **6.** Social Affairs **7.** Information and Poverty Alleviation **8.** Energy, Transport, Science and Technology **9.** Education, Security and Culture and Others.

## **SAARC SUMMITS**

Although the SAARC Charter requires the heads of state or government to meet once a year, the summits have generally taken place approximately every 18 months. Pakistan was scheduled to host the 19th summit of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in Islamabad on 15 to 16 November 2016. India including Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives did not attend SAARC SUMMIT due to 2016 Uri attack. Pakistan postponed the SAARC summit and announced that new dates would be released soon, but it did not happen. After this no summits are conducted under the aegis of SAARC.

### **IMPORTANCE OF SAARC**

- **Scope:** SAARC comprises 3% of the world's area, 21% of the world's population and 3.8% (US\$2.9 trillion) of the global economy.
- **Creating synergies:** It is the world's most densely populated region and one of the most fertile areas. SAARC countries have common tradition, dress, food and culture and political aspects thereby synergizing their actions.
- **Common solutions:** All the SAARC countries have common problems and issues like poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, natural disasters, internal conflicts, industrial and technological backwardness, low GDP and poor socio-economic condition and uplift their living standards thereby creating common areas of development and progress having common solutions.

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF SAARC**

- **Free Trade Area (FTA):**

SAARC is comparatively a new organization in the global arena. The member countries have established a Free Trade Area (FTA) which will increase their internal trade and lessen the trade gap of some states considerably.

- **SAPTA:**

South Asia Preferential Trading Agreement for promoting trade amongst the member countries came into effect in 1995.

- **SAFTA:**

South Asian Free Trade Agreement: The SAFTA was signed in 2004. Under this agreement. SAARC members were supposed to bring their Import duties down to 20% by 2009). Following the Agreement that came into force, the SAFTA Ministerial Council (SMC) was established comprising the Commerce Ministers of the member states. This resulted in a minor increase in the intra-regional trade. The intra-SAARC trade amounts to just a little over 1% of SAARC's GDP. In contrast, intra-Association of South East Asian Nations (which is actually smaller than SAARC in terms of the size of the economy) trade stands at 10% of its GDP. Similarly, intra-regional foreign direct investment is also dismal. The intra-regional FDI flow stands around 4% of the total foreign investment.

- **SAARC Agreement on Trade in Services (SATIS):**

SATIS is following the GATS-plus 'positive list' approach for trade in services liberalization.

- **SAARC University:**

Establish a SAARC university in India, a food bank and also an energy reserve in Pakistan.

### **SIGNIFICANCE FOR INDIA – (INDIA AND SAARC)**

- **Neighborhood first:** Primacy to the country's immediate neighbours.
- **Geostrategic significance:** Can counter China (OBOR initiative) through engaging Nepal, Bhutan, the Maldives and Sri Lanka in development process and economic cooperation.
- **Regional stability:** SAARC can help in creation of mutual trust and peace within the region.
- **Global leadership role:** It offers India a platform to showcase its leadership in the region by taking up extra responsibilities.
- **Game changer for India's Act East Policy:** by linking South Asian economies with South East Asian will bring further economic integration and prosperity to India mainly in the Services Sector.

### **CHALLENGES OF SAARC**

- **Low frequency of meetings:** More engagement is required by the member states and instead of meeting biennial meetings should be held annually. Broad area of cooperation leads to diversion of energy and resources.
- **Limitation in SAFTA:** The implementation of SAFTA has not been satisfactory a Free Trade Agreement confined to goods, excluding all services like information technology.
- **Indo-Pak Relations:** Escalated tension and conflict between India and Pakistan have severely hampered the prospects of SAARC.

**CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In a region increasingly targeted by Chinese investment and loans, SAARC could be a common platform to demand more sustainable alternatives for development, or to oppose trade tariffs together, or to demand better terms for South Asian labour around the world. SAARC, as an organisation, reflects the South Asian identity of the countries, historically and contemporarily. This is a naturally made geographical identity. Equally, there is a cultural, linguistic, religious and culinary affinity that defines South Asia. The potential of organisation to maintain peace and stability in the region should be explored by all the member countries. SAARC should be allowed to progress naturally and the people of South Asia, who make up a quarter of the world's population should be offered more people-to-people contact.

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