

INTERNATIONAL RELATION AND ORGANIZATION

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Reviewer

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International Relation and Organization

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INTRODUCTION

International relations, as the name suggests, is the study of relationships between various nations. The interaction of nations, institutions, cultures and ethnicities is relevant to everyone because everybody is affected by the decisions made by governments and learning about these issues helps in the better understanding of the world around. Since the 1970s, the study of international relations has been marked by a renewed debate about the relationship between structures and institutions in international systems.

International financial institutions have different specific objectives and different areas of specialization and expertise. The enhanced partnership for sustainable growth and poverty reduction underscores the different core mandates of the IMF and the World Bank. Similarly, there are various international organizations which have been set up to promote not only good regional relation but to also provide a common platform for a global relationship.

But the world is dynamic and the power relation between nations change all the time. This book is an effort to understand the manner in which international relations are forged and maintained.

This book is written in a self-instructional format and is divided into four units. Each unit begins with an Introduction to the topic followed by an outline of the Unit objectives. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The Summary and Key Terms section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

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UNIT 1 INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Structure

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In an increasingly globalized world, the study of international relations becomes a significant field of study. This field of study is an amalgamation of issues, initiatives, cooperation based on varied subjects like history, law, science, environment, trade and economics etc. International relations then as a subject, reflects the study of relations between nations. But before the nuances of the relations between economies are determined, it is important to also study the concept of nation states and the elements which make one country more powerful than another.

In this unit, you will study about the nature and scope of international relations; actors of international society including both state and non-state actors and their roles in the international politics, and the concept and elements of national power.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the nature and scope of international relations
- Describe the role of state and non-state actors of international society in international politics
- Assess the emergence of non-state actors in international relations
- Analyse the concept and elements of national power

1.2 NATURE AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Even though international relations (as a subject of study) has fascinated many scholars for several centuries, it has evolved as a distinct discipline only in the 17th century. The discipline came into being in the West, under the Latin term *intergentes* (meaning international). It was coined by Richard Zouche and was used to describe the branch of law that studied the laws of various nations and it later came to form, what is now known as, international law. The present form of this discipline can be traced to Jeremy Bentham who also used the term 'international' in the latter part of the 18th century, in order to describe the study of that kind of law that governs the relations among different nations.

The next two centuries (19th and 20th) also witnessed tremendous growth in trade and commerce along with diplomatic relations. A strain in the relations between nations was also witnessed, leading to the outbreak of the two major world wars. Now, the study of international relations has become wider and more dynamic as it reflects the change in the global politics.

As an academic discipline, international relations was started by the University of Wales. In 1919, the study of diplomatic history was introduced with the first two thinkers being the eminent historians, Professor Alfred Zimmeren and C.K. Webster, who were then followed by Reynolds and E.H Carr.

Nature of international relations

The nature of international relations is dynamic, especially in these times of globalization. The study extends beyond the interactions of states and their relations to that of different governments. It encapsulates the different factors which influence, shape and determine the relations among different nations and their governments.

The study of international relations is not limited to the factors that form the international political system. The dynamic nature of international politics has undergone both theoretical as well as topical transformations. The revolutions in the means of travel and communication have not only changed the nature of international relations, but has made the subject an overall and a holistic perspective of the world that we live in.

International relations encompasses many profound political and moral problems that people across the globe face. This includes issues such as peace and war, imperialism and nationalism, wealth of some societies and the poverty of others, nuclear weapons and the possibility of extinction; the environment and global warming; human rights across the world; international organizations such as the United Nations; regional organizations such as the European Union; religion and their political impact; trade and the development of multinational corporations and various other concerns.

Scope of international relations

The field of study in international relations is the international society. Its objects of study are the evolution and structure of international society, the actions on the

international scene, the patterns of their behaviour and the driving forces behind their actions and finally the problems of international planning. The complexities of the international system require the management of international organizations such as United Nations to monitor from ordinary to complex bilateral negotiations. The presence of these institutions along with the state defines the international system and contributes to the meaning and scope of International Relations.

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The study of international relations includes issues that are global as well as regional, such as the environmental problems which are global for the former and the antagonism between Israel and the Arab world, for the latter. In other words, international relations are concerned with social interactions of states that affect human relationships. The central focus of international relations being the study of social interactions in the context where there is no higher authority to intrude or mediate and it's outside any single government authority. That is why, the international relations assumes the international system to be anarchy, although it is not necessarily chaotic.

A common view of international relations is to see it from the perspectives of the interactions among the states as an entity such as India, US, Belgium, UK etc. This state centric view is normally associated with an emphasis on military security as the major goal of states. However, this view does not provide a comprehensive perspective of the international relations, post 1918, after the First World War. As many states have expressed their economic concern along with their security issues.

The establishment of international organizations from the League of Nations to the United Nations (UN) has led to the presence of non-state actors in the international system. The non-state actors have also wielded a considerable influence in the interactions of states as they have also increase in number. Besides UN, there are other institutions, such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Health Organization (WHO), and International Labour Organization (ILO) which are significant in their respective areas. Even more important is the growth of the multinational corporations (MNCs) that are located in a number of countries and are loosely tied to a single one.

On the theoretical front, different approaches have been adopted to understand and explain the different phenomena under which international relations is maintained. It has also led to number of theories to evolve and explain the conduct of international relations. There have been two dominant theoretical constructs plausible explanations which are competing in providing explanations to the issues, factors as well as in the conduct of international relations—idealism and realism. The two theories agree on the anarchic nature of the international system, where the former seeks to build alliance and organization to equip the states in reforming the system, the latter sees that as a cause for conflict among the different states which leads to war as the last resort of settling international disputes.

Although, these two theories have remained central in the understanding of international relations, there have been new perspectives on the subject as new theories have seek to challenge them. Different ideologies has sought to offer an alternative and challenged the dominant perspective of idealism as well as realism,

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on the subject of international relations, such as Marxism, feminism and constructivism.

The conventional domain of international relations, which has been perceived to be confined to the issues which has a predominant political overtones such as diplomacy, war to trade relations, alliances and cultural exchanges, international organizations etc., has extended to topical theme, such as international terrorism, environmental problems such as climate change and environmental degradation, reforms in the multilateral organizations, international migrations and refugees, etc. Though, they were not the core study of international relations but it has merged with and expanded the concept of human security and its threats such as environmental security. The need and urgency of understanding the phenomena, which has pervaded across the globe, has led to the significance of the study within the discipline of international relations as a subject of study.

The level of analysis of international relations, which has been traditionally seen from a state-centric perspective, has evolved to include the non-state actors such as international and transnational corporations.

Importance of international relations

Everyone in the world is a member of one political community or independent state out of the two hundred independent states in the international system, which profoundly affects the way people live and forms the crux of the study of international relations and also the reason why the study of international relations is so important. A state here refers to a sovereign, independent state which has a clearly demarcated and bordered territory with a permanent population, under the jurisdiction of the supreme government that is constitutionally independent of all foreign governments. Although, legally speaking every state is a sovereign and independent state but in reality they are adjoined with each other and are not isolated from each other. They form a state system which is the core subject of international relations studies. Moreover, states are embedded in international markets which affect the policies of their governments and the wealth, as well as the welfare of their citizens, which make relations among the states all the more imminent.

In the international system, the complete isolation of the state is not an option as if people are isolated and cut off from the international system either by their own government or by other countries, people suffer as a result. This has been exemplified in the case of Burma, Libya, North Korea, Iraq and Iran. Like many other social systems, the state system can have certain advantages as well as disadvantages for the state involved and their people. International Relation is the study of the nature and consequences of these international relations.

In order to understand the significance of international relations, it is important to know the essence of what a state provides for their citizens. There are at least five basic social values that states are usually expected to uphold: security, freedom, order, justice and welfare. These are the social values which are so fundamental to the human well being that they must be protected or ensured in some way by any of the social institutions such as family, clan, ethnic or religious organizations. In the modern era, the state plays the leading instrument of ensuring these basic values.

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The fundamental values or the goals that a state seeks to establish is national security. Security is also one of the fundamental values of international relations. In other words, the state should ensure the security by protecting their citizens from both internal as well as external threat. A state which claims to possess security to protect its citizens can also threaten the citizens of other states and this forms a paradox of the state system, which is usually referred to as the 'security dilemma'. At the same time, unarmed states are extremely rare in the history of the state system. Many states enter into alliances with other states to increase their national security, so that no other power succeeds in achieving the hegemonic position of overall domination which is based either on intimidation, coercion or outright use of force. The need to study the states and the international system is also due to the fact that the solutions also lead to problems, as in any other human organizations. This has been the fundamental assumption in the approach to the study of world politics which is typical of the realist theories.

The second basic value that states are expected to uphold is freedom—the personal freedom as well as the national freedom through independence. That is also the reason why the citizens put up with the burdens that the state put on the citizens such as taxes or military service, so that the state can have the condition of protecting the national freedom or independence. The people cannot be free unless the country is free, is the rationale which has led to the political process and mark the political history through out the world be it the freedom struggle against colonialism in Asia and African countries or in Europe when Nazi Germany occupied and invaded other territories of the people of Polish, Czech, etc. In other words, war threatens and destroys peace. A progressive change for peace is the approach that is typical of the liberal theories that have been adopted in the study of world politics.

The third value that states are expected to uphold are order and justice. There is also the common interest of states in establishing and maintaining international order. This is because states can coexist and interact on a basis of stability, certainty and predictability. It is towards meeting this end that the states need to uphold international law and keep their treaty commitments as well as observe the rules, conventions and customs of the international legal order. States therefore need to follow the accepted practices of diplomacy and support international organizations. It is only when international law, diplomatic relations and international organizations exist and operate successfully that international order can be maintained.

The fourth value which has gained importance is justice. The need to ensure justice for their citizens has gained legitimacy through the codification of justice in the concept of human rights. Today, every state is expected to uphold human rights. There is an elaborate international legal framework of human rights—civil, political, social and economic—which has been developed after the second world war that has made its adherence an important goal and value of the states in the international system today. In fact, the importance that order and justice has gained as a goal and value has been reflected in the approach of the International Society theories as a study of the world politics.

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The final value that states are usually expected to uphold is for the population's socio-economic wealth and welfare. The people expect that the state should adopt appropriate policies that encourage high employment, low inflation, steady investment, uninterrupted flow of trade and commerce. Irrespective of upholding the sovereignty of the state, national economies are rarely isolated from each other and are expected to respond to the international economic environment, so that it can enhance or at least defend and maintain the national standard of living. That is why states seek to frame and implement economic policies which can maintain the stability of the international economy upon which they are increasingly dependent. In other words, they need to frame their economic policies which can deal adequately with the international markets through the instruments of foreign investment and foreign exchange, so that the international economic relations along with the international trade through international transportation and communications does not affect national welfare and wealth. In other words, economic interdependence, that is a high degree of mutual economic dependence among countries, is a characteristic of the contemporary state system.

There are two different perspectives of the international system, being characterized by economic interdependence. The first perspective is optimistic as they view the outcome of ensuring freedom and wealth through the expansion of the global marketplace and thereby increase participation, specialization, efficiency and productivity. The other view is pessimistic of economic interdependence as it promotes inequality the rich and powerful countries have the technical as well as financial advantage of dominating over the poor and weak countries since they lack those advantages. This the approach which is typical of International Political Economy approach as a theory of international relation used in studying the world politics. Since it operates on the assumption that international relations as being fundamentally a socio economic world and not just a political and military world.

In the age of globalization, with transport and communications rapidly developing, the world has been characterized with new regional and global interconnectedness that has transformed the study of international relations.

The drastic change has led to opportunities which have had far reaching repercussions and influence, in both the international as well as domestic scenarios, which has necessitated the need for creating it. It has presented new opportunities which are equally challenging to the study of international relations and made it all the more important to study in the days to come.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What are the objects of study in international relations?
2. What are the five basic social values that states are usually expected to uphold?
3. How is justice ensured by the international community?

1.3 ACTORS OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY— THE STATE AND THE NON-STATE ACTORS— THEIR ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS—CRISIS IN TERRITORIAL STATES

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The significance of the states in the field of international politics has some logical justification. The real catalysts in the international political system are the independent nation-states. Normally, these states recognize one another and enhance their relationships through diplomatic channels. Even without recognition and during war, relationships exist. It has been customary to define the state as a sovereign political entity. That is to say, the state must have supreme political power within its own boundaries, being independent of others, and also being capable of marshalling some resources for public purposes. It normally must have a measure of unity with a government controlling its territory and people. Sovereignty, however, has shades of meaning. Political realities often produce superior–inferior relationships between one power and another, an example being India and Nepal.

Political cohesion, sovereignty and independence

Today, there are broad variations in the degrees of political cohesion, sovereignty, and independence that the states enjoy. What is essential is that the state, whatever its size, possesses sufficient independent means of decision making to qualify as a sovereign state. It must have enough people, territory, and resources to sustain statehood and must be prepared to accept commitments and obligations. There is a greater political unity, for instance, in United States or Netherlands, than there is in Congo or Sudan. There is greater freedom from external influence in the Soviet Union or France than there is in Mongolia or Cuba. There is little comparison between the magnitude of strength possessed by Britain or China on the one hand and of Upper Volta or Male (the Maldives) on the other.

There is an old saying in the state system that ‘Geneva is the equal of Russia.’ This is technically true. In other words, the smallest independent entity is regarded as being the political and legal equal of the largest. In the United Nations Assembly, the vote of Togo counts the same as that of the United States or Russia, irrespective of differences in the national income, development, power, population, and other factors. The Great Powers can be, and sometimes are, overwhelmingly outvoted at the United Nations. States vary in all attributes, including the number of people, size of territory, character of the political system, resources, ideology, and judgment. On the one hand, we can identify them within certain broad categories. There are the great powers, which can also be called superpowers, having large nuclear arsenals, delivery systems, and vast strength; and the lesser great powers, lacking overwhelming strength. In the first category, one would put the United States and Russia. In the second would come China, Britain, France, Germany, and Japan. Then there are the middle powers, which trail the Great Powers in some important characteristics, such as population, national income, or the size of their armed establishments. This

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category belongs to Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Italy, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden and others. Most of the states of Europe too fall in this middle grouping.

Over and beyond these categories of states are a number of political entities with a qualified status. These include protectorates like Monaco, Liechtenstein, and San Marino, as well as principalities that are enclosed within larger states and usually have their foreign affairs conducted for them by the protector. The international political system then, comprises the states, and political entities just described, and the interrelationships and interactions among them. Concepts related to national interest are centered on core values of the society, which include territorial integrity, and its self-preservation.

1.3.1 Emergence of Non-State Actors in International Relations

Till the first half of the 20th century, the state was the dominant actor over others. In the countries which were being governed by a socialist or military regime, the state was only a political actor. However, the state was also the most crucial economic actor as it had the responsibility of running the industries, governing the economy and also catering to other distributive functions.

The overpowering role of the state in international relations was widely recognized in the theories of international politics as well. The core assumption of the realist theory was that states are the central actors in international politics. States try to maximize their national interest which is defined in terms of maximizing the power. In the structural realist theory, Kenneth Waltz placed the states in the central position of his analysis of international relations. According to Waltz, it is only the states which go to war against other states. Besides, only the states decide the foreign policies. Similarly neo-liberal institutionalism, in which cooperation and institutions were given a primary role over conflict and war, also agrees that only the states are the representative units in various international organizations. The constructivists too give a prominent role to the state in international politics. Alexander Wendt argues that the system of anarchy—meaning no central authority over the states in international relations—is also being defined and determined by it. According to him ‘anarchy is what states make of it.’

From the theoretical standpoint, according to David A. Lake there are three reasons why scholars still consider state-centred theories as a useful tool of analysis. Firstly, the concept of national interest can be explained in a more coherent manner only if interpreted as in the state’s interest. He argues,

‘... analysts can safely abstract from the pushing and hauling of domestic politics and assume that the state is a unitary entity with a collective preference or identity interacting with other similarly unitary entities.’ (2008:43). Secondly, states are the only authoritative actors in domestic politics as they can enforce their decisions on the citizens even against their wishes. And finally, in the evolutionary system-level analysis of international relations, states are naturally considered as the most significant units since states are the most crucial systems of the international system. Though the system-level analysts study the factors which affect the state behaviour most, they tend to explain the state as central units of analysis.’

(Lake in Smit and Snidal, 2008: Chapter two).

Exhibit 1.1
Hierarchy in International Relations

David A. Lake is Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego. He has published widely in international relations theory and international political economy. Lake's most recent book is *Hierarchy in International Relations* (2009). In this book, Lake challenges the traditional view that international relations is a realm of anarchy in which countries lack any superior authority and interact within a Hobbesian state of nature. He demonstrates that states exercise authority over one another in international hierarchies that vary historically but are still pervasive today.

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However, with the changing nature of politics at the domestic as well as at the global level, it was realized gradually that the state alone cannot perform so many functions. An 'overburdened state' cannot perform its functions efficiently. Besides, the resources of the state were also not adequate enough to fulfill the various demands of its citizens. A welfare state was dependent on larger bureaucratic paraphernalia for its functioning. Ironically, it also made the state functioning more complicated as well as economically burdensome. Consequently, the major challenge before the world was how to develop a system in which the state should perform its functions efficiently without compromising on its essential 'minimalist functions.' For this purpose, the non-state actors eventually, especially the market forces, were given considerable space in economic matters including economic decision-making. The market was recognized as a major reason behind technological innovation, economic growth and prosperity in the western countries. With the decline of socialism, the market-centred economic model became popular worldwide. Different countries which had either socialist or mixed economies gradually switched over to the Western type capitalist mode of production.

In due course, the nature of states is not as homogenous as it used to be during the era of monarchy. The state has become a complex phenomenon. Scholars like Joel Migdal argue that the states are no more static entities. Rather, they are always in the process of 'becoming.' This process has become more complex due to the growing complexities of a capitalist global economy, a democratic polity and interdependence amongst the states. States have a larger responsibility of managing many actors which have been demanding their share in the state affairs. The growing role of non-state actors in international politics is also a reflection of this complex phenomenon. Some of the non-state actors which are becoming very prominent in international relations, apart from states, are discussed below:

Transnational Companies as Significant Actors in International Relations

With the faster pace of economic activities across the world, the economic actors have emerged as very strong political players as well. It is not possible for any government to completely sideline the role of such actors. The most important amongst such actors are the Transnational Economic Corporations or TNCs. In the last fifty years, there has been an upsurge in the number of transnational actors. These companies have a very strong network across the world. Technological empowerment has further helped in strengthening their activities. In fact, the yearly

turnover of many companies is much bigger than the budget of many states in the world. Certainly, this provides them a very strong position in determining economic policies of such smaller states.

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Few decades ago, such TNCs were being based in the developed countries. However, in the past few years things have changed. In fact many emerging companies are not from the developed world but either from developing economies or transitional economies like China, Russia, India, Venezuela, etc. (See Table 1.1). In 2004, there were 100 TNCs with the highest levels of assets outside their home country, 53 of those were from Western Europe, 25 from US, nine from Japan and three from Canada (Willetts 2008:334).

Table 1.1 Top 10 Non Financial Transnational Corporations from Developing or Transitional Economies in 2008 (Ranked by Foreign Assets) Millions of Dollars and Number of Employees

Ranking by:		Corporation	Home economy	Industry ^c	Assets		Sales		Employment		TNI ^b (Per cent)
Foreign assets	TNI ^b				Foreign	Total	Foreign	Total	Foreign	Total	
1	1	Hutchison Whampoa Limited	Hong Kong, China	Diversified	70 762	87 745	25 006	30 236	182 148	220 000	82.0
2	10	CITIC Group	China	Diversified	43 750	238 725	5 427	22 230	18 305	90 650	21.0
3	2	Cemex S.A.	Mexico	Non-metallic mineral products	40 258	45 084	17 982	21 830	41 586	56 791	81.6
4	3	Samsung Electronics Co., Ltd.	Korea, Republic of	Electrical & electronic equipment	28 765	83 738	88 892	110 321	77 236	161 700	54.2
5	8	Petronas - Petroliaam Nasional Bhd	Malaysia	Petroleum expl./ref./dis tr.	28 447	106 416	32 477	77 094	7 847	39 236	29.6
6	7	Hyundai Motor Company	Korea, Republic of	Motor vehicles	28 359	82 072	33 874	72 523	22 066	78 270	36.5
7	4	China Ocean Shipping (Group) Company	China	Transport and storage	28 066	36 253	18 041	27 431	4 581	69 648	49.9
8	5	Lukoil	Russian Federation	Petroleum and natural gas	21 515	71 461	87 637	107 680	23 000	152 500	42.2
9	6	Vale S.A	Brazil	Mining & quarrying	19 635	79 931	30 939	37 426	4 725	62 490	38.3
10	9	Petróleos De Venezuela	Venezuela Bolivarian Republic of	Petroleum expl./ref./dis tr.	19 244	131 832	52 494	126 364	5 140	61 909	21.5

Source: UNCTAD/Erasmus University database

- Data on total assets and employees, from Bloomberg, currency (USD) millions, period 2009. Data on affiliates is based on the Dun and Bradstreets 'Who owns Whom' database.
- GSI, the 'Geographical Spread Index', is calculated as the square root of the Internationalization Index multiplied by the number of host countries
- II, the 'Internationalization Index', is calculated as the number of foreign affiliates divided the number of all affiliates (**Note:** Affiliates counted in this table refer to only majority-owned affiliates).

Peter Willetts, scholar of international politics and the author of *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs*, further explains how these economic actors have snatched state sovereignty. The five forms in which the growing role of TNCs can be seen are:

- (i) uncontrollable financial flows
- (ii) triangulation of trade
- (iii) regulatory arbitrage
- (iv) extraterritoriality
- (v) forcing states to accept global regulation (Willetts 2008: 335)

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In the contemporary economically globalized world, every country is trying to invite more such corporations in order to increase foreign investment. A major reason behind this is the stronghold of these companies on heavy technology. Such technological development has been confined either to Western Europe or to America. Consequently, the companies of these countries are in a position of natural advantage. However, now many developing countries have also started focusing on the development of heavy technology. The rise of China and India as nuclear powers, space powers and IT powers is an example.

While countries seek higher investment from such companies, in return such companies influence the political system of these countries. Besides, with the growing role of democracy and acceptance of elections based on multi-party systems, these companies have also emerged as bigger sponsors of political groups and parties during the elections. Such activities have also provided them a greater space in the policy formulations.

Exhibit 1.2 **Top Indian Transnational Companies**

— *Business Standard*, May 10, 2012

Both private and government-owned Indian companies are becoming increasingly transnational, according to a survey by the Indian School of Business (ISB), Hyderabad, and Fundacao Dom Cabral (Business School), Brazil. According to the Transnationality Ranking of Indian companies, the top five companies in the list have a Transnationality Index (TNI) greater than 50 per cent. Tata Steel topped the list by TNI.

The TNI combines the following three measures to determine the overall degree of internationalization of companies.

- (i) percentage of international assets to total assets
- (ii) percentage of international revenues to total revenues
- (iii) percentage of overseas employees to total employees

The survey has divided the ranking of companies by TNI into two categories. While Tata Steel stood first among companies which have an international asset base greater than \$500 million, Core Education & Technologies topped the list among companies with an international asset base between \$150-500 million.

A list of top 20 companies has been created on the basis of the value of the foreign assets and on the basis of the value of overseas revenues. Tata Steel topped the list among companies on basis of value of foreign assets and Reliance Industries topped the list in overseas revenue category. Oil and Natural Gas, which ranks fifth (on the basis of value of foreign assets) is the only public sector firm to feature in the list.

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A large number of companies in the TNI rankings, such as Tata Steel, Hindalco, and Bharti Airtel, have followed the strategy of inorganic growth through aggressive overseas acquisitions. FDI has been primarily driven by the manufacturing sector—petroleum products, pharmaceuticals and automobiles.

Indian transnational companies have shown a tendency for direct acquisition rather than minority acquisitions and joint ventures. It said the largest acquisition over the period from 2006-11 has been Tata Steel taking over the Anglo-Dutch steel major, Corus for \$14.7 billion, closely followed by Bharti Airtel's acquisition of Zain Telecom for \$10.7 billion.

Source: Adapted from a report in Business Standard available at <http://www.business-standard.com/india/news/isb-announces-top-indian-transnational-companies/473931/> (accessed on 11.08.12)

International Organizations as Political Actors

The emergence of the United Nations was the beginning of a new era in international politics. Unlike the League of Nations, the UN was a more representative body of super powers. As a result, it has successfully survived as an international organization. It has played a more active role in the non-political matters. Its sister organizations like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO), etc., have played a significant role in the developing and least developed countries of the world. These organizations have also been actively involved in humanitarian activities in different countries, especially the poor ones. The FAO has been working to ensure food availability in the drought affected regions like Africa or Asia. In countries where state machinery has not been able to ensure timely supply of food and other relief materials, FAO has played a very crucial role. Similarly, UNDP's democratic governance programme has promoted many countries to work towards a more transparent, participatory public policy making and implementation. The newly emerging democratic polities are getting many benefits from UNDP's programmes, which are specially designed for training the parliamentarians. This has helped in developing better institutions of democratic functioning in the counties which did not have any history of democracy.

Apart from the UN agencies many other international financial organizations like the Organization for European Cooperation and Development (OECD), Asian Development Bank (ADB), World Bank, etc. have played a substantial role in developing and strengthening emerging economies. ADB has been playing a very crucial role in infrastructure development in countries like India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Central Asian republics and so on. Similarly, the World Bank has been involved in many welfare programmes in different countries around the world unlike ADB which has its reach only in a particular region.

While providing assistance to different countries, these organizations do influence the political processes of the host country. For example, the UNDP governance programme and World Bank's good governance programme has played an effective role in transforming many polities from authoritarian to more democratic way of functioning. Similarly, they have also been assisting in making economic policies targeted towards market friendly and open economies.

Exhibit 1.3 ADB Assistance for Indian Roads

Across India, many communities have no direct link to nearby towns or villages or, at best, use unmade roads often destroyed during rains. In many parts, roads are unusable for almost three months a year. This has hindered development in the Indian countryside. The poverty rates in the five states covered by the project are among the highest in India.

A four-part \$800 million investment programme from the Asian Development Bank (ADB) will help build 9,000 kilometers of rural roads in five Indian states, connecting 4,200 far-flung communities year-round to crucial markets and services.

Building the final connection from the main roads to smaller towns and villages will help farmers transport their goods to markets; rural folk will be able to seek jobs; children will be able to access schools and hospitals.

ADB's investment programme is part of a larger \$1.2 billion programme to connect villages in the states of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal with all-weather roads by the end of 2017. The remainder of the programme will be financed by the Indian government.

The Indian government has been working since 2000 to link the country's rural communities through its Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana nationwide rural road investment programme. The programme has already built nearly 109,000 kilometers of rural roads in the five states, connecting nearly 40,000 communities to bigger transport networks. ADB has already provided a total of \$1.15 billion through two separate projects in 2003 and 2005 to help finance those roads.

Source: Adapted from <http://www.adb.org/news/800-million-program-link-4200-indian-villages-crucial-services-and-markets?ref=countries/india/news>—accessed on 11.08.12

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Non-legitimate Groups as Strong Political Actors

Many substate violent actors have also emerged across the world especially in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The dominant agenda of such groups is either separatism from one country and merging into another or spreading a particular religious doctrine. The age of clash of political ideologies seems to be over. These groups are not like any other political group or movement. Such groups not only have strong financial network across the world but also have access to modern warfare technology. Pakistan has been claimed to be home to many such religious groups. Despite all efforts by the United States, not much has been achieved. Such groups are also functional in many other countries like Afghanistan, India, Iraq and Russia. Their growing strength has greatly affected the ability of these states to rule within their territory.

There are other types of non-legitimate groups which too are operating, like the criminal gangs that are involved in organized crime. Such groups can be seen active in states like Russia and Latin America. Typically, these groups are involved in robberies, murders, illegal drug trafficking, weapons trade and illegal immigration activities as well. Some of them are considered to be stronger than the government

of the state in which they function. Today, the world has realized the threat such groups pose to the state authority. Therefore, collective efforts are being made at the international level in order to diminish such groups.

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Such efforts have been accelerated after the 7/11 attacks in 2001, on the World Trade Center. There are efforts at the bilateral as well as multilateral levels for this purpose. However, such efforts are not working effectively due to the growing role of such groups in the politics of various countries. In democratic polities, such groups are being used for forcing people to cast votes in favour of a particular leader. In many countries, authoritarian regimes are being supported by these groups and vice versa. Thus, this growing nexus between crime and politics tend to affect the political stability of many countries.

In the early 20th century, terrorism was not considered such a big threat to the nation states. According to James D. Kiras, author of *Special Operations and Strategy*, three factors led to the rise of international terrorism in 1968. The first was the expansion of commercial air travel; the second was widespread televised news coverage; and finally, the broad encompassing political interests of extremists that intersected around a common cause. Consequently, terrorism evolved from a local to a transnational threat.

Air travel gave terrorists unprecedented mobility. For example, the Japanese Red Army trained in one country and attacked in another, such as the 1972 Lod Airport Massacre in Israel. Air travel appealed to terrorists as the airport security measures were not adequate and resulted in plane hijacking cases. The success of such tactics spurred other terrorist groups, as well as criminals and political refugees. Kiras further argues that this led to an increase in the number of hijackings from five in 1966 to ninety four in 1969. Besides, by sharing techniques and technical experience, these groups demanded the release of imprisoned 'fellow revolutionaries' in different countries, giving an impression of a coordinated global terrorist network (Kiras 2009: 374).

Non-governmental Organizations as Political Actors

Non-governmental organizations have also affected global policy making in a very significant way. These organizations have been quite active in the fields of human rights protection, environmental safeguards, poverty reduction, etc. The non-governmental organizations have also been involved in fighting for the restoration of democracy in many authoritarian regime governed countries. A few decades ago, such organizations were functioning at local levels in a limited capacity. However, with the emergence of information technology, such groups have become truly global in nature. Today, they have branches all over the world along with a large number of personnel working for them. Besides, various international organizations, especially the UN agencies and other financial agencies, have been seeking their assistance in drafting their policies or implementing their welfare schemes in various countries. This has provided great leverage to these organizations in global policy making.

In the contemporary definition of democracy along with a multi-party system, a free civil society is also strongly favoured. Such groups are the core of civil society, functioning unlike the local groups, such organizations have strong financial backing

along with a highly trained workforce. In the emerging democracies of the world, such groups have a larger say than many political actors.

As a result of the growing number of non-state actors at the global level, politics is no more a state dominated activity. Rather, like increasing democracies at the domestic level in various countries, there has been an upsurge of democratic forces at the global level as well. The emergence of such actors has fundamentally changed the character of international politics in the last two decades. There are more demands for democratization of various international agencies like the UN, along with demands for more transparency in global affairs. This is showing positive outcomes as well. The world is no more being dominated by the West European countries or by the US. A multipolar world seems to be emerging in the near future.

However, not everything is positive. There are serious criticisms of such a global order. There are apprehensions about the emerging actors as they are still being dominated by American or European money and agenda. The next section deals with such criticisms in more detail.

Changing Nature of Political Communities

A community is a group based on human solidarity and a distinctive pattern of cooperation. In the post-Cold War era, many types of political communities have emerged, ranging from local and neighbourhood communities to international non-governmental communities. Each of these communities depends on a powerful sense of emotional identification with the group and on the willingness to make some personal sacrifices for a more general or larger good.

Politics is an integral part of all such communities, as members do not have similar view points about the nature, future and course of action. In a modern society, there are sharp divisions between those who think that governments should redistribute wealth, and those who believe that the market and not the state should take care of such needs. The loyalty and trust with which these members are bound together, determines the limits of such cooperation. The members are more comfortable in sharing power with each other than sharing it with outsiders. In fact, there is always a distinction between the insiders and outsiders. Those who have a similar history or other similarities are recognized as insiders, whereas others are seen as outsiders.

However, most of the people may belong to multiple political communities at the same time. They may be a member of a professional group as well as of a transnational group. Usually, authoritarian regimes demand loyalty from the members for only one political community, e.g., Nazi Germany or Stalin's Russia are two very popular examples of such loyalty demanding political communities.

The liberal regimes, on the other, hand recognize that their citizens value many different loyalties, some directed towards local communities, others connected with the membership of international associations such as Green Peace.

The nature of these political communities has undergone serious transformation since the end of the Cold War. Although, there have been demands for allegiance to international law or community, most of the states demand loyalty from their citizens only when their national survival is at stake. There are various examples of political

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communities emerging in the post-Cold War era. Nationalism is the strongest sense of political communities even till date. The nation as a political community emerged historically. The first city states of Mesopotamia and ancient Greece, the early empires of Assyria, Persia and Rome, and the Ottoman and Chinese Empires were political communities, but they were radically different from the nation-states. Ancient Greek city states for example, cherished their independence but, compared with modern democracies, they had a highly exclusionary conception of community. Rights of political participation were restricted to adult male citizens in the *polis*. Women, resident aliens, and slaves were not full members of the community because they were denied citizenship. Even the European states in the seventeenth century were not the nation-states in the modern sense, but were territorial states.

Territorial states are the ones who had the monopoly of using physical power against its citizens within a defined territory. On similar lines, Michael Mann argues that modern states have acquired high levels of ‘intensive power’—power that can be projected deep into society. In addition, the pre-modern states have poorly defined frontiers with a limited ability to control frontier populations. Viable modern states have clearly demarcated borders and the ability to project power across and often beyond national territories. Commenting on this second difference, Mann argues that modern territorial states have acquired a high level of ‘extensive power’—power that can be projected across spaces. The vast colonial empire encompassed the Americas, Asia-Pacific, and Africa to name a few examples.

However, the evolution of the nation as a political community has not stopped there. It continues even afterwards. The territorial states which established the first overseas empires gradually turned into nation-states. As Norbert Elias has argued, the modern state’s monopoly control of the instrument of violence led to the pacification in the society. In this context, closer emotional ties between societies gradually developed. There were two reasons at large: first, the rise of capitalism; and secondly, the endemic warfare. Benedict Anderson has argued that print capitalism made national consciousness possible. Books, pamphlets, and the more recent mass media disseminated national symbols along with shared narratives about the past and a sense of common destiny. Ernest Gellner argued that industrialization was the primary reason for the rise of national languages and cultures. The sheer numbers of commercial exchanges which typify modern industrial societies simply could not occur unless strangers could communicate in the same language. The crucial point is that the human race is not divided naturally into nations. States played a crucial role in creating national identities not least by building education systems that promoted shared values.

Secondly, the modern nation state merged out of the wars. They were largely instruments for war. Warfare was crucial for the transition from territorial states to national states. Warring states promoted national solidarity to ensure that citizens would stay loyal in times of military conflict.

Emergence of International Regimes

A noteworthy aspect of globalization is the establishment of worldwide regimes and rule-governed activity as a part of the international system. It was only during the

20th century that nations became a global phenomenon with all states obeying the same international rules and regulations.

The regime theory, in international relations, is broadly located within two broad schools of thought: *realism* and *liberalism*. Realists are often skeptical of or uninterested in international law, and yet they have developed an important position on regimes. At the same time, regime theorists in the liberal camp, identified as liberal institutionalists, have accepted key assumptions made by neo-realists and these, along with their social science credentials. However, the difference between the two schools exists. Liberal institutionalists focus on the way that regimes allow states to overcome the obstacles to collaboration imposed by the anarchic structure of the international system. Realists, by contrast are interested in the way that states use their power capabilities in situations requiring coordination to influence the nature of regimes and the way the costs and benefits derived from regime formation are divided up.

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Critical Assessment

There have been widespread demands for democratizing the existing global order. People have been protesting on the streets and showing their outrage at the meeting venues of various financial or other international organizations especially at the World Trade Organizations meetings. Besides, there has been opposition to the growing influence of western culture and lifestyle. Growing terrorist activities in Afghanistan and Pakistan are also regarded as an outcome of such activities. Serious oppositions have been raised against the role being played by various international agencies in the post-Soviet countries and in case of the Iran-US confrontation, the role of the International Atomic Agency has been questioned.

The pertinent question that arises here is—why is there so much opposition to something which has been bringing so many positive changes to the world? What is so problematic about the phenomenon called globalization? Hirst and Thompson (1996) provide an extensive critique of the wave of globalization. Given below are the criticisms of the emerging international order and also of the phenomenon of globalization:

- (i) The world was more interconnected and economically vibrant before the First World War. There is nothing unique with the present wave. In fact, the present wave is nothing, but a new reformed form of the capitalist world order. The only change is that it has been projected as a real transformation of the world in a more modified manner than the colonial era. The propaganda of new globalization in order to defend the western agenda, capitalism and imperialism is stronger. This propaganda is being done by the market forces, which want to benefit from the unexplored market of developing countries. These forces are also involved in the exploitation of natural resources in these countries. In other words, the positive factors of globalization are being highlighted a lot in order to neutralize any opposition to the growing economic influence of western companies. The Iraq war, opposition in Central Asian countries, problems in Cuba, Venezuela are few examples of such an influence.

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- (ii) The technological developments are confined to the developed world or to some of the developing countries. In reality, a larger part of the world is still untouched by these developments. The internet and telecommunications have enhanced business activities in Europe and America. The African nations or a larger population in the South Asian countries are still suffering from the problems of poverty, hunger and malnutrition. Besides, such technological innovations are being carried out in the western countries only. Companies like Microsoft are based in countries like the US and their gains are being invested more in the United States than in any other part of the world.
- (iii) The present wave of globalization in international politics is also labelled as another form of western imperialism. In this wave, only western culture, institutions and ideas are becoming prominent over other cultures in the world. There are violent reactions against the growing influence of western culture. Such oppositions are more frequent in the Asian especially in Muslim countries like Iran, Pakistan, Iraq and so on.
- (iv) A major criticism of the idea of global governance is that it has failed to ensure the accountability of various non-state actors. In many countries, these actors have been involved in bringing regime changes in various countries. In the case of post-Soviet countries like the East European countries and Central Asian countries, various civil society groups have been alleged of bringing political instability in the form of ‘colour revolutions.’
- (v) As a result of the growing economic activities, the economic crimes have gone up exponentially. Not only individuals and smaller companies, but larger multinational companies are also involved in spreading economic crimes and corruption. The bigger companies are found paying bribes to bureaucrats and politicians in order to get clearances for their proposals, especially in countries undergoing economic transitions. Such companies are not only spoiling the political culture but also harming the environment while illegally exploiting resources of such countries.
- (vi) Growing religious extremism is also considered as a form of opposition against the growing economic, political and cultural influence of the west. In fact, such opposition is coming more from ordinary citizens than from the states. Since citizens groups are incapable of chasing state forces in direct confrontation, they are involved more in small scale war or in guerrilla warfare activities.
- (vii) Globalization has brought more inequality in the economic fields. The gap between the rich and poor within the countries as well as between the rich countries and poor countries has increased in the past two decades. Globalization has helped those who are already rich, but the poor continue to live on the margins.

However, despite all these criticisms, there are defenders of globalization. They argue that those who criticize globalization do not see the benefits which globalization has brought to the less developed world. Besides, their focus is more on the economic disadvantages of globalization. But, there is no claim by globalists

that globalization will produce even effects or will bring total equality. Rather it's a process to bring better policies and their outcomes for the whole world.

Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs)—Meaning, Features and Role

An Inter-Governmental Organization, sometimes called as an International Governmental Organization (and both abbreviated as IGO), is an organization comprising primarily of sovereign states (called as member states), or of other inter-governmental organizations. Inter-governmental organizations are usually called international organizations, although that term may also comprise international non-governmental organizations such as international non-profit organizations (NGOs) or multinational corporations.

Inter-governmental organizations are also an important aspect of public international law. IGOs are established by treaties which act as a charter creating the group. Treaties are formed when lawful representatives (governments) of several member states go through a ratification process, providing the IGO with an international legal personality. Inter-governmental organizations, in a legal sense, should be distinguished from simple groupings or coalitions of states like the G8 or the Quartet. Such groups or associations have not been founded by a constituent document and exist only as task groups.

Inter-governmental organizations can also be distinguished from treaties. Many treaties (like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) (GATT) do not establish an organization and instead rely purely on the parties for their administration becoming legally recognized as an adhoc commission. Other treaties have established an administrative apparatus which was not deemed to be granted an international legal personality.

Inter-governmental organizations can be differentiated on the basis of function, membership and membership criteria. They have various goals and scopes, usually outlined in the treaty or charter. Some IGOs have evolved to fulfill a requirement for a neutral forum for debates or negotiations to resolve critical disputes. Others developed to carry out mutual interests in a unified form.

Generally, the common objectives are to preserve peace through conflict resolution and better international relations, promote international cooperation on matters like environmental protection, human rights, social development (education, health care, etc.), humanitarian aid and economic development. Some of them are more general in scope (the United Nations), while others might have subject-specific targets (Interpol or the International Organization for Standardization and other standards organizations).

Some common categories are as follows:

- *Worldwide or global organizations*: These are generally open to nations worldwide as long as certain criteria are fulfilled. This category comprises the United Nations (UN) and its specialized agencies, the Universal Postal Union, Interpol, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Customs Organization (WCO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

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- *Regional organizations*: Such organizations are open to members from specific region(s) or continent(s). This category comprises the Council of Europe (CoE), European Union (EU), NATO, OSCE, African Union (AU), Organization of American States (OAS), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Arab League and Union of South American Nations.
- *Cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious or historical organizations*: This category is open to members on the basis of some cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious or historical link. For example, the Commonwealth of Nations, La Francophonie, Community of Portuguese Language Countries, Latin Union or Organization of Islamic Cooperation.
- *Economic organizations*: These types of organizations are based on economic organization. Some are dedicated to free trade, the reduction of trade barriers (the World Trade Organization) and International Monetary Fund. Others are focused on international development. International cartels such as the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) also exist. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was started as an economy-focused organization.
- *Educational organizations*: These are based on tertiary-level study. Academy of European Law offers training in European law to lawyers, judges, barristers, solicitors, in-house counsels and academics. EUCLID (Euclid University) chartered as a university and umbrella organization dedicated to sustainable development in signatory countries and United Nations University tries to resolve pressing global problems which are the concern of the United Nations, its people and member states.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What are the five forms in which the growing role of TNCs can be seen?
5. What does the meaning of state as a sovereign political entity imply?
6. Name some of the international financial organizations, apart from the UN, who are working towards the development of emerging economies.
7. What is the dominant agenda of non-legitimate groups as political actors?
8. Mention the two broad schools of thought on which the regime theory of international relations is based.
9. How are inter-governmental organizations established?
10. List the common categories of inter-governmental organizations.

1.4 CONCEPT OF NATIONAL POWER— ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER

Like sovereignty and nationalism, national power is a vital and inseparable feature of the state system. Power of some kind is the means by which states implement

their policies, domestic as well as foreign. When we speak of power, we do not mean man's power over nature, or over means, or over himself; we actually mean man's control over the minds and actions of other men. When we speak of political power, we refer to the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and people at large. Political power and physical force are two different things. When violence or physical force becomes the practical actuality, it amounts to a negation of power. Physical power can be an instrument of power but not power in any sense. Political power is a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the former a control over certain actions of the latter through the influence which the former exerts over the latter's mind (Morgenthau, 1948). The concept of national power, power based classification of states, elements of national power and critical appraisal of the idea of national power are discussed as follows:

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National Power– Conceptual View

The concept of power is quite complex and it is difficult to give a universally accepted definition. It shall, therefore, be desirable to discuss some definitions of power to reach an acceptable conclusion. According to Morgenthau, power in a political context means 'the power of man over the minds and action of other men'. Georg Schwarzenberger in his book *Power Politics* defines power as the 'capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance'. Max Weber defines it as 'the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests'. Guild and Palmer hold that power is 'the ability to affect or to control the decisions, behavior, policies, values and fortunes of others. Thus, in the broad sense, power can be defined as the capacity of persons or group to get things done effectively. Adopting this notion we can define national power as a 'capacity of a nation to get things done effectively in international system'. National power plays the same role in international politics as money plays in market economy. It should be also noted that it is neither good nor evil in itself- 'it is socially and morally neutral'.

Power-based Classification of States

There are about 200 sovereign states in present world order. All of them do not possess similar capacity in terms of power. Based on power, those states have been classified by scholars in number of ways. Traditionally, states have been divided into 'great powers' and 'super powers'. Super powers are those nations who can influence international politics and its various actors without compromising their own interests. During cold war period USA and USSR were two established super powers in world politics. Great powers also possess the capacity to influence international politics, but to a lesser extent. Their area of influence is often limited to a particular region. So, France, United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, China, and probably India could be included into this category. However, this classification is not satisfactory as most of the states don't find any space. Keohane categorizes states into four categories viz.- Great powers- countries which can alone influence international politics to a great extent; Secondary powers- those states which can influence

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international politics to a certain extent; Middle powers those states which can not influence international politics individually and therefore work in collaboration with other countries to play meaningful role and; Small powers- those states which can neither influence international politics individually nor collaborate with other states to play meaningful role. Organski in his famous work *World Politics* has divided states into four categories: (i) The powerful and satisfied-Those states who control international system and are satisfied with this role such as USA; (ii) The powerful and dissatisfied- States included in this category are also powerful but are not satisfied with present world order and want drastic change in it such as China, India, Brazil and South Africa etc.; (iii) Weak and satisfied states-States which are middle power but seems to satisfy with present world order like Canada, Argentina, Australia etc. and; (iv) The weak and dissatisfied states included in this category are not satisfied with present world order, but they don't have power or capacity to change it. Most of the countries in third world fall into this category.

Elements of National Power

What are the factors which contribute to the foundation of power? It is a general belief that wealth, resources, manpower, technology, and sophisticated weapons are the real foundation of national power. But, it is not the mere possession of these which makes a nation powerful. As William Ebenstein notes that, in the field of international relations, the central problem of the strength of a nation is essentially a problem of qualitative judgment and measurement, as national power is more than the some total of population, raw materials and quantitative factors, the alliance potential of a nation, its civic devotion, the flexibility of its institutions, the technical know-how its capacity to endure privations, these are but a few qualitative elements that determine the total strength of a nation'. Thus, national power consists of several factors and an analysis of all of them is neither possible nor desirable in this context. There are seven important elements of national power such as geography, natural resources and raw materials, population, technology, ideologies, morale and national character, and leadership. These factors can be divided into the two major categories which are tangible elements and intangible elements.

(i) Tangible elements

(a) Geography

Among the various components of the national interests, geography is considered to be the most stable element. The importance of geography as an element of national power has long been characterized. Napoleon once said that 'the foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography'. This may be an exaggeration, but there can be no question that geographical factors have had a decisive effect on national development and those provide basic infrastructure for national power. Here, the geographic factors that are referred to are size, climate, and topography. These are discussed as follows:

- **Size:** In a spoken language, it is easy to describe that more land area of a state is itself an element of power. However, apart from land area, effective power depends upon a variety of other factors such as location,

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fertility, rainfall, the temper of its people, the nature of its technology, and the quality of its leadership. Thus, despite of its huge size, Sudan is not considered a big player in international relations, but Japan with its small territorial size is recognized as great power. Similarly, during Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Japan successfully defeated Russia. Though, Russian land area is many times bigger than Japan, her immensity was a handicap, for it impeded the concentration of armies and supplies in distant Serbia.

- **Climate:** Climate is one of the determinants of culture and economy. It has direct effect on health and energy of people. The temperate regions are often considered the best human habitation. It is not coincidence that almost all of the great civilizations of the world have developed in temperate zones. Similarly, uncertain rainfall and periodic droughts also limit the power of a nation. It makes the country increasingly dependent on foreign market for food and obstructs the development of national power and adoption of an independent foreign policy.
- **Topography:** Topography of the land is also a major determinant of national power as it facilitate or limit movement of human, goods and ideas. Thus, good rivers may afford transportation throughout a state; and, on the other hand, as international boundary lines they may invite commercial problems with another state. Topography has given good ports and river waterways to Europe but almost none to Africa. Due to lack of access to seacoast landlocked countries such as Lesotho, Nepal, Bhutan, Chad, and Laos etc. heavily dependent on their neighbouring countries for international trade. Himalaya has served as a natural boundary for India since centuries, but has also acted as a barrier to trade route.

(b) Geopolitics

Geopolitics is the study of the relationship among politics and geography, demography, and economics, especially with respect to the foreign policy of a nation. Scholars of this school give great importance to geographical factors in the study of international relations. Some of the prominent scholars of geopolitics include- Sir Halford Mackinder, Karl Haushofer, Alfred Thayer Mahan, and Nicholas John Spykman etc. Mackinder provided heartland theory which says, 'who rules Eastern Europe commands Heartland, who rules Heartland rules the world islands and who rules the world islands ruled the world'. Spykman, a leading American geopolitician, criticized Mackinder on the ground that he had exaggerated the potentialities of the Heartland and underestimated those of the Inner Crescent, which he renamed the Rimland and defined as the 'intermediate region... between the heartland and the marginal seas... a vast buffer zone of conflict between sea power and land power. According to him 'who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia; who rules Eurasia control the destinies of the world'. On the other hand, Mahan emphasized on sea power.

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(c) Natural resources and raw materials

The natural resources and the raw materials available in a country also greatly contribute to the national power. Before entering into the actual theme, we must distinguish between natural resources and raw materials. Natural resources may be defined as gift of nature of established utility; they will include, for example, most minerals, flora and fauna, rainfall, fertility of soil and so on. On the other hand, the raw materials are the result of human labour which includes vegetable products, animal products, exploration of minerals etc. It should be also clear that merely possession of natural resources and raw materials do not make nation powerful, instead, they have to be usefully utilized with the help of capital, technical know-how and skilled labour. For example, there are several countries in Africa with huge mineral deposits like diamond, gold hydrocarbons etc., but those are unable to explore them without the help of developed world. Therefore, this wealth is useless for them as far as national power is concerned.

Among natural resources, sufficient availability of food stuff is the foremost requirement of national power as no nation of the world can be prosperous with empty stomach of her citizen. Reliance on import of food grain could be a main constraints in the perusal of independent foreign policy. It is a well known fact that the Allied powers succeeded in bringing down Germany during First World War, because she failed to procure food grains from other countries. In India also the government could not pursue any vigorous foreign policy so long the country was dependent for her food supplies on other countries. But once India attained self-sufficiency in food supplies following the Green Revolution, it showed greater independence of action.

Again, with the availability of one or two products in abundance but lack of other resources, no nation can become powerful in the actual sense. There are several countries relying on the export of one or two products. Oil is the chief export of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Venezuela etc.; tin of Malaysia and Bolivia, Coffee of Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Ethiopia etc.; Tea of Sri Lanka and Kenya etc. It is a fact that no nation of the world is self-sufficient in all kinds of resources, not even USA. But a nation aspiring to become powerful in world politics must secure optimum supply of required resources, if those are not available in the country's own land.

(d) Population

You might have come across arguments such as it is not the natural resources, technology, nor anything else but the people who constitute the chief and decisive factor in a nation's power. However, it is a point of debate as to whether large population only contribute in national power. According to Morgenthau, 'since size of population is one of the factors upon which national power rests and since the power of one nation is always relative to the power of others, the relative size of the population of countries competing for power and especially the relative rate of their growth desire careful attention.' Mussolini once said 'Let us be frank with ourselves. What are 40 million

Italians compared with 95 million Germans and 200 million slaves? Given that there are sufficient resources available in the country. The large population can help in increasing the agricultural as well as industrial production. It is helpful in raising large armies and acquiring effective hold over conquered territories.

Definitely, population contributes in the strength of any nation. But increasing population becomes a weakness, if the state is unable to utilize them effectively, cannot support them at tolerable standards of living, and cannot cater to constructive outlets for their talents and energies. In the present day, it is seen that the ever fast increasing population in most of the Asian and African states is becoming a weakness for them instead of strength. On the other hand, though most of the European countries have acquired 'stagnation' state in population growth, they are facing shortage of 'work force' due to the rising old age population.

(e) Technology

From the time that the first man sharpened a stick or wielded a rock to crack a clam shell or a skull, technology has played a part in the lives of people. Technology is often defined as applied science. Technological changes reflect the actual adoption of new methods and products; it is the triumph of the new over the old in the market and the budget. In modern period, technology in at least four spheres—industrial, communication, transportation and military, has greatly influenced the power of the state. The industrial technology adds to the power of the country by enabling it to increase its production and attaining economic prosperity. Britain dominated in the world politics for centuries because of her industrial advancement. In the later half of 20th century, Japan and Germany occupied important position in the world politics because of tremendous development in industrial technology. The communication technology is giving a boost to the flow of ideas and emotions. Today, no parts of the world are away from the reach of internet and mobile phones. However, countries with poor advancement in communication technology rely on countries with well established communication technology. With highly evolved satellite system, India and China apart from the developed world have emerged as leading service provider to those nations. The transport technology has resulted in fast and convenient way of movement of people and goods. In today's world, no nations isolate her with age old transport technologies. The military technology has played an even more important role in increasing the power of a state. During the cold war period, USA and USSR were regarded as the leaders of capitalist and socialist blocks because of their military might and continuous innovation on that. Now, military strength of China, Israel, South Africa and India etc., has also got attention due to their technological advancement. In short, technological development in various spheres is an important ingredient of national power.

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(ii) Intangible elements

(a) Ideologies

‘An ideology is a cluster of ideas, about life, society, or government, which originates in most cases as consciously advocated or dogmatically asserted social, political, religious slogans or battle cries and which through continuous usages and preaching gradually becomes the characteristic beliefs or dogmas of a particular group, party or nationality’. Interpreted in such a broad and generic sense, the term ‘ideology’ can be applied to a great variety of moving ideas of our time, including many of the ‘isms’ nationalism, anti-imperialism, Totalitarianism, Communism, Fascism, Nazism, Marxism, Socialism, Liberalism, collectivism and so on through a long list. Democracy, also, is in many respects an ideology and the same is true for the major religions, notably the proselytizing ones such as Islam and Christianity. Ideologies may be classified in a variety of ways. Hans Morgenthau discusses certain ‘typical ideologies of foreign policies’ under three headings: (1) ideologies of the status quo, such as peace and international law; (2) ideologies of imperialism; and (3) those ideologies which appear to be somewhat ambiguous such as the principle of national self-determination.

In modern period, ideologies have been a major instrument in crystallizing policies and determining foreign policy of a nation. After Bolshevik revolution in Russia, ideological factors received too much attention in international relations. Ideological differences were at the core of the cold war, which lasted decades between capitalist and communist blocks. ‘End of ideology debate’ started through the writings of Daniel Bell in early 1960s, received world wide attention and reached at its height with the demise of USSR led communist block in the late 1980s. It is true that ideological factors, in traditional sense, have lost their appeal. However, the resurgence of ideology in other forms such as rising fundamentalism, terrorism, regionalism and so on can be seen in many parts of the world.

(b) Morale and national character

Palmer and Perkins define Moral as ‘a thing of spirit made up of loyalty, courage, faith, impulse to the preservation of personality and dignity’. According to Morgenthau, ‘National moral 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 services’. Thus, it refers to the sum total of the individual qualities of men in a nation in the form of their willingness to put the nation’s welfare above their own regional welfare. It amounts to willingness to sacrifice. Morales seem to be related to what we call ‘national character’, but the relationship is not clear. Studies have been made by the sociologists and anthropologists with regard to national character. On the basis of these studies we tend to think of, Germans in terms of thoroughness, discipline and efficiency, of Americans and Canadians in terms of resourcefulness and inventiveness and Russian in terms of

relentless persistence and of English in terms of dogged commonsense. In Russia and Germany, there is strong tradition of obedience to the authority of government and the fear of foreigners. Hence, Germans and Russian could easily switch over to war and tolerate dictatorial regimes of Hitler and Stalin (Palmer and Perkins, 1969). Whether, such characterizations are correct or not are a matter of debate but certainly those play vital role in morale.

Morale and national character are great determinant of national power. Quantitative elements discussed as tangible elements of national power alone do not contribute to the national strength. Quality of the population has great bearing on national power. National character and national morale 'stand out both for their elusiveness from the point of view of national progress and for their permanent and often decisive influence upon the weight a nation is able to put into the scales of international politics.' It was due to morale and the national character of the small European nations that for long they could dominate the large Asian and African nations. Similarly, spirit of Vietnamese people forced USA to withdraw herself in early 1970s. However, morale and national character are not a static phenomenon but those are dynamic, the national character keeps on changing from time to time. The people are willing to subordinate their personal interests to the nation's welfare during war period only, even though this sacrifice is of equal significance during peace times as well. If a country is ruined by internal divisions, jealousies and dissensions, it either will not be able to demonstrate any morale or else if there is any morale, it will not be effective.

(c) Leadership

Among various elements of national power, leadership is probably the most important element, as all other elements of national power relies on quality and wisdom of leadership. Highlighting the important role of leadership Palmer and Perkins writes, in fact some one can argue that without leadership people can not even constitute a state; without it there can be no well-developed integrated technology and without it morale is totally useless, if indeed it can exist at all" (Palmer and Perkins, 1969). Leadership plays an important role in all kind of political systems. Be it democracy or totalitarianism important and crucial decisions are taken by the political leaders. They decide the nature of relations with other states and declare war and conclude peace or treaties of friendship. Though, supreme test of a successful leadership and national strength is its effectiveness in waging war, in the period of peace a good leadership helps to attain national power in a number of ways. An efficient leadership can serve the interests of a state by protecting its people abroad; by constant vigilance in the search of new avenues of trade and commerce; by the accumulation of a wide range of information on the geography, resources, techniques, culture, military establishment, diplomatic interests, and people of a foreign nation; apart from bringing peace and prosperity in the motherland.

History is full of such examples to show that the leaders succeeded in rousing their people, as one man to give a concerted fight and brought laurels to their

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country. During the First World War, President Woodro Wilson of USA won the support of American people by giving projection that USA had joined the war to make the world safe for democracy. Likewise, during Second World War Roosevelt won the support of his people by highlighting the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. Emphasizing the important role of leadership Palmer and Perkins says, ‘without leadership people can not even constitute a state; without it there can be no well-developed integrated technology and without it morale is totally useless, if indeed it can exist at all’.

National Power– A Critical Appraisal

Any discussion on national power cannot and should not be concluded without a critical appraisal of the idea itself. While assessing national power, it should be very clear that it is a very difficult task. National power consists of a number of tangible and intangible elements and so far there are no well defined scientific tools, quantitative or qualitative, to measure it. It is a relative judgment such as one state could be more powerful than others in some respect but no state in the world is absolute powerful. Further, it is a dynamic phenomenon. A state’s power and position may change fundamentally over a period of time. Much of human history is the story of the ‘rise and fall’ of nations and other political entities. This can be related to some events which have occurred in the last century. Prior to World War I, Europe was the centre of world politics and until attainment of Indian independence, Britain had a pride of ‘sun never sets in the Empire’. After World War II, USA and USSR emerged as the two most powerful nations in the world, but suddenly dramatic changes occurred in the late 1980s and USSR was disintegrated. And now, we are hearing about BRICS, countries as future economies of the world, thanks to Jim O’Neill and other scholars of Goldman Sachs. However, many a times, miscalculation of national power becomes suicidal for a state and a danger to world peace. There are various instances of war and conflicts in the past generated by overestimation of one’s own power and underestimation of other’s powers. Moreover, aspirations to acquire power also generate a never ending ‘arms race’ among various states of the world and poses a major challenge to world peace.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

11. What is the difference between great powers and super powers?
12. Enlist the tangible elements of national power.
13. How does Hans Morgenthau classifies ideologies of foreign policies?
14. Mention the ways in which leadership helps to attain national power in the period of peace.

1.5 SUMMARY

- The nature of international relations is dynamic especially in these times of globalization. The study extends beyond the interactions of states and their relations to that of different governments. It encapsulates the different factors which influence, shape and determine the relations among different nations and their governments.
- The field of study in international relations is the international society. Its objects of study are the evolution and structure of international society, the actions on the international scene, the patterns of their behaviour and the driving forces behind their actions and finally the problems of international planning.
- International relations are concerned with social interactions of states that affect human relationships. The central focus of international relations being the study of social interactions in the context where there is no higher authority to intrude or mediate and it's outside any single government authority.
- There have been two dominant theoretical constructs plausible explanations which are competing in providing explanations to the issues, factors as well as in the conduct of international relations—idealism and realism.
- In order to understand the significance of international relations, it is important to know the essence of what a state provides for their citizens. There are at least five basic social values that states are usually expected to uphold: security, freedom, order, justice and welfare.
- There are two different perspectives of the international system being characterized by economic interdependence. The first perspective is optimistic as they view the outcome of ensuring freedom and wealth through the expansion of the global marketplace and thereby increase participation, specialization, efficiency and productivity. The other view is pessimistic of economic interdependence as it promotes inequality.
- The significance of the States in the field of international politics has some logical justification. The real catalysts in the international political system are the independent nation-states. Normally, these states recognize one another and enhance their relationships through diplomatic channels. Even without recognition and during war, relationships exist.
- The core assumption of the realist theory was that states are the central actors in international politics. However, with the changing nature of politics the major challenge before the world was how to develop a system in which the state should perform its functions efficiently without compromising on its essential 'minimalist functions.' For this purpose, the non-state actors eventually, especially the market forces, were given considerable space in economic matters including economic decision-making.
- Some examples of non-state actors in international society are transnational companies, international organizations, non-legitimate groups,

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non-governmental organizations, political communities, international regimes and inter-governmental organizations.

- Criticism of globalization include the absence of anything new, concentration of technological developments in the developed world, western imperialism, economic crimes, religious extremism and economic inequalities.
- In the broad sense, power can be defined as the capacity of persons or group to get things done effectively. Adopting this notion, we can 'define national power as a capacity of a nation to get things done effectively in international system'. National power plays the same role in international politics as money plays in market economy. It should be also noted that it is neither good nor evil in itself- 'it is socially and morally neutral'.
- Based on power sovereign states have been classified by scholars in number of ways. Traditionally, states have been divided into 'great powers' and 'super powers'. Super powers are those nations who can influence international politics and its various actors without compromising their own interests. Great powers also possess the capacity to influence international politics, but to a lesser extent. Their area of influence is often limited to a particular region.
- Elements of national power includes tangible as well as intangible elements. Tangible elements include geography; geopolitics; natural resources and raw materials; population; and technology. Intangible elements include ideologies; morale and national character; and leadership.
- While assessing national power, it should be very clear that it is a very difficult task. National power consists of a number of tangible and intangible elements and so far, there are no well-defined scientific tools, quantitative or qualitative, to measure it. It is a relative judgment such as one state could be more powerful than others in some respect but no state in the world is absolute powerful.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **State:** It refers to a sovereign, independent state which has a clearly demarcated and bordered territory with a permanent population, under the jurisdiction of the supreme government that is constitutionally independent of all foreign governments.
- **Security Dilemma:** It refers to a paradox of the state system, where the state which claims to possess security to protect its citizens, also threaten the citizens of other states.
- **Community:** It is a group based on human solidarity and a distinctive pattern of cooperation.
- **Inter-governmental Organization:** It refers to an organization comprising primarily of sovereign states (called as member states), or of other inter-governmental organizations.

- **Power:** It is defined as the capacity of persons or group to get things done effectively.
- **Super Powers:** It refers to those nations who can influence international politics and its various actors without compromising their own interests.
- **Geopolitics:** It is the study of the relationship among politics and geography, demography, and economics, especially with respect to the foreign policy of a nation.
- **Ideology:** It is a cluster of ideas, about life, society, or government, which originates in most cases as consciously advocated or dogmatically asserted social, political, religious slogans or battle cries.
- **National Moral:** It is the degree of determination with which a nation supports the home and foreign policies of its government in times of peace or war.

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1.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The objects of study in international relations are the evolution and structure of international society, the actions on the international scene, the patterns of their behaviour and the driving forces behind their actions and finally the problems of international planning.
2. The five basic social values that states are usually expected to uphold are security, freedom, order, justice and welfare.
3. Justice is ensured by the international community through the codification of justice in the concept of human rights and the international legal framework of human rights.
4. The five forms in which the growing role of TNCs can be seen are:
 - (i) Uncontrollable financial flows
 - (ii) Triangulation of trade
 - (iii) Regulatory arbitrage
 - (iv) Extraterritoriality
 - (v) Forcing states to accept global regulation
5. The meaning of state as a sovereign political entity implies that the state has supreme political power within its own boundaries, being independent of others, and also is capable of marching some resources for public purposes.
6. Apart from the UN agencies many other international financial organizations have played a substantial role in developing and strengthening emerging economies, like the Organization for European Cooperation and Development (OECD), Asian Development Bank (ADB), World Bank, etc.
7. The dominant agenda of non-legitimate groups such as political actors is either separatism from one country and merging into another or spreading a particular religious doctrine.

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8. Realism and liberalism are the two broad schools of thought on which the regime theory of international relations is based.
9. Inter-governmental organizations are established by treaties which act as a charter creating the group and treaties are formed when lawful representatives of several member states go through a ratification process, providing the IGO with an international legal personality.
10. Some common categories of inter-governmental organizations include: global organizations; regional organizations; cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious or historical organizations, economic organizations and educational organizations.
11. The difference between great powers and super powers is that the former influences international politics to a lesser extent than the latter. Also, the area of influence of great powers is limited to a particular region.
12. Geography, geopolitics, natural resources and raw materials, population and technology are the tangible elements of national power.
13. Hans Morgenthau classifies ideologies of foreign policies as ideologies of the status quo, ideologies of imperialism, and those ideologies which appear to be somewhat ambiguous.
14. In the period of peace, the ways in which leadership helps to attain national power are through protecting its people abroad, constant vigilance in search of new avenues, accumulation of a wide range of information on diverse fields across the world and by bringing peace and prosperity in the motherland.

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the nature of the subject of international relations?
2. What is the importance of NGOs as political actors?
3. Discuss the power based classification of economies.
4. Write a short note on the intangible elements of power.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the scope of international relations.
2. Evaluate the criticisms of the emerging state order.
3. Assess the tangible elements of power.
4. Explain the social values that the state is expected to uphold.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 FOREIGN POLICIES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES

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Structure

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- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Definition of Foreign Policy—Various Factors in Shaping the Foreign Policy
- 2.3 Determinants of Foreign Policy: Legislature, Public Opinion and Civil Services
- 2.4 National Interest-Role of National Interest in the Formulation of Foreign Policy of a Country
- 2.5 Instruments and Techniques of State Interaction: Propaganda and Diplomacy
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- 2.7 Summary
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2.0 INTRODUCTION

It is very difficult, rather next to impossible for any nation on our planet to survive in isolation. All the nations have different resources, climate, financial conditions, population and various other factors which makes them maintain good relations with other nations. These good relations are not just necessary for the material benefits but also to avoid any situation of conflict or war which could lead to heavy losses both in material and human terms. Foreign policy is the combination of national interests and strategic terms on which the countries maintain relationships with other countries. There are various factors which affect the foreign policy of nation and there are different techniques through which the nations choose to conduct themselves with other nations. In this unit, you will learn about the definition of foreign policy, the determinants of foreign policy, various factors in shaping the foreign policy, the role of national interest in the formulation of foreign policy, the instruments and techniques of state interaction along with the foreign policy of countries like India, UK, USA and China.

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2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Describe what is foreign policy as well as the various factors in shaping foreign policy
- Explain the determinants of foreign policy
- Assess the role of national interest in the formulation of foreign policy of a country
- Analyse the instruments and techniques of state interaction
- Discuss the foreign policy of India, UK, USA and China

2.2 DEFINITION OF FOREIGN POLICY—VARIOUS FACTORS IN SHAPING THE FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of a country, often referred to as the foreign relations policy, comprises self-interest strategies adopted by the state to protect its national interests and achieve its goals in the international scenario. These approaches are strategically used to interact with other countries. The world is getting increasingly interconnected or 'globalized'. We are not merely a handful of individual states any more. We rely on each other for economic as well as military support.

Due to increasing level of globalization and transnational activities, the states may also have to interact with non-state actors in order to maximize benefits of multilateral international cooperation. Since the national interest is most important, foreign policies are designed by the governments of various countries using high-level decision making processes.

How the rest of the world views one state is of great significance. Harsh foreign policies are often coupled with military action or economic embargoes. Dealing with the complications of other countries may lead to countries becoming isolationists. However, foreign policy cannot be prevented from becoming isolationist either.

Foreign policy is often described as one of the driving forces of the international relations operations. It is impossible for a state to live in complete isolation. An individual and a state have many similarities. A state, just like an individual, always tries to promote its interests. The interest of any state is referred to as 'national interest'. A foreign policy is made to achieve the objectives of national interest.

The essence of India's foreign policy can be traced back to the freedom movement. The freedom fighters, while fighting for independence, were also involved in other important causes. The fundamentals that emerged at that time are still relevant today. India's foreign policy primarily focusses on having cordial relations, equality of all the states, emphasis on the principles of non-alignment and conducting international relations with equality.

Foreign policy is, therefore, nothing but a policy that governs international relations of a country. Foreign policy of a country requires understanding the behaviour

of other states. A foreign policy involves various objectives and goals that are to be achieved through foreign policy.

Meaning and Objectives

Originally, it was believed that the foreign policy of a country grew out of national interest only and no other matters of interest were involved in dealing with other countries. The meaning of foreign policy today has attracted many debates among scholars. In easy and general terms, it is the relation among countries concerning all issues of international relevance like disarmament, peace, climate change, decolonization, and justice. In specific terms, foreign policy is the policy of a country in pursuit of its national interests in global affairs, for example, the country's refusal or acceptance of international agreements like the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) or seeking a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Through its foreign policy, a state tries to control the behaviour of other states. In this process, a state and its statesmen are generally guided by national interest.

It must be remembered that in the era of globalization, it has become very difficult to isolate national interest of one country from its geo-political or geo-strategic location and international environment. Therefore, the foreign policy of a country is more than the sum total of its foreign policies, in which it also includes its commitment, its interests and objectives in the current form and the principles of right conduct that it professes. Thus, the foreign policy of India is determined not only by domestic factors but also by international factors. Some of these factors are dynamic, which go on changing in the course of time; while some other basic factors make a long-term impact or influence on foreign policy. Thus, continuity and change among these factors is a common phenomenon in determining the foreign policy of a country. It is really interesting to know how the foreign policy of a country emerges over time to undertake its present complex form. It is an ongoing process where various factors interact with one another in different ways and in different situations.

In modern times, it can be said that no state can avoid involvement in international relations. This involvement can definitely be improved and systematized if it is based on certain defined lines. This provides a rational urge for the formulation of foreign policies. Again, the term foreign policy suggests a greater degree of rational procedure and a step-by-step planning process towards a known and defined goal. It is a rational response to the existing and fairly perceived external conditions. Though there are national and international limitations to any such well-knit planning, yet an effort is constantly made and will continue to be made for it.

Foreign policy is an important key to the rational explanation of international behaviours. It is impossible to understand inter-state relations without understanding foreign policies of states. The study of foreign policies, therefore, is one of the most important aspects of the study of international politics.

Foreign policy deals with a country's external environment. It represents the substance of foreign relations of a state. A foreign policy is to be analysed from actual behaviour patterns of the states rather than exclusively from declared objectives

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or policy plans. Its object is to influence events or situations that are beyond the state boundary. The behaviour of each state affects the behaviour of others. Every state, with its national interests, tries to take maximum advantage of the actions of other states. Thus, the primary purpose of foreign policy is to seek adjustments in the behaviour of other states in favour of oneself.

The meaning of 'foreign policy' is to decide on certain goals and make efforts to regulate the behaviour of others to achieve these goals. These goals can be achieved with the help of power. Thus, national interest and power are the most important components of a foreign policy. All states have some kind of relations with one another; they have to behave with one another in a particular manner. The framing of the foreign policy is, therefore, an essential activity of modern states.

In the words of Mahendra Kumar, author of *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, the meaning of foreign policy is incomplete and imperfect. A change in the behaviour of other states or countries may not always be desirable. At times, it may be advisable to ensure continuation of the same behaviour of others. At another time, it may become essential to make certain adjustments in one's own behaviour. According to Kumar, 'The aim of foreign policy should be to regulate and not merely to change the behaviour of other states. Regulation means adjusting the behaviour of other states to suit one's own interest as best as possible.'

During the cold war period, the super powers, the United States and the former Soviet Union, tried to change the behaviour of other states to get maximum number of bloc followers, and India sought to regulate the behaviour of maximum number of countries to build a strong Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The US policy of containment of communism was to change the course of events in its favour. The United States had also unsuccessfully tried to persuade India to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

According to George Modelski, Foreign policy is defined as 'the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment'.

Joseph Frankels definition of national interest is as follows: National interest is the key concept in foreign policy. In essence, it amounts to the sum total of all the national values—national in both meanings of the word—both pertaining to the nation and to the state... National interest can describe the aspirations of the state; it can be used also operationally, in application to the actual policies and programmes pursued; it can be used polemically in political argument, to explain, rationalize or criticize. The recurrent controversies on foreign policy often stem from these ambiguities and not only from the different ideal about the substance of the national interest.

Again Modelski says that the most important task of foreign policy must be to 'throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change, and succeed in changing, the behaviour of other states.' According to Hugh Gibson, foreign policy is defined as 'a well rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation.'

According to Northedge, 'foreign policy is an interaction between forces originating outside the country's border and those working within them'. Hartman defines the foreign policy as 'a systematic statement of deliberately selected national interest'. Thus, every definition gives the emphasis on behaviour of states to regulate their own actions and, if possible, change or regulate the behaviour of other states, with the view of serving their national interests.

In the words of Rodee, foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behavioural pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests. The idea of Crab Jr. explains that foreign policy-makers identify the national goals to be achieved and the means to achieve them. The interaction between the objectives and the means is foreign policy. Coulombis and Wolfes expressed similar opinion that, '... Foreign policies are syntheses of the ends (national interests) and means (power and capabilities) of nations-states.' To understand this definition, it will be necessary to examine the meaning of national interest and power, which as mentioned, are important ingredients of foreign policy. Therefore, foreign policy means deciding on certain goals and making efforts to regulate behaviour of others to achieve those goals. The goals are sought to be achieved with the help of power.

Foreign policy, as we have seen, is concerned both with change and status quo. There is another dimension too. As stated by Feliks Gross, even a decision not to have any relations with a state is also considered foreign policy. Each individual state has to decide the degree of its involvement in its relations with another country that would protect its interests. In 1949, India took a decision not to have any relations with the racist regime of South Africa, which was a definite foreign policy. Similarly, after Bolshevik Revolution, the American decision of not recognizing the Soviet Union till 1934, was clearly the US policy towards USSR. The foreign policy may either be positive or negative. It is positive when it aims at regulating the behaviour of other states by changing it, and negative when it seeks such a regulation by not changing that behaviour. Thus, we have to conclude that, every state adopts certain principles to guide its relations with other states. These principles are based on the interaction between national interests and means (power) to achieve them. As Bandopadhyaya opines, 'The formulation of foreign policy is essentially an exercise in the choice of ends and means on the part of a nation-state in an international setting.'

In formulating the foreign policy, the role of policy-makers is indeed most important. It is mostly dependent on the perceptions and ideology of the foreign minister who guides the officials and who identifies the aims of foreign policy and determines the principles to be followed. Today, an important role is being played by the people and media. The flow of action from the community towards the policy-makers is known as the 'input' and the decisions of the policy-makers are known as the 'output', as stated by Modelski. Kumar defines the foreign policy as 'a thought-out course of action for achieving objectives in foreign relation as dictated by the ideology of national interest'. He further includes foreign policy as the following:

- The policy-makers
- Interests and objectives

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- Principles of foreign policy
- Means of foreign policy

The foreign policy of a country is dependent on various factors for its development like objectives, goals and orientation.

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Objectives

The five main objectives of a foreign policy of any country are as follows:

- (i) The first objective of a foreign policy is to protect the territorial integrity of the country and the interests of its citizens from both within and outside the country. For this purpose, generally the states prefer to follow the policy of status quo. If a state pursues a policy which seeks to upset the status quo, it is branded as revisionist and the suspicion is aroused by other members of the international community. For the maintenance of its prestige, it has to protect the interests of its citizens both inside and outside the state.
- (ii) The second objective of a foreign policy is maintenance of links with other members of the international community and adoption of policy of a conflict or cooperation towards them with a view to promoting its own interests. It is well known that India has diplomatic relations with the Jewish state, Israel, but its relations with the Arab countries do not get strained, primarily because of close trade relations with the Arab countries.
- (iii) The third objective of a foreign policy of a country seeks to promote and further its national interests. The primary interest of each state is self-preservation, security and well-being of its citizens. Different interests often clash and the states have to protect their interests, bearing in mind this regard.
- (iv) The fourth objective of the foreign policy aims at promoting the economic interests of the country. The status of a state in the international arena is largely determined by its economic status. The states try to pursue a foreign policy, which can contribute to their economic prosperity and enable it to play a more effective role in international politics. Most of the treaties and agreements of the states, which other members of international community have concluded, are essentially designed to protect and promote the economic interest of these countries. This is an important factor which is evident from the fact that India adopted the policy of non-alignment chiefly because it had to concentrate on her economic development. Further, India hoped to get every possible help and assistance to accelerate the process of economic development from both the superpowers. Similarly, the USA and China, despite their ideological differences were obliged to join hands differences due to economic considerations.
- (v) The last and fifth objective of foreign policy aims at enhancing the influence of the state either by expanding its area of influence or reducing the other states to the position of dependency. Post World War II, the policy of the United States and former Soviet Union has been largely motivated by these considerations.

Goals

The objectives of foreign policy can be summed up in one term, that is, national interest. However, national interest is open to a variety of meanings. In the words of Paul Seabury, 'national interest is what foreign policy-makers say it is.' Security, national development and world order are the essential components of national interest of any state. In other words, it embraces such matters as security against aggression, development of higher standard of living and maintenance of conditions of national and international stability. Notwithstanding, to avoid any ambiguity and confusion, Holsti has substituted the concept of objectives, which is essentially 'an image of a future state of affairs and future set of conditions that governments through individual policy-makers aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behaviour of other states.'

However, objectives can be derived from national interest only. Objectives are of a more specific nature than interests. Hence, objectives are conditioned by the advantages of accommodating the interest of other states. An objective, therefore, comes into existence when a particular type of national interest becomes important for a state to seek. George Modelski considers both interests as well as objectives under the category of aim or purpose.

The acts of any state on certain norms or principles represent more or less clearly formulated patterns of behaviour which guide national action or policies. The ideology of foreign policy was together constituted by these principles. Every action and policy involves the application of means. A foreign policy is, therefore, a thought out course of action for achieving objectives in foreign relation as dictated by the ideology of national interest. The objectives of foreign policy can be classified into many pairs of contrasting objectives or goals. Arnold Wolfers has defined, for instance, the difference between 'possession goals' and 'milieu goals'. In the context of the former, it means those goals which a foreign policy seeks to achieve in order to preserve its possessions, like a stretch of territory or membership of some world organizations. In the context of the latter, it understands those goals which nations pursue in order to shape favourable conditions beyond their national boundaries. Achievements of peace, promotion of international law and growth of international organization can be considered as 'milieu goals'. In practice, milieu goals may only be the means for the pursuit of possession goals.

Hence, some objectives may be direct national goals, such as preservation of national independence and security; and some are indirect goals which are of primary benefit to the people. Therefore, another contrasting set of goals may be ideological or revolutionary goals and traditional goals.

The objectives of foreign policy further can be classified into the following three categories:

- (i) **Core values and interests:** The core values and interests are the types of goals for which more people are willing to make ultimate sacrifices. The existence of a state is related to them. They are:

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- (a) Self preservation, defence of strategically vital areas, ethnic, religious or linguistic unity and protection of cultural and political institutions and beliefs and values;
 - (b) Economic development and prosperity can lead to the adoption of a course of policy that ignores the core values and interest and yet survive.
- (ii) **Middle range objectives:** Middle range objectives include:
- (a) Trade, foreign aid, access to communication facilities, sources of supply and foreign markets are necessary for increasing social welfare.
 - (b) Increase of state prestige by expansion of military capacity, distribution of foreign aid and diplomatic ceremonies—including such exhibitions and status symbols as development of nuclear weapons, outer space exploration, many forms of imperialism or self-extension, such as creating colonies, satellite and sphere of influence. Ideological self-extension is also prevalent in many forms to promote socio-economic political values of a state abroad.
- (iii) **Universal long range objectives:** Universal long range objectives are those plans, dreams, visions and grand designs concerning the ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system. These objectives aim at restructuring the international system. Hitler's concept of Thousand Year Reich, the European New Order, Japan's dream of Greater East Asia, the Soviet Union's idea of World Soviet Federation, the American dream of making the world safe for democracy, and De Gaulle's image of Federation of Fatherlands, are some of the illustrations of long- range objectives.

It, however, should be noted here that the first and second categories of objectives require immediate pursuit, but the third category goals are meant for long-term pursuit.

Foreign policy orientation

The general polices, strategies and obligations of a state are termed as orientation. Generally, the foreign policy can be observed to have three types of orientation:

- (i) Isolation and non-involvement, adopted by the USA until World War II under the influence of the Monroe Doctrine
- (ii) Non-alignment, adopted by most of the Third World countries, particularly India
- (iii) Forming coalitions or alliances, adopted by the states having common economic problems and common enemies, e.g., NATO, CENTO, WTO, OAS, OAU, EU, ASEAN, and SAARC

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. State the primary focus of India's foreign policy.
2. Name the two most important components of a foreign policy.
3. What is the difference between 'possession goals' and 'milieu goals'?
4. How does the cultural and historical tradition affect foreign policy?

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2.3 DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY: LEGISLATURE, PUBLIC OPINION AND CIVIL SERVICES

Formulating a foreign policy is a dynamic process. Normally, a change of government does not mean a change in the fundamentals of foreign policy of a state, although a revolutionary change in the political set-up may result in drastic changes in a state.

The foreign policy normally remains unchanged because the foreign policy of a state is determined by a number of factors, many of which remain static or unchanged. Some factors may be changed, but their influence or impact in shaping the foreign policy of a country is usually secondary. The foreign policy of a country is 'compounded out of many factors and forces'. All of them interact as well as determine the foreign policy. Some of them are permanent, some are temporary, some are obvious, others obscure. In devising its foreign policy, a nation must consider certain basic facts of existence. This frame of reference includes:

- Geo-strategic (geographic strategic) situations
- Population potential
- Economic endowments
- Ideological environment

According to Norman Judson Padelford and George Arthur Lincoln, authors of *The Dynamics of International Politics*, 'Fundamentally, foreign policy has its roots in the unique historical background, political institutions, traditions, economic needs, power factors, aspirations, peculiar geographical circumstances and basic set of values held by a nation'. According to J. Bandopadhyay, author of *The Making of India's Foreign Policy*, the basic determinants of foreign policy include geography, economic development, political traditions, domestic milieu, international milieu, military strength and national character. The foreign policy of a country is influenced by so many elements that it is not possible to enumerate all of them here. However, some of them are discussed below.

Historical factor

History determines the boundaries of states and also a legacy which furnishes the guidelines for the foreign policy at the present time. It determines the prevailing tradition and the self-image of a society, and therefore, the specific national style.

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The British habit of confusing; the French concern with security, honour and glory; the German ruthlessness; the Russian obsession with secrecy; and the American habit to interpret international issues as moral issues have, definite and specific historical roots. Such a national style, in every case has expressed itself in the formulation and pursuit of foreign policy.

The cultural and historical traditions of a country also deeply influence the foreign policy. A country generally possessing a unified common culture and historical experience can pursue an effective foreign policy because of the support of all sections of society who share the same values and memories. On the other hand, a country which is culturally and historically fragmented cannot pursue an equally effective foreign policy. Commenting on France in particular, Duroselle, a French historian, has remarked, 'France... is much more a "product of history" than a "geographic entity"'. History has determined the French quest for natural frontier as well as security against Germany. National history has been one of the most important factors in the development of the Chinese foreign policy. It has been the case in every state.

Therefore, British imperialism in India and our struggle for freedom against colonialism and imperialism has had direct impact on the foreign policy of India. It was the outcome of our history that led India to give its complete support to freedom struggles in Afro-Asian countries and fight against racial discrimination.

Population factor

Population plays an important part in determining the foreign policy. The foreign policy of a country regarding political, economic and military phases is also conditioned by the size, character and distribution of its population. However, the size of a country's population alone is not an index of its economic and military greatness. The degree of social integration, adequacy of political control and extent of industrialization, characterize the power of a country. Nevertheless, the dynamics of population constitutes an important consideration. Naturally, countries having high birth rates like China and India can count upon a reservoir of manpower. England and France have suffered a setback because the population has been declining in these countries (is relevant both in quantitative and qualitative terms).

There is a normal expectation that the greater the population, the greater will be its power. Population determines the standard of living, values, and the way of life and even expectations of a nation. Even great powers like the United States and Russia have shown respect to this factor.

Apart from the quantity, the quality of population as revealed in its educational level, skilled labour, technical know-how, health and strong national character is a factor of foreign policy. Ultimately, the quality of population determines the quality of political system, public administration and even leadership.

Quality of government

One of the major influences on the foreign policy of a state is the quality of government and leadership. Government converts a potential power into actual power. Its popularity efficiently organizes the public administration. Even the quality of civil

servants is, in the long run, a determinant of foreign policy. Every single state's foreign policy is an integral part of its peculiar system of government.

Economic development

The basis for many principles of a foreign policy is also provided by the economic condition of a particular state. No state in the world is economically self-sufficient. Even the United States is greatly dependent on world trade for economic prosperity. Most of the problems regarding the economy arise from this mutual interdependence of the economics of states. An agrarian state, primarily like Argentina, must sell its wheat, wool and beef to an industrial state like England and buy industrial products such as tractors, cloth and automobiles in return from such a state. This interdependence leads to international economic activity which is expressed in terms of tariffs, import quotas, trade agreements and other financial arrangements. The practice of economic specialization of production and free trade in goods is not followed by states. They rather follow the practice of 'economic self-sufficiency' which leads to maladjustment in international economic relationship. Economic tension in the world which sometimes takes the form of political and military action is created by this maladjustment. By nature, all the states are not equally endowed with such critical raw materials as iron, coal, oil, rubber, uranium and other products essential to warfare. Such types of differences are further heightened by unequal capacity to utilize the available resources. Therefore, states construct their foreign policies in such a way so that the supply of war materials may not run short and their trade may have a favourable balance. International economic activity also needs facilities and protection of foreign investments. Both Britain and the United States are more interested in the Middle East because they have investments in the soil of this region. A state's capacity to solve such economic problems is reflected in its foreign policy. Most of the states have added to their power and prestige by acquiring control over economic resources. Again, an industrial country is expected to have a higher gross national product and can devote greater funds for external purposes, namely, economic aid programme, military ventures and extensive diplomatic commitments. On the other hand, industrially backward countries are not able to actively involve themselves in external affairs. The lack of scientists, engineers and other specialists in the country prevents them from taking advantage of the technological break through abroad.

Natural resources

This is another important element for the foreign policy of a state. National resources, including food, minerals, metal and water resources, constitute a vital element of national power and consequently of foreign policy. Abundance of these resources certainly enhances the importance of a country. For example, the international importance of the west Asian countries has been underlined due to the presence of petroleum. These countries account for 80 per cent of West Europe's oil supplies. Food and energy are equally essential. If they are not locally available, they have to be secured through international cooperation. Availability of strategic and important raw materials will always enhance a country's effectiveness in foreign affairs. Their absence will correspondingly weaken a country's international stature.

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Industrial development

Industrial development plays a vital role in determining a state's foreign policy. It has already provided the criterion of the classification of states as advanced and under-developed or developing. Most of the industrial powers like the United States, Russia, Britain and Japan have enjoyed a power status. To use foreign aid as a new instrument of foreign policy has also been granted to such powers. However, the developing and industrially weak countries are fated to a relatively ineffective role in international affairs. This weakness definitely sets certain limits on their policy choices, which leaves little scope for active initiative and leadership.

Ideological factor

The foreign policy of a nation is mostly influenced by its ideology, which subscribes to certain fundamental beliefs relating to the distribution of power in society. The foreign policy of a nation is conceived in the minds of politicians or political leaders. Policy is expressed in terms of the beliefs and behaviour of these political leaders, although they are conditioned by custom and tradition.

There is considerable reflection as to whether ideology by itself constitutes one of nation's vital interests. At times, a leader makes use of ideology only to justify his policy or behaviour in familiar terms which is acceptable to his countrymen. Yet, occasionally, at other times, a nation is at war not for national defence, but only to force others to accept its ideology. However, ideology alone is not a policy goal for reflecting the realistic view on this matter. The fact is evident that nations professing opposite ideologies live in peace with each other for a number of years. Yet, the contradictory evidence is also available. If we do not take into consideration 'world revolution' as one of its objectives, the foreign policy of the former Soviet Union cannot be fully explained. The expansion of Communism was a bonafide goal. Russian empowerment since 1945 aimed to achieve the establishment of Communism as much as its political domination. However, the importance of ideology in the constituents of foreign policy should not be aggravated. They are only used simply to conceal the real facts of a situation or real motives of ambitious rulers.

Military strength

The military strength or capacity of a country has a direct impact on its foreign policy. Only those states or nations with a strong military have adopted aggressive postures. Possession of large and powerful armed forces equipped with modern sophisticated weapons of warfare is essential for making an effective and aggressive foreign policy. It is the final element of the power status of a state and consequently, of its ability to play an effective role in world affairs. A state with a weak military machine will normally be at a disadvantage, even at peaceful negotiations. Ordinarily, a military superior state or nation would try to pursue a bold policy to maximize its gains and a weak state or nation would try to minimize its disadvantages.

Geo-strategic factor

The geo-strategic is an important factor in the formation of a foreign policy. Geo-strategy, a subfield of geo-politics, is a type of foreign policy guided principally by

geographical factors as they constrict or affect political and military planning. As with all types of strategies, geo-strategy is concerned with matching the means to an end. In this case, matching a country's resources, whether they are limited or extensive with its geopolitical objectives, this can be local, regional or global. Strategy is intertwined with geography, as geography is with nationhood, or as Gray and Solan state it, 'geography is the mother of strategy'. It is generally said that 'pacts may be broken, treaties unilaterally denounced, and geography holds its victim fast'. A nation can escape anything but the constraints of geography. In a geographical situation, the characteristics of size, topography, shape and climate are important. A large size is required to support a huge population—a climate which is uniform and conducive to physical vigour, preferably either temperate or tropical highland. It should have a topography that offers boundaries with natural defence barriers such as mountains, forests, swamps, rivers, deserts and oceans. It should have a shape which is compact rather than elongated or disjointed like Pakistan till 1971, and thus easy to defend, provide part of the necessary power potential allowing a state to accuse an independent foreign policy. Before the arrival of modern military and machines, topography and terrain were considered as a great asset in maintaining national security. American Isolationism was made possible due to its location between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The great African deserts similarly, protected Egypt for centuries and the Alps served as the protector barrier between France and Italy, and the Himalayan mountain range protected India.

However, one can say that the geo-strategic factors of foreign policy in relation to the traditional viewpoint were developed much before the demonstration of the importance of air power extended by the invention of nuclear weapons. In the context of new technological developments, this view seems to suffer from much amplification and rhetoricism. We no longer believe in statements phrased in deterministic language such as, 'the geographical position of a nation is the principal factor conditioning its foreign policy' or, 'England was destined by geography to command the seas' or, 'sea routes have beckoned the Japanese abroad'. This effect of geography on the political phenomenon has become the victim of the law of diminishing utility in view of technological revolution and scientific progress.

We cannot deny that many of the above mentioned geographical characteristics and the resulting political implications will still remain owing to the advent of air power, which has revolutionized these. In the present time, instead of land or sea surface distance, air distance and weather conditions have assumed great military importance. Within twenty-four hours, any distance can be covered. In forty-five hours, heavy bombers can encircle the globe. Atom, hydrogen and cobalt bombs have revolutionized the old concepts of national security. No country today on earth can escape from an attack. There is no defence against nuclear missiles.

Public opinion

Public opinion has become an important factor in shaping the foreign policy. A foreign policy is not formed in the secrecy of an office any more. It is formulated in the open and public opinion can often force a change in the foreign policy and in its

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implementation. It was the strength of the public opinion in American politics, which forced their government to order the withdrawal of American forces from south Vietnam. Again, it was the public opinion against the British in the Suez crisis that forced the Eden government to resign in 1957. It was due to the fear of annoying a minority community that compelled Indian foreign policy-makers not to establish diplomatic ties with Israel for four decades.

The character of foreign policy has been influenced by the considerations of shape, mass and geographic configurations. In olden times, landlocked states heavily depended upon infantry and those having extended coastlines depended upon naval forces. The solid land masses of China as well as Russia have more than once served to check the advancing invading armies. The importance of a particular nation's position in the world depends upon the possession of rich resources such as food and minerals, upon the degree of industrialization, and upon the location on or near the major ocean trade routes and world commercial centres.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. List the basic facts that must be considered while devising a foreign policy.
6. State the elements which characterize the power of a country.
7. Which factor aided the American Isolationism?

2.4 NATIONAL INTEREST-ROLE OF NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY OF A COUNTRY

National power is the strength of the state to do what it likes internally and externally. National power is the power or the capacity of a state with the domestic and foreign policy as effectively as possible to realize its national objectives. Hartman says that national power is the strength or capacity that a sovereign national state can use to achieve its national interests. For H.J. Morgenthau, national power is 'the power of man over the minds and actions of other man'. To Schwarzenberger, national power is 'the capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance'.

The most stable factor upon which the power of a nation depends is geography. Geography implies factors like land, topography, size, location, boundaries, and climate and so on. These factors have a phenomenal bearing on the power of the nations and their foreign politics. The area of a nation can accommodate a large population and many natural resources. Location is a major determinant of whether a country is sea power or land power. Climate too has an influence on the vigour of the people. Neither too cold nor too hot but temperate climate can determine the power of a nation. The question of topography-terrain, mountain, seas, rivers, lakes, and forests

can assume great importance. Boundaries have exercised a great influence over the gate of a number of nations.

Economy may be said to be the second important element constituting the power of a nation. It includes factors like natural resources, agricultural production, industrial production, system of transport and communication. It is richly endowed with natural resources and is capable of achieving the status of great power. In modern times, as wars have become large-scale and expensive, the element of economy has assumed great importance.

Today, a nation can succeed in the pursuit of its different stakes or goals through application of different instruments like diplomacy, balance of power, collective security and war along with sound economy; the sounder the economy, the stronger becomes the position of a nation. In today's world, strategic factors like rubber, coal, petrol, electricity, uranium, steel, manganese may be said to be the motive powers or energies for production. In both world wars petrol proved to be a strategic product; hence, the strength of a nation depends on its ability to command the strategic product.

Population is undoubtedly a very important element of national power. Whether a state is big or small, it has to depend upon its population. A state with large population is capable of achieving a great power status in the world. More populous state means more men to work, more women to bear children, and more people for production. A state with the largest number of men and women is most capable, since other elements are not equal.

As Voltaire said, 'God is always on the side of the biggest battalions. Generally, populous nations have been powerful nations too. We find that the nations which had larger manpower had better bargaining position and could exercise greater influence over the balance of power and fare better in war.

However, the quantity of population alone is not enough to contribute to national power. Quality is also important. In modern times with the rapidly advancing technology and fast improving means of transport and communication, quality of population is becoming more and more important. Today, what contributes to national power is well-fed, healthy, educated and trained population belonging to be suitable age group. Since warfare has become highly mechanized and sophisticated, there is a great need of well trained and technically capable men. Training, skill, character and morale count today more than mere numbers. Ill-fed and ill-trained populations are bound to be a liability to nations and handicap it in its struggle for power in international politics. Ideally, what is required for maximization of national power is the sufficient size of sufficiently qualitative population. Thus, in this sense, population constitutes a very important element or constituent or factor of national power.

Morale is another important element of national power. Morale may be defined as the physical and mental powers of individuals to perform a particular act. It is the spirit of men made up of faith, courage and loyalty and will to fight to preserve the individual and nations distinctions. Morale may be of a civilian population or it may be of soldiers. For success in war, the morale of both is necessary. Morale appeals to the people to sacrifice their utmost to the cause of the nation. It is born of a loyalty

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to a cause and a determination to fight for it. People's morale may be boosted to fight and die for a cause. Allied soldiers were asked to fight 'to preserve democracy in the world'. The communists appealed to the workers 'to fight to retain the equality of all in socialism'. Nazi's would ask to fight to retain 'the superiority of the Aryan race'. Thus, morale gives more devotion to a cause, which can be boosted by various methods of propaganda. 'Join the navy and see the world', 'drive slowly and save life', and 'fight to preserve democracy' are some of the slogans designed to boost publish morale.

Next to geography economy, population, morale, technology may be said to a key constituent of national power. In a wider sense, technology can be defined as a system of techniques and skills and the ability to apply them to the given resources to turn better and more useful products so as to increase the power of the given nation. In short, technology may be said to be a nation's capacity to turn the available resources to greater and greater advantages. Hence, in actual practice, technology implies more research institutes, more laboratories, more workshops, more patents, and better and more products. The benefits of technology can be of different types, depending upon the fields in which it is employed. Technology can be applied in the economic and industrial field which means better machines and better products. It can be applied to the problems of transport and communication which means better roads, trains, ships, planes and so on. It can be applied to the problem of war which means better guns, tanks, warships, fighter planes, bombs and so on. Qualitatively, the benefits of technology may again be of different types. Application of technology may mean better products, cheaper products, and more abundant products.

As regards the role of technology, we find that, throughout history, it has played a vital role and fundamentally changed the course of events. At every stage, we find that nation which makes inventions wins a start and superiority over others. In the expansion of national power, technology has been found to be of immense use. It was on account of the railway and telegraph technology that Britain could establish an effective rule over the Indian subcontinent. The use of the atom bomb by the US effectively made the country into a superpower post the Second World War. Now missiles can be used as long-range delivery vehicles for transporting bombs and equipment across continents or vast distances. The rocket race to the moon, Mars and the other planets is becoming ever more interesting and analyzing. In our world, nations possessing the technological superiority, bombs, missiles, rockets and similar things possess great influence and prestige.

The possession the technological superiority has fundamentally changed the balance of power in today's international politics. Thus, technology constitutes a very vital element of national power because technology enables a nation to have stronger economy, stronger industrial base, stronger system of transport and communication, stronger army, greater capacity to win war, influence or dominate other nations and so on.

It has always constituted a very vital element in the power of a nation. It has assumed particularly great importance in the twentieth century. Ideology is a body of ideas and beliefs concerning certain values and usually suggesting a certain political

and economic order in order to accomplish these values. Ideologies can be of different types — social, political, economic religious, racial and so on. Hans Morgenthau, one of the major figure in the study of international politics of the 20th century, has mentioned three main types of ideologies:

- Ideologies of status quo
- Ideology of imperialism
- Ambiguous ideologies (e.g. self-determination)

Other important ideologies of the twentieth century are liberalism, Nazism, Facism, communism, socialism, nationalism, and internationalism. Experience reveals that in the past, ideologies had provided a tremendous philosophical, psychological, and moral power for the policies and programmes of men. They are the guiding force for policy goals and activities of nations. Often nation have utilized ideologies as a source of moral justification.

As an element of national power, these can boost people's morale. Thus, when we speak of the ideology of communism, generally we refer to its ideals or ideas or slogans like 'workers of the world unite'. Such a slogan is used to bring about revolutions in the world for the establishment of communism. It would be seem that 'an ideology is to a nation what an ambition or career goal is to a man'. In the absence of an ideology, many, if not all, policies and activities of a nation would be inexplicable.

Leadership can be said to be the most important element constituting the power of a nation. Leadership may be defined as an instrumentally provided by a leader or a group of leaders by which all other elements of national power geography, economy, population, technology, ideology and morale can be mobilised and used most purposefully and effectively for the achievement of the goals of a nation in a given context. Leadership can be of different types-military, political, diplomatic, social, and economic and so on. Military leadership can make a difference between victory and defeat for a nation. Diplomatic leadership can make a difference between securing strong nations as friends or turning them into enemies. The social and political leadership brought about a revolutionary change in the social and political life of the country. Economic leadership brought about an 'economic miracle' and industrial power in the world. The range of activities today's leaders have to handle in times of war is simply staggering. They have to tackle the problems of food supply, raw materials, industrial production, transport and communication, national morale and so on and so forth. Undoubtedly, greatness or incompetence, wisdom or irrationality, effectiveness or impotence in leadership considerably affects the power that the country has.

Leaders such as Napoleon, Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Mao, Gandhi, Kennedy, Khrushchev and Nixon have made a deep impact on world history. An able leadership serves as a source of great inspiration to the people. Thus, in modern times the tasks and responsibilities of leadership have increased tremendously, and along with them have increased the importance of leadership as an element of national power.

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Military strength is relevant both in war and peace. No one can win a war without a strong military base. Military strength involves two main elements — armed forces and weapons. The size of armed forces is of great importance. The quality of the army and arm-ammunition is also very crucial along with their quantity. The quality of forces depends on the nature of training, physical endurance and the morale of the troops. Military, leadership also plays a great role in the actual military operations during a war. Morale of forces i.e. their willingness to sacrifice for nation, is no less a factor in contributing to military strength. The military alliances and bases also contribute important aspect of the military element. Lastly, military component of national power is dependent upon the financial resources of nation as well as its technological, industrial and economic development.

Relevance of National Interest in International Relations

National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations. It is the key concept in foreign policy as it provides the material on the basis of which foreign policy is made. While formulating foreign policy, all statesmen are guided by their respective national interests. It is the purpose of foreign policy to conduct foreign relations in a way so as achieve national interest to the maximum extent. It is not easy to determine exactly what a nation's national interest is. This concept is highly vague and difficult to define. Notwithstanding its vagueness, the concept of national interest is central to any attempt at describing explaining, predicting, prescribing and understanding international behaviour. From time immemorial, leaders of states justify their actions in the name of the national interest.

Author Joseph Frankel divides the various attempts to define national interest into two broad categories —objective and subjective approaches. The first category embraces those approaches which view national interest as a concept which can be defined or examined with the help of some objectively definable criteria. The second category contains those definitions which seek to interpret national interest as a 'constantly changing pluralistic set of objective references'. The task of defining national interest becomes more cumbersome as the domestic and international activities of a state overlap. It is appropriate if national interest is seen as a synthesis of the objective and subjective approaches. In most of the nation-states, the iron jaw of oligarchy is prevalent, implying that governmental decision is made only by a few men and women. These decisions are often taken in such a way as to promote national interest.

According to the definition provided by Frankel, national interest 'amounts to the sum total of all the national values'. Charles Lerche and Abdul Said have defined it as 'the general, long-term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation and the government all see themselves as serving'. Van Dyke defines it as that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It includes desires on the part of sovereign state and these desires differ greatly from state to state and from time to time.

Lerche and Said's definition sounds more logical than Dyke's. The former's definition describes national interest in terms of a permanent guide to the action of a

state, while the latter's definition regards national interest as the action itself. What a state seeks to protect or achieve and what it desires to have in relation to other states are, generally speaking, the aims of foreign policy. These aims have two components-goals and objectives. A goal is a set in terms of the maximum time span that can be anticipated analytically, whereas an objective is only immediate or short-range in terms of time. Thus, national interest determines the nature of the long-term as well as short-term efforts in foreign policy. It is nothing else but the application of a generalized value synthesis to the overall international situation in which a state has to make and pursue its foreign policy.

The residual meaning implied in the concept of national interest is survival. In Morgenthau's opinion, the minimum requirement of nation states is to protect their physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states. Preservation of physical identity, preservation of political identity and preservation of cultural identity are the main concern of a nation-state. National interest also adds an element of consistency in a nation's foreign policy. Several factors of variables both internal as well as external play their role in the formulation of national interest. These determinants are the qualities, personality and ideals of decision makers, the customs and cultural styles of different societies, ideologies of the states, the types of challenges and pressures that each country faces from neighbouring countries.

States deliberately follow certain policies in pursuit of their national interests. A state may pursue economic policies to enhance its domestic welfare without harming another state. But a state may also pursue economic policies clearly aiming at harming another state. Whenever economic policies are designed to achieve national interests-whether or not they intended to harm other state-they are economic instruments of national policy.

Economic methods are regularly employed to fulfill national interests both in peace and war. In peace times all countries have objectives which must be accomplished. Whenever possible, such as raising the standard of living, encouraging foreign sales, expanding employment, conserving natural resources, advancing technology and improving health and hygiene. Economy means may also be utilized by a state during war.

These have long been used as instruments for the promotion of national policy. From sixteenth century till the middle of twentieth century European nations used imperialism and colonialism as a tool to further their national interests. It will be wrong to presume that imperialism and colonialism are dead. As a matter of fact their entry through the back door in the form of Neo-Colonialism has made appearance in many parts of the world. 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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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. What are the different instruments through which a nation can succeed in the pursuit of its different stakes or goals?
9. What does the application of technology imply in reference to the products?
10. State the three main types of ideologies as per Morgenthau.

2.5 INSTRUMENTS AND TECHNIQUES OF STATE INTERACTION: PROPAGANDA AND DIPLOMACY

In this section, we will discuss two prominent instruments of state interaction: propaganda and diplomacy.

2.5.1 Propaganda

Among the varied techniques that are used by the state to interact with its citizen and as a part of foreign policy is the instrument of propaganda. Simply defined, propaganda can be explained as the communication instrument that involves the psychological manipulation, command and domination through which the authority of a State exercises control over its citizen and other states.

There have been various different ways in which propaganda has been used by various governments for meeting their own interest along with swaying the opinions of other foreign states. Let us look at some of the examples from history:

- **Nazi Germany:** Perhaps, one of the biggest and most famous example of the use of propaganda for governance has been of the Nazi Germany. The government vociferously propagated an anti-semantic propaganda by holding Jews as partners of Allies who will betray them in war. It was also propagated that the Jews who were dominating the German economy were responsible for the troubles of the non-Jew Germans. This propaganda was carried out by the Nazi party who did not face any significant opposition or hard resistance from other parties or its own populace. Thereby, it can be said that the propaganda was being used to control the public, which effectively led to not only decimation of the Jewish population of Germany but also other neighbouring states.

Another instance of propaganda during Hitler's time was his manipulation of the public in Sudetenland. Picking on the poor economic condition of the Germans in Sudetenland, Hitler somehow convinced the German populace that the Sudeten Germans were suffering due to their discrimination by the Czech government, which was not the absolute truth. Hidden behind this agenda was Hitler's plan of invading the Sudetenland and expanding his territory.

His anti-Jewish and similar propaganda naturally affected other powerful countries like Britain and France who were working hard to prevent war.

- Another instance of propaganda can be seen in the events of the second phase of the Cold War. This was between 1949 and 1953. It was at this time, that USA was involved in building a strong military and economic partnership against the Soviet Union. To carry this forth, USA signed varied treaties with countries like Australia, New Zealand, Japan. USAs efforts are representative of the anti-Communist propaganda. To undertake the propaganda, USA spent huge amount of money to be used in subversive activities in the Communist countries. But this failed with the Soviet Union's use of the atom bomb.
- An example of propaganda is visible in the dealing of the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan. India claims the territory based on the rightful accession and Pakistan calls this illegal occupation. Both the countries have appeared several times before the International Court and other international forums to further their own interests. They have used several instances of ceasefire violations are examples of propaganda of affecting the residents of the Kashmir valley.
- In China, Mao started his propaganda under the name of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Under this, he encouraged violent form of revolution to oppose the capitalist and revisionist force in the land. He had very smartly convinced the people to believe that notorious bourgeois elements are plotting a reinstatement of capitalism in the country by penetrating the posts in government services and in the society. He carried out his propaganda by touring various parts of the country, spreading the message among youths in school, factories etc. and through the formation of Red Guards.
- Similar unrest among the poor classes was observed amidst the Bolsheviks who in order to support their propaganda against unequal distribution of wealth and injustices suffered organized themselves into Red Guards and led an armed uprising.
- In the 1930s, the authorities in the Soviet Union initiated their propaganda against any form of organized religion in the country. The strong propaganda of completely banning all religions were evident from the state support and propagation of atheism. This involved shutting down of all places of worship be it of any faith Christianity, Judaism, Islam etc. This was very different from anti-religious principle under Lenin which singularly opposed Russian orthodoxy on account of it being a representative of Tsarist government.

The word diplomacy has been derived from the Greek verb *diplono*, meaning to fold. It refers to the folded metal plates used by the Romans as formal documents.

Although the term diplomacy is not easy to define, it is generally considered an art and practice of conducting negotiations among state representatives. It is, hence, mostly referred to as an instrument of foreign policy implemented to achieve specific goals of countries and organisations. It is a peaceful means of achieving

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goals through established diplomatic routes. Harold Nicolson defines diplomacy as ‘an ordered conduct of relations between one group of human beings and another group alien to themselves’. He also elaborates this definition by calling it ‘the need to be informed of the ambitious, weaknesses and resources of those with whom one hopes to deal’.

States adopt diplomacy as a national strategy either to improve relations or maintain status quo in a hierarchical system. This system has the form of a pyramid. The closer a state is to the top, the better its chances of achieving its goals. The diplomatic course of each country would depend upon its geographical locations, political trend and socio-economic needs. Consequently, diplomacy is likely to reap better results in a democratic state than an autocratic country. The concept of diplomacy changed with time under the influence of socio-political movements, new economic ideas (such as liberalism and globalisation) and international relations. Diplomacy in the nineteenth century was governed by imperialistic ambitions of states and devoted essentially to ‘high politics’, while in the twentieth century it was more diverse and progressively less Eurocentric. Diplomacy in the 21st century is more proactive, multidirectional, and innovative than ever before. We will now study about the changing form of diplomacy—old and new diplomacy.

Old and New Diplomacy

The terms old diplomacy and new diplomacy have been in common use for twenty-five years or more. The system of alliance set up by France, England and Russia to ward off the German danger in the decade before 1914 is dubbed as old diplomacy. The system of so-called international security which took shape in the League’s Covenant of June 1919, and afterward regulated or was supposed to regulate the relations of the fifty-odd states of the world, is labelled as new diplomacy. All the implications of the word alliance connote old diplomacy. In the same way, new diplomacy connotes the twin ideas of replacing the bilateral alliances of the past with a universal or semi-universal association of states pledged to compliance with a set of general principles embodied in international law, and the abandonment of power politics—that is, the use of force to settle conflicts between nations.

Diplomacy has been regarded as an art by an array of writers in the past. The old diplomacy has declined. The function and structure has been changed from old to new one. Every developed and developing nation is a laboratory in itself, where the effectiveness and the application of diplomacy can be tested and the results verified. Thus, a systematized study of diplomacy becomes necessary. A study of the history of diplomacy reveals that whenever destruction and devastation result from war, responsible statesmen in power attempt to innovate means which are capable of preventing wars once and for all. A desire for peace is as inherent in man as perhaps is desire for war. War is a part of human nature as history has repeatedly proved. So is peace a part of human nature. Nevertheless, the desire for peace always overpowers the desire for war. While war is an inevitable human instinct, peace is a natural prerequisite for self-preservation.

The League of Nations and the United Nations Organization are bodies that have come into existence after humanity tasted the bitter fruits of the World Wars.

The macabre killings that wars of such magnitude had caused, posed serious threat to the survival of mankind. The failure of the League of Nations to hold countries together, to condemn war and to preserve peace was due to obvious reasons.

There are two popular claims about diplomacy in the modern history of international relations. According to the first, World War I constituted a decisive turning point in the modern era, marking the emergence of a new diplomacy, distinct in both essence and style from that which had existed previously. The second maintains that diplomacy is in a state of continuous decline. This study proposes that the distinction between old and new diplomacy is simplistic and inaccurate, and that the argument regarding the decline of diplomacy is not a valid one, Raymond Aron's observation that 'diplomacy, in the traditional sense of the term, functions up to a certain degree between allies, but hardly any longer among enemies, or even between the blocs and the neutral nations' is only partially correct, and reflects its time of writing at the height of the Cold War.

New diplomacy has different compositions and mechanism and all these mechanisms in their respective importance contribute to the way diplomacy functions. It is believed that the new diplomacy can achieve its true meaning when all areas of intelligence have been exploited ranging from closed door meetings, and secrecy in diplomacy, and now it involves all the ways through which results can be achieved. Another important mechanism from new diplomacy is how public diplomacy has emerged in as an increasingly important strategy and how states realise the important way to engage by using dialogue and soft power rather than hard power in new diplomacy. Thirdly, celebrities are able to participate in diplomatic activities with the notion of achieving good and fast results.

High level of technology in the twenty-first century plays significant role in diplomacy. It does not only serve as an easy of way of communication but rather it has improved the level of diplomatic negotiations. Old diplomacy was seen in the olden days as for days either on chariots, other forms of transportation or envoys but since the new methods of technological advancement have been introduced, there has been an improvement in the way diplomats interact and negotiate using high level and secured means of communications and also share information via e-mails.

Technology has enabled embassies to improve their way of sharing information on their websites. Today it is easy acquire to information needed from an embassies' websites in over five different languages without seeking for translator. This shows how easy information has been made through technologic advancement. Diplomatic officials do not need to have people with them as interpreters.

Non-state actors, such as celebrities, engage in diplomatic activities. They not only highlight the importance and significance of mass participation but also it enable other non-state actors to participate in diplomacy. Celebrities are sometimes seen as inexperienced, but they work with other governments, diplomats and they do not follow protocols as diplomat would do. They are able to respond to situations quicker than some governments would because as far as people in destitute situations are concerned it does not matter who provides them with food and shelter and they have easy connection with the general public. Therefore, high level of technological changes and involvement of non-state actors are the most important aspects and significant area in new diplomacy.

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During the old diplomacy, policy making was more attentive and careful in relation to their mission abroad since they were seen as the representative of state and also they were seen as firmly the insightful of governments. In the 1990s new diplomacy began to be recognized broadly when the cold war was calm and the expansion of communication among activists in the new era began to be rampant and widespread of information has become easier. New diplomacy is being used to address many issues such as human rights, humanitarian assistance and also as a means of an alliance between two or more nations in achieving common goal.

Dimensions of Diplomacy

The features of diplomacy of any country will greatly depend upon the choice of its diplomats—their abilities and their competence to discharge their functions. Sir David Kelly, an eminent British ambassador, observed, ‘The essential qualities and feature of a good diplomat are common sense, good manners, understanding of foreign mentalities, and precision of expression.’

The training and selection of a diplomat is the domain of the foreign office which comprise the minister for external affairs, foreign secretary, a hierarchy of officials who are specialists in various branches of political and diplomatic history of other countries, and members of the diplomatic service comprising the ambassadors, ministers resident, ministers plenipotentiary, Chargés d’ Affaires, and so on.

In England, there was no recognized diplomatic service till 1815 when the Congress of Vienna came to recognize diplomacy as an honourable profession. It was in the year 1856 that a preliminary examination in French was introduced by Lord Clarendon in the process of selecting the best personnel for foreign service. The Foreign Department of Britain employed an interesting system of selecting personnel through a process of competitive examination and rigorous training in foreign affairs.

In fact, in modern relations between states, a diplomat’s responsibility is immense. He has to represent his sovereign with dignity and courage while conducting negotiations to the best of his ability and tact so as to safeguard his national interests without causing any damage to the interests of the receiving state. The process of selecting diplomatic personnel passed through several phases under different foreign ministers. For instance, Lord Lansdowne prescribed a qualifying examination in French and German in addition to the general rule that a candidate for foreign services must get through the Civil Service Examination.

The foreign office and the diplomatic service were two independent bodies up to 1918. In 1918, they were fused into a single consolidated service called ‘foreign service’. In 1941, Anthony Eden, the then foreign minister of Britain, through a series of reforms abolished the outmoded methods and practices and created a new cadre of foreign service, where ability and competence alone were considered the major criteria in choosing the personnel.

Every diplomat has to discharge certain basic functions in the normal course of his dealings with the head of the receiving state and his representatives. These include: diplomatic representations, exchange of notes on matters of mutual interest,

political and parliamentary negotiations, protection of his materials, and above all, preservation of the interests of his state in general. To put it more precisely, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, under Article 3 (incorporating the recommendations of the International Law Commission on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities) states the features of a diplomatic mission as follows:

- (a) Representing the sending state in the receiving state
- (b) Protecting in the receiving state the interests of the sending state and of its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law
- (c) Negotiating with the government of the receiving state
- (d) Ascertaining by all lawful means, conditions and developments in the receiving state, and reporting thereon to the government of the sending state
- (e) Promoting friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations

A sub-clause is provided under Article 3, which states: 'Nothing in the present convention shall be construed as preventing the performance of consular functions by a diplomatic mission, human nature, temperaments and instincts; being what they are, it may be possible to lay down some general qualifications, for a diplomat but it is not possible to innovate methods to bring about a radical change in the very personality itself.'

However, as Harold Nicholson points out, the basis of a good negotiation is moral influence, and that influence is founded on seven specific diplomatic features: (i) truthfulness, (ii) precision, (iii) calmness, (iv) modesty, (v) good temper, (vi) patience, and (viii) loyalty. Nicholson has further observed: He (a diplomat) must be good linguist, and above all a master of Latin, which was still the *lingua franca* of the time. He must realize that all foreigners are regarded with suspicion and must, therefore, conceal his astuteness and appear as a pleasant man of the world. He must be hospitable and employ an excellent cook. He must be a man of taste and erudition and cultivate the society of writers, artists and scientists. He must be a naturally patient man, willing to spin out negotiations and to emulate the exquisite art of procrastination as perfected in the Vatican. He must be imperturbable, able to receive bad news without manifesting displeasure or to hear himself maligned and misquoted without the slightest twinge of irritation. His private life must be so ascetic as to give his enemies no opportunity to spread scandal. He must be tolerant of the ignorance and foolishness of his home government and know how to temper the vehemence of the instructions he receives. Finally, he should remember that overt diplomatic triumphs leave feelings of humiliation behind them and a desire for revenge; no good negotiator should ever threaten, bully or chide'.

A.L. Kennedy listed the following features and qualities for an ideal diplomat:

- (i) He is conciliatory and firm
- (ii) He eludes difficulties which cannot immediately be overcome only in order to obviate them in more favourable conditions
- (iii) He is courteous and unhurried

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- (iv) He easily detects insincerity, not always discernible to those who are themselves sincere
- (v) He has a penetrating intellect and a subtle mind, combined with a keen sense of honour
- (vi) He has an intuitive sense of fitness and is adaptable
- (vii) He is at home in any society, and is equally effective in the chanceries of the old diplomacy or on the platforms of the new

It is generally agreed by most writers that certain amount of basic honesty and a high degree of character have to be necessarily combined to make a good envoy.

The concept of diplomacy has been changing so fast that successful diplomat in the 19th century may prove a measurable failure in the 20th century. A successful diplomat in the first half of the 20th century where the Afro-Asian states have not developed a political consciousness, and the world was in the grip of colonial empires, may prove an utter failure in modern times. The methods and techniques in conducting diplomatic negotiations have undergone a radical change in recent times.

The complex function of a modern diplomat demands an earnestness in mind, a dependable character, an amiable disposition, the extraordinary ability to deal with situations, and last but not the least, the capacity to win the confidence of the head of the receiving state. Every experienced diplomat should always realize that prophecy and prediction in diplomatic dealings may lead to dangerous consequences. He should always rely on factual situations, watch things with an observer's eye, and employ a greater degree of precision in his dispatches to his home government as well as in his representations to the receiving state. Human instincts being what they are, a diplomat should always concentrate his energies in winning the confidence of the government and the affection of the people.

In fact, the goodwill that a diplomat gathers from the people of a state may yield greater results in diplomatic relations than the official dexterity employed in drafting the contents and form of the negotiations. It is a necessity that every diplomat has to train himself to tackle situations with great presence of mind and intellectual incisiveness. Ambassador Pietro Quaroni in an article on 'Profession of Diplomacy' stated: 'I believe that the principal job of an ambassador is that of being the best possibly informed on the internal and foreign situation of the country to which he is accredited, and of succeeding in acquiring that grade of influence, which is possible to reach, and putting the influence thus acquired at the service of the interests of his country; it is necessary that he should go and search out good sources of information and seek to create a position of influence in those circles which count.'

It is highly desirable that an ambassador should be well-versed in history geography, military science, and in economics, among others. It will be of interest to note that Empress Catherine of Russia wrote to Fredrick the Great of the Prussian Empire that she will accept an ambassador who is handsome in personality, and of agreeable complexion with acceptable disposition. Though said in a lighter vein, the capacity to remain undisturbed either in mind or in disposition, both in talk and action

even after consumption of large quantities of alcohol, was deemed a qualification in 15th and 16th centuries in choosing an envoy in the European states.

It is essential to note that every embassy functions as a 'mission', specifically designed for certain purposes. An envoy has to necessarily realize that he has to extract work in team spirit from his personnel. He has to keep a watch on all the members of the 'mission'; and he has to function as a guiding spirit in coordinating the work of the 'mission', and in doing so, he should always remember that the interests of the state to be paramount in all activities, diplomatic or otherwise. His responsibilities include coordinating the work of various officials like military, naval, air, commercial, financial, cultural and labour advisors. This demands a great deal of tact and skill. In other words, a diplomat has to be ambivalent if he desires to become successful in his profession. In the practice of diplomacy, written words always play a major role when compared to spoken words.

The instance when Napoleon insulted Metternich of Austria by showing arrogance and throwing his hat down on the carpet, in the year 1813 at the Marcolini Palace at Dresden, caused irreparable damage to both the countries. Nicolson cites another instance where Sir Charles Wansmith tore off a treaty in the presence of Sultan of Morocco, the then emperor. The observations of Jules Cambon, an eminent ambassador from France, may be quoted here: 'Patience is an indispensable quality for the successful negotiator. The wind is bound to be contrary at times, and then one has to tack to get into port.'

One confounding factor in diplomacy is the question of loyalty. In the monarchical days, the loyalty of a diplomat always was fixed to the interest of his sovereign and none else. During the 18th and 19th centuries, with the improvement of communications and realization of the necessity of mutual dependence and intercourse between states, the concept of loyalty in diplomacy was found to be necessarily qualifying.

This again has got different connotations. For instance, where the head of the state changes, the loyalty continues to the office because in modern complexity of state relationship, the interests of the nation are counted as supreme. Such loyalty includes the diplomat's responsibility towards his nationals residing in the receiving state. Further, he has to be loyal to the head of the receiving state. This loyalty involves keeping promises, ethical responsibility and confidence. In conducting negotiations with the receiving state, the diplomat has to forget personal antipathy and animosities towards some officials, and his likes and dislikes. The diplomat conducts himself as a person who will always be looked upon as *persona grata* in conformity with the dignity of his sovereign and state. Last, but not the least, he must be loyal to his staff. This loyalty to the office and staff, capacity to coordinate work and gain the confidence of the staff, and watchful observations of their movements are the factors which contribute, to a great extent, to the success of a diplomat.

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Above all, viewing the present inflammable tensions prevailing in the world affairs, one would demand a diplomat's loyalty much more towards the human race in preference to his state's interest. Socially, he must be cosmopolitan in outlook. A diplomat should often entertain guests, establish goodwill for his country, acquaint himself with the language of the state, and behave as a great friend of the receiving state at all times. For a diplomat to imbibe all these qualities, it requires a broad mental disposition, intensive training in methods and practices, and selective and conscious approach in solving the problems posed from time to time. The responsibility of a diplomat, especially when the receiving state is on hostile terms with his state, is supreme and subtle. Similarly, the responsibilities of a diplomat from a democratic state accredited to a totalitarian state are also delicate and complex because he has to adjust himself to the methods and mode of government in such state.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

11. In what terms is the diplomacy of the 21st century defined?
12. List the seven important diplomatic features on which moral influence is based.

2.6 FOREIGN POLICY: INDIA, UK, USA AND CHINA

In this section, we will look at the foreign policies of four nations: India, UK, USA and China.

2.6.1 India's Foreign Policy

India is undoubtedly an emerging world power. It is already acknowledged as a regional superpower or a 'mini' superpower. Though a shackled giant at the moment, India has all the necessary residues—historical, national, and human—to be a great power. It has the seventh largest territory, home to sixteen per cent—the second largest—population of the world. Besides, it has the third largest pool of manpower. In addition, it has the fourth largest military force, the fifth largest air force and navy with full-fledged blue—water capability, with two aircraft carriers. Moreover, India is recognized as the pioneer of the non-aligned movement, the pillar of the Commonwealth of Nations, the protagonist of the Third World. Besides, it is the leading spokesman of the Afro-Asian bloc at the United Nations and the guide of the Group of 77. Thus, with a population of more than one billion, an abundance of natural resources, a large pool of scientific-technical, particularly infotech manpower, the sixth largest economy (its GDP is calculated by IMF at \$ 2 trillion) and sophisticated nuclear deterrence and space programmes, India can legitimately aspire for a superpower status in the next century.

Character of Indian's foreign policy

The Indian foreign policy has some distinctive character of its own. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that after achieving independence (1947), it chose to follow an independent (non-aligned) foreign policy in a world surcharged with Cold War alignment. Apart from refreshing originality, it has shown a rare consistency and a remarkable continuity.

Determinants of Indian Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is never original. It is always determined by a certain order of facts. Further, it is never determined by any one factor or a set of factors, but is the result of the interplay of a large number of factors that affect the formulation of policy in different ways and different circumstances. Generally speaking, determinants of foreign policy include geography, historical experience, political traditions, military strength, national character, domestic milieu, international milieu, political institutions and personalities of decision makers. According to V. P. Dutt, 'The Indian foreign policy is determined by conceptual and operational frameworks and the parameters and the motivating forces, the perceptions about world developments, the pulls and tides of history and geography, the interplay of strategy, economics and aspirations, the cut and thrust of international situation, the subtle interaction between domestic, regional and international balance of forces and the zigzag of relations with countries and regions critical to India.'

Now let us examine these determinants one by one as to how they affect and shape the Indian foreign policy.

Geography and strategic factors

Geography has conferred upon India one of the main determinants of its foreign and defence policies, shaping its attitudes towards other countries. A country of continental size, it covers an area of 3.28 million sq kms. It has something like 3,500 miles of coastal frontier and 8,200 miles of land frontier. Few regions of the world have such perfect boundaries as the Indian subcontinent. The Indian subcontinent separated from the rest of Asia by formidable natural barriers in all directions constitutes a distinct geographical region in cultural, economic and political terms. India is sheltered by the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, in the east, south and west and the grand Himalayas, in the north. Its land frontiers meet Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan and Burma.

India occupies an important geographical position in local, regional and global sense. Its location and size give India a central position in Asian and world politics. Nehru, the first Indian Prime Minister, had a keen appreciation of this and made India's weight, size and geographical location the main source of his policies. He wrote: 'We are in a strategic part of Asia set in the centre of the Indian Ocean with intimate past and present connections with West Asia, South-East Asia and East Asia.' In short, India is situated on the cross-roads of Asia. It is a sort of Asian bridge. All the major sea and air routes of the world pass through India.

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India and the Indian Ocean are an indispensable link in the world trade and commercial intercourse. As far back as 1903, Lord Curzon had predicted that India's geographical position shall push it into the forefront of international affairs. Not surprisingly, India has been playing an important role in world issues and conflicts since independence. It also explains why the superpowers have always attempted to programme India into their respective global strategic environment.

India's geographical location had made it inevitable that its political, commercial and cultural relations should be based primarily on oceanic intercourse. In other words, India's political and economic relations as well as its security must depend vitally on its command over the Indian Ocean. The logic of geography inevitably makes India a sea-faring nation and the Indian Ocean vital to its existence.

Thus, 'a state such as India by virtue of its size, sources and geographical location, finds itself a great power in regional terms, whether it seeks or not that label.' India's current political pre-eminence over its neighbours is so substantial that its position has been recognized by all major outside powers. Its continental size and political resource make India an important independent factor in international relations in its own right. They make India, like China, a potentially big power in material terms. It is, therefore, natural for India to behave as a big power in international affairs. As Nehru observed: 'India is too big a country to be bound down to any country, however big it may be; India is going to be and is bound to be a big country that counts in world affairs.' To quote Giri Lal Jain, 'India, though not a global power, has global aspirations.'

Historical and political traditions

A country's foreign policy, as Nehru has said, ultimately emerges from its own traditions, urges, objectives and, more particularly, from its recent past. No doubt, the political tradition, particularly the recent one, of any country is an important determinant of its foreign policy. As such, the Indian foreign policy is the product of traditional values of its society and commitments of the national movement during freedom struggle. According to Palmer and Perkins, 'the roots of Indian foreign policy are to be found in its civilization, the heritage of British policies, the independence movement and the influence of Gandhian philosophy.' The long, rich and complicated historical experience has much to condition Indian outlook and ethos. Indian tradition in its philosophical, ethical and social strands is derived from a multiplicity of sources, including Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Christianity and industrial civilization of the West. Nehru in his *Discovery of India* writes: 'We are very old and trackless centuries whisper in our ears.' J.B. Bandyopadhyaya sums up our political traditions as follows: (1) Idealist view of politics and power with emphasis on peace and non-violence, (2) Idealist approach to internationalism (*Vasudhaiva Kutumbkum*); (3) Anti-imperialism and anti-racialism; (4) Asianism; (5) Rejection of both Western capitalism and communism.

Thus, if India has always stood against political domination and aggrandisement, it is because India has no tradition of colonial or imperial past. In other words, anti-colonialism is rooted in our history. Similarly, the general preference for pacifism and peaceful methods of settling international disputes can be traced partly to

Gandhian doctrine of non-violence technique. Likewise, the policy of non-alignment corresponds to Indian tradition and philosophy. It is a reflection of our philosophical outlook that ‘nothing is black or white but everything is a different shade of grey.’ In a sense, it is a rationalization of traditional trait of Indian mind. It is middle of the road policy and accords well with the culture of the land, for the middle path is the hallmark of Indian tradition and culture. Our tolerance, non-violence, middle path are all derived from the Indian philosophy, which was summed up in Gandhism. But apart from Gandhism, the Indian foreign policy makers also show the influence of recent ideologies like Marxism and Democratic Socialism on their thinking. This partly explains India’s preference for the socialist bloc as against the West. Thus, Indian foreign policy is a projection of the values and traditions which we have cherished through the centuries and which formed the ethos of the Indian national movement.

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Economic determinant

‘Ultimately, foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy’, as Nehru said. India’s abysmal poverty made rapid economic development after independence a categorical imperative of domestic policy. In spite of being endowed with natural wealth, India remained a backward country during the British rule. There was no industrial establishment commensurate with its natural resources. Thus, India’s comparative backwardness made foreign aid and external assistance indispensable. But the politico-economic objective of foreign aid could be achieved only through a policy of non-alignment, for only this policy could ensure the diversification of the sources of aid without being subjected to pulls and pressures of either of the blocs. Nehru, therefore, avoided putting all eggs in one basket and welcomed aid from all quarters—Bhilai and Bokaro plant with the Soviet help, Rourkela plant with the help of West Germany, Durgapur plant with the British help and Tarapur atomic plant with the US money.

Given the economic compulsions and the constitutional and political set up, the only rational stance for Indian diplomacy could be one of avoidance of war to the best of its ability. Peace was therefore a minimum precondition for economic development. As Nehru said: ‘We cannot afford war and its devastation; we want to build our strength on peace and under the shelter of neutrality.’ Non-alignment, therefore, was organically related to our economic interest because it enhanced the chance of peace. In fact, the economic factor has always been at the background of Indian foreign policy. If today, India is moving closer to the West away from the Soviet Union/Russia, it is because there is little left in the Russian kitbag.

Military strength

The military strength of a nation is, in the ultimate analysis, a function of its economic strength and therefore dependent rather than an independent variable. A foreign policy aiming at the increase of military power must have a highly developed economy. To begin with, India neither has such an ambition nor the capability in economic terms. Therefore, it did not visualise a big power politico-military role in international relations. Being a developing country it had to invest the bulk of its resources in

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development rather than defence. That is why until Pokharan-II tests (1998) it never tried to gatecrash the nuclear club, the 1974-Pokharan test notwithstanding. In terms of per capita military expenditure, India's position has been weaker than that of even Pakistan, what to say of the US, the Soviet Union and China. India spends less than three per cent of its GNP on defence yearly. Therefore, its overall military capability is nowhere as compared to that of USA, Russia and China.

Yet, by and by India has become a regional superpower in terms of military capability. Today, it has the fourth largest army and the fifth largest naval and air force in the world. The *Time* magazine maintains that 'India is fast emerging as a global military power.' It has cited: India's surgical suppression of the pocket coup in the Maldives (1988), occupation of no man's land of Siachen glacier (1984), its eye ball to eye ball confrontation with China (1987) and deployment of Indian soldiers in Lanka (1987) as indicators of this trend. Further, India has become one of the world's largest importers of arms, has doubled its defence expenditure in the last decade. Surely, it is the dominant military power in the subcontinent.

There is no denying the fact that India's military strength has multiplied fast since 1963, but taking all other factors into consideration, 'the conclusion becomes inevitable that political, economic and cultural diplomacy rather than military strength must be the primary means for the preservation and promotion of India's national interest, including its national security.'

Domestic milieu

George F. Kennan has said: 'Foreign policy like many other things, begins at home.' A country's foreign policy is an exercise in the extension of its national interest. In a democracy, it is a reflection of the domestic scene of a nation. To borrow Mondale's observation, 'Foreign policy must truly become extension of domestic policy by other means.' Both foreign policy and domestic policy are therefore inseparably interlinked. Economic capability and political tradition, as already discussed, are important elements of domestic milieu. Other elements pertaining to domestic milieu are the role of the ruling elite, the problems of state building and the party structure, etc.

There is no gain saying the fact that the Indian state system is not fully integrated regionally, economically, politically, socially and culturally, and this lack of integration affects Indian foreign policy. There are certain centrifugal and separatist tendencies within the state system which create an image of internal weakness and dwarf its status abroad, thus thwarting, to some extent, India's role on the international scene. To be sure, domestic political integration or stability is the precondition for an effective foreign policy. Further, a foreign policy can be sustained only if it enjoys domestic acceptance. To substantiate, it was the all round domestic support that kept intact the policy of non-alignment since independence. Its enunciation by Nehru was universally hailed, because it was in tune with the general consensus. It was this consensus formula that could hold together the cross-sections of Indian public opinion.

International milieu

Lately, one factor which has gained importance more than any other determinant is what is called international milieu—external environment or international political topography or geopolitical equation or global relationship of forces.

The growth of international law and organization, the mutational impact of technological advance on international relations and the political evolution of the nation-states are some of the major factors that impart essentially dynamic character to the international milieu within which a state has to formulate its external policy. For all practical purposes, the policy makers must treat the international milieu as a given datum. In fact, the external environment impinges on the foreign policy and even on the domestic policy of a state more heavily than ever before.

Foreign policy makers cannot but take into account the major developments on the international scene, such as the bipolarity of a large area of the world politics as in 1950s and 1960s, gradually shading into a certain polycentric pattern, culminating into detente by the middle of eighties and climaxed by the demise of one pole of the bipolar system by the end of 1980s. In other words, they cannot be indifferent to different phases, of global power equation like Cold War, Détente and post Cold War uni-polarism or multi-polarism, etc. Further, they have also to take into account the development and dismantling of destructive weapons, the appearance and disappearance of colonialism or neo-colonialism, the growth of MNCs, the new economic trends, areas, globalization, like free trade resurgence of Afro-Asia, NAM and growing North-South chasm, reaction of related states—friendly or hostile, such as the Soviet Union/Russia, China and Pakistan.

Review of Indian Foreign Policy

The India foreign policy has shown a refreshing originality, a remarkable consistency and a rare continuity. Although there may be no particular sanctity about consistency or stability in foreign policy, yet it is notable that stability has characterized the Indian foreign policy much more than any other foreign policy. The general contours, the principles and the directions have remained firmly steady. The validity of the framework of Indian foreign policy has never been shaken. Unquestionably, the Indian foreign policy has stood the test of time and helped India to play a dynamic role in international affairs. The main credit, of course, goes to Nehru, whose vision, foresight and realist idealism helped to shape it.

The foreign policy of India has been influenced by two basic factors: One, it has emerged out of our historic commitment to certain principles and was moulded over decades as a part and parcel of our freedom struggle and international commitments. Two, India's foreign policy has always been marked by a consensus from all sections of its people as far as its basic approach to international affairs was involved. The basic contours of Indian foreign policy may be summarised as follows: It is the policy of peaceful and constructive co-existence, of non-alignment, of moral support to liberation struggles and freedom movements, of collaboration with developing countries in the battle for scientific and technological self-reliance, and support to the assertion of equal rights of the newly independent nations of the

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world. No doubt, this policy has given India a place of prestige in the comity of nations and has won for its friendship from all quarters of the world.

Modifications in Indian foreign policy after Nehru

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Being peace loving leader, Nehru did not pay enough attention to Indian defence forces. The defence capabilities of the country got a boost only in the post-Nehru era, following the war with Pakistan and China. Nevertheless, concern for good neighbourly relations remained reflected from Panchsheel (1954) to the Lahore Declaration (February 1999). While advocating the cause of nuclear disarmament all along, India became a nuclear state during the Vajpayee's regime. The Pokhran tests gave India a new identity — a de facto nuclear weapon power. The result was a sudden international isolation. But thankfully, the post-Pokhran II chill in relations with the US and other major powers has been overcome by now, and India's interactions with all the Group-8 countries have increased substantially in the last few years.

Achievements of Indian Foreign Policy

The achievements of Indian foreign policy are quite impressive, India has been at the forefront of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles. It has played a positive and constructive role in resolving the situation in various pockets of tension, such as Korea, Indo-China, the Congo, the Lebanon, the Suez Crisis, Sinai Somalia, Sierra Leone and elsewhere. Its role in about thirty peacekeeping operations has been duly acknowledged and appreciated.

India's place and position in world politics

The basic objective underlying India's regional policy since independence has been its undeclared claim to hegemony in South Asia. Now it has achieved that position unquestionably. Its pre-eminence in South Asia is now acknowledged even by Pakistan. Even though it disclaims any ambition to act as a leader in Asia, India is a leading champion of Asia's claim to a greater place in world affairs.

Besides, India is the most influential member of Non-aligned Movement. Moreover, it is the main organizer and the leading member of the powerful Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations. In addition, it is the chief spokesman of the Third World Forum. Notably, without being a great power, it has enjoyed a unique position in world affairs, because both politically and ideologically, it has a greater room for manoeuvre. But India has still a long way to go to become a global power, although it has thought of emerging so since independence. To quote S. Gurumurthy, 'The idea that we should aim at becoming a superpower is no longer a dormant one, even if it is not a dominant one.'

Drawbacks in Indian Foreign Policy

Though the positive side of the Indian foreign policy is quite prominent and impressive, its negative side, too, is not less glaring. The Indian foreign policy is bereft of long range thinking, of objective understanding analysis—the modern methodology of foreign policy-making and decision making. There is no foreign policy think tank as such or any architectural design of our foreign policy. Our foreign service is generalist

corps and focuses on day to day relationship; it has none of the reflexes so essential for diplomatic activism in a world of rapid shifts and development. There are few specialists, and most of the foreign service officers are diplomats, who have not been given sufficient opportunities to develop expertise in specific areas. No wonder, our foreign policy has been attacked for being reactive rather than an anticipative or creative or constructive. In other words, it lacks continued creativity. But the evolution of foreign policy does require continued creativity. As a matter of fact, our foreign policy is at its best in reacting decisively rather than initiating boldly. Moreover, 'Indian diplomacy has failed to meet regional and global challenges. It did not define for India a place in the international system that could fuse the needs of security as well as national development. The conception of policy and its diplomatic articulation did not relate interests and goals to principles and behaviour, specially failing to subordinate rhetoric consistently to a pragmatic calculation of costs and gains.' Again, more emphasis on multilateral diplomacy and comparative neglect of developing the methodologies of bilateral management has been a historical error of the Indian system. Besides, we have paid excessive attention to the West, and with all our lip service to Asia, we neglected our reach to the continent, until P.V. Narsimha Rao who initiated a novel 'Look East Policy'.

Another charge against our foreign policy is that since the very beginning India has adopted a hectoring posture. But, as Henry Kissinger has observed: 'The hectoring tone of moral superiority exhausts, if not the goodwill, at least the patience of their interlocutors'. Certainly, our foreign policy has been full of pious but toothless exhortations. Understandably, 'our gratuitously moralistic tone has pushed both friends and foes alike,' as Prem Bhatia remarked.

India's foreign policy administration also suffers from many weaknesses. In the opinion of Shashi Tharoor, 'In Indian foreign policy institutionalization has been inadequate, personnel and processes subverted, rationality and efficiency only occasionally realized and consensus contrived'. In other words, there is a lack of rational, institutional basis; there is lack of strategic planning, making national security our greatest casualty. The foreign office has no separate unit on military affairs. Our National Security Council is a poor copy of its counterpart in the US. J. N. Dixit in his *Across Borders* also points out that 'the absence of a security component in India's foreign policy is a strain that runs through fifty years'.

To conclude, ultimately our standing in the comity of nations depends on our political stability, our economic power, our technological autonomy and our peaceful coexistence with our neighbours.

India's Relations with Neighbouring Countries

Significance of Indian Ocean Region

Indian Ocean is strategically important for India. From India's perspective, key security considerations include the accessibility of the Indian Ocean to the fleets of the world's most powerful states; the large Islamic populations on the shores of the ocean and in its hinterland; the oil wealth of the Persian Gulf; the proliferation of conventional military power and nuclear weapons among the region's states; the

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importance of key straits for India's maritime security; and the historical tendency of continental Asian peoples or powers (the Indo-Aryans, the Mongols, Russia) to spill periodically out of Inner Asia in the direction of the Indian Ocean. The position of India in this environment has sometimes been compared to that of Italy in the Mediterranean, only on an immense scale. To this list may be added the general consideration that, in the words of India's navy chief, Indians 'live in uncertain times and in a rough neighbourhood. A scan of the littoral shows that, with the exception of a few countries, all others are afflicted with one or more of the ailments of poverty, backwardness, fundamentalism, terrorism or internal insurgency. A number of territorial and maritime disputes linger on Most of the conflicts since the end of the Cold War have also taken place in or around the [Indian Ocean region].'

Confronted by this environment, India—like other states that are geographically large and also ambitious—believes that its security will be best guaranteed by enlarging its security perimeter and, specifically, achieving a position of influence in the larger region that encompasses the Indian Ocean. As one prominent American scholar recently noted, 'Especially powerful states are strongly inclined to seek regional hegemony.'

Unsurprisingly, New Delhi regards the Indian Ocean as its backyard and deems it both natural and desirable that India function as, eventually, the leader and the predominant influence in this region—the world's only region and ocean named after a single state. This is what the United States set out to do in North America and the Western Hemisphere at an early stage in America's 'rise to power': 'American foreign policy throughout the nineteenth century had one overarching goal: achieving hegemony in the Western Hemisphere.' Similarly, in the expansive view of many Indians, India's security perimeter should extend from the Strait of Malacca to the Strait of Hormuz and from the coast of Africa to the western shores of Australia. For some Indians, the emphasis is on the northern Indian Ocean, but for others the realm includes even the 'Indian Ocean' coast of Antarctica.

In this same vein, one—probably not atypical—Indian scholar judges that 'a rising India will aspire to become the regional hegemony of South Asia and the Indian Ocean Region, and an extra regional power in the Middle East, Central Asia and Southeast Asia. Ceteris paribus, a rising India will try to establish regional hegemony just like all the other rising powers have since Napoleonic times, with the long term goal of achieving great power status on an Asian and perhaps even global scale.'

A second motive for India, and one obviously related to the foregoing, stems from anxiety about the role, or potential role, of external powers in the Indian Ocean. The late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru summed up India's concerns in this regard: 'History has shown that whatever power controls the Indian Ocean has, in the first instance, India's sea borne trade at her mercy and, in the second, India's very independence itself.' This remains India's view. The Indian Maritime Doctrine asserts, 'All major powers of this century will seek a toehold in the Indian Ocean Region. Thus, Japan, the EU, and China, and a reinvigorated Russia can be expected to show presence in these waters either independently or through politico-security arrangements.' There is, moreover, 'an increasing tendency of extra regional powers

of military intervention in [IO] littoral countries to contain what they see as a conflict situation.’

India’s concern about external powers in the Indian Ocean mainly relates to China and the United States. The Sino-Indian relationship has improved since India’s war with China in 1962 and the Indian prime minister’s 1998 letter to the U.S. president justifying India’s nuclear tests in terms of the Chinese ‘threat.’ Most recently, the Chinese premier paid a state visit to India in April 2005, during which the two sides agreed to, among various other steps, the establishment of a ‘Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity.’ Chinese and Indian naval units also exercised together for the first time in November 2005.

However, and notwithstanding the probably episodic progress registered of late, China and India likely will remain long-term rivals, vying for the same strategic space in Asia. Beijing, according to former Indian external affairs minister Jaswant Singh, is the ‘principal variable in the calculus of Indian foreign and defence policy.’ In the words of one Indian scholar, China’s ‘rise will increasingly challenge Asian and global security. Just as India bore the brunt of the rise of international terrorism because of its geographical location, it will be frontally affected by the growing power of a next door ... empire practicing classical balance-of-power politics.’

Another observer has recently judged that ‘there is no sign of China giving up its ‘contain India’ strategy which takes several forms: an unresolved territorial dispute; arms sales to and military alliances with ‘India-wary countries’ (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma and now Nepal); nuclear and missile proliferation in India’s neighbourhood (Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia); and opposition to India’s membership in global and regional organizations.’ Most recently, India’s defence minister said in September 2005 that the Sino-Indian ‘situation has not improved. Massive preparations and deployments by China in the Tibetan and Sikkim border areas near Arunachal Pradesh and the Aksai Chin ... has created an alarming situation.’

Narrowing its focus to the IO, India cannot help but be wary of the growing capability of China’s navy and of Beijing’s growing maritime presence. In the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea, especially, New Delhi is sensitive to a variety of Chinese naval or maritime activities that observers have characterized collectively as a ‘string of pearls’ strategy or a ‘preparation of the battlefield.’ For Beijing, this process has entailed achieving the capability, and thereby the option, to deploy or station naval power in this region in the future. A key focus in this connection is Burma (Myanmar), where Chinese engineers and military personnel have long been engaged in airfield, road, railroad, pipeline, and port construction aimed at better connecting China with the Indian Ocean, both by sea and directly overland.

Some of this activity, moreover, spills over onto Burma’s offshore islands, including St. Matthews, near the mouth of the Malacca Strait, and the Coco Islands (Indian until their transfer to Burma in the 1950s), in the Bay of Bengal. On the latter, China is suspected of maintaining a communications monitoring facility that collects intelligence on Indian naval operations and missile testing. In addition to this ‘presence’ in Burma, China is pursuing a variety of infrastructure links with Southeast Asia through the Greater Mekong Subregion programme and is building container

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ports in Bangladesh at Chittagong, and in Sri Lanka at Hambantota—directly astride the main east-west shipping route across the Indian Ocean. Elsewhere, and perhaps most ominously for India, China is constructing a large new naval base for Pakistan at Gwadar.

India also remains somewhat nervous about the large U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean to India's west—in the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. India's Maritime Doctrine observes that 'the unfolding events consequent to the war in Afghanistan has brought the threats emanating on our Western shores into sharper focus. The growing US and western presence and deployment of naval forces, the battle for oil dominance and its control in the littoral and hinterland ... are factors that are likely to have a long-term impact on the overall security environment in the [Indian Ocean region].' In similar fashion, the 2004-2005 Annual Report of India's Defence Ministry states, 'The Indian Navy maintained its personnel and equipment in a high state of combat preparedness due to the continued presence of multinational maritime forces in the Indian Ocean Region resulting in a fast pace of activities in the area.'

On the other hand, the continuing development of ties with the United States lately seems to have moderated Indian sensitivity to the U.S. presence in the Arabian Sea. In September and October 2005, for example, the two sides conducted their first naval manoeuvres—MALABAR 05—employing U.S. and Indian aircraft carriers, and this occurred in the Arabian Sea. Many Indians, moreover, also recognize that because of Washington's desire to draw closer to India in response to overlapping 'China' and 'terrorism' concerns, the increased American role in the Indian Ocean region lately has increased India's 'strategic space' and political-military relevance. Any decrease in the level of U.S. involvement in the region also would increase pressure here from China. Wariness about China also is a factor in recent Indian efforts to increase Japan's profile in the IO. This was most recently made manifest by the March 2005 Indo-Japanese agreement to develop jointly natural gas resources in the strategically sensitive Andaman Sea. In any case, as one retired Indian diplomat recently commented, 'asking outside powers to stay away is a pipe dream.'

Of particular note, this last realization has led New Delhi to discard its traditional rhetoric about the Indian Ocean as a 'zone of peace.' That language, along with 'nonalignment' and a diplomatic approach marked by preach-ness and a 'moral' dimension, were the policies of an India that was weak. That India now belongs to history: 'India has moved from its past emphasis on the power of the argument to a new stress on the argument of power.'

A third factor animating Indian interest in the Indian Ocean region is anxiety about the threat posed by Pakistan and, more broadly, Islam in a region that is home to much of the world's Muslim population. Formerly this may not have been an important consideration. Today, however, Islamic civilization often finds itself at odds with the West and with largely Hindu India, and this conflict frequently will play out in the Indian Ocean region. India's Maritime Doctrine, for example, observed 'the growing assertion of fundamentalist militancy fuelled by jihadi fervour are factors that are likely to have a long-term impact on the overall security environment in the [Indian Ocean region].' In a similar vein, India's naval chief recently declared that

the ‘epicentre of world terrorism lies in our [India’s] immediate neighbourhood.’ India, however, will approach these matters pragmatically, as illustrated by New Delhi’s close ties with Iran.

A fourth motive for India in the Indian Ocean is energy. As the fourth-largest economy (in purchasing-power-parity terms) in the world, and one almost 70 percent dependent on foreign oil (the figure is expected to rise to 85 percent by 2020), India has an oil stake in the region that is significant and growing. Some Indian security analysts foresee energy security as India’s primary strategic concern in the next twenty-five years and believe it must place itself on a virtual wartime footing to address it. India must protect its offshore oil and gas fields, ongoing deep-sea oil drilling projects in its vast exclusive economic zone, and an extensive infrastructure of shore and offshore oil and gas wells, pumping stations and telemetry posts, ports and pipeline grids, and refineries. Additionally, Indian public and private-sector oil companies have invested several billion dollars in recent years in oil concessions in foreign countries, many of them in the region, including Sudan, Yemen, Iran, Iraq, and Burma. These investments are perceived to need military protection.

The foregoing considerations are the primary ones for India in the region. However, there also are important commercial reasons for New Delhi to pursue a robust Indian Ocean strategy. In the Indian view, ‘the maritime arc from the Gulf through the Straits of Malacca to the Sea of Japan is the equivalent of the New Silk Route, and ... total trade on this arc is U.S. \$1,800 billion.’ In addition, large numbers of overseas Indians live in the region—3.5 million in the Gulf and Arab countries; they, and their remittances, constitute a factor in Indian security thinking.

In light of these interests, India is pursuing a variety of policies aimed at improving its strategic situation and at ensuring that its fears in the theatre are not realized. To these ends, New Delhi is forging a web of partnerships with certain littoral states and major external powers, according to India’s foreign secretary, to increase Indian influence in the region, acquire ‘more strategic space’ and ‘strategic autonomy,’ and create a safety cushion for itself. One observer states: ‘To spread its leverage, from Iran ... to Myanmar and Vietnam, India is mixing innovative diplomatic cocktails that blend trade agreements, direct investment, military exercises, aid funds, energy cooperation and infrastructure-building.’ In addition, India is developing more capable naval and air forces, and it is utilizing these forces increasingly to shape India’s strategic environment.

Relationship with the US

India’s pursuit of closer ties with its neighbours in the region and with key external actors in the region is not haphazard. Rather, and as one would expect, India is systematically targeting states that will bring India specific and tangible security and economic benefits.

The relationship with the United States is intended to enhance and magnify India’s own power, and it constitutes perhaps the most important measure that is intended, inter alia, to promote the realization of India’s agenda in the Indian Ocean. The United States, of course, is the key external actor in the IO and has a more significant military presence there—in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea, Pakistan,

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east and northeast Africa, Singapore, and Diego Garcia—than it did even a few years ago. Thus, America's raw power in the region has made it imperative that New Delhi, if it is to achieve its own regional goals, court the United States—at least for some time. The U.S. connection, of course, also promotes Indian goals unrelated to the Indian Ocean.

This developing relationship has been abetted by common concerns about international terrorism, religious extremism, and the rise of China. It also is a fundamental departure from the past pattern of Indian foreign policy. Since President William Clinton's visit to India in 2000 (the first visit by a president in decades) and, more recently, the realization by the George W. Bush administration of the importance of a rising India, as well as the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack on the United States, the two nations have embarked on a broad programme of cooperation in a variety of fields, especially security. This cooperation has included Indian naval protection of U.S. shipping in the Malacca Strait in 2002, a close partnership in responding to the 2004 tsunami, combined military exercises, U.S. warship visits to India, a dialogue on missile defence, American approval of India's acquisition of Israeli-built Phalcon airborne warning and control systems, and an offer to sell India a variety of military hardware, including fighter aircraft and P-3 maritime patrol planes.

Indo-US ties recently have advanced with particular speed. In March 2005, notably, an American government spokesperson stated that Washington's 'goal is to help India become a major world power in the 21st century. We understand fully the implications, including military implications, of that statement.' This declaration was followed, in June 2005, by a bilateral accord, a ten-year 'New Framework for the U.S.-India Defence Relationship' that strongly implies increasing levels of cooperation in defence trade, including co production of military equipment, cooperation on missile defence, the lifting of U.S. export controls on many sensitive military technologies, and joint monitoring and protection of critical sea lanes.

George Bush hosted a summit with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in July 2005, promising to strive for full civil nuclear cooperation with India. In effect, the president recognized India as a de facto, if not de jure, nuclear-weapon state and placed New Delhi on the same platform as other nuclear-weapon states. India, reciprocating, agreed to assume the same responsibilities and practices as any other country with advanced nuclear technology. These include separating military and civilian nuclear reactors and placing all civilian nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards; implementing the Additional Protocol (which supplements the foregoing safeguards) with respect to civilian nuclear facilities; continuing India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing; working with the United States for the implementation of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty; placing sensitive goods and technologies under export controls; and adhering to the Missile Technology Control Regime and to Nuclear Suppliers Group guidelines. The American and Indian delegations also agreed to further measures to combat terrorism and deepen bilateral economic relations through greater trade, investment, and technology collaboration. The United States and India also signed a Science and Technology

Framework Agreement and agreed to build closer ties in space exploration, satellite navigation, and other areas in the commercial space arena.

Notwithstanding this dramatic advance in relations, which—assuming eventual congressional approval of implementing legislation—establishes a very close United States-India strategic relationship, some bilateral problems will persist. One is Pakistan.

The U.S. administration's policy now is to expand relations with both India and Pakistan but to do so along distinct tracks and in differentiated ways, one matching their respective geo-strategic weights. From New Delhi's perspective, this is a distinct advance. Nonetheless, there will remain a residual Indian suspicion that any American efforts to assist Pakistan to become a successful state will represent means, potential or actual, of limiting Indian power in South Asia and the Indian Ocean. Such concerns have been diminishing; nonetheless, New Delhi will try to weaken or modify U.S. policies intended to strengthen United States-Pakistan ties, including continuing plans to sell the latter a large package of military equipment.

The terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 and on the Parliament on December 13, 2001 have led to a deepening of Indo-US cooperation in combating international terrorism. In 2010, US President Obama visited India.

President Barack Obama's three-day visit to India came on the heels of an economic recession and a losing war in Afghanistan. The creation of jobs in the United States was his prime objective.

American businesses desperately need markets to sell their products. They are looking towards the developing world with great optimism. India, being the second-fastest growing economy after China, is a major consumer of everything from bikes to aircrafts, nuclear power to defense equipment. In order to take advantage of the burgeoning demand from India, on the very first day of Obama's visit, 20 business deals worth a total of \$10 billion were signed between the two countries.

The deals included sales of Boeing passenger aircrafts, Boeing C-17 Globemasters to Indian armed forces, GE 107 F414 jet engines to the Indian Air Force, GE power turbines, and the setting up of a Harley Davidson assembly plant, among others. Obama declared that these deals would create around 54,000 jobs in the United States. All this was said and done despite the restriction on outsourcing from India.

Regional dynamics

Though there have been positive developments in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, a closer look at the neighbourhood and the wider region continues to present a disturbing picture. Many of the countries face internal instability threatening their economic progress and peace. However, the single greatest threat to peace and stability in the region is posed by the combination of terrorism nurtured in and by Pakistan for its strategic objectives, and the ingrained adventurism of the Pakistani military motivated by its obsessive and compulsive hostility towards India. Virtually every terrorist act anywhere in the world today has a Pakistani fingerprint somewhere. It is the root and epicentre of international terrorism in the region and beyond.

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Afghanistan has, with the intervention of the international community, only just emerged from the dark years of a reactionary, medieval and fundamentalist regime essentially created by Pakistan. While the new Government has international legitimacy, the task of reconstruction and rebuilding the institutions is formidable. Pakistan has a vested interest in a weak and unstable Afghanistan which provides it an opportunity to meddle in the internal affairs of the country in pursuit of its quest for strategic depth vis a vis India and Central Asia. Any revival of jihadi activities supported by Pakistan is of direct security concern to India in view of their linkages with terrorism and the proxy war against India. India is also committed to international engagement in Afghanistan so that Pakistan cannot exploit the neglect and inattention of the international community, as it did after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, to sponsor jihadi politics and training in the region.

In **Pakistan**, fundamentalist political parties have taken advantage of the manipulated elections that debarred the two most popular political leaders from contesting, to seize power in two provincial governments and a share in the coalition government at the Centre. Reports and evidence mount of both inward and outward proliferation of nuclear weapon technologies. Pakistan has also not lived up to its much-publicised promises to the international community to cease cross-border terrorism against India reversing even those cosmetic steps that it took at the beginning of the year, under international pressure, against fundamentalist organizations. Worse still, periodic Pakistani nuclear sabre-rattling, veiled and unveiled, has passed virtually unreprimated by the international community.

In **Bangladesh** too, conservative, right wing, religious fundamentalist political parties now have a place in the coalition government. Pakistan continues to take advantage of a favourable environment in Bangladesh and of weak government in Nepal, to promote fundamentalist thinking and ISI activities in India in both these countries. In Sri Lanka, the ceasefire between the LTTE and the government is a positive development though the LTTE remains a potent non-state military force that continues to arm itself, and the danger of backsliding of the political process remains. In Myanmar, the tussle between the forces of democracy and the military government remains alive.

Further west of the region, the US-led war against Iraq has generated a series of security concerns for India notably in relation to the security of the large Indian community resident there, and of oil and energy supplies. There is also a very real risk that the US-led coalition war in Iraq will distract attention from Pakistani behaviour in its neighbourhood, particularly in India but also Afghanistan, which Pakistan will use to step up its adventurist activities in the region as it did after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. The war against Iraq could also aggravate the divide between the Muslim and non-Muslim world.

Against this backdrop, India remains fully committed to maintaining peace with its neighbours and stability in the region through a combination of defence-preparedness and unilateral restraint, confidence building and dialogue and expanding bilateral interactions. In the area of defence-preparedness, it has reformed its higher defence management and streamlined procurement procedures. Its defence policy and force postures remain defensive in orientation while its nuclear policy is

characterized by a commitment to no-first-use, moratorium on nuclear testing, minimum credible nuclear deterrence, and the rejection of an arms race or concepts and postures from the Cold War era.

Pakistan

Pakistan's polity has been repeatedly hijacked by the military that has a vested interest in tension with India as it strengthens their pre-eminence in the Pakistani power structure. The past year witnessed a progressive consolidation of the role of the military, and in particular that of Gen. Musharraf, in the Pakistani polity through the 'referendum' of April 2002, the Legal Framework Order (LFO) of August, the enhanced and institutionalized role of the army in the strengthened National Security Council of Pakistan, and the patently manipulated elections of October. Together with the rise of fundamentalist MMA, these developments do not augur well for India's security.

India has been on the receiving end of Pakistan's policy of a proxy war against India using terrorism for several decades now, first in the Punjab and then in Jammu & Kashmir and elsewhere. Pakistani provocation reached a dangerous point with the 13 December 2001 attack on the Parliament. A more forceful response became necessary. Additional troops were moved along the Line of Control (LoC) and the International Boundary in a state of readiness, inter-alia to prevent further infiltration of terrorists into India.

In response to these measures and international pressure, the then Pakistani President, General Pervez Musharraf announced in a speech on 12 January 2002, that 'Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used for any terrorist activity anywhere in the world', that 'no organization will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir' and that 'anyone found involved in any terrorist act would be dealt with sternly'. There was a temporary crackdown on extremists in Pakistan. Terrorist groups such as Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Tayyaba were banned and some of their financial assets were frozen. Some leaders were placed under house arrest and around 2000 low-level cadres of terrorist organizations were arrested.

There was a temporary decline in cross border infiltration and terrorist violence linked to it in the months of January-March 2002 while 'jehadi' cadres were advised to lie low. However, cross border infiltration and terrorist violence continued and increased as the measures were relaxed with time. On 14 May 2002, terrorists attacked family lines of an army camp in Kaluchak, Jammu district, killing thirty-two civilians including eleven women and eleven children. On 18 May 2002, India asked the Government of Pakistan to recall their High Commissioner in New Delhi in view of Pakistan's continued support to cross border terrorism. Once again, under pressure, General Musharraf responded in his speech of 27 May 2002 with a commitment to stop cross border infiltration and terrorism on a permanent basis.

Despite Gen. Musharraf's commitments, cross border infiltration and related terrorist violence increased from July 2002 onwards. On 13 July 2002 Pak-based terrorists attacked a low-income neighbourhood in Qasimnagar. Attacks on soft targets calculated to inflame sentiments have continued. These include the attacks on temples at Akshardham, and in Jammu and on women in J&K. As recently as on

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March 20, 2003, Kashmiri Hindus living in Nadimarg, Jammu were targeted in which twenty-four Pundits, including eleven women and two children were massacred in cold blood. These incidents underscore once again that there has been no respite in terrorism from Pakistan. They also underline the need for Pakistan to take decisive steps to end infiltration on a permanent basis and wind down the infrastructure of support to terrorism.

Cross border infiltration and linked terrorist violence reached a height in the run up to the Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly election. However, the successful conduct of elections to the Jammu & Kashmir Assembly with a voter participation of 43.70 per cent; in the face of terrorist threats and intimidation, and public satisfaction with the results, was seen as a vindication of the desire of the people of Jammu & Kashmir for peace and of the credibility of the elections.

On 16 October 2002, the Government decided to re-deploy the troops from positions on the international border as the Armed Forces were deemed to have achieved the immediate objectives assigned to them. It was also decided that there would be no lowering of the vigil in Jammu & Kashmir.

India remains firmly committed to the path of dialogue and reconciliation in keeping with the Simla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration and has repeatedly called upon Pakistan to end its sponsorship of terrorism in India so that a conducive environment can be created for the resumption of bilateral dialogue. Should Pakistan move purposefully towards eradicating cross border terrorism, India will be prepared to resume bilateral dialogue to address differences and enhance cooperation. It should not be forgotten that the two most bold and meaningful initiatives for dialogue at Lahore and Agra came from India. With this in background the latest peace initiative of Prime Minister will make worthwhile progress only with end of cross-border terrorism.

China

China, India's largest neighbour, is passing through a period of rapid economic growth and modernization with the aim of achieving great power status in the shortest time possible. India's border with China is almost 3,500 km long. China continues to occupy approx. 38,000 sq. km of Indian territory mainly in the Aksai Chin Area, and claims yet another 90,000 sq km in the Eastern Sector. Further, 5,180 sq. km of territory under Pak occupation in Northern Kashmir was illegally ceded to China by Pakistan in 1963.

China is rapidly modernising its Armed Forces. In its White Paper on National Defence issued recently, China has stressed the vital importance of maintaining international stability and a global strategic balance, as also a legal regime governing international arms control and disarmament, in order to address an international situation that is undergoing profound changes including a serious disequilibrium in the balance of military power especially between the developed and developing countries. As reported by the Chinese Government to the 16th National Party Congress in November 2002, strengthening of national defence is a 'strategic task in China's modernization drive'.

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As far as India is concerned, it cannot be ignored that every major Indian city is within reach of Chinese missiles and this capability is being further augmented to include Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs). The asymmetry in terms of nuclear forces is pronouncedly in favour of China and is likely to get further accentuated as China responds to counter the US missile defence programme. China's close defence relationship with Pakistan takes a particular edge in view of latter's known belligerence and hostility to India and its acquisition of nuclear assets.

Notwithstanding these concerns, India continues its endeavour to seek a long term and stable relationship with China, based on the principles of Panchsheel, mutual sensitivity to each other's concerns and equality and is committed to the process of dialogue to resolve all outstanding differences. Some Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) have been initiated and while these are bearing fruit incrementally, the pace of progress has been less than satisfactory. A number of high level visits have taken place in recent years. The President of India visited China in the year 2000. This was followed by Mr. Li Peng's visit to India in January 2001. These high level visits have improved bilateral relations and understanding of each other's viewpoint thereby contributing to further reduction in tension.

Important developments marking the progress of India-China relations in 2002-03 included the initiation of direct Delhi-Beijing flights, the first meeting of the India-China dialogue mechanism on counter terrorism, the completion of the process of exchange of maps for clarification of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the Middle Sector, the implementation of the MOU (signed during Premier Zhu's visit) on sharing hydrological data from the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra and accordance of 'Approved Tourist Destination Status' to India by China. The Joint Working Group on the Boundary Question met in its 14th session in November 2002. The first informal Foreign Minister level India-China-Russia dialogue took place in September 2002 on the sidelines of the UNGA. Interaction in other agreed dialogue mechanisms also continued.

India has, of late, commenced some cooperation with the armed forces of China. Naval ships of both the countries have been exchanging visits and some of India's mid level officers are undergoing courses in Chinese institutions. During 2002-2003, exchange of high level defence delegations continued.

Bangladesh

India's relation with Bangladesh is characterized by both affinity and occasional friction. Key security concerns relate to the problem of uncontrolled migration, which Bangladesh refuses to recognize, across the 4,000 kms common boundary, the presence and activities of Indian insurgent groups and leaders from the north-east of India on Bangladeshi soil which it refuses to acknowledge, the rising influence of political parties and organizations of radical Islamic and fundamentalist orientation within and outside the coalition government led by the Bangladesh National Party, and border demarcation and border management problems which give rise to ugly incidents from time to time. Border management problems, such as smuggling, illegal immigration, insurgency, trafficking of women and children, and the construction, repair and maintenance of boundary-related structures are addressed through Border

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Coordination Conferences between the Border Security Force (BSF) and Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) while issues such as exchange of enclaves and adverse possessions are addressed by the Joint Boundary Working Groups (JBWGs) constituted for the purpose. Following the elections, India continued with its policy of close engagement with its eastern neighbour discussing all issues in a forthright manner.

Sri Lanka

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has, over the years, extracted a severe political and security cost for India, internally and externally, that goes beyond the assassination of a former Prime Minister through a terrorist act and serious casualties incurred by the Indian Armed Forces in an effort to ameliorate the situation. It has created the possibility for countries hostile or unfriendly to India to establish a foothold there in a manner inimical to India's security interests. The LTTE remains a proscribed terrorist organization in India and its leader, a proclaimed offender under the law.

The keystone of the Government of India's policy towards the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is a firm commitment to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and to the restoration of a lasting peace through a peaceful, negotiated settlement that meets the just aspirations of all elements of Sri Lankan society. On the political front, India continues to support the activities of the Sri Lankan Government towards the Peace Process. The Government of India welcomed the ceasefire agreement stating that it would provide an opportunity to both sides to move forward towards a substantive dialogue for a negotiated political settlement of the ethnic conflict. The regional dynamics has changed a lot after the end of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka with the elimination of LTTE.

Nepal

Relations between India and Nepal have consistently been close and extensive, reflecting the historical, geographical, cultural and linguistic links between the two nations. In keeping with this close relationship, several high-level interactions took place between India and Nepal. Defence relations too have been traditionally close.

During the year, Nepal was beset on the one hand by a political and constitutional crisis and on the other, by a growing Maoist insurgency and violence that had spread to almost all the districts of Nepal, with mid-West to Western districts as thrust areas.

Another area of growing concern for India's security is the increased activities of Pak ISI and terrorist organizations amongst Nepal's Muslim minority.

Afghanistan

India is closely watching the changing scenario in Afghanistan since it has ramifications on the security scenario of the region and the country, including in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. India would not like to see Afghanistan once again becoming a breeding ground for terrorism, or a victim of terrorism sponsored from across its borders. India was amongst the first countries to appoint a Defence Attaché in Kabul. India-Afghanistan ties continued to expand and strengthen during the year.

In general, the situation in Afghanistan has improved. However, the security situation in crucial parts of Afghanistan is still not stable. Two senior ministers have been assassinated. Armed clashes have been taking place between different groups in Northern and Western Afghanistan. Of particular concern are the signs of the regrouping of the Taliban and Al Qaeda remnants and the forces of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in the southern and eastern Afghanistan.

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Terrorism and India's Nuclear Policy

India has been a victim of terrorism for many decades, much before the West experienced its deadly reality on 11 September 2001. The terrorist menace in Jammu and Kashmir has its roots in Pakistan and is supported financially and materially by the government and institutions of that country. The Indian Armed Forces have dealt with the problem of cross-border terrorism with a multi-pronged strategy that includes psychological warfare, innovative military tactics and counter intelligence methods. These efforts have met with reasonable success but this is a prolonged battle. India's long experience in tackling terrorism can be of valuable help to other countries that are facing similar challenges now. Despite the assurances of the Pakistani Government, infiltration continues across the border.

For any terrorist movement to be contained, the Government's resolve and the security forces' firmness are a must. India's fight against terrorism has been a long and arduous one and the Indian Armed Forces are fully geared to handle any problem that may arise in future. It is important that the state support for any form of terrorism must cease. Terrorist organisations have long arms and global reach. The world, therefore, has to fight a united battle by pooling resources in order to remove this scourge from the face of the earth.

India's Nuclear Policy

India remains a firm and consistent proponent of general and complete disarmament and attaches the highest priority to global nuclear disarmament. India's policy on disarmament also takes into account changes that have taken place in the world, especially in the 1990s. The nuclear tests of May 1998 do not dilute India's commitment to this long-held objective. As a nuclear weapon State, India is even more conscious of its responsibility in this regard and, as in the past, continues to take initiatives in pursuit of global nuclear disarmament both individually and collectively. The steps that were announced after the tests and the initiatives that India has taken since, strengthen this commitment.

India's nuclear weapons capability is meant only for self-defence and seeks only to ensure that India's security, independence and integrity are not threatened in the future. India is not interested in a nuclear arms race. This is the rationale behind the two pillars of India's nuclear policy – minimum deterrence and no-first use. The determination of the profile of this deterrent, including accurate and refined delivery systems, is a sovereign responsibility.

After concluding the series of tests of May 1998, India announced a voluntary moratorium on further underground nuclear test explosions. In announcing this moratorium, India accepted the core obligation of a test ban and also addressed the

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general wish of the international community to foreswear testing. This moratorium continues, subject to the supreme national interests, a provision granted under the CTBT to every country. India has also announced its willingness to move towards a *de jure* formalisation of this voluntary undertaking.

Planning considerations

The security environment that has been highlighted above clearly brings out four key elements that are fundamental determinants of our security planning. These are as follows:

- (a) The Indian Armed Forces have a two front obligation, which require them to safeguard the security of our borders with Pakistan as well as with China ;
- (b) India is not a member of any military alliance or strategic grouping, nor is this consistent with our policies necessitating a certain independent deterrent capability;
- (c) due to external abetment, India's Armed Forces are involved in internal security functions on a relatively larger scale than is normal requiring a force structure that will be able to cope with it; and
- (d) India's interests in the North Indian Ocean, including the security of our EEZ and Island territories, highlight the need for a blue water Naval capability commensurate with our responsibilities.

India's Relations with Israel

India's ties with Israel can be discussed under the following headings:

Political Relations

On 17 September 1950, India announced recognition of Israel. Soon after India's recognition of Israel, the Jewish Agency established an immigration office in Bombay. This was soon converted into a Trade Office and later a Consulate. Sporadic governmental contacts continued between India and Israel in the fifties and early sixties, including visits by several Israeli and Indian ministers. Following decision to establish diplomatic relations, Israel opened its Embassy in Delhi in February 1992 and India opened its Embassy in Tel Aviv on 15 May 1992. Since then relations have seen rapid growth across a broad spectrum.

Recent important high level visits from India include that of Chief Minister of Punjab Shri Parkash Singh Badal and Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh Shri Prem Kumar Dhumal in November 2009; Minister of State for Commerce and Industry Shri Jyotiraditya Scindia in February 2010; Minister of State (I/C) for Science & Technology Shri Prithviraj Chavan in March 2010; Members of Parliament in July 2010. Minister of Industry, Trade and Labour of Israel Binyamin Ben-Eliezer visited India in January 2010.

Bilateral mechanisms

The period since 1992 has been utilized to put in place the framework of normal state-to-state relations, including agreements and MOUs in diverse areas of cooperation.

Bilateral institutional mechanisms include Foreign Office Consultations; Strategic dialogue between NSAs; JWG on Counter-Terrorism and Non Proliferation Dialogue; JWG on Defence Cooperation; JWG on Trade and Economic cooperation; Joint Committee on Agriculture; Joint Committee on Science and Technology.

Economic and Commercial relations

Bilateral trade and economic relations have progressed rapidly since the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and Israel in 1992. From a base of US\$ 200 million in 1992 (comprising primarily of diamonds), merchandise trade has diversified and had increased sharply reaching US\$ 4747.1 million in 2010 (an increase of 59.92 per cent compared to 2009 when bilateral trade in goods amounted to US\$ 2968.3 million).

In 2010, India stood at the sixth place in terms of Israel's trade partner countries and the third largest trade partner in Asia after China and Hong Kong (trade data includes diamonds) and remained a 'focus' country of the Israeli Government for increased trade effort.

While India's exports to Israel in areas other than diamonds have increased over the years, Diamonds constituted 42.1 per cent of the total bilateral trade in the year 2009 and 49.35 per cent of the bilateral trade in 2010. Major exports from India to Israel include precious stones and metals, chemical products, textile and textile articles, plants and vegetable products, mineral products, rubber and plastic products, base metals and machinery. Major exports from Israel to India include precious stones and metals, chemical and mineral products, base metals, machinery, and transport equipment.

While the traditional business thrust in diamonds, agriculture, chemicals, information and communication technology and pharmaceuticals remains strong, there is a growing interest from Israeli companies in clean energy, water technologies, biotech, nanotech, homeland security, real estate, infrastructure and financial services. Israeli companies have also begun making major strategic decisions related to cooperation with India and are moving away from a buyer-seller relationship to a focus on setting up Research and Development (R&D), development centres or production units in India. Increase in India-Israel collaborations at corporate level spanning various sectors is visible in real estate, IT & Software, telecom, semiconductors, chemicals and agrochemicals, energy and so on.

Agriculture

Agriculture is a major area of cooperation between the two countries. The private sector in India has also shown interest in accessing Israeli technologies and JVs have been set up for manufacture of drip irrigation systems and in the areas of floriculture and horticulture. A comprehensive Work Plan for cooperation in the field of agriculture was signed on 10th May 2006. The Work Plan which was to be in force till 1 June 2008 was followed by an Action Plan 2008-2010. Several Indian states are running programmes with Israeli cooperation particularly Haryana and Rajasthan.

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Cooperation in Science and Technology

In May 2005, a MOU on Industrial Research and Development Initiative between Department of Science & Technology, Government of India and the Ministry of Industry, Trade & Labor, Government of Israel was signed with the objectives of promoting activities of bilateral industrial R&D cooperation and to identify and promote specific projects that could lead to industrial R&D. Under this MOU, India and Israel also set up a joint industrial Research and Development fund (called i4RD) to encourage investment and joint ventures.

Training programmes

The Israeli MFA's Centre for International Cooperation (MASHAV) has conducted activities in diverse fields with India. These include courses in various fields in Israel as well as in India, including health, agriculture, education and management. The Horticultural Demonstration Farm located at IARI Research Institute in PUSA, New Delhi is a result of technical cooperation between the two countries.

Culture & Tourism

India is known in Israel as an ancient nation with strong cultural traditions, and in popular Israeli perception India is an attractive, alternative tourist destination. Israeli youth are particularly attracted to India. About 35,000 Israelis, mostly youth, after finishing military service, visit India annually. The level of understanding of and knowledge about India is growing, in some measure as a result of India's economic advancement and image as an important centre for hi-tech. There is also an abiding interest in Indian culture and spiritual traditions.

Indian Community- NRI/PIO

There are approximately 70,000 Jews of Indian origin in Israel, most of them Israeli nationals. They are mostly engaged in agriculture or work in the new development towns outside the traditional urban centres. Immigrants into Israel from India, who came in the fifties and sixties from Maharashtra and smaller numbers from Kerala and Calcutta, still maintain an Indian lifestyle and their cultural links with India remain intact, while the younger generation is increasingly assimilated into Israeli society. The resident Indian community of about 700 Indian citizens includes diamond traders, some IT professionals, students and unskilled workers. There are also about 5,000 to 7,000 unskilled workers mainly employed in care-giving. There is a Central Organization of Indian Jews, which brings together a large section of Indian Jews.

Other links

An Air Services Agreement was signed in April 1994. The Israeli national carrier 'El- Al' Airlines currently flies thrice a week from Mumbai to Tel Aviv. State Bank of India opened its branch in March 2007. It is located in Diamond Exchange and caters to both the diamond business community and other major commercial actors in the bilateral relationship.

2.6.2 United Kingdom's Foreign Policy

Britain has been the greatest of imperial powers in history. For a long time, she has had worldwide interests and commitments. Hence, the saying went: 'The sun never sets over the British Empire.' But all that glory has now become history. Today, she is declining in terms of relative importance and international commitments.

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Decline of British power

The nineteenth century was known as the British century. However, the decline of the British power began in the last quarter of the 19th century itself. In the beginning, it was a gradual process. The causes of her decline were manifold. Technical advances modified her insularity, reduced her naval pre-eminence and diminished her industrial monopoly.

The rise of Japan and America challenged her naval supremacy, and as a result, Britain lost the command of the seas—the main prop of Pax Britannica. Moreover, a unified Germany (1871) threatened the balance of power in Europe. Consequently, Britain lost the position of the holder of the balance— 'the laughing third' status.

Sunset over the British Empire

The Second World War marked a turning point in the history of Great Britain. She suffered a precipitous downfall in her power status because of this War. Though, a nominal victor in the War, in winning it she lost her economic and military bases and consequently, her status as a great power. The consequences of this decline was a drastic revision in her foreign policy—the dismantling of overstretched empire, the abandonment of unilateralism and the decision to seek much closer and paramount economic, military and other ties with other powers. With the disappearance of her empire and the emergence of two Superpowers—the USA and the Soviet Union, Britain became a second rate power or a middle power by way of comparison. 'Today, very little of the once mighty empire remains, although Britain still aspires to have worldwide interests by the virtue of her role in the Commonwealth of Nations, the Sterling area, the Colombo Plan and other associations or regional organizations.'

Foreign policy making process in Britain

In Britain—the mother of parliamentary democracy—foreign policy has been the responsibility of the Prime Minister and of the Cabinet. In contrast to the American political system, the policy making power here is not shared between the executive and the legislative organs of the government. Next to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary holds a pre-eminent position in foreign affairs. However, unlike the American Secretary of State, the British Foreign Secretary occupies a more constitutionally defined office.

The Parliamentary Under Secretaries assist the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister in handling matters on the floor of the Parliament and help in maintaining liaison between the Parliament and the Foreign Office. The Foreign Secretary is also advised by the permanent Under Secretary, the senior most civil

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servant in the Foreign Office. Other departments that have a voice in the foreign affairs include the Ministry of Defence, the Treasury, the Trade and Industry. Unlike the US Congress, the British Parliament has no special constitutional powers to regulate foreign commerce and consent to treaties. In Britain, 'the Cabinet, not the Parliament, declares war. Express consent of the Parliament is not essential for ratification of treaties except those involving cession of territories or expenditure of funds,' or those affecting the power of the Parliament. To illustrate, the Treaty of Maastricht (1992) required the approval of the British Parliament because it would undermine the parliamentary sovereignty of Britain.

Objectives of UK's foreign policy since 1945

The major objectives guiding the British foreign policy since 1945 are: (1) to enrich and strengthen her economy; (2) to keep her military strength in proportion to her resources; (3) to have political influence in her ex-colonies, by large scale investment; (4) to support democracy and democratic institutions all over the world; (5) to stand for stability and order in world's situation; and (6) to play a leading role on the continent (Europe) and a prominent role in the European Community or EU.

Until the Second World War, Britain had been following her traditional 'balance of power policy', which, to quote Winston Churchill, 'has been the unconscious tradition throughout the centuries.' She always relished the role of a holder of balance and acted as what Carl Frederick has termed 'the laughing third'. Her approach to European politics was dual in the sense that she kept herself aloof from the European affairs, but, at the same time, she had a keen concern with European politics. In fact, she joined the two World Wars only in the interest of maintaining the balance of power tradition, for Germany was attempting to become a dominant power. But in the bipolar system that followed the end of the Second World War, the role of a balancer was lost to her, for she was nowhere in terms of power to play this role any longer. Hence, after the world politics was polarized into two blocs, it was natural for Britain to join the US-led Western Camp. For the sake of economic and security interests, she joined all the major military alliances sponsored by America, and accepted her economic assistance with open hands. Thus, in the post-War period, she abandoned her age-old policy of 'splendid isolation' and entered into peace-time alliances.

Since 1945, the British foreign policy-makers, whether Labourites or Conservativists, have followed Churchill's three circle strategy and accordingly, focused on three general areas, namely, (1) Special relationship with the US, (2) Commonwealth of Nations and (3) Western Europe.

Britain and the United States

A unique feature of international relations since the end of the World War II has been the special relationship between Britain and the United States. Ethnic, cultural and linguistic ties apart, their close alliance during the War and their common participation of the post-War World has made Britain the most steadfast ally of America. In his 'Iron Curtain' speech (1946), Churchill had given a call for 'fraternal association of English speaking people'.

Again, in 1954, Churchill had observed that ‘the growth of ever closer ties with the US ... is supreme factor in our future ... the whole foundation of our existence stands on the alliance and friendship and, if I may say so, an increasing sense of brotherhood with the US.’ The Britishers were fully aware of the contribution of America to Britain’s survival before, during and after the Second World War. The Americans also remember the Britishers’ magnificent spirit of 1940-41 (known as Dunkirk spirit) and their tremendous contribution to the cause of freedom and democracy. In the bipolar world that emerged in the post-War period, Britain, because of common political tradition, common language and common interest joined the American bloc. The common fear (though not as obsessive as with the Americans) of advancing communism also forced this choice upon Britain. Britain readily accepted the Marshall Aid and received a lion’s share under the Economic Recovery Programme. She fully subscribed to the Truman Doctrine (1947) and the policy of containment underlying it, and accordingly joined all the US-sponsored military alliances like NATO, SEATO and CENTO. She equally subscribed to the subsequent Eisenhower Doctrine (1957) for the Middle East, and even took action under this Doctrine during the Jordan Crisis of 1958. She also stood by the United States on the German question and the Berlin problem. Likewise, on the question of disarmament and arms control, she sided with America and signed the NTB (1963) and NPT (1968) as original signatory.

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But this does not mean that Britain had no disagreements with America on certain international issues or had no independent policy of her own. Some of the main areas of disagreement between the two nations were: People’s Republic of China, East Asia and West Asia. Despite the known and negative attitude of the US towards the PRC, Britain was the first nation outside the socialist bloc to have extended recognition to Mao’s regime. Moreover, she carried on normal trade relations with communist China while America had placed an embargo on trade. In fact, Britain’s approach has been that the Far Eastern situation could be better normalized by the acceptance of the fact of Chinese power, admission of communist China to the UN and the realization of legitimate Chinese interests. The conflicting China policies adopted by the two countries continued to be the source of Anglo-American discord for decades. On the question of Korea and Vietnam, too, they had divergence of opinion. Britain often warned America against her growing involvement in Vietnam imbroglio, particularly the bombing of targets in Hanoi and Haipong in late sixties. In the Middle East, the Suez Crisis of 1956 made a serious breach in Anglo-American friendship. The US position on Anglo-French aggression in Suez had compelled France and Britain to withdraw their forces from the Canal. Naturally, Britain felt badly let down by her ally. Similarly, both Britain and America had some differences over Arab-Israel conflict as well. But despite differences with the US on certain issues, the British policy on the whole remained firm on close collaboration with the US. The special relationship is still sustained despite occasional tiffs and altercations.

As a matter of fact, the ‘bilateral relationship is based on self-interest, personal chemistry and habit,’ as David Owen has observed. It was because of personal chemistry that the two nations became still closer to each other when Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan were in power. Being ideological soul mates, they

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operated on the same wavelength. Britain became very much beholden to America for her open support on the Falklands War (April-June 1982) against Argentina, even though the latter was an OAS partner. Again, Thatcher's Britain was the first country to join SDI (Star War Programme) launched (1983) by Reagan's America. She also supported the US bombing of Libya (April, 1968). Subsequently, during the Bush period, Mrs. Thatcher had stated:

'For us loyalty to the US is permanent.' In fact, during Thatcher's time, UK almost appeared as a subservient partner of America. The same kinship and special rapport continued between Clinton and Tony Blair (since May 1997). Both of them worked in tandem to advance each other's diplomacy. For instance, both stood together against Iraq, UK even supporting the US missile attacks against that country (Dec. 1998), and together engineered the North Ireland Peace accord. And the same special rapport was sustained by Blair and George W. Bush as well.

However, in times to come, Britain may base her policy towards the USA not on sentimental attachment but on a cool calculation of interests, for the British membership of the European community has added a new dimension in her foreign policy matters. Now Britain has much more in common with the European Community than with the USA. So far Britain has maintained a certain balance between the two complex relationships. While still closely tied to the US, 'Britain knows that it can no longer be the neck that turns the American hand, let alone, "a Greece to the American Rome".'

Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations

The Commonwealth of Nations is the second area of interest for Britain, though lately it has become the third arrow to her bow in international relations—next to the American and European dimension of policy.

The Commonwealth of Nations is a unique achievement of Britain, whose members are sovereign yet bound with a link which is though invisible but real. It is comprised of states once part of the British Empire. It is significant to note that the former British colonies even after gaining their independence decided to maintain their association with Britain through the Commonwealth by forming part of the British Empire. In fact, the old imperial conference formally turned into the British Commonwealth after the Second World War. Though the former colonies after decolonization were free to join or not to join the Commonwealth, but almost all of them opted for it. However, in 1949, the designation 'British' associated with the Commonwealth was deleted at the insistence of India. But the British Head of State (British Queen) is still recognized as Head of the Commonwealth. However, the Commonwealth of Nations is not just a symbolic prolongation of the Empire or a moral substitute of post-Imperial Club or just a ghost of the deceased, British Empire. As a matter of fact, it is a unique experiment in living together of many different people who share a common heritage of ideals and institution. It is a form of free, uncommitted and non-binding association with the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

The Commonwealth, however, is neither a confederation nor a super-state. It has no constitution or charter. Members are not bound by any treaty as such. The alliance has no personality, can own no property except as a partnership, has no

corporate conscience and has only a common will, when acting together after consultation and agreement in a definite transaction. However, there is a common Secretariat (since 1965) and the Commonwealth Heads (CHOGM) meet every two years.

The members of the Commonwealth come from all the five continents, stretching across the globe and widely differ in history, geography, religion, people and culture, race, state of development and form of government, yet they are linked together on the basis of common interests and aspirations. Although a few members have left the institution (Eire in 1939, Burma in 1948, Sudan in 1956, Somaliland in 1961, Cameroon in 1961 and the Republic of South Africa in 1961), its membership has been steadily growing. Today the 54-member Commonwealth brings together one billion people across the frontiers of race, religion, geography and political system and makes the association a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-purpose body. To be sure, it has become an increasingly heterogeneous and unwieldy association, whose members have often had conflicting policies and interests. Nonetheless, through following different policies, they have learnt the art of consulting one another on different points of view. Indeed, the Commonwealth of Nations is an essay in coexistence.

Relevance of the Commonwealth of Nations

Although, vast changes are occurring within the Commonwealth and its future seems uncertain, the organization is still probably one of the most successful of all international groupings to date. The looseness of communication, informality of procedures, creative flexibility are the keys to its survival. Above all, it has shown concern for all global issues.

But primarily, it is a forum for a dialogue between the North and the South, between the rich and the poor. It is worth mentioning here that it has also promoted the cause of democracy by endorsing the suspension of military regime of Pakistan from the Councils of the Commonwealth pending the restoration of democracy at the Summit meet at Durban in November 1999.

But since the Commonwealth of Nations has ceased to be Anglo-centric, Britain has started losing interest in this organization. Though the Commonwealth sprang from the British apron strings, Britain now prefers to take a back-seat in this body. Though she still underwrites one-third of the expenditure of the Commonwealth Secretariat, Britain is losing her moral authority to lead the organization, because on several issues, she has stood on the wrong side of the majority position.

Britain and Western Europe

As has been pointed out earlier, the British interest in the post-1945 period has mainly focused on the USA, the Commonwealth and Europe. The last is now predominant in what is called 'three circles' formula. In the post-War period, the central theme has been shaping the future of Britain as part of the gradually uniting Western Europe. Consequently, she has abandoned her traditional policy of aloofness and has reversed the policy of refraining from peace time alliances.

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At the end of the Second World War, the war torn nations of Western Europe realized their relative insignificance in the world politics. They found themselves squeezed between the two superpowers. They discovered that they were no longer shapers of their own destinies. To avoid this catastrophe, they felt that they should pool their resources and unite economically, militarily and even politically. The USA also encouraged the idea probably in her own interest. As far back as 1946, Churchill had advocated: 'We must build a kind of United States of Europe.' Accordingly, he gave the slogan— 'Europe unite or perish.'

Interestingly, a nation which always maintained that 'a fog in the English Channel got the Continent isolated' was now frightened of isolation in a two-track Europe. The Labour party, which was in power from 1945 to 1951, was too eager for intimacy with the West economically, politically, and militarily. Of course, she was not in favour of a federation as such. In 1947, Britain concluded her first peacetime alliance treaty with France for a period of fifty years known as the Treaty of Dunkirk, directed against Germany. In March 1948, Ernest Bevin (Labour Foreign Secretary) delivered his famous West European speech and signed the Brussels Treaty along with Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and France. Later on, the Brussels Treaty Organization was expanded to include Italy and West Germany (1955) to constitute the West European Union. In 1949, Britain along with other West European countries joined the US-sponsored North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Earlier in May 1948, Britain had joined other West European powers to establish the Council of Europe as a step towards political union. But being a classical unitary state, Britain has little understanding of the notion of sharing of sovereignty. The strength and stability of the country's parliamentary system have made the Britishers extremely possessive of sovereignty. To illustrate, at the time of formation of the Council of Europe, Churchill had remarked: 'We are with them, not of them.' But later on, Britain also took steps towards collaboration in the economic field and played a leading role in the European Recovery Programme, and cooperated fully in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, which was set up in 1948 but converted into Organization for Economic Cooperation Development in 1960.

Britain and the European economic community

The history of British attitude towards European integration has been a chequered one. Conscious of its own position as a 'global' power along with the Superpowers, Britain was content to view Europe as the only one of the three distinct circles of influence, in so far as her foreign relations were concerned. The two of her circles—special relationship with the US and the evolving links with the post-imperial Commonwealth enjoyed precedence over that of Europe. In the beginning, Britain remained somewhat hesitant as far as economic community moves were concerned. Accordingly, she kept herself away from the European Coal and Steel Community formed in 1952. Similarly, when the European Common Market was established in 1958 under the Treaty of Rome (1957), signed by six countries (France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and Netherlands), Britain was unwilling to join it. She had several reasons for not joining the Common Market. Firstly, she had serious doubts about its success. Secondly, the Commonwealth partners were opposed

to the idea of Britain's association with the Market. Thirdly, she was not prepared for joining any association without enjoying its leadership. Instead of joining the Common Market, Britain set up another parallel organization called European Free Trade Area. In May 1960, it was joined by Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland apart from Britain. It was meant to be a rival organization to the Common Market—the Outer Seven against the Inner Six. But very soon, it was revealed that the EFTA was no match to the ECM. Further, Britain was losing the market of Europe.

The British calculations about sustaining an independent world role through the three distinct circles of influence went awry during the late fifties. Eventually, she realized the mistake and was forced to leave the standoffishness. Faced with the prospect of being reduced to a political nonentity (after the Suez debacle), London opted for a radical change in its strategy. Thus was vindicated Jean Monnet's (father of European Community) prediction about the British reaction to European Community. 'There is one thing you Britishers will never understand: an idea. And there is one thing you are supremely good at grasping: a hard fact. We will have to build Europe without you, but then you will come in and join us.' Incidentally, it was a Conservative Prime Minister, MacMillan, who moved an application in 1961 for the membership of the Common Market. But two successive vetoes by France kept Britain in the waiting room for nearly twelve years. It was certainly a rude rebuff on the part of De Gaulle (France).

Hence, it was only after the departure of De Gaulle (1969) that the veto was lifted, and Britain was finally allowed to take its place inside the Common Market, along with Denmark and Ireland (1973). But even after joining the Market, Britain remained a reluctant and at times a recalcitrant partner. For instance, in 1975, a referendum had to be held on the issue whether she would remain in the Market or leave it. The people, however, overwhelmingly voted in favour of continuing the membership.

Ironically, Britain now seemed to have reconciled to its minor position in the European Economic Community in spite of the occasional difference with other partners, though she is still not prepared to accept the Community as an embryonic European Super State. Now the 15-member European Community is heading towards political integration. There is already a directly elected Parliament with British willingness. As regards, Economic and Monetary Union by the end of the 20th century, as envisaged in the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), John Major agreed to it. He had declared that 'Britain is at the very heart of Europe,' and had clearly taken a pro-European position. The UK has affirmed its commitment to the Treaty but, at the same time, it has opted out of commitment in relation to EMU and Social Chapter.

Review of the British foreign policy

Since the close of the Second World War, British foreign policy has been an exercise in adjustment and search for a post-imperial role. Over the years, she has learnt to live with its reduced status—from a paramount power on the globe to just a partner position of the Anglo-American Alliance and the European Union.

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It is interesting to note that just as it was, the post-War Labour Government which took the first step towards the liquidation of the British Empire, it was again the Labour regime that took the second step in further decolonization by deciding to relinquish the vestigial remains of imperial role in the late sixties. In a historical statement in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced on January 16, 1968, his government's decision to withdraw the British forces from East of Suez by the end of 1971 and to cease to maintain military bases outside of Europe and the Mediterranean.

Thus, she relinquished her role as a world keeper of peace and decided to face the facts of life and to search for a post-imperial role in the world. Wilson, however, added: 'Britain will continue to think big but in a very small way.' Again in 1976, as a measure of economy, the Labour government under James Callaghan decided to dismantle the air staging post in Guam and withdraw forces from Singapore, Maldives, Mauritius and Brunei. Now Britain has decided to maintain her status as a medium power, and to concentrate her resources in the NATO, the linchpin of British security.

But with the return of the Conservative regime, the 'East of Suez' policy was subjected to minor revision. In 1970, the Prime Minister Edward Heath reconsidered the East of Suez policy and decided to keep a modest presence. For instance, he took measures to reactivate the Simonstown Agreement of 1955, which provided for the protection of sea routes around South Africa, and to build a naval communication centre in Diego Garcia with American collaboration. Since Britain also wanted to be a partner in the Oil Strategy of the West, she decided to go for further withdrawal from the Persian Gulf. All these moves show that there is a persistent secret desire on the part of Britain to have 'a finger in every pie'. 'In spite of the loss of her old position, the Britishers are in no mood to function solely as a tail to any power. Britain still continues to think in world terms, even though she is no longer a world power. Perhaps, this is so because she can ill-afford to exist without allies, without markets abroad, without substantial imports of food stuff and raw materials. Her position is dependent on her triple partnership—with the Commonwealth, the Western Europe and the USA. In a very special and vital sense, her general objective is to retain as much of her former prestige and power as possible.' And to achieve this aim, a country long accustomed to playing a creative and balancing role, now wants to build up the European Community as a friendly rival to the US.

True, the country has considerably declined, but it is wrong to think that Britain is quite played out. Though, short of fangs and nails, the 'lion still roars'. The Falklands War (1982) amply proved it, for Argentina had to lick the dust when it tried to twist the tail of the old lion. But the Falklands glory notwithstanding, Britain is no more than a 'crippled giant' or a 'fallen mighty'. There is no denying the fact that Britain is not a major entity even within the European Community, and it is difficult to hold her own vis-a-vis West Germany and France, which have larger population and greater stability of the economy. The Brexit- UK's breaking off with European Union in 2016 has garnered various different opinions as to whether Britain will benefit or suffer from this decision. With every passing year it is becoming difficult

for Britain to compete in the international Market. With all that's said, the importance of Britain has become greatly diminished.

Whatever importance it still retains is due to the fact that it still has a certain reservoir of experience, deftness, a stored up understanding of world affairs, pragmatic orientation, and a certain finesse in diplomacy.

2.6.3 USA's Foreign Policy

'America now bestrides the world. She is the 'colossus' of our own time. Whatever is said or done in the US may easily change the lives of unnumbered millions thousands of miles away.' To Henry Luce, 'the twentieth century to a significant degree is (was) an American century.' On all significant counts—in terms of industry, agriculture, finance, commerce, gross national product, per capita income, scientific discoveries, technological inventions, techno-scientific manpower, defence outfit and, above all, nuclear capability, the USA is a pre-eminent world power. In other words, she is at the top of major powers by virtue of her overarching military, diplomatic, political and economic assets. She evokes not only awesome fear but also well-deserved regard and admiration for her contributions. Parts of its history are main milestones in the march of mankind.' American ideas, images and artefacts have fired the world's imagination and flooded markets. In short, America today represent the epitome of human achievement not only in material terms but also in the quest for knowledge in science, medicine and other fields of human endeavour. Now with the eclipse of the Soviet Union America remains the sole surviving Superpower. The world order in the post Cold War period has conferred unparalleled power, clout, prestige and prosperity on the United States. In short, today the United States of America has become 'hyperpower', a 'unipolar globocop, dollar dictator and world's 'only indispensable nation'. No wonder, Washington happens to be the common denominator in almost every high-profile peace process.

The American people and their character

The American society which accounts for six per cent of mankind (268 million) and possesses great economic, military and political strength, is based on the principles of democracy and liberty. Americans regard their country as the 'goddess of liberty'. 'Their spirit of 'spreadeagalism', their bumptiousness and exaggerated confidence in themselves, their blind optimism which together with their idealism tends to give them a false picture of the world and to lure them into moral crusades.' They are at once aggressive, offensively self-assertive, optimistic, philanthropic and wasteful; they are at once moralists as well as hard-headed cynics. But they are soft-hearted people despite their apparent swagger. For Americans, in whom a progressive liberalism and faith in technology has combined to breed an almost casual self-confidence, little seems impossible. In other words, they have no philosophy of failure, for they don't live in the past but in the future. Hence they believe in the cult of the future.

Decision-making in American foreign policy

'Of all major countries, the USA has the most open decision-making process.' There is a high degree of diffusion in the decision-making process.

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In his 'Presidential Power', Neustadt maintains: 'the Constitution has created not a government of separated powers but a government of separated institutions sharing power.' Both the Executive and the Legislature thus have a say in foreign matters. Though the Constitution assigns special power to the Executive, the Congress alone has the authority to raise armies, to declare war, to make peace and to advise on the conduct in making of treaties and appointment of diplomatic representatives. Because of this sharing of power, serious frictions are bound to occur between the President and the Congress, in spite of bipartisan tradition observed by the two major political parties. However, the Executive has acquired a dominant position in foreign affairs since the Second World War until the mid-seventies—until passing of the War Powers Act (1973). The power of the President went on increasing along with American involvement in world affairs. Since the President's role as chief formulators has increased, so has the impact of bureaucracy on the foreign policy formulation process. Yet he does not exercise exclusive control in the foreign field. The control of money legislation, the power to confirm appointments by the Senate and ability to investigate and publicise executive branch actions represent important restrictions. Together, constitutional limits, Congress action, bureaucratic processes and the weight of past commitments constitute formidable potential constraints on any President. Thus, powers assigned to the President are initiative in character and those enjoyed by the Congress appear to be largely restrictive. However, the US President enjoys a good deal of initiatives. The Congress can only discuss, debate, defer or delay but it can rarely destroy them. But in the ultimate sense, the power of a President is the power to persuade.

Role of political institutions

The formal foreign policy process is determined by five large institutions—(1) White House, (2) Department of State, (3) Department of Defence, (4) Central Intelligence Agency and (5) Congress—represented by the House and Senate Committees. The President is responsible to orchestrate interrelated groups that contribute with some autonomy to policy making, such as the Foreign Office, Bureaucracy, the White House, the Interested Committees of the Congress. Apart from these organs, the National Security Council also advises the President with respect to integration of domestic, foreign and military policies relating to national security. The NSC consists of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defence as statutory members. It is chaired by the President and its meetings are also attended by the Director of the CIA. The role of the House Staff, though significant, should not be magnified, because the President's men often tell what he wants to hear.

Role of public opinion

There are few countries in which public opinion counts as much as in the USA. At times the public opinion exercises limits on President's decisional latitude. To illustrate, the Cuban offensive missiles supplied by the Soviet Union were not strategically important but President Kennedy had to act under public pressure. Similarly, President Johnson had to agree to withdraw from Vietnam under the weight of public opinion despite the loss of face. However, the role of public opinion is generally negative

and retrospective. Altogether, the American foreign policy is obliged to be public policy subject to public scrutiny, appraisal and approbation.

Principles of American foreign policy

It is often said that America does not have a discernible foreign policy. Priestly maintains ‘that the most powerful nation on earth seems to have no continuing foreign policy (tradition) to guide it’ (sic). But it is just a superficial view. Rather, it is more correct to say that ‘throughout its history the United States has pursued a constant foreign policy.’ Generally speaking, physical security, material wealth, international prestige—these and other tangible and intangible values actuate all foreign policies and so is the case with American foreign policy. In other words, American foreign policy has always been guided by certain traditions as defined by its national interest corresponding to its power status in the changing world order. That is why there is a certain uniformity about the US foreign policy, which focuses solely on what suits Washington’s interests and eliminates nearly all non-essential elements. But, since the US policy has been changing in the light of new meaning given on its national interest by its leadership from time to time, some critics have remarked that America lacks any serious tradition to guide its foreign policy. The change in American foreign policy orientation from isolationism to total involvement and from ‘non-entangling alliances’ to alignment galore in the post-’45 period lend some support to their observation. At the same time, an element of idealism and a deep sense of ‘historic mission’ have always been an animating force in American foreign policy. To sample a few of these ideals, one can mention the idealism of Jefferson and Lincoln, American crusades like ‘war to end all wars’, ‘war to make democracy safe’, ‘new world order’ and ‘internationalisation of human rights’, etc.

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Determinants of American foreign policy

Like that of any other state, the US foreign policy, too, was shaped largely by geographical and historical considerations. It was affected by the following:

- By her political and social systems
- By her economic strength and military power
- By her relative power position
- By the policies of other states
- By the world environment.’

Evolution of American foreign policy

The founding fathers of the United States believed that the US should remain aloof from European politics. They wanted to steer clear of ‘entangling alliances’ and ‘ordinary vicissitudes’ of European politics. The first phase of her foreign policy, therefore, was governed by the principle of isolationism and non-interventionism. It was designed to promote security, trade relations and general prosperity among states of America. This phase was marked by pan-Americanism. But by 1823, the policy of non-intervention moved a step further. It was based on the Monroe Doctrine. This Doctrine was originally directed against the Russian attempt to exclude non-Russian ships from north-east coast of America and the reactionary Holy Alliance

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of Russia, Prussia and Austria contemplating intervention in the newly created South American Republics. The Doctrine established a fundamental principle of American policy—implying two aims: (1) No territorial aggrandisement on American soil will be allowed and (2) No intervention in European politics. The ulterior motive behind this Doctrine, however, was to serve a warning to European powers that the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonisation and to assert hegemony over the whole Western Hemisphere. The Doctrine gave the US a vast hinterland in control, and South American bloc served both as a source of raw material and a captured market. With such ‘natural colonies’ the US had so little interest outside America. American isolationism was thus the political reflection of economic self-sufficiency. From its original concept the Monroe Doctrine was essentially defensive. But it became expansionist by 1840s, when the US became strong enough to implement it. Thus, the Monroe Doctrine became the cornerstone of American foreign policy. Although successive Presidents have modified it according to requirements, it has never been abandoned altogether and is still alive and kicking.

Beginning in 1898, the US embarked on a bolder course. This was the springtime of ‘open door’ and ‘manifest destiny’. The President at the moment, Theodore Roosevelt, thought that America was entitled to exercise police power over the Western Hemisphere.

The foreign policy of America in the first decade of the twentieth century was characterised as participation in Asia, a sphere of influence in the Caribbean Sea and continued non-participation in European politics. But with the coming of the First World War, she acquired a new position in the changed world order. Though she participated in the First World War under the leadership of President Wilson and took a leading part in establishing an international organisation—the League of Nations, but the Senate failed to ratify the Versailles Treaty along with the Covenant of the League of Nations. The reason was that America still retained the sense of physical security that underlay their isolationist past. Hence again for twenty years she sank into isolationism, until 1940. But it is to be noted that it was an act of self-denial in the political sphere and not from any internal weakness that the US leadership was not exercised. Even when the menace of Hitler and Mussolini was haunting Europe the Americans kept aloof and abandoned their traditional policy of freedom of the seas rather than risk war. American neutrality reached its nadir in the Neutrality Legislation of late 1930s. Thus, for almost a century after the declaration of Munroe Doctrine, America remained aloof from European political affairs, even though her economy had grown with leaps and bounds. Until the Second World War, she played only intermittently a central role and made only periodic forays into international politics.

For more than a century, her bountiful nature allowed Americans to hold belief that progress was to be found within the country and the Western Hemisphere. This natural abundance and sense of physical security permitted her leadership to remain away from the traditional world politics, and to make legalistic and moralistic declarations about external affairs from time to time. ‘Protected from invasions by oceans and benign power of the British navy, and blessed with abundance of natural resources, the US was famously fortunate to limit its participation in international affairs to merchantile pursuits.’

Revolution in American foreign policy

However, this neutralism came to a final end with the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, and ever since she did not look back to the isolationist past. The shift from isolationist inclination to new internationalism took place somewhere between 1940 (fall of France) and the middle of 1945 when the Senate ratified the UN Charter. Reasons for this transition are: (1) Partly American involvement with European affairs which was a by-product of British efforts to resist the Nazis. In 1940, President F.D. Roosevelt agreed to exchange fifty destroyers in exchange for bases in the Western Hemisphere and (2) In the spring of 1941 the Lend-Lease Act passed to help Britain with supplies and munitions. The one action clearly marking a break with the past was the Atlantic Summit of August 1941 from which was enunciated the Atlantic Charter. The Atlantic Conference, indeed, marks the beginning of a revolution in the US foreign policy. In 1941, however, only few Americans wanted her nation to enter the war, as she was yet unprepared for it. The Atlantic Charter was an authoritative expression of the eight principles, some of which are as follows: (1) to seek no territorial gains, (2) to work for improving living standard of all peoples, (3) to protect nations to live under governments of their own choice, (4) to seek disarmament of the aggressive nations, etc. But there was yet no provision for international organisation. It was only in 1942 that the United Nations Declaration was signed by twenty-six nations at Washington. The Atlantic Charter and the UN Declaration were important steps in the assumption of world responsibility on part of America. The Atlantic Conference became the prototype for other such conferences in Casablanca, Cairo, Teheran, Quebec, Yalta and Potsdam. After Pearl Harbour attack by Japan on 7 December 1941 the US joined the War. By the time the War in Asia was nearing its conclusion, fifty nations signed the UN Charter on 26 June 1945, and the USA was the first nation to ratify it. Thus, in a course of a century and three quarters America shifted from a policy of non-involvement to one of active involvement taking upon herself a global responsibility.

The setting and course of post-war policy

By the end of World War II, Western Europe lay in smoking ruins. Germany had been reduced to a lumber landscape. The Soviet Union too suffered indescribable physical and human damage. Japanese industries were devastated. Only the United States remained unharmed. The War also brought a profound reassertion of Wilsonianism. Thus, by design and circumstances, America found itself at the apex of the new system that emerged following the collapse of the old international order.

Although she emerged as the mightiest power on the world scene as a result of the Second World War and had to occupy a leading and dominant role in the world affairs, she was ill-prepared for the new role. It was not easy for her to adjust to her new position and to the realities of a post-war world. Yet it was incumbent on her to assume a global responsibility. While writing at that time, Palmer and Parkins remarked: 'There is ample evidence for concluding that she has not yet learned how to act like a world power or how to wield such tremendous responsibility.' However, there was now a general acceptance among Americans of the policy of involvement in the world affairs. The post-War American policy was therefore, directed towards

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facing the challenge posed by post-war developments—challenge of communism, the growing power of the Soviet Union and power vacuum after withdrawal of the West from their former colonies.

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The Truman period (1945–53)

After the death of F.D. Roosevelt on 12 April 1945 Harry Truman took over as the 33rd President of America by right of succession. The foreign policy under the Truman Administration can be divided into four periods: The first period (April 1945 to July 1946) lasting for about one and a half years was one of cooperation and accommodation between the USA and the Soviet Union. It was highlighted by the emergence of the United Nations and peace-making efforts, post-War rehabilitation and reconstruction. But soon the short honeymoon period came to an end. Serious disagreement and suspicion began to erupt on issues relating to Germany, East Europe, Peace Treaties with Italy, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Finland, functioning of the UNO and Soviet pressure on Iran, Turkey, and Greece.

The second period (August 1946 to March 1947) was characterised as one of firmness and patience. The relations between the Superpowers became strained because of disagreements over the occupation of Germany, the unification of Korea, the Soviet demand on Turkey, her refusal to withdraw her forces from Iran and the engineering of communist revolution in Greece. By now, the US was confirmed of the fact of a divided world. As a result of these developments, the US foreign policy towards the Soviet Union underwent a revolutionary change.

Truman doctrine

The third period (1947–50) was marked by the beginning of the Cold War and the subsequent policy of ‘containment’. The Western powers had become unduly alarmed at the Sovietisation of Eastern Europe and the Soviet pressure on Turkey and Greece. George F. Kennan, the author of the policy of ‘containment’ advocated the maintenance of force all around the Soviet bloc.

America’s new role of policing the Continent was signalled by the Truman Doctrine and the Greek-Turkish Aid programme. In late 1947, Britain announced a deficit of \$ 350 million. Since she was confronted with the problem of cutting down expenditure, Britain began to prepare to abandon its historical and imperial commitments. Incidentally, for Britain the price of victory was the liquidation of the British Empire. In March 1947, the British government informed Washington of its inability to support Greek and Turkish governments in resisting communist attacks and infiltration, while both of them needed desperately outside support. Now Britain shifted its Atlantic responsibility to America. Truman knew that US support to Greece and Turkey will be a departure from her tradition and was aware that it was a costly obligation. But he said that freedom from aggression was the minimum requirement for peace in the world. The new departure in American foreign policy was dramatised by the Truman Doctrine. In his speech on 12 March 1947, he called for a programme of aid to Greece and Turkey and asked the Congress to grant 400 million dollars in economic and military aid to them. To quote Truman, ‘I believe it must be the policy of the US to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed

minorities or by outside pressure.’ He declared: ‘wherever aggression direct or indirect threatens peace, the security of the USA was involved.’

The significance of the Truman Doctrine lies in the fact that it was the first step in the direction of containment of communism—in fact, of the Soviet Union. It was a formal renunciation of American policy of isolationism. It confirmed the fact of a divided world and also the ‘two-camp’ thesis of Zhadnov. It also marked the final inauguration of the Cold War. Indirectly, it also implied the bypassing of the United Nations, as the US had decided to help Turkey and Greece directly and not through the world body. Virtually, it served a notice that the march of communism would not be allowed to succeed by default.

Marshall plan

In pursuance of the policy of ‘containment’, the Truman Doctrine was followed by the Marshall Plan as its logical corollary. If the Truman Doctrine had political overtones, the Marshall Plan was the policy of containment on economic level. Kennan maintained that ‘a new programme based on economic, not military aid, will be more effective than the Truman Doctrine in securing Europe against infiltration and conquest.’ On 5 June 1947, the Secretary of State, George S. Marshall, in his address at the Harvard University, spoke in terms about Europe’s need for help to rebuild her economy and initiated the European Recovery Programme. He said: ‘The US should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace.’ The Plan was apparently meant for all the European countries, but its underlying aim was to save Western Europe from the march of communism. The sixteen European nations (excluding communist countries) had concluded that their rehabilitation required 15 billion dollars over the next four years. Such a burden was no doubt staggering for American tax payers. Anyway, a bill was moved in the Congress for 17 billion dollars for four years. Mr. Vandenberg (a Republican) called the bill ‘a calculated risk to help stop the World War III before its start. The ‘iron curtain’ must not come to the ruins of the Atlantic either by aggression or by default.’ By the end of 1951, the Aid reached a total of 13 billion dollars. Indeed, the Aid was ‘like a life line to sinking man,’ as Ernest Bevin put it. It was meant to achieve a revival of a working economy so as to permit the emergence of political and social condition in which free institutions could exist. One unforeseen consequence of the Aid was closer economic integration of separate economies of Europe. The Marshall Plan was evidently a step further in carrying out the policy of containment. It was an economic counterpart of the Truman Doctrine. It was Cold War by other means. However, this Aid pulled Europe out of the wreckage of World War and propelled it to prosperity. To Churchill, ‘it was the most unsordid act in history. Yet it was not simply charity, nor just a reconstruction scheme’.

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

In pursuing the policy of containment, the US moved towards taking corresponding step at the military level side by side with political and economic level. When the Brussels Pact of 1948, concluded among five European powers (France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg) was found inadequate to resist Soviet

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aggression in the wake of Berlin Blockade, the USA associated herself with the Western Europe in a military alliance called the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Originally, it had twelve members but now it has nineteen members. This is the first military alliance by which the United States assumed the direct responsibility of West European Security.

Thus, the new departure in American foreign policy was highlighted by the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty. Together, they marked the end of American avoidance of formal commitments with European nations, as enshrined in the Munroe Doctrine, and the beginning of a new emphasis on military alliance or coalition diplomacy. Indeed, it was a remarkable revolution in the political thought of America. Once so isolationist was not to join even the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice, America was committed to the defence and rehabilitation of a Continent.

The Soviet explosion of an atom bomb in 1947, the communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the communist victory in China in 1949 symbolised the growing strength of the communist camp. All this impelled the US to build up 'situations of strength' throughout the non-communist world. This programme included the Rio Treaty (1947), Brussels Pact (1948), Berlin Airlift (1948), NATO (1949), encouragement of integration in Western Europe and association of West Germany with Western Europe.

The fourth period of the Truman Administration (1950-53) was marked by open confrontation. In June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea, the Cold War turned into a hot war. The Korean crisis continued till 1953. Under the banner of the UN, the American forces fought against the North Korean aggression. The impact of the Korean war on the US foreign policy resulted in the increased emphasis on military strength. The USA concluded a peace treaty with Japan on 8 September 1951. She also entered into security pacts with Japan, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand (1952). Besides, she guaranteed protection to Formosa. As with Japan, she concluded a separate peace treaty with West Germany and incorporated the West German forces into West European army under the NATO command.

Review of Truman regime

On the whole, the Truman Administration acquitted itself quite creditably and beyond all expectations. The credit for making a water-shed departure in American foreign policy rightly goes to his regime. To quote Henry Kissinger, 'Though Harry Truman knew little about foreign policy (to begin with), yet he laid the groundwork for a generation of successful foreign policy.' However, Truman's action of dropping atom bombs on innocent people of Japan will be recorded in future history of mankind as the greatest tragedy and shame for humanity and therefore a serious blot on his administration.

Eisenhower period (1953-60)

With the departure of Truman, the long period of Democratic Presidency inaugurated in 1933 came to an end. The White House was again occupied by a Republican

President, General Dwight Eisenhower after a lapse of twenty-four years. For some time, people were apprehensive that the new regime led by a General might be more war-like. But it was eventually proved that the Soldier-President had no disposition towards recklessness in word or deed, as feared. Instead, the Eisenhower Administration attempted to give a new look to American foreign policy.

The events of 1953-55 offered new hopes. On March 5, 1953 Joseph Stalin died giving place to leader who believed in following flexible and conciliatory policies. On 27 June 1953, the Korean war was brought to an end. These developments led to lessening of tension. The years of 1954 and 1955 are known for successful conferences. The Geneva and Berlin conferences were followed by the Austrian Peace Treaty of 1955. These were some positive developments which contributed a great deal to cold war relaxation. But there were some negative developments, too, which neutralised it to some extent. The Soviet explosion of a hydrogen bomb (1953), the communist China's confrontation with America, forces in the Korean war, and its aggressive stance thereafter and the crisis of Indo-China forced the USA to adopt a tough stance in her foreign policy. The American foreign policy-makers led by foreign secretary, John Foster Dulles, were not prepared to tolerate communist expansion in South-East Asia. 'But since the Soviet Union began to show conciliatory stance, the Eisenhower administration had to adopt a dual policy. The USA sought to develop 'situations of strength' on the one hand and to work for a peaceful world on the other. The Eisenhower administration not only gave up the policy of liberation (rolling back) and the policy of 'brinkmanship' hitherto advocated by Dulles, but put forward the Atom for Peace proposal in 1953.

Containment of communism in South-East Asia

The end of the Korean war was followed by the French defeat in Indo-China. America became alarmed and began to nurse a feeling that a power which controls Indo-China will ultimately dominate the entire South-East Asia as it will have a chain reaction upon these countries and the whole structure will fall down. She was guided in her perception by what is known as 'domino theory'. Though not directly threatened, America started taking a keen interest in this region. Accordingly, she opposed the Geneva Settlement of 1954—partition of Vietnam at 17th parallel, to be followed by nation wide elections. She was firm in her determination to contain the expansion of communism in this part of the world. Hence, immediately after the Geneva Conference, she sponsored the Manila Pact in September 1954 establishing the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation. All this led to shifting of Cold War theatre from Europe to South-East Asia.

Containment of communism in the Middle East

Next to South-East Asia, America turned towards the Middle East (West Asia). Olaf Caroe in his 'Wells of Power' had presented a thesis that the Soviet Union would seek to push towards the warm waters of the Persian Gulf to deny the Middle East oil to the West. Therefore, the USA sponsored the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact—a pact of mutual cooperation among Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and the UK, which later came to be known as CENTO after the withdrawal of Iraq in 1958.

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With this security arrangement America wanted to establish military bases for use as launching pads for nuclear attack on Soviet targets in the event of a hot war.

Eisenhower doctrine

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The Anglo-French invasion of Egypt in 1956 following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Gen. Nasser had undermined the prestige of the Western powers in the Middle East. Surprisingly, America did not lend her Support to allies (Anglo-French) action on Egypt during the Suez Crisis. Instead, she joined hands with the Soviet Union in bringing a halt to their aggression. Whereas the Western influence was dented because of Anglo-French action, the prestige of the Soviet Union was greatly enhanced because of her pro-Egyptian stand. The demonstration of Anglo-French weakness and their growing unpopularity created a power vacuum in the Middle East. Apprehending that the Soviet Union might take advantage of this vacuum, Eisenhower, in a message to the Congress on 5 January 1957, announced the US policy for the Middle East known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. This Doctrine proclaimed the American intention to use armed forces against any communist aggression in the region. In fact, it was directed against any intervention by the Soviet Union in the Middle East. President Eisenhower asked the Congress to give him authority to use armed forces against communist aggression in the Middle East, if requested so by the nation or nations under attack. The Doctrine also aimed at providing economic and military aid to any nation threatened by communism. It declared that America would assist any nation in the area in the development of economic strength dedicated to maintenance of national independence. The Congress adopted a resolution the main provision of which read: 'The United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of nations of the Middle East.' It also sanctioned a sum of \$ 200 million for military and economic aid to the region.

The Eisenhower Doctrine, in fact, was, nothing but an extension of the Truman Doctrine. While the Truman Doctrine specified the countries to be helped, the Eisenhower Doctrine covered the entire region of the Middle East. Under this Doctrine, the US could deal with any situation in the region on her own terms. The underlying aim of this policy was to control oil and raw material of this region. But contrary to American expectations, the Doctrine was not welcomed and evoked a mixed reaction among the countries of the Middle East. It was considered by some of them as a cover to establish American hegemony in this region. While Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan welcomed it, Egypt and Syria condemned it. The latter viewed this Doctrine as an effort to replace Anglo-French imperialism by American hegemony in order to checkmate Arab nationalism and to encourage Israel in her aggressive intentions against the Arabs.

The first demonstration of its application came in 1957 when Jordan passed through a crisis as a result of differences between king Hussain and his Prime Minister who showed sympathy with Arab nationalism. The king dismissed his premier, Nabulsi, along with his Chief of Army Staff. This created a crisis in Jordan in 1958. During this crisis, the American Sixth Fleet presented itself in the Eastern Mediterranean. The USA gave open support to the king and sent massive aid and large deliveries of arms.

The second occasion for the application of the Doctrine arose in 1958 in Lebanon. In 1958, the term of office of Lebanon's Christian President, Camille Chamoun, expired and since the Constitution did not permit re-election, the President proposed to change the Constitution to secure his re-election. This move was violently resisted by his opponents, and eventually it resulted in a minor civil war. President Chamoun lodged a complaint with the Security Council against Syria who was charged with giving assistance to the rebels. At his request, American marines (in thousands) were sent into Lebanon to help the President. No doubt, the intervention suppressed the rebellion but it was resented by the people of Lebanon.

Again, in July 1958, a coup in Iraq overthrew the pro-Western regime of King Faisal-II and brought General Qassim to power. This development alarmed Jordan, and the king sought assistance from the Western Powers. Invoking the Eisenhower Doctrine, America advised Britain to send her troops to Jordan by October 1958. Later on, with the good office of the UN Secretary General, the Anglo-American troops were withdrawn from Jordan and Lebanon.

The Eisenhower Doctrine, however, failed in its principal objective of establishing American influence in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, America failed to take into account the force of Arab nationalism that dominated all Arab political thinking. On the other hand, the Soviet Union took the advantage of anti-Western attitude and gained influence at the expense of the Western Powers. Soon the Doctrine became unpopular and died a natural death.

Review of Eisenhower's foreign policy

It is generally believed that Eisenhower's foreign policy was, in fact, Dullesian foreign policy and foreign affairs was not his cup of tea. There is no denying the fact that for about six years (1953-59) Dulles exercised a powerful influence on American foreign policy. Perhaps few foreign Secretaries have been so powerful as Dulles and few Secretaries have been more praised and named as he was. No wonder, the Cold War was at its coldest under his stewardship, for he had provided moral sanction to the Cold War. Dulles was, in fact, a Pactomaniac. It was he who advocated a policy of 'liberation', 'massive retaliation' and 'brinkmanship'. His crusading bigotry led to renewal of tension between the two Superpowers. There was a renewed crisis over Berlin in November 1958. This crisis was, however, averted by extending an invitation to Khrushchev to visit America, the Camp David Summit (1959) helped much in lessening the Cold War which has been aggravated because of the Eisenhower Doctrine. It proved a turning point in the history of the Cold War. Both leaders decided to convene a summit meeting in May 1960. But the Paris Summit could not come off due to U-2 incident in which the US spy plane was shot down while it was 1300 miles inside the Soviet territory. This episode set at naught the prospects of the Paris Summit, as Khrushchev, in reaction, announced the boycott of the Summit. Ultimately, Eisenhower had to apologize for the incident. In fact Eisenhower's administration was run by two Dulles brothers one was the Secretary of State and the other (Allen Dulles) was the Creator of C.I.A. It was during his time that in the name of anti-communism a 'Truly American Movement', known as McCarthyism, raised its ugly head.

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The Kennedy period (1961–63)

John F. Kennedy entered the White House on 20 January 1961 as the 35th President of America at the young age of forty-three. He was energetic, intelligent, good looking, inspiring, aggressive, dynamic and outspoken. 'He was a man both cool and concerned, wily and profound, profane and highly eloquent with a subtle mind and a passion for cutting through clichés.' All in all, he was a highly gifted man of unusual charm and aristocratic distinction. His administration promised to seek a new approach towards world issues. The US, foreign policy in his regime sought new frontiers. Besides, Kennedy started with fresh faces and fresh ideas. For the first time, he associated learned professors not only for advisory role but for operational responsibilities.

Kennedy made a serious attempt to seek areas of cooperation with the rival Superpower. On a chance meeting with Khrushchev in June 1961, in Vienna, he accepted the latter's concept of coexistence, but at the same time he was firm where security interest was involved. Khrushchev also found the young Kennedy unyielding.

In his inaugural address, Kennedy declared 'Let us never negotiate out of fear but let us never fear to negotiate.' He warned: 'The world is very different now. For man holds in mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of the human poverty and all forms of human life... War appeals no longer as a rational alternative. Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind.' He cautioned: 'Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to secure the survival and success of liberty.' Addressing his own people, he exclaimed: 'Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country.' He asked for 'willingness to risk position, power and career for the sake of some abiding convictions.' Indeed, his inaugural speech was highly inspiring and refreshing and he started on a very optimistic note.

But, to his ill-luck, the time was not opportune and the odds stacked against his Administration were heavy. In Asia, the PRC was becoming more and more militant and aggressive, any agreement on Laos was still remote, the mysterious death of the UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, who was trying to resolve the Congo Crisis (1961), the Berlin Crisis (1961), followed by the biggest crisis since the Second World War—the Cuban Crisis, which almost brought the world to the brink of a Third World War. Nevertheless, the Kennedy regime did its best to negotiate for peace everywhere.

Kennedy administration and Western Europe

The Suez Crisis of 1956 had embittered relations between the NATO partners. Kennedy not only tried to patch up with the UK and France who were antagonised but also attempted to strengthen the Atlantic Alliance. As a result, in 1961, the Western powers stood solidly behind Kennedy and jointly challenged the unilateral actions of the Soviet Union during the Berlin Crisis (1961). This crisis arose when Khrushchev reinstated a deadline for a separate peace treaty with East Germany

and sealed off the East Zone and thereby blocked access routes to West Berlin by erecting a 25 mile-long Berlin wall against the Western powers.

Kennedy and the Cuban crisis

The last days of October 1962 witnessed one of the gravest international crises since the Second World War. Paradoxically, this crisis was the most frustrating experience as well as the finest hour of Kennedy's regime. Cuba is an island state in the Caribbean Sea just 90 miles off from the American mainland. She has been virtually an American protectorate for a long time. In January 1959, Fidel Castro came to power by overthrowing a pro-American regime headed by Batista. The Castro regime being Marxist in character (the first of its kind in the Western Hemisphere) turned unfriendly towards America and became a close ally of the Soviet Union. Obviously, it was an intolerable situation for an American administration. Secret records show that there was a bungling attempt to eliminate Fidel Castro. On 17 April 1961, the Cuban refugees, encouraged by American aid and abetment, invaded Cuba. But they were defeated at the Bay of Pigs. Undoubtedly, in this misadventure, the invaders had the blessing of the Kennedy Administration, which was misguided by the CIA. This 'Operation Mongoose' was, indeed, a great blot on his otherwise bold leadership. Since this attack was instigated by Washington, the relations between the US and Cuba have remained hostile to this date. As a sequel to this event, the Castro regime sought the support of the Soviet Union. With the result, in 1961, a Russian military mission arrived in Cuba, which was followed by the arrival of complete combat unit of Russian mechanised troops. Again, in 1962, some antiaircraft batteries equipped with ground-to-air rocket reached Cuba. The same year, launching equipments for medium range missiles also arrived. With this arsenal of arms and fire power deployed on America's next door, Khrushchev thought that, if required, he could afford a blackmailing threat the next time he pressed his demands on Berlin. Obviously, these developments alarmed the Kennedy Administration, and the US could no longer tolerate such offensive moves. In response, President Kennedy ordered a naval quarantine around Cuba and imposed restrictions on all ships carrying communist cargoes to the island.

The world learned with dread and horror the full gravity of the crisis when Kennedy broadcast on 22 October 1962, his government's counter-challenge. He warned: 'any hostile move anywhere in the world against people to whom we are committed, including West Berlin, will be met by whatever action is needed.' He added: 'It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missiles launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response on the Soviet Union.' With this clear warning, Khrushchev had no reason to believe that Kennedy was just bluffing.

The Cuban crisis brought the world to the brink of Superpowers' showdown. To be sure, any invasion on Cuba could have led to nuclear conflagration. Indeed, it was a hair-trigger encounter. In Robert Kennedy's chilling words: 'the world stared at the barrel of the nuclear gun.' To quote Dean Rusk, 'it had been a very near thing.' Fortunately, sanity prevailed ultimately and the crisis was averted both by

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Kennedy's firmness and Khrushchev's unwillingness to challenge. Both displayed statesmanship of the highest order. Khrushchev was ultimately forced to blink in this eye-ball to eye-ball confrontation, for he agreed to withdraw Russian missiles and bombers from Cuba. But this he did after getting no-invasion pledge on Cuba from Kennedy. Besides, Kennedy gave Khrushchev a face-saving device by agreeing to dismantle American Jupiter missiles in Turkey. Kennedy's handling of the crisis was 'a model of textbook diplomacy,' as Dewis Healey put it. Khrushchev also felt that saving peace was more important than saving face.

Kennedy and Latin America

President Kennedy adopted a more liberal and friendly policy vis-a-vis Latin America. He personally visited some of the countries of this region. He proposed that the people of the Western Hemisphere join in a new 'Alliance for Progress'—a new 10-year plan for the Americans. To begin with, a fund of 200 million dollars was created for the financial assistance of Latin America and the US bore the brunt of this burden. Impelled by the Cuban Crisis the assistance was increased by the Administration. The Alliance for Progress represented a significant new approach by the USA towards Latin America.

Kennedy and Vietnam

In his inaugural address, Kennedy had hinted at Indo-China being the key-post in defence of liberty. The situation in South Vietnam had deteriorated alarmingly because of growing communist guerilla activities. In 1960, the establishment of a National Liberation Front was proclaimed. The Vietcong, the military wing of the NLF, had gained considerable strength in South Vietnam by the time Kennedy took over. It was at this stage that the Kennedy administration decided to step in. With the result, the ongoing civil war turned into a full scale war. On appeal from South Vietnam government, the USA decided to extend economic and military aid to South Vietnam. In February 1962, an American command was established in Saigon, and 4,000 troops were despatched and thus began the story of direct US involvement in Vietnam imbroglio and the Vietnam war became a war between Hanoi and Washington. The US commitment to South Vietnam became deeper and deeper with the passage of time. In 1963, the situation in Vietnam further deteriorated under the regime of Ngo Diem. The latter was ultimately overthrown and assassinated in November 1963.

After the Cuban Crisis, the relations between the Superpowers saw some improvement in the wake of which the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed in Moscow in July 1963. This Treaty was a significant measure in the direction of arms control and a great achievement of Kennedy's administration. In the same year, the US-Soviet Hotline Agreement was also concluded.

On the whole, 'Kennedy created a favourable image at home and abroad. That image never faded in spite of some errors and reversers in both domestic and foreign affairs.' Despite his brief tenure, he left an indelible imprint on the international landscape. He was taken as the spokesman for the new generation in many lands. He emerged as the hero of the Western world and came to be regarded as the author of a new hope for humankind. Though his presidency was shortlived, Kennedy

brought a rare charm to his office... American's long and unprecedented love affairs with Kennedy still goes on. The mystique of Camelot magic still remains incandescent. But his regime had a darker side too—Vietnam misadventure, Bay of Pigs fiasco, strained relations with the Soviet Union, charge of libertarianism and unsavoury connections cast a shadow of scandal over the memory of a leader projected as a champion of idealism. In the light of latest revelations about his personal life the Camelot magic has begun to taper off.

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Johnson period (1963–69)

After the unfortunate assassination of Kennedy at the hands of a Texan goon, Lee Harvey Oswald on 22 November 1963, the then Vice-President, Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded as the 36th President of the USA. Though lacking the charm and vitality of Kennedy, Johnson also got the second term in November 1964 elections and continued till January 1969. On assuming powers, he announced to continue the policies of his predecessor abroad as well as at home.

Johnson and the Vietnam War

Johnson was obliged to carry on the logic of his inheritance. The initiation of an aggressive policy in Vietnam is rightly attributed to Kennedy. After the fall of Diem in 1963, the situation in South Vietnam further deteriorated. In December 1963, the US promised unlimited military assistance to South Vietnam. In August 1964, Johnson decided to bomb the strategic places in North Vietnam to control Vietcong guerillas. He ordered bombing on North Vietnamese coastal bases in retaliation for alleged attack on American fleet units (two destroyers) in the Gulf of Tonkin. As a countermove, the Vietcong sped up their attack and inflicted heavy losses on military bases in South Vietnam. By December 1964, the US forces were further reinforced and their total touched 20,000. In February 1965, following the Vietcong attack against US installations, the US started bombing strategic places in North Vietnam. In March 1965, 3,500 US marines were sent to South Vietnam. Air attacks were also multiplied. Gradually the strength of American troops reached a total of 1,85,000. In the next few years, the US further increased its military efforts in Vietnam.

But by 1968, the American public opinion had become antagonised to Johnson's policy of war escalation in Vietnam. In February 1968, North Vietnamese troops launched fierce attack on strategic targets in South Vietnam. To meet this threat, the US command made a request for two lakh more troops (in addition to 5 lakhs already there). The communist 'Tet Offensive' of February 1968 was a major psychological turning point and led to reappraisal of Vietnam policy in America. The strategic victory of the communists played an important role in increasing war weariness among the American people and accelerating the beginning of the Paris negotiations.

In the United States, the vocal groups led by professors and students staged demonstrations against the policy pursued by Johnson and demanded that American troops should be withdrawn forthwith. 'We want our boys back' was their buzzword. Senators liked Fulbright and Mansfield also voiced uneasiness. No doubt, the Vietnam war had surpassed in magnitude, devastation and savagery, even the Korean War.

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Under the mounting pressure, Johnson on March 31, 1968 ordered cessation of bombing in North Vietnam and simultaneously announced his decision not to seek reelection for presidency. This paved the way for the peace talks at Paris, which were formally inaugurated on May 13, 1968. The four-party Paris Talks continued about four years, though intermittently, and culminated in a ceasefire agreement by the end of 1972 and the Paris Peace Accord on 27 January 1973. America acknowledged the failure of its policy in Vietnam. According to Henry Kissinger, 'It was the incremental approach which doomed us in Vietnam.'

The Pueblo Incident

The Eisenhower Administration had taken the task of international surveillance in great earnestness. President Johnson too pursued the same policy to a large extent. In pursuance of this task the US spy-ship, Pueblo was sent near the territorial waters of North Korea. On 13 January 1968, it was captured by North Korea while sailing in international water off the coast of North Korea and its whole crew, numbering eighty-three, were taken into custody for about a year. The US government, however, maintained that Pueblo was not a spy-ship, and that it was captured on the High Seas. But only after much diplomatic manoeuvre and even a reference to the Security Council, the US could get the release of the ship and its crew of course after tendering an apology to North Korea. This was another humiliation that the Johnson administration had to face after the loss of face in Vietnam.

Johnson and Latin America

As regards Latin America, Johnson almost reversed the policy initiated by his predecessor in this area. In January 1964, a dispute over the joint flying of the US and Panamanian flags in the Panama Canal Zone led to rupture between the two countries, and only after the mediatory efforts by the OAS that the relations could be normalised.

Again, in May 1965, the US despatched its troops to Dominican Republic (a Caribbean country) to prevent the imminent communist take over there. This intervention toppled the popular government of Dr. Juan Bosch, and installed a pro-American regime of President Joaquin Balaguer. Justifying his action, Johnson said: 'the US will never depart from its commitment to the preservation of the right of all the free peoples of this Hemisphere to choose their own course without falling prey to international conspiracy in any matter.' He warned that he would never allow another communist country to emerge in this region. This naked intervention was regarded in Latin America as a revival of 'gunboat diplomacy'.

Johnson and West Asia

In 1967, the third Arab-Israel war took place. Following American traditional approach, the Johnson administration maintained an anti-Arab stance. On the eve of the conflict, the US despatched the Sixth Fleet to Mediterranean in support of Israel. Washington opposed the blockade of Gulf of Aqaba by the Arab nations. It sided with Israel, who wanted only the conditional withdrawal of her troops. This stance antagonised the whole Arab world and many of the Arab countries even broke off

their diplomatic relations with the USA. The upshot of Johnson policy was an elimination of Western influence from the Arab world. This was another setback to USA during the Johnson period.

Johnson and nuclear non-proliferation

In March 1968, the USA, the Soviet Union and Britain agreed to sponsor a joint resolution to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee and the UN Security Council, agreeing to give guarantee of protection to non-nuclear powers from attack. On 11 June 1968, the UN approved the NPT. By July 1968 about sixty-one nations had signed this treaty. At the moment more than 157 nations are its signatories. Those nations who have refused to sign this treaty point out to its discriminatory and patently partial character, as it allows nuclear weapon powers to maintain their monopoly in nuclear weapons. Anyway, the NPT was a feather in Johnson's cap.

On the whole, during the Johnson period, America had to face many ignoble reverses and setbacks. In the conduct of his foreign policy, Johnson had been very unlucky. He failed miserably in his attempt to follow his pronounced policy of seeking détente and agreement with the East. His administration also had to face rift with Finance under De Gaulle, who aimed at the ultimate fusion of Western Europe to form a 'Third Force', presumably under the leadership of France. To the chagrin of America, France withdraw its military from NATO in 1966, though still remaining a member of the organisation. Apart from this, France also recognised the People's Republic of China in 1964. The only successful achievements to Johnson's credit were: the Consular Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty (1967) and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968). Altogether, he proved less successful in foreign affairs than in domestic one. 'The Great Society' like 'New Frontier' initiated by Kennedy, was a measure of welfarism that he launched successfully. The Civil Rights Legislation (1964) was another significant laurel of his Administration on the domestic front.

Nixon period (1969–74)

On 20 January 1969, Richard Nixon assumed office as the 37th President of the United States. After a lapse of eight years the White House was reoccupied by a Republican President. It is interesting to note if the earlier Republican regime of Eisenhower was faced with the task of bringing peace to Korea, the Nixon regime was confronted with the problem of securing peace in Vietnam.

In his famous inaugural speech, Nixon gave a call to communist bloc 'to join the US in a peaceful competition not in conquering territory or extending dominion but in enriching the life of man.' Nixon felt that the most fundamental interest of all nations lies in building the structure of peace; and that peace was more than the absence of war, because peace must provide a durable structure of peace. He added: 'We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people—a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation. We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.' After a period of confrontation, the Nixon administration did start an era of negotiable.

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Nixon administration and Vietnam problem

The first task that invited Nixon's immediate attention was an honourable extrication from Vietnam. To be sure, the problem of Vietnam was not his creation. He got it in legacy from Kennedy and Johnson. Yet he was committed to resolve it. In fact, one of his election platforms had been the settling of Vietnam problem and gradual disengagement.

Nixon ushered in a departure from the earlier US policy in Vietnam. His new departure (a brainchild of Henry Kissinger) is known as Guarn Doctrine, which was enunciated in a speech at Guarn. It contained three key points. He declared: '(1) The US will keep all its treaty commitments, (2) We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of any ally or of a nation whose survival was considered vital to our security and the security of the region as a whole, and (3) In cases involving other types of aggression, we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested and as appropriate. We shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defence.' The thrust of the Nixon Doctrine was to place the main burden of fighting on local population of South Vietnam and that the US would supply only tools. The Guarn Doctrine was meant to make Asians fight Asians; it aimed at Vietnamisation of war or de-Americanisation of Vietnam war. Thus, Nixon departed from the earlier policy by a tour de force—offering assistance along with withdrawal from South Vietnam.

Nixon was convinced that Vietnam war could not be won by attempting to impose a military solution on the battle field. So, immediately after assuming office, he got the third round of Paris Peace Talks resumed on 6 February 1969. In May 1969, he announced the withdrawal of nearly fifty thousand American troops from South Vietnam and also put forth in this connection his 7-point proposal. From July 1969, the effort to Vietnamese the war began in all seriousness and the first instalment of American troops was withdrawn. But ironically enough, both the Paris parleys and the US bombing of North Vietnam continued simultaneously. The withdrawal of troops also continued, and Nixon promised to reduce American forces to 1,84,000 by 1 December 1971. Nixon declared that the rate of withdrawal would depend on the progress of the return of the US POWs held in North Vietnam, and the creation of a reasonable chance of South Vietnamese survival as a potential entity. On June 22, 1971, the Senate proposed complete withdrawal in nine months, provided a settlement on the issue of POWs was reached. Ultimately, on 27 January 1973, the representatives of the US, South Vietnam, North Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam signed a Ceasefire Agreement in Paris. Thus ended the eleven-year old Vietnam imbroglio. To be sure, the Nixon administration, ably assisted by his astute adviser, Henry Kissinger deserves the credit of ending the Vietnam war. Rightly, both Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, his interlocutor, were honoured with Nobel Peace Prize, a year later (1974), although the latter refused to accept it.

Nixon and Cambodia and Laos

The independence of Cambodia was recognised by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and ever since she has been following the policy of non-alignment. Gradually, the relations between the USA and Cambodia got strained and even diplomatic relations were snapped. In 1970, the Cambodian politics took a dramatic turn, when its Head, Prince Sihanouk, while still holidaying abroad (France), was removed from power by General Lon Nol. The General had undoubtedly a covert support of Nixon administration. Sihanouk declared the new regime as 'illegal' and 'illegitimate' and established his government-in-exile in China where he stayed as state guest till 1975. The communist forces by Vietcong began to fight against the Lon Nol government. The latter was supported by South Vietnamese army and the US. Thus developed a civil war situation in Cambodia. Ultimately, the US and South Vietnamese troops had to be withdrawn from Cambodia.

Like that of Cambodia, the independence of Laos was also recognised by the Geneva Agreement of 1954. It was decided that Laos would remain neutral. But due to interference of external powers a situation of civil war developed in Laos, too, since 1959. Subsequently, by the Geneva Agreement of 1962 (with fourteen signatories) Laos was neutralised. But in 1971, the neutrality was again violated when South Vietnamese forces entered Laos (the Sanctuary of Vietcong) and as a consequence, the problem of Cambodia and Laos got linked up with that of Vietnam until 1972.

Nixon and West Asia

With the end of Vietnam problem Nixon turned his attention to West Asia. The US policy has been marked by a pro-Israel stance ever since its creation (1948). Predictably, the US policy under Nixon continued to be anti-Arab and pro-Israel. In 1969, the Big Four met in New York but failed to arrive at any solution of the West Asian problem. However, Nixon, in his second term, took a number of diplomatic initiatives to bring about peace in West Asia. But all proposals, including the six-point proposal of the Secretary of State, William Roger, failed to arrive at any agreement between Israel and the Arabs.

Despite the efforts made by the Nixon administration, the fourth Arab-Israel war (Yom Kippur War) took place in October 1973. In this war, the US support to Israel was open and overwhelming. The US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean was kept alert and large deliveries of arms were made to Israel. It was with great deal of Shuttle diplomacy on the part of Henry Kissinger (then the Secretary of State) that the UN Security Council could adopt a joint US-Soviet Union ceasefire resolution who came into effect in October 1973. And thus, a 19-day war was brought to an end.

After the ceasefire, the Nixon administration made serious efforts to bring peace to West Asia. On 11 November 1973, an agreement based on Kissinger's 6-point-proposal was concluded between Israel and Egypt (the leader of the Arab world). The representatives of both Israel and Arab States (except Syria) were

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brought together in a Conference at Geneva in December 1973 at the initiative of the United States. In January 1974, Egypt and Israel concluded an Interim Disengagement Agreement. The credit of winning over Egypt from the Soviet fold goes again to shrewd diplomacy of Kissinger.

Nixon and Sino-American reconciliation

Since the establishment of People's Republic of China in 1949, the US had no relations, except inimical, with communist China. The US not only did not recognise the PRC but also blocked her entry into the United Nations. Instead, she managed to retain Nationalist China (Taiwan) as a permanent member of the UN Security Council upto October 1971.

'For twenty years the US policy-makers considered China as a brooding, chaotic, fanatical and alien realm difficult to comprehend and impossible to sway.' But in 1971, under the compulsion of new realities of power equation, America started reviewing her policy towards communist China. The need for reappraisal was provided firstly by failure of America in Indo-China and secondly by the worsening Sino-Soviet conflict. The Nixon administration was convinced that contact with one quarter of humanity could restore new perspective to American diplomacy. In fact, for quite a long time (about fifteen years), Warsaw based ambassadors of the two nations had been carrying on Secret parleys in order to improve and normalise their relations. The talks became public only after the Sino-Soviet clashes (1969) at Ussuri and Amur river boundaries over the island of Chenpao (Damansky). Impelled by the obvious menace of the Soviet buildup (fourty-five Divisions) on the 4,500 mile long common border, China wanted to reduce the number of its adversaries and to obtain another counterweight to Soviet pressure. She wanted strategic reassurance and some easing of their nightmare of hostile encirclement.

As a gesture of cordiality, in April 1971, an American pingpong team visited China and thus, began an era of what is called 'Pingpong Diplomacy'. A realisation dawned on both the nations that it was mutually advantageous to come to an understanding with each other. The US felt it necessary to open normal diplomatic channels with China in order to sort out differences. In pursuance of this opening to China, Kissinger paid a secret visit to Peking via Rawalpindi in July 1971, and succeeded in snatching a formal invitation for his President to visit China. On 16 July 1971 President Nixon announced his decision to visit Peking.

Now, let us examine what were the considerations on which Nixon's decision was based. One, the South-East Asia was the most impelling factor that prompted the USA to come to some understanding with China. American involvement in Vietnam had placed her foreign policy under several constraints. Since Nixon had already declared to withdraw from South-East Asia, he wanted to do so without much loss in geopolitical terms, and this would not have been done without coming to an understanding with China. In fact, war in Vietnam could hardly be wound up without China's support, China too was highly impressed by peaceful return of Vietnam. Commenting on this move, M.V. Kamath, an Indian commentator wrote: 'American power has to be necessarily on the decline in the Pacific region, following the

withdrawal of US forces from South Asia. To beat strategic retreat from Asia and not make a friend to a powerful residuary enemy will be a major blunder... It is important for the US to leave an appeased China behind as a precautionary measure.' In other words, a continued presence could be obtained through an understanding with a surrogate power. Two, the US ultimately realised that it was not advisable to ignore a big and potential power like China for long. There were all the advantages in having rapprochement with her. Three, the trade interest of USA also called for normalisation. She had already suffered a big economic loss by being deprived of vast and potential Chinese market of over 800 million people. Four, the ever growing Sino-Soviet rivalry was another contributory factor. The inevitable and sustained rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union was bound to bring the US closer with China as the latter was its enemy's enemy. America realised that détente with China would be extremely effective in strengthening its negotiating position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. She also felt that a détente with the Soviet Union may be easier to achieve if she had China's weight behind her. Similarly, it was in the interest of China also to have a friendly America in order to counter the growing presence of the Soviet Union in Asia. The Ussuri clash of 1969 had frightened China out of its wits and forced her to mend fences with the US, as she could not afford to remain hostile to both the Superpowers. Last, the growing power of Japan had alarmed both China and America. But being closer to Japan, China was in a better position than America to check the ambitious Japan.

Thus, both China and America needed each other. 'In coming closer to each other, both were fulfilling their own necessities,' as Kissinger put it. As a follow up action, in September 1971, Nixon announced his willingness to get a seat for the PRC in the Security Council, but at the same time he wanted Taiwan to retain her seat in the General Assembly. However, his two-China theory failed to click, and on 26 October 1971, the General Assembly adopted Albania's resolution expelling Taiwan from the UN and admitting PRC in its place.

Nixon's journey to Peking (Beijing)

On 21 February 1972, Nixon arrived at Peking on his 'bury the hatchet' mission (or was it a journey of penitence to Peking). He stayed there for a week and on the conclusion of his visit, he remarked: 'It was a week that changed the world.' In the words of Henry Kissinger, 'it sparked a geopolitical revolution.' Undoubtedly, it brought about a dramatic upheaval in global political alignment. In his visit, Nixon appealed to the Chinese leaders to join the US in its crusade for peace. His talks covered a number of issues on Asian problems, particularly the growing Soviet pressure on the Asian continent. Both sides, while conceding their differences, particularly on Taiwan, expressed their hopes to continue peaceful relations. They agreed for mutual cooperation in the fields of science, technology, cultural matters, sports etc. Both undertook to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In February 1973, Kissinger again visited Peking to explore further avenues of mutual cooperation. Later on, David Bruce was sent to Peking as Liaison Officer in March 1973.

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Nixon and the Soviet Union

On 22 May 1972, Nixon paid a visit to Moscow. Notably, this was the first visit of any American President to the Soviet Union. At this meeting significant progress was made in the direction of Strategic Arms Limitation and the two countries concluded two historic agreements on 26 May 1972, known as SALT-I agreement and ABM agreement. In June 1973, Brezhnev paid a return visit to America and further progress was made in respect of strategic arms control. On 27 June 1974, Nixon paid a second visit to Moscow and signed a Protocol to SALT-I prohibiting either party from deploying ABM Systems outside a small area. The Interim Agreement signed at the same time, sought to restrict the number of launchers for SLMBs and ICBMs.

Foreign policy achievements of Nixon administration

In the concluding chapter of his 'Years of Upheaval' (1982), Henry Kissinger, the most powerful foreign secretary since Thomas Jefferson and the co-architect of Nixon's foreign policy, observes: 'Nixon had striven for a revolution in American foreign policy so that it could overcome disastrous oscillation between over-commitment and isolation.' His foreign policy eschewed both moralistic crusading and escapist isolationism. 'A normal Nixon Presidency would have managed to attain symmetry between the two pillars of containment and co-existence.' In his opinion, the policy of détente that Nixon inaugurated was 'not an escape from the realities of the balance of power, a substitution of atmospherics for substance.' He added: 'Détente, in fact, concerns the mitigation of conflict among adversaries, not the cultivation of friendship; it was a means to conduct the ideological contest, not a resignation from it.' In his diplomacy 'Nixon continued the exuberant idealism of Kennedy but with unsentimental emphasis of national interest.' Nixon wanted to go down in history as a peace-maker and he did take some laudable steps towards building the structure of peace.

But the critics of his foreign policy have to say something otherwise. For instance, Seymour Hersh in his 'Price of Power' observed: 'American policy during Nixon era was the product of treachery, deceit, lies, personal jealousies, endless calumny rather than rational behaviour.' But whatever his critics might say about American foreign policy during the Nixon era, his Administration had many achievements to his credit. The Sino-US détente was his uncontested achievement—his biggest laurel. It changed the power equation at the international level. It gave birth to triangular détente; Nixon succeeded in mending fences with communist China but not at the expense of détente with the Soviet Union. He maintained simultaneously the areas of cooperation with both the communist giants. Nixon-Kissinger thought that the China lever could be usefully utilised against Moscow just as the US-Soviet détente would impel Peking to try to minimise its terms on the negotiations with Washington. In his inimitable comment, Kissinger observed: 'With conscientious attention to both capitals (Peking and Moscow) we should be able to continue to have our maotai and our vodka too.'

To sum up, the honourable end of Vietnam war, the rapprochement with China, the thawing of relationship with Moscow, the SALT-I Agreement between

the Superpowers, the beginning of the Middle East peace process (culminating in the Camp David Peace Accord in 1978) are some of the notable achievements of the Nixon era. Undoubtedly, during his regime tension all over the world was at its minimum. According to Henry Kissinger, his boss (Nixon) was 'a brilliant geopolitical thinker who shaped a new international order.'

But with all these achievements, Nixon could not complete his second term, which was abruptly cut short because of the Watergate Scandal. To his misfortune, the Watergate became his Waterloo and he was made to resign in 1974. Although, under the shadow of the Watergate Scandal Nixon had to make an exit which earned him the dubious distinction of being the sole President to be ejected between the elections, yet in Kissinger's assessment: 'Future will judge him (Nixon) less harshly than his contemporaries,' and it is historians who have the last word.

Ford period (August 1974 to January 1977)

After Nixon's exit from the White House, the Vice-President Gerald Ford made his entry as the 38th President of America. Himself a creature of Nixon, Ford promised to continue the policy of his immediate predecessor. President Ford, therefore, retained the services of Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State. Following Nixon, Ford reiterated that America would give up policies of isolation and international policing and the efforts of his country would be directed towards building up a world order which would no more be dominated by power blocs and traditional game of power balance. In a speech on October 28 1974, at New Delhi, Kissinger declared: 'We have rejected the old extremes of world policeman and isolation. But we recognise that American principles, strength and resources impose upon us a particular responsibility. Our goal is to move towards a world where power blocs and balance are not dominant and where countries considered cooperation in the global interest to be in their national interest.'

Ford administration and the Soviet Union

With a view to promote détente with the Soviet Union, President Ford made his first trip to Soviet Union in November 1974 and met Brezhnev at Vladivostok. The two exchanged views on the problems of arms control and chalked out the outline of SALT-II. The Vladivostok guidelines, which were expected to merge in SALT-II, called for a ceiling on the number of strategic delivery vehicles at 2400 and on MIRVed ICBMs and SLBMs at 1320 upto 1985.

President Ford also took steps to strengthen the NATO alliance and to forge unity among the NATO partners. He personally attended the NATO Summit Conference in May 1975 and reassured the allies of the US obligations and commitments to Western Europe.

Ford administration and South-east Asia

To honour the commitment of Nixon, President Ford resumed the work of withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and faithfully completed it. In April 1975, the communist-supported Khmer Rouge won the civil war in Cambodia and ousted the pro-American Lon Nol regime.

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Taking advantage of the total withdrawal of the US forces—the main prop of South Vietnamese regime—North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front forced the South Vietnamese forces to throw in their towel. Thus, the existence of South Vietnam as political entity came to an end in 1975. The surrender of the government at Saigon partially vindicated the much maligned ‘domino theory’. In 1975, the communist-supported Pathet Lao replaced the Neutralist government in Laos. The same year, Cambodia also came under the Red regime, headed by Pol Pot. Thus the whole of Indo-China was freed of American influence and thereby the utter failure of American policy was established beyond any shadow of doubt. Obviously, the prestige of America as a protector received a body blow.

Following the defeat of America in Vietnam, even Thailand, a SEATO partner, was encouraged to demand the withdrawal of US troops from Thai territory and America had to oblige. On the whole, the American adventure in South-East Asia proved to be a total fiasco.

Ford administration and West Asia

The peace making attempts initiated by Nixon were continued by the Ford Administration. President Ford met the Egyptian President, Anwar Sadaat, and the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. As a result, on June 2 1975, Israel announced its decision to withdraw about 30 kms from the occupied Suez Canal. On, June 5 1975 Egypt also agreed to open the Canal for navigation after a gap of eight years. Israel in return agreed to withdraw from Sinai in favour of Egypt under certain conditions.

In his brief stay at the White House, Gerald Ford (the only President in US history who was non-elected) is not to be credited with any spectacular achievement. The negotiation of SALT-II framework is taken to be the singular achievement of his Administration. One may also add that it was President Ford who stopped the CIA to engage in or conspire to engage in political assassination.

Carter period (1977–81)

After a gap of eight years, the White House was again occupied by a Democratic Administration, when Jimmy Carter took over as the 39th President of the United States. Carter appeared as inspiring as Kennedy, when he assumed office, though without the latter’s rhetoric. His greatest asset was his many splendoured-personality—all unblemished public record, a scandal-free political career, and, above all, a disarming smile and a charisma that had few parallels.

In his inaugural address, he pledged to create a stable, just and peaceful world order. He proclaimed: ‘We will not seek to dominate nor dictate to others.’ Speaking about disarmament, he expressed his determination to limit the world’s armament to a level necessary for one’s domestic safety, on the lines of former President Wilson. He promised five to seven billion dollars cut in defence spending of America. While emphasising on international cooperation, he also warned that American idealism should not be taken for granted. He declared: ‘Because we are free, we cannot be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. We have the highest

regard for individual human rights. We don't seek to dominate but others doing so is a threat to the well-being of all people. We are sufficiently strong and need not be tested in a combat, but we want to base our greatness not on the size of an arsenal but the nobility of ideas. Our commitment to 'human rights is absolute'. Thus, he was committed to human rights, non-proliferation and the Third World defence.

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Carter administration and the Soviet Union

In pursuance of his declaration about disarmament, Carter initiated a series of parleys between his foreign Secretary and the opposite number in the Soviet Union to negotiate the SALT-II. These efforts after a good deal of bargaining and delaying tactics ultimately culminated in the signing of SALT-II in 1979 at Vienna by Carter and Brezhnev. But it could not be ratified, as it was linked with the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, which was invaded in December 1979.

Carter and West Asia

Even before Carter, the preceding regime had brought Egypt and Israel to a conference table from the battlefield. But any ingratiation of Egypt by the new regime does not mean ignoring the interest of Israel. For Carter, Israel was an 'unshakable partner'. Carter once remarked: 'The survival of Israel is not a political issue; it is a moral imperative.' The year 1977 was marked by some dramatic developments in so far as West Asian problem was concerned. Having already met the Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, and President Carter, Anwar Sadaat paid a spectacular visit to Jerusalem on 19 November 1977. He recognised the existence of Israel but demanded in return a separate Palestinian State in the course of this visit. Essentially, it was a mission of peace that Sadaat undertook by going to Jerusalem. Subsequently, on 17 September 1978 President Sadaat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin reached an Accord at the Camp David Summit, where Carter played a mediatory role. The Camp David Accord consisted of two documents—one provided that Israel will completely withdraw from the Sinai (occupied since 1967) and a Peace Treaty with Egypt will be signed within three months and normal relations, including diplomatic, will be established between Egypt and Israel; and the second document outlined a framework for peace elsewhere on the basis of Resolutions No.242 and 338 of the Security Council. Ultimately, on 26 March 1979, Israel and Egypt signed a Peace Treaty after so many dead-locks and dilly-dallying in between Israel, accordingly, withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula and diplomatic relations were established. But other connected issues like the creation of Palestinian State on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the claims over Jerusalem are still elusive and are not easily amenable to solution.

Carter and the Persian Gulf doctrine

In the wake of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (December 1979), the anti-American stance adopted by the post-Shah regime in Iran after the deposition of Shah of Iran in the early months of 1979, America was impelled to proclaim a new policy for the Gulf region, which was termed as 'arc of crisis' by Brezezinski. This new policy is called the Carter Doctrine. In a State of the Union message in 1980,

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Carter proclaimed: 'An attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interest of United States and it will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force.' No doubt, the Soviet drive in Afghanistan brought, within easy strategic distance of oil rich Persian Gulf, which is vital to the US security. The Persian Gulf Doctrine, however amounted to the declaration of the Second Cold War.

Carter administration and Latin America

Immediately after taking over the American Administration, Mrs. Rosalyn Carter paid a visit to Latin America to further improve relations with South American countries. In spite of tremendous success achieved by the Carter regime in far off areas—SALT-II Agreement, Camp David Accord, it had lost its grip over America's own backyard—Latin America. Not only the Soviet combat troops were discovered in Cuba, Carter's crusade for human rights antagonised Brazil, which treated any comment on the part of America on non-observance of human rights as an interference in its internal affairs. Following the repudiation of the Military Assistance Treaty by Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay also rejected the US aid in protest against making it conditional on observance of human rights. However, Carter could legitimately take the credit of solving the pending Panama Canal dispute by concluding an agreement with Panama on 11 August 1977, which provided that the US would withdraw her troops gradually and by the end of this century, she would hand over full control of the Canal Zone to Panama.

Carter and India

Ever since the Bangladesh crisis of 1971, the Indo-US relations remained cool and strained. Even Kissinger's visit (October 1974) could not make much headway in improving it. The Emergency regime of Indira Gandhi since 25 June 1975, gave further jolt to the Indo-US relations. The American government was so much annoyed with the growing authoritarianism and political persecution in India that President Ford had refused to visit India as long as Emergency continued. But the restoration of democracy with the advent of the Janata regime was highly appreciated by Jimmy Carter, and he paid a personal visit to India in January 1978 to usher in a new phase in Indo-US relations. Welcoming Carter and appreciating his gesture, the India President, Sanjeeva Reddy rightly commented: 'Carter has brought the nobility of moral imperatives to international politics.' With his visit, the bilateral aid, suspended since 1971, was resumed by America and a 60 million dollar aid was sanctioned by the US Congress for India.

But this euphoria over the visit proved shortlived. Differences soon cropped up between the two countries over the supply of enriched uranium fuel for Tarapur Nuclear Power Plant. The foot-dragging by the Congress on the supply of uranium, as provided in the Contract of 1963, caused great resentment in India. As a matter of fact, in view of the Non-Proliferation Act passed by the Congress in 1978, the Carter administration began to back out from its commitment to supply uranium and started insisting for a fresh agreement which would provide for international inspection of all the nuclear energy plants in India. But India was by no means agreeable to full

scope safeguards, as the said Act demanded. Anyway, Carter did his best to help India in getting clearance of two pending applications for uranium before leaving the White House.

Carter and China

In continuation of the policy of normalisation with China, the US Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance, visited China in August 1977. But due to disagreement on the Taiwan problem, relations between the two countries could not improve for some time. However, Carter ultimately agreed to derecognise Taiwan and thereby buried the Two-China thesis. This led to the abrogation of the US-Taiwan Treaty of 1955. This gesture on the part of America was very much appreciated by the Beijing regime and in order to reciprocate this gesture, Deng Xio-ping paid a goodwill visit to America by the end of 1979. Thus, to quote Alan Wolfe, 'if Nixon made the opening bet, Carter played out the hand.' By January 1979, both the countries established full diplomatic relations and their closeness never looked back, despite the fact that Beijing has some grouse against Washington's unabated arms assistance to Taiwan under the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979.

Carter and human rights

Human rights was the cornerstone of Carter's foreign policy. In fact, Carter started a sort of crusade for human rights. He believed that human rights everywhere were indivisible and therefore declared: 'No nation can claim mistreatment of its own citizens as its sole concern.' In the earlier part of his term it appeared that Carter's commitment to human rights was absolute, but subsequently he had to modify his stand in the light of resentment expressed against his obsession with human rights policy by several countries. The Soviet Union in particular rapped Carter for his stand on human rights. Brezhnev conveyed to Carter that constructive development of relations was impossible without observance of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. Poland also showed her resentment when Carter harped on human rights while he was on a visit to Poland. Brazil was so much annoyed that she repudiated 25-year old Military Assistance Treaty with the USA. Argentina and Uruguay too rejected America's conditional aid.

Appraisal of Carter's foreign policy

To be sure, Carter's foreign policy was imbued with idealism and he sincerely tried to base his public policy on human values and morality. He is on record to have said that 'ends never justify evil means. Nations, like individuals, are morally responsible for their actions.' Speaking on one occasion, he described American involvement in Vietnam as 'the best example of intellectual and moral poverty.' His idealism was amply revealed in his keenness on SALT-II Agreement, in his effort to maintain détente with China, and in his persistence in bringing about complete peace in West Asia. He stated categorically that the US has 'no intention, nor ability, nor desire to interfere in the internal affairs.' And he proved true to his words. He refrained from taking any military action in the Iranian turmoil to influence the outcome of events there. He argued: 'We tried this once in Vietnam and it did not work and found our fingers burnt.' Similarly, when Kampuchaea was invaded by Vietnamese forces in

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late 1979, his Administration maintained a remarkable restraint. Thus, he moved very cautiously in the conduct of his foreign policy.

But by the end of his term he had to face a very challenging situation, and he failed miserably, and soon became very unpopular, which was reflected in his humiliating defeat at the hustings in November 1980. The capture of US diplomatic mission members (52) in Teheran and the fiasco of 'Rescue Operation' on April 25, 1980 was the final nail in the coffin of his political standing in the eyes of American people. Similarly, he failed miserably in his attempt to get the vacation of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. Besides, he was also the victim of two-digit inflation. As a result of all this, his image as a leader took a nose-dive and eventually his popularity dipped so low that when he fought the second term elections he lost lamentably. On the other hand, his opponent, Ronald Reagan, fully exploited this demoralising mood of American people, who were suffering from a loss of geopolitical machismo in view of a chain of developments, such as the Soviet advancement in Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Afghanistan, climaxed by the hostage crisis in Iran. The American self-image was at its nadir, and the situation demanded a change of guard.

Perhaps Jimmy Carter was too good for the job of a Superpower leadership. Being a great moralist, he had no feel for power. Perhaps the lack of geopolitical perspective was his greatest drawback. Little wonder, onto this dismal scene, Reagan rode like a knight in shining armour on a white charger. Nevertheless, Carter left the White House not without some tributes. The Panama Canal Treaty and the Camp David Accord will be known as his most solid and notable achievements.

Reagan Period (1981–89)

Ronald Reagan entered the White House as the 40th President of the United States on 20 January 1981. Before the assumption of office, Reagan had been a former Hollywood star, sports caster, trade unionist and columnist and besides, he had also enjoyed two terms of California's governorship. By combining the technique of Hollywood with that of Madison Avenue, he established himself as a great communicator. And above all, he was gifted with a telegenic personality. Even in his seventies Reagan was fit like a fiddle. He was a lively and colourful figure and was regarded as the most charismatic and cheerful of all the US Presidents. He moved into the White House on the strength of a rightist conservative wave in America. He came to power on the crest of an emotional wave. He began with a promise to pull a beleaguered giant (USA) up by its boot straps and to make Americans feel proud to be patriotic again. Because of his good Samaritan role in films, he had acquired the image of a cowboy with an irresistible itch to shoot from the hip. His election platform was that America will no more be pushed around. The central theme of Reagan's inaugural speech, therefore, was the restoration of American self-pride and confidence. His new slogan was an 'era of renewal in American politics.' The magic of free market and global anti-Sovietism were his two ideological platforms. But to begin with, he had to be preoccupied with the task of getting the US sluggish and slackening economy moving again. He found the American economy plagued by persisting inflation, sluggish growth, dwindling energy resources, galloping unemployment and fierce competition for world market. The spelt out strategy of

the Reagan administration was: (1) To regain military strategic superiority over the Soviet Union by stockpiling newer and more sophisticated weapons, (2) To roll back Soviet influence in the Third World, (3) To dismember the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and (4) To impose free market economy and to promote supply side of economics—a policy ridiculed by his opponents as ‘Reaganomics’. In other words, Reagan wanted America to reassert its military power and reaffirm its leadership of the world. But he came to feel that America had lost her overwhelming superiority in strategic weapons to the Soviet Union. She also had lost its technological edge to Japan and West Germany. The Achilles’ heel of her economy had been fully exposed. With the result, the American power to influence the Third World had become marginal. Her humiliation in Vietnam, Angola, Iran and Afghanistan was too difficult to be wiped off by Reagan’s rhetoric and his much-touted toughness. In the light of these developments, Reagan’s hardline anti-Sovietism, his subscription to ‘domino theory’ in central America, and his belief that the Soviet Union, which he called the Empire of Evil, was the focus of all troubles in the world was nothing but a throwback to the Dullesian era.

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Reagan and the Soviet Union

Reagan thought that he could deal with the Soviet Union with firmness only when he put the American economy in proper shape and combined it by adding more teeth to American defence potential and regain strategic superiority over the rival superpower. His leadership propounded a forward defence strategy requiring a structure of overseas bases, and in this attempt no area of the world was beyond the scope of American interest.

Reagan and disarmament/arms control

Reagan’s declared strategy was for open-ended arms race dashing all prospects of arms control. Reagan believed that SALT-II, signed by his predecessor, was fatally flawed and locked America into a long-term strategic inferiority. To him, it was a sell-out treaty tilting the balance in favour of the Soviet Union. Reagan also disapproved the inter-adversary parity model and insisted on the US supremacy. Hence all talks towards arms control were suspended for the time being, as Reagan was bent upon regaining America’s strategic superiority. In 1983, he launched his Star War programme to produce what he called the BMD system.

Reagan and Asia-pacific region

During his regime, a sort of military axis emerged among the USA, China, Japan and Pakistan, the aim of which was nothing but to check the growing presence of the Soviet Union in Asia and the Pacific region. China was made the linchpin of this unwritten alliance. Pakistan again became a hot favourite of the US policy in South Asia and was rewarded with massive induction of modern armaments and economic aid. She became a frontline state in the American calculation insofar as the Afghan Crisis was concerned. No wonder, the Reagan Administration offered an aid package of 3.5 billion dollars in 1981 and again another aid package of 4.02 billion dollars in 1986 to Pakistan.

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Reagan and India

The Indo-American relations got further strained during the Reagan's incumbency. Fresh frictions appeared on issues like the Indian Ocean, Afghanistan etc. There was a serious disjunction in the perception and viewpoints of Washington and New Delhi. India's muted criticism of the Soviet military interventions in Afghanistan made her suspect in the eyes of the Reagan administration. In fact, Reagan never regarded India's Non-alignment as genuine.

Reagan and Latin America

The Reagan Administration was determined to roll back communism and called Latin America a battleground against communism. He was alarmed by the rising leftist threat in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Grenade. In fact, he was haunted by a replay of domino theory in Central America. But unlike Carter, Reagan refused to bully countries like Brazil and Argentina for violating human rights. But, for all his possessiveness about Latin America, Reagan antagonised several Latin American countries by showing solidarity with an extra-continental power (Britain) vis-a-vis an OAS ally (Argentina) during the Falklands crisis of 1982. Altogether, Reagan achieved great success in this region. As was his desire, no more Cuba could be born there.

In the first term, Reagan laid down the groundwork for radical departures from the policy of his predecessor. This reversal from Carterism was of a piece with Reagan's global policy, which projected an expanded military role for the US across the board. He had already rejected the illusion of détente, and SALT-II agreement. Paradoxically, he believed that only a stepped up arms race could lead ultimately to arms reduction. In other words, he wanted peace through strength. Accordingly, Carter's concern for human rights, the North-South dialogue and nuclear non-proliferation were replaced by concentrated efforts to shore up the right wing regional partners in strategic rivalry with Moscow. The foreign policy adopted by Carter vis-a-vis Africa was also abandoned. Reagan revived the East-West disputes in Africa. He treated, South Africa as a bulwark against Soviet communism. His policy of 'constructive engagement' with South Africa was nothing short of an unholy alliance between Washington and Pretoria. To be sure, Reagan brought America on the wrong side of history on the African continent.

Reagan and West Asia

Similar reversal from Carterism can be discerned in Reagan's approach towards West Asia. In the Middle-East, Carter had tried to strike a balance between the Arab and Israel interest. But Reagan repeatedly proclaimed that American support for Israel springs not primarily from a historic special relationship or a moral obligation inherited from the 'holocaust' but rested fundamentally on the calculation that in the global struggle with the Soviet Union, Israel was a strategic ally that helps secure a vital geographic region. 'He made a departure from the well-established American policy by endorsing Israel's policy of settlements, and creeping colonialism in West Bank and its integration of Jerusalem as its undivided capital.' On the issue of

Palestine, the Reagan Plan (1982) was never sincerely pursued. Moreover, it clearly tilted in favour of Israel.

Taking stock of Reagan's first term, one cannot but be impressed by the report card of Reaganomics: (1) the country showed the strongest economic growth of all industrial nations; (2) it was marked by one of the lowest inflation rates—it went down from 12 per cent to 4 per cent; (3) it showed the fastest rate of job creation—unemployment fell from 11 per cent to 7.5 per cent. About sixteen million new jobs were created; (4) American people enjoyed the largest increase in real income since the Second World War because of tax cut. No doubt, during this term, America had a booming economy and her dollar was super strong.

The litany of American success in the foreign field 'Was equally impressive: (1) The Soviet diplomacy was sabotaged in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua; (2) The rival Superpower was marginalised in the Middle East; (3) The invasion of Granada (October 1983) greatly raised Reagan's popularity; (4) Successful deployment of Cruise and Pershing-II missiles in Europe (1983). In the light of these achievements both in economic and foreign fields, Reagan acquired a sort of teflon image. No wonder, all this led to his landslide victory in the second term elections. But at the same time, there is no gainsaying the fact that his administration was aggressively assertive and excessively combative. During his first term, the US-Soviet relations had reached the lowest point since the Cuban Crisis (1961-62).

Reagan's second innings

Reagan's platform in the second term elections (1984) reaffirmed his resolve to seek peace through strength. 'Prevailing with pride' was still the principal ingredient of his security policy. His economic goal was to expand and to continue recovery leading to full employment sans inflation. The second term agenda continued with the policy of cuts in spending and tax reforms. But now the Reagan administration began to realise that military road to economic security leads to a dead end. Having already recovered America's strategic supremacy, Reagan began to show interest in arms control talks. But the main reason for a change in the Reagan's stance can be attributed to the policy initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev, who for the first time among Soviet leaders came to realise that his country was no longer capable of maintaining a Superpower status or parity with the US. Hence he was willing to accept all concessions and conditions demanded by Reagan. Gorbachev even took some unilateral steps to bring Reagan to negotiating table for arms control talks.

Having restored America's self-confidence and strategic superiority and having seen America stand tall, Reagan began to give priority to promoting peace. Now his new ambition was to go down in history as a man of peace. A devout hardliner thus turned out to be a peace-maker by the middle of eighties. Nothing highlights more the change in tone and tenor of Reagan's foreign policy than four significant summits between Reagan and Gorbachev.

Reagan's foreign policy achievements

Amongst the most significant achievements of Reagan's foreign policy are: the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty (1987), the Afghan Accord (1988), the Accord

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for Peace in Central America (1987), the Accord in South Africa (1988), leading to the withdrawal of fifty-five thousand Cuban troops from Angola in exchange for South Africa's disengagement from Namibia. These accords and agreements symbolised the end of the Second Cold War.

Review of Reagan's foreign policy

In an article, 'How Reagan Changed America', George F. Will observed: 'The cheerfulness that has defined Reagan's era of good feelings has been a narcotic, numbing the nation's senses about hazards on the horizon. He was the master of illusions and deceptions. Reagan gave America a new sense of self-importance and self-pride but his economic policy and massive deficits may have mortgaged the country's vitality.' G.F. Will also suggests that 'historians will place Reagan in the front rank of the second rank of American presidency.' No doubt, Reagan restored American military superiority, thanks to heavy expenditure on a military build-up. But before he left the White House, America had acquired the dubious distinction of being the largest debtor (\$ 4 tn) in the world with highest budget deficit (\$ 350 bn) and highest trade deficit (\$ 150 bn). On balance, one may say with the departure of Reagan, though America was left a paramount power in military/strategic terms, it was a crippled giant in economic terms. Nevertheless, no other president's honeymoon with the American people was as enduring as that of President Reagan since 1945. His popularity remained undiminished and unaffected till the end of his regime, despite the 'Iran-Contra' Scandal ('arms for hostage'), a Sordid deal, indeed.

Bush period (1989-93)

On 20 January 1989 George Herbert Walker Bush took over charge from Reagan as the 41st President of the United States of America. Bush came to power on the crest of popularity wave left behind by the Reagan regime. But to enter the White House, he had other qualifications as well. His career report card for claim to the office of American presidency has been quite noteworthy and impressive. Apart from having enjoyed two terms of Vice-Presidentship under Reagan, he had been a US representative at the UN (1971-72), Head of unofficial embassy in Beijing (1974), Director of Central Intelligence Agency (1976-77). However, Bush was unreflective by nature; he was an incrementalist, more reactive than assertive. A creature of old foreign policy establishment, he was better cast as a creature than a creator. The 'vision thing' has never been his forte. His new slogan was a 'gentler and kinder' America. Bush remained true to Reaganism throughout. On the economic front, he followed Reaganomics (and he described it as 'Voodoo economics'), which implied no new taxes and cuts in spending on welfare. On international front, Bush extended the rollback policy designed by his boss—to reverse and contain revolutionary regimes. In short, his policy can be better described as 'more of the same'—Reaganism.

The finest hour of his presidency came during the Second Gulf War (1990-91). In August 1990, Iraq annexed its neighbouring country—Kuwait, and began to treat it as one of its provinces. America, on the other side, decided to liberate Kuwait. The action taken by Bush in the Gulf War is known as 'Operation Desert Storm' (1991). Speaking on the spectacular success of his 'Operation Desert Storm', he

remarked: 'The spectre of Vietnam has been buried forever in the sand of Arabia. Finally we have kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all.' No doubt, he brought cheer and glory to his nation in the Gulf War. In fact, after the Gulf victory, Bush was at the peak of his presidency and had acquired the halo of a hero. The victory turned a supposed wimp into a confirmed warrior.

Bush and the new world order

Justifying the Gulf War, Bush on 16 January 1991, exclaimed: 'Hostilities with Iraq described the opportunity for building a new world order. Where the rule of law governs the conduct of nations and in which a credible UN can use peace-keeping role to fulfil the promise and the vision of the UN founders. Bush's New World Order contains the following points: (1) the objective of building A New World Order is to achieve peace, security, freedom and the rule of law in the world, (2) America's leadership is indispensable and cannot be substituted, (3) it is necessary to form a partnership with allied countries to equally share both cost and commitments to deter aggression and to achieve stability, prosperity and peace, (4) the UN to be given a role in it, (5) the NWO must be based on American values and ideals, (6) the NWO pays more attention to the role of big and developed nations, and (7) it aims to maintain American domination.

Bush and arms control—disarmament

With the Cold War being over by 1989, the competitive build-up of East and West interventionist forces was taken as belonging to a buried bipolar past. That is why Bush gave a new slogan known as 'beyond containment'. Like Reagan, Bush continued the momentum of summit diplomacy. At his first meeting with Gorbachev at Malta (December 1989), the two leaders formally announced the demise of the Cold War. In their next meeting at Washington, (30 May 1990), a number of proposals towards arms control were mooted, covering START, TTB, Chemical Weapons, Open Skies, Conventional Force in Europe. At the historical Paris Summit (November 19 1990), thirty-four nations signed a landmark treaty, slashing the conventional war arsenals in Europe. It was the most comprehensive and far-reaching conventional arms reduction accord. After meeting at Helsinki in February 1991, Gorbachev and Bush met again in Moscow on 31 July 1991, and Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-I) was signed. The Moscow Summit was the first true post-Cold War summit. START-I is the culmination of nine years of chequered negotiation. Although the critics dismissed it as irrelevant, and inadequate, as the two powers would still retain armageddon arsenals that far exceeded any rational need, its historic significance cannot be underplayed. It called for 30 per cent reduction in the then nuclear arsenals of both the countries. Indeed, it was a historic treaty—the first that significantly reduced the most dangerous and devastating nuclear forces, despite the fact that the remainder had the potential to devastate the planet many times over. The Treaty limited the strategic nuclear delivery vehicles to 1,600 each. But it did not cover SLBMs. Further, the Treaty provided for complex verification procedures and for this both agreed to set up a joint commission on verification and inspection. The Treaty was made valid for 15 years and could be extended for successive 5-

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year periods. Under this Treaty the two sides were allowed to have 4,900 ballistic missiles each. The Soviet cut in warheads was 35 per cent from 11,000 to 7,000 and the US cut was 25 per cent (from 12,000 to 9,000).

Again, on 3 January 1993, Bush signed START-II along with Yeltsin, which reduced the 10,000 nuclear warheads of Russia and US to about 3,000 over a ten-year period. The agreement required the destruction of all land-based multiple warhead missiles. It was a far-reaching disarmament agreement ever concluded. It proposed to cut their nuclear weapons by two-thirds by 2003 AD. It was the third major arms control agreement and the last great achievement of his presidency.

Review of the Bush administration

To conclude, the presidential tenure of George Bush was marked by a remarkable run of success in international arena. But on the domestic front, he could earn very few kudos. Despite some spectacular achievements in the foreign front, Bush began to lose ground on the domestic front, particularly economic front at the close of his term. This was made clear on 3 November 1992, when Bush lost overwhelmingly to Bill Clinton, ending thereby 12-year Republican rule. Ironically enough, only twenty months earlier, Bush was basking in the glow of the Gulf War victory, enjoying the highest approval rating ever recorded. But he got the order of the boot, because the economy was flat on the floor. What eventually cooked his goose was his failure to steer clear the American economy out of trouble and the broken promise—‘read my lips’—no more taxes.

Bill Clinton period (1993–2001)

On 20 January 1993, William Jefferson Clinton was sworn in as the 42nd President of the USA. He was the youngest (46) President since J.F. Kennedy, signifying a historic generational change. Moreover, he was the first post-Cold War Head of the state. A product of George Town University, Oxford University and Yale University, he has been the longest surviving Governor in the US. A combination of luck, tenacity, hardwork and a brilliant mind enabled the Governor of one of the smallest and poorest states of United States (Arkansas) to hold the highest office on earth.

Casting himself as candidate of change and a new generation, Clinton vowed to create more jobs, rein in the federal deficit and help restart the stalled economy. Being a true democrat, he was in favour of an activist government instead of the minimalist government of the past two regimes. He adopted a welfarist approach. Accordingly, higher taxes on rich classes and public investment in health care, education and infrastructure were some of the highlights of his economic agenda.

In his first term, the giant problems staring his administration in the face were: America’s economic competitiveness was eroding slowly but steadily, her growth rate of GNP was petering out, aggregate productivity had grown by only one per cent annually for over a decade, the number of unemployed was mounting. The country was running the world’s largest trade deficit — there was colossal adverse balance of payment, totalling one trillion dollars over the past decade. Much of the economic growth whatsoever during the last decade was financed by borrowing

from America's own future. America has entered the 1980s as the world's largest creditor nation but exited the decade as the world's largest debtor nation (4 tn).

Regarding foreign policy, Clinton stressed that there would be essential continuity, for 'even as American administrations change, America's fundamental interest do not.' But at the same time that conformity had to be altered in a fluid world context. In his book, 'Putting People First' (Co-authored with Al Gore, 1992) Clinton wrote: 'We will pursue three clear objectives: to establish America's economic leadership at home and abroad, to prepare out military force for a new era, and to encourage the spread and consolidation of democracy abroad.' On another occasion, Clinton specifically mentioned as his foreign policy goals: 'Continuing the US sponsored West Asia Peace talks, making progress towards agreement on World trade talks, bolstering Russia's fledgling democracy, bringing about peace in former Yugoslavia without direct involvement and assisting famina victims in Somalia. Besides, he also favoured a stronger human rights approach in dealing with Beijing and other communist states. Essentially, he focused on three clear objectives— economic, military and political — ideological. At the economic level the objective was to reactivise the US economy in the global context. His regime was aware of the fact that though a military giant, America was crippled by economic weaknesses. It needed to regain economic strength to meet global leadership. At the military level, the aim was to restructure the US defence and security structure. At the political level, the goal was to engage the American foreign policy for the promotion and preservation of the democracy abroad.

However, Clinton's Presidency in the first term had gone sour, because he was found back-tracking on almost all his populist promises— reduction of the budget deficit, job creation, health care programme, on the domestic front and military action in Bosnia, not to allow MFN status to China, no asylum to Haitian boat people, on the external front. As a matter of fact, his domestic agenda was rendered dead on Capitol Hill. Not surprisingly, his public approval rating was the lowest (36 per cent) by the end of the first year of his regime. However, with the signing of West Asia Peace agreement between Arafat and Rabin at Washington on September 12, 1993 and with the passing of the NAFTA Bill in December 1993, his popularity rating went on soaring.

Clinton's second term

Although in his first innings Clinton had stumbled badly, in his second term Clinton was an effective President. In fact, Clinton had won the Presidency for the first term on the domestic agenda. But he won the second term on a solid platform of foreign policy triumphs, such as Peace Accord between the PLO and Israel and help in making the Irish Peace Accord (1994).

On the economic front, Clinton managed to balance the budget, cut taxes, reform welfare, introduce new legislation on gun control to cut crime, expanded the coverage of health insurance and energised Wall Street great Bull run. The social security system having been overhauled, there was a steady improvement in social indicators.

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On the international front, his administration could claim credit for signing the CTBT, though he failed to secure its ratification by the Senate. His other achievements were the ratification of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, the Uruguay Round Agreement, leading to the formation of World Trade Organisation (1995), the strengthening of Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum and the consolidation of Group-7.

Clinton and West Asia

Prioritywise, West Asia was certainly at the top of Clinton's foreign agenda. His policy objectives in West Asia were: ensuring uninterrupted supply of oil to the Western industrial wants, maintaining the security of Israel—the so-called Island of democracy in the region, promoting the well-being and safety of the pro-West Arab countries, particularly Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and preventing Islamic expansionism in the region. Regarding Iran and Iraq, his policy was characterised as 'strategic dual containment'. The *raison d'être* behind the new policy was that both the countries remained hostile to US aims in the region. If one was expansionist, the other was de-establishing. Hence the need to contain both. The administration therefore wanted to check both Iraq's and Iran's drive to become a dominant power in West Asia.

Clinton and Russia

Regarding Russia, the Clinton administration replaced the former policy of containment with a policy of 'engagement and enlargement'. Clinton also paid a visit to Russia in June 2000 to meet his new counterpart, Vladimir Putin and talked about START III with the Russian President.

Clinton and China

Clinton visited China in June 1998. Regarding China, he adopted a policy of engagement and containment vis-a-vis the nearest challenger and geopolitical military rival. He therefore allowed China the status of Permanent Normal Trade Relation (PNTR) and also favoured its membership of WTO, for Clinton believed that an extended hand will give the US greater influence over China than a clinched fist.

Clinton and India

In this first term in office there was a distinct pro-Pakistan tilt, as Robin Rafael with a pro-Pakistan bias was still ruling the roost. To substantiate, Islamabad was allowed to purchase hundreds of millions of dollars worth hightech arms under the Hank-Brown amendment, and India was grouped with North Korea and Pakistan in Clinton's state of the Union message. But in his second term there was a decided warmth in the atmospherics. After Clinton's visit to India in March 2000 the Indo-US ties has undergone a perceptible change. Indeed, his visit was the high watermark of the new management between India and the United States.

Estimates of Clinton's presidency

Measured against his background beginnings and the obstacles along the way, Clinton's rise to national prominence bespeaks his remarkable talents. His astounding

success as a President in terms of hardwork, a brilliant mind and an unmistakable spirit and the ability to convey a sense of caring about ordinary people. Besides, he was full of energy and optimism. No wonder, he became the first Democratic President to win and enjoy a full second term since Frank D. Roosevelt, as well as the second President in American history to be impeached and survived. In economic terms, Clinton has been the most successful Democratic President in American history. His two-terms spanned America's longest peace-time economic boom. He succeeded in pulling the US economy out of recession into surplus for the first time since 1969. In his period, the economy had moved from a record deficit of 290 billion dollars to the largest surplus record of 167 billion dollars, in the year 2000. Besides, inflation was brought down to 1.9 per cent in 1999 (the lowest point since 1965), unemployment at 3.9 per cent (the lowest in three decades), with 22 million new jobs.

No doubt, Clinton was anxious to end his presidency on a blaze of foreign policy triumphs. But in none of the trouble spots where he intervened, he could claim to have brought peace, be it Somalia, Haiti, Rwanda, North Ireland or West Asia. His efforts to establish a peace making legacy lies in tatters. Despite his hectic efforts for six months, until his last minute in office, he failed to sew up a peace deal between Israel and the PLO.

On the negative side, his presidency was deeply tainted with the murky web of scandals, allegations about illicit sex, deceit and several other controversies (midnight pardon of 140 felons), and had to face impeachment by the House. A certain amount of indiscipline and self-indulgence found in the psyche of Clinton cast a shadow on his presidency. Nevertheless, Clinton defied the law of gravity on the eve of his retirement, for polls showed his approval rating (73 per cent) jumping to a all time high.

George W Bush period (2001–2009)

On January 20, 2001, George Walker Bush took office as the 43rd President of the United States. He comes from a rich political stock. His father, George Herbert Walker Bush, the 41st President of the America (1989-1993), is known as the patriarch of a US political dynasty. Though a former Governor of Texas, George Bush-II lacks his father's political resume and experience. Yet he is greatly influenced by his father's ideas and mannerisms. No wonder, in his team of advisors, Bush has opted for his father's men. After an idyllic childhood, Bush studied at Yale University. He also holds an MBA degree from Harvard.

By emerging from a month-long fog of litigation as a victor, he had to face a fractured political landscape, to start with. Moreover, with the US House and the Senate also split down the middle, the bitter partisanship and legislative deadlocks are likely to intensify this divisive atmosphere in the country. Since the election had left doubt on the legitimacy of the outcome, it did seriously undermine the new President's moral authority for some time after taking over. But by and by his regime came to acquire its legitimacy.

The inaugural address of Bush shows that his primary concerns are purely domestic — tax cuts, education and the like. Among his main priorities is preempting an expected slowdown in the economy after a boom.

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Like Truman, Bush has little foreign experience. His Foreign policy might be called more traditionalist or realist in its orientation. Bush believes in what he calls 'compassionate conservatism'. He is sceptical of Clinton's brand of internationalism. He is likely to be less interested in pursuing international environmental issues or humanitarian military operations like his predecessor. In his inaugural address, he was at pains to say 'America remains engaged in the world'. He would not allow military forces to engage what he called nation-building or converting countries to stable democracy. His campaign rhetoric talked of a stronger US military, a tougher line on Russia and China, a scaled down peace-keeping role and a Missile Defence System to protect America. Bush has no greater faith in the efficacy of NPT and CTBT. As President, he is not going to sign the CTBT. Thus, this treaty, which is already an oxymoron, may be junked. Similarly, his administration is less worried about the UN, IMF and the World Bank. It is more worried about Islamic terrorism.

Prioritywise, Bush administration wants to focus on long-term allies like Britain, Canada, Japan and Mexico, with special attention to Latin America and less active involvement in West Asia.

Bush and West Asia

As against the Clinton approach in the Middle East, the Bush administration has signalled its intention to leave much of the initiatives for the resolution of the Middle East conflict to the Israelis and Palestinians themselves. It seems that the Bush administration has said goodbye to Mr. Clinton's Middle East initiatives. This means that he is not going to help the Palestinian cause in the Arab-Israel dispute. The recent joint US-British air strikes against Iraq on 17 February 2001 has already alienated the Arab World.

Bush and China

Regarding China, the Bush administration is going to take a tough stance. Two issues dominate the US-China relations: Taiwan and NMD. The Secretary of State, Colin Powell said on 26 January 2001: 'The US, while continuing the one China policy, will defend Taiwan under the Taiwan Relations Act (1978) and will speak on human rights issues frankly'. The Bush administration considers China as a strategic competitor not strategic partner. Perhaps it was keeping in mind China that the Bush administration has reiterated its commitment to go ahead with the NMD Programme. In fact, the US wants to degrade China's deterrent capacity. In fact, Bush wants to elevate the role of Japan as the principal ally in Asia. Any way, it is not yet clear whether the new administration will follow a policy of engagement or that of containment with China. Perhaps it is going to be a mix of both (what RAND calls 'conengagement').

Bush and India

Though not a priority area of interest, the new administration is not going to neglect South Asia, particularly India. His foreign policy managers, however, see India more in geopolitical terms, a political regional policeman and a country whose security interests conflate with that of the US. It thinks that India will provide a strategic

counterbalance in Asia. The Powell Doctrine favours more engagement with India. It stands for total removal of sanctions against India. The upturn in bilateral relations heralded by Clinton's hugely successful visit in March 2000 will persist and acquire depth under the new regime. The path of post-Cold War Indo-US relations is almost sure to follow the trail already blazed by Clinton. Moreover, since the new administration is no longer interested in CTBT, India will not have to face any pressure on that account.

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Estimate of Bush presidency

To conclude, Bush has been in office for less than a year and he has still three years more to go before the curtain falls on his first term. Therefore, it would be premature and even presumptuous to say anything with finality about his presidency at this stage. At best we can only identify the trends and directions of his policy on the basis of his election platform and inaugural address. Anyway, the Bush Presidency will be far removed from the Clinton's approach and style, for if Clinton was a 'wily showman' and knew the art of playing to the public gallery, Bush, in contrast, is a 'methodical planner' and 'tenacious plodder', whose policies will be founded on clear principles and strategies. However, the recent evidence of his administration's conduct is not a hopeful indication. Its hawkish postures are directed not only towards China (rubbing China the wrong way over Taiwan, flying spy plane, which was grounded after its collision with a Chinese interceptor in 1 April 2001 with a disturbing connotation) but seems to inform its entire foreign policy. It has managed to unsettle even America's Western allies with its missile defence programme and scuttling Kyoto Protocol of 1997. Besides, Washington has undermined South Korea's policy of improving its ties with Pyongyang, and accused Russia of being a proliferator of nuclear weapons.

Now, before he could firm up his leadership, Bush had to face one of the worst crises in the American history, dubbed as Pearl Harbour II. Certainly, America at the moment is in the grip of a terrible turmoil following the brutal and barbarous suicide air attacks (11 September 2001) on some key targets like World Trade Centre and Pentagon. In the wake of this development, the Bush Jr's leadership is virtually put on trial, for only in such catastrophes that the calibre of a leader is truly tested. Now to meet this challenge thrown to the US by terrorist forces, Bush is putting a formidable combination of countries for launching a global war against international terrorism. To be sure, it is a big challenge to his leadership, and it is to be seen how far Bush rises to the occasion. Will he be able to repeat the 1991 performance of his father, George Bush Sr.?

Barack Obama period (2009 till 2016)

The foreign policy of the Barack Obama administration is the foreign policy of the United States from 20 January 2009 onwards under the administration of President Barack Obama. Some of his major foreign policy advisors include Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, National Security Advisor Tom Donilon and United Nations Ambassador Susan Rice. Obama's overall foreign policy philosophy has been postulated as *The Obama Doctrine* by Washington Post columnist E.J. Dionne

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as ‘a form of realism unafraid to deploy American power but mindful that its use must be tempered by practical limits and a dose of self-awareness.’

From the year 2017, Donald Trump is new president of the United States of America and it will be interesting to observe what kind of changes comes with the Trump administration, due to the controversial promises he had should during the election campaign.

Review of the American foreign policy

Ever since the Second World War the United States, which emerged as a Superpower, has tried to don the mantle of a planetary policeman. This was definitely an evangelical role. No wonder, in the process America had to pay a heavy price. The inordinate fear of communism led her to embrace any dictator or despot. From Baltics to Beijing and from Sarajevo to South Africa, America sided with the status quo. She propped, projected and promoted a good number of execrable tyrannies round the globe. Perhaps no other country has destabilised as many duly constituted governments and bolstered up barbarous dictators as the US. She tolerated and supported military juntas, corrupt oligarchies, repressive regimes and dictatorial dispensations. Some of these were Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan of Pakistan, Augusto Pinochet of Chile, Syngman Rhee of South Korea, Shah of Iran, Duvaliers of Haiti, Ferdinand Marcos of Philippines, General Mobutu Sese Soko of Congo (Zaire), General Suharto of Indonesia, etc. Successive Presidents from Eisenhower to Johnson, despite changing rhetoric, had the Dullesian objective of stemming the tide of communism. This entailed direct or indirect involvement on the side of client regimes, howsoever unpopular. In short, to borrow from Barnett, ‘America has been on the wrong side in former colonial world’. To substantiate, because of her crusade against communism, she got herself sucked deeper and deeper in the quagmire of Vietnam. It was this obsession with ‘containment’ which impaired American ability to understand the modern Third World revolutions in China, Vietnam and Nicaragua. It was this kind of involvement in Vietnam which President Carter described ‘as the best example of intellectual and moral poverty.’

Ultimately, it fell to President Nixon and Carter to give effect to a new sense of realism and to recognise that communism in Asia was not without its nationalist moorings. They also realised that the communist bogey has been the bane of American policy-makers for decades. No doubt, American policy in Asia has been littered with failures—Vietnam most spectacularly, Iran most damagingly, Afghanistan through neglect and default, and India through arrogance during Nixon-Kissinger period. However, this wide panorama of setbacks had a sobering affect on the American foreign policy by the end of seventies.

Buffeted by Vietnam and Watergate experience, the US foreign policy has undergone a crisis of confidence since the mid-1970s, and since then, she has rejected the old extreme of World policeman and isolationism. As a result, containment of communism is no longer the linchpin of her policy. That is why, following the collapse of communism, George Bush gave a new slogan — ‘beyond containment’.

Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan has identified five flaws in the US foreign policy— (1) faulty premises and erroneous assumptions; (2) baltant, pompous and unsuitable

style of diplomacy; (3) irrational perception of communism, nationalism and liberation movements of China, Asia and Africa; (4) subordination of foreign policy to pulls and pressures of commercial-industrial lobbies and pseudo theoreticians as advisors, like Dulles, McNamara, and others.

But notwithstanding these critical comments on the American foreign policy, the fact remains that the policies initiated in 1947-48 ultimately achieved their fundamental objectives — containment and collapse of communism and the rival superpower — the Soviet Union, and thereby vindicated the victory of American ideology — liberal democracy and market economy. Now in the post-Cold War era America has emerged as the sole surviving superpower. Militarily, it remains the mightiest nation on earth, economically, it is the locomotive of world economy and diplomatically, it wields the greatest clout in world politics. Ironically speaking, contrary to Marx's prophesy the spectre of anti-communism, and not communism is stalking all over the world.

Myth of pax Americana

While few will deny that the twentieth century was the American century many will doubt that the 21st century will also belong to the United States of America. No doubt, for about twenty-five years since 1945 America enjoyed a global position without any rival. Europe lay prostrate and Japan was exhausted and even the Soviet Union was far behind. America alone was left a paramount power. She alone had both carrot and stick, because its economic health was as sound as its physical health. But since 1970s the power of America went through a phase of steady decline, which continued till the end of 1980s. This relative decline as a global power resulted from technological challenge from Japan and Western Europe and military challenge from the Soviet Union.

Till the 1980s, Americans saw themselves as being in steady decline. America's economic growth was replaced by recession and stagflation, its dollar was found slumping. Its share of the global GNP had come down from 40 per cent (1995) to 20 per cent in 1993. Consequently, from a creditor country America became the largest debtor nation, with biggest budget and trade deficit in the world. For some time it seemed that the days of Pax Americana were over for ever.

But America did recoup some of the losses of the seventies and eighties by launching diplomatic and military counter offensives, and succeeded in leaving her rival superpower (the Soviet Union) far behind in geopolitical terms. The 'Operation Desert Storm' (1991) did give the signal of the return of American political and military hegemony on a global scale. From a certain measure of US restraints to strong armed bravado, from a degree of internal self-doubt to international adventurism, from a balance of terror to the America—directed new World order did characterise the year of 1991. Consequently, it did replace the Vietnam syndrome by the Iraq Syndrome. To quote Pran Chopra, 'with the crumbling of the bipolar system by 1991, the US emerged as an uncontested supreme global power, which found itself in the commanding heights, issuing prescription all over the world on the modalities of economic and political developments in conformity with its own brand of composite democratic pluralism as well as individualistic capitalism'.

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In the 1990s, even in economic terms America surged forward as a leading economic power and now for the last several years it has enjoyed a continuous economic boom. No wonder, since the mid-1990s the US economy came to be called the 'goldilocks economy'. Thus, all the present indicators suggest the American edge over its possible rivals. Germany and Japan are still geopolitical pygmies and China and Russia are yet without economic clout. As a matter of fact, America today is the mover and shaker of world economy. According to Charles Krauthammer's prediction: 'For at least a generation the US will continue to remain preeminent by virtue of its overarching military, diplomatic, political and economic assets.' In a similar vein, Samuel Huntington has described the US as the 'sole state with prominence in every domain of power — economic, military diplomatic, ideological, technological and cultural and with the reach capabilities to promote its interests in virtually every part of the world.' Significantly, America's power continues to grow unabated. It is enjoying its longest economic boom in history even as the Information Age continually increases its global, political and cultural reach and the revolution in military affairs makes it military supreme. Surely, these are heady times for Americans and have prompted the former US Secretary of State Madelains Albright to call America 'the indispensable nation ... because we stand tall and hence see farther than other nations.'

It is undeniable that the US is the sole surviving superpower in the post-Cold War era. Militarily, it remains the mightiest nation on earth. Its lead in nuclear and conventional weaponry remains unsurpassable. Economically, it has become the locomotive of world economic growth. It is feared that if the US economic sneezes the world may catch pneumonia. Diplomatically too, it has the greatest clout. It is the US writ that resulted in finding answer to the chronic Arab-Israel conflict in 1993. Its writ also worked in managing the Bosnian feud and it was under the US auspices that the Dayton Accords were concluded in 1995. In short, America today happens to be the common denominator in every high profile peace process. Moreover, it is at the US initiative that the Uruguay Round Agreement could be negotiated, leading to the formation of the World Trade Organisation. It was the US initiative that became instrumental in firming up the NPT in 1995 in its unconditional and indefinite extension as well as the MTC Regime. Even in relation to 'soft power', all indicators favour the US. The cultural appeal of America — the temptation of the American way of life, the global reach of Hollywood, the US dominance of World Computers and Commerce has helped English language primalist. In addition, now all the nations are trying to come to terms with the idea of liberal democracy and free markets, whose champion is none other than the US.

Thus, Pax Americana seems to be firming up, for any change whatsoever in political and economic domain has to be made within the confines of the US conformism.

Nevertheless, there are some writers who express their dissenting voice about the US supremacy. While agreeing with the view that the America is definitely the greatest of great powers and will remain the most dominant factor in world politics for some time to come, they point out that in terms of technological capacity, access of natural resources, population strength and economic determinant of investment

opportunities and markets, the world is bound to be multipolar, with other power centres being European Union, Russian Federation, China, Japan, India and some regional arrangements. Similarly, an eminent social thinker, Samir Amin has also raised the question whether the US hegemony has entered its decline or has it begun a renewal that would make the 21st century also America's, and he has stated conclusively that the 21st century will not be America's century. It will be one of vast conflicts and the rise of social struggles that question the disproportionate ambitions of Washington and of capital.' In the same vein, G.F. Kennan, the father of 'Containment' theory of Truman times, while in one of his introspective and prophetic moods, has observed: 'I don't think that the US civilisation of the last forty to fifty years is a successful civilisation. I think this country is destined to succumb to failures which cannot be other than tragic and enormous in their scope'.

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Paradox of power

America was supposed to be the mightiest power on earth. But the recent massive air attacks on the US itself on 11 September 2001 shook the world to its core. The stunned world stood suspended in disbelief at the vulnerability of what was thought of as Ramboesque super power. For some time the terrorists brought the Big America to a halt. After this incident, the myth of fortress America lies demolished.

2.6.4 China's Foreign Policy

China in this day and age can be called a potential or emerging super power. Intrinsically, it has all the attributes to make a country great and powerful—an immense population skilled and disciplined and brimming with national pride and dedication, vast land and natural resources, the largest army, the third largest economy, a home grown civilisation and identity. Its territory is of imperial dimension (second largest country) reaching from Central Asia to the Pacific and its great population (1.2 bn) is being mobilised with authoritarian efficiency for economic development. Its economy is vibrant and reasonably strong, averaging 9 per cent annual growth for the past two decades. Today China's is the fastest growing economy in the world. Moreover, China is a nuclear weapon power and a veto wielding member of the UN Security Council. Besides, China is ethnically almost homogeneous and, therefore, free from ethnic unrest, constituting only of 6 per cent.

Though for a long time, China has been a slumbering giant due to degenerate dynasties, corrupt administration, famines and floods, and lack of communication, she has always regarded herself as the centre of the world. She has the middle kingdom, complex and Sino-centric obsession, apart from ethno-centric pride. She sees herself as the hub of civilisation.

Chinese people and their character

Traditionally, the Chinese are patient, sober and reasonable people. They are proud but sweet they have been a great people by a unique blend of culture, common sense and self-discipline. A unitarily administered, highly populous country is governable largely because of the self-restraint exercised by the people and the general respect for the law of the land. The Chinese society is strikingly orderly.

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Laws command general obedience. In fact, obedience to legal authorities is in the blood of the Chinese people. One observes a high level of order and discipline in all walks of life. China's underlying stability is based on ruthless control wielded by iron hands, a homogeneous Confucian culture, and xenophobic nationalism. The Chinese are simple in life style. Basically, they are hard working; and they have inherited Confucian ethic of hard work. Though they are normally a patient people but once aroused or provoked, they go berserk. Perhaps, Napoleon had this apprehension when he remarked: 'In China there lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep, for when he awakens, he will shake the world.' He proved remarkably prophetic. Now the all devouring 'red dragon' is awakened. China has now stood up, and the once sleeping giant, now seems poised to be a world power. Finally, like Russians, the Chinese are aggressive, subversive and expansionist, as the following history will show.

Political Background of the Communist Revolution in China

China has the longest continuous history in the world. For thousand of years, China has been the most advanced country in the field of science and literature, painting, gun powder and statecraft. Moreover, China has a very long history, of imperialist rule. The Ming dynasty was the last Chinese imperial line. After overthrowing the Ming rulers in 1642, the Manchu dynasty ruled the 'Middle Kingdom' until 1911. The Manchu rule was corrupt, weak and incapable of ruling a vast country like China. This paved the way for the intrusion of Western imperialism. Though China had never a colonial status like other Asian nations, the Chinese emperors had to grant a number of trade concessions to foreign powers since 1840. The European powers maintained a network of concessions, extra-territorial rights, control of customs, leases of railways and ports. To cut short, China experienced more than hundred years of foreign intervention in her internal affairs. During this period, its territory was carved and plundered by outside powers whose ruthlessness and rapaciousness enervated its people. Nonetheless, China, according to Henry Kissinger, 'was able to preserve a margin of autonomy by playing off competing greeds of foreign powers against each other.'

Several uprisings, beginning with the Boxer Uprising (1910) culminated in the Chinese Republican Revolution of 1911 under the able and charismatic leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Dr. Sen is called the spiritual father of modern China. He is also known as the father of the nation. In 1911, the Kuomintang, organised and led by Dr. Sen, succeeded in overthrowing the last ruler of the Manchu dynasty and established a Republic in China. The national and political rebirth of China, thus, dates back from the proclamation of Dr. Sen's three principles—nationalism, democracy and People's livelihood. Thus, Han nationalism began to assert for the first time after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty.

But the nationalist regime failed to weld the Chinese nation. Dr. Sun Yat Sen proved a great visionary but not an able administrator. Most of China went under the control of military chieftains and petty warlords. Dr. Sen died in 1925 and was succeeded by Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang gave a crushing defeat to the warlords, who had been hampering the efforts of national unification and succeeded in uniting China to a large extent. However, with a view to have his complete control over the

administration, he purged the leftwing coalition of the Kuomintang in 1927, for he was more alarmed by the rise of communists, led by Mao Tse-tung, than the Japanese aggression launched since 1931. He accordingly organised a ruthless campaign against the pockets of communists, which compelled them to move to the north in 1934, known as the Long March.

In the meanwhile, people were becoming resentful at the passivity of Marshall Chiang Kai-shek to fight the fresh Japanese aggression, launched in 1937. This again compelled Chiang to form an alliance with the communists so as to jointly face the Japanese aggression. In the course of war against Japan, the communists got the opportunity of their lifetime. With their discipline, mass support and a revolutionary (Marxist) ideology, they consolidated their position. And when the Second World War ended (1945), the communists got hold of arms and ammunitions surrendered by the Japanese forces with the connivance of Russia. The end of the War was followed by a civil war in China which lasted for more than three years, in which the communists under the able leadership of Mao Tse-tung came out victorious. As a consequence, Chiang Kai-shek and his handful followers were forced to flee to Formosa, a territory surrendered by Japan in 1945, and on 1 October 1949 the Chinese People's Republic was proclaimed.

The Communist Revolution in China derived its strength from nationalism, economic discontent and resentment of the foreigners. It also satisfied a widespread desire for orderly government, which the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek had failed to provide. The Marxist-Leninist ideology gave it a new drive and opened new directions. Within years, Mao Tsetung, the god-father of the communist revolution, resurrected China from its centuries of slumber and poverty to a great nation with a will and vision. Thus, after being pushed around for more than a century, China had finally stood up.

Impact of the Chinese revolution on world politics

‘The emergence of Communist China was an epoch making event’, as Friedman characterised it. It fundamentally altered the geo-strategic equation in East Asia. Indeed, it was a world shattering event. In China, it was the fulfilment of centuries of aspirations. In Asia, it was a part of national upsurge. In the world, it inaugurated a major centre of power. It placed enormous human and material resources on the side of the Eastern Camp and tilted the balance of power in favour of the Soviet Union. It also led to a new rift in the Western Camp on the question of recognition of the new regime in China—Britain recognised the Peking regime in 1949, France did so in 1964 and Canada in 1970, but the USA did so only in 1971.

The communist take over in China also led to the extension of the doctrine of containment from Europe to Asia, to widening of system of alliances and military pacts and to acceleration of the race of armament. It contributed to material change in the US policy towards India and Japan. By 1949 America placed Japan and India in the forefront in place of ‘nationalist China’ as a counter-weight against Mao’s China. With the same end in view, America was also obliged to shore up reactionary regimes in South Korea, Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan, and also to give assistance to

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under -developed areas as the latter provided a fertile ground for the growth of communism.

But, being hailed as a new revolutionary model, it also posed a challenge to the leadership of the communist world. The monolithic solidarity of the communist commonwealth was crumbled. The Soviet Union no longer remained the sole leader of the communist world. In Peking a second Rome was born. In effect, Mao's Peking proved a more serious challenge to Moscow than Tito's Belgrade.

Guiding principles of the Chinese foreign policy

Like that of the Soviet Union, the foreign policy of the communist China was also oriented to the basic tenets of Marxist-Leninist theories, particularly in its earlier phase. But the characteristically Chinese ego-centric view of the world and of their superiority gave Marxism-Leninism a typically Chinese cast. In other words, at the hands of Mao, Marxism was Sinicised and became a Chinese edition of Marxism-Leninism. According to Scalapino, the three influences on the Chinese foreign policy were: traditionalism, nationalism and Marxism. Essentially, the foreign policy of Mao's China has been a mixture of Han-imperialism, Chinese nationalism, revolutionary strategy of Mao Tse-tung and Marxism-Leninism, although Marxism-Leninism was the basic conceptual framework of China's foreign policy. The Chinese leaders during the Mao's period claimed that their foreign policy was based on 'scientific socialism'. For them, it was an instrument in the worldwide struggle of communism against capitalism. For a long time, they professed that the struggle between socialism and imperialism (the last phase of capitalism) was inevitable and eternal. It was not possible to sit on the fence while the struggle goes on. There was no third road. Neutrality or non-alignment, according to them, was a camouflage. Communism had to make a commoncause with the nationalist upsurge in the colonies fighting for liberation.

In the post-Mao period, however, Marxism-Leninism was so watered down that it became socialism in name only. The slogan of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' was nothing but 'market-friendly socialism'—almost a meaningless term. The new leadership of Deng Xiao-ping abandoned class struggle, people's communes, struggle against revisionism, and has adopted commodity production, market mechanism, private ownership of the means of production and heresy of heresies—stock exchange. Deng claimed 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' to be an alternative both to Leninism and Western style of democracy. Robert A. Scalapino, an American Sinologist, has described it as a system of 'authoritarian pluralism'.

Determinants of the Chinese foreign policy

Shorn of its Marxists garb, the Chinese foreign policy would appear to be simple. Her foreign policy is largely determined by competing purposes and pressures generated in a semi-colonial economy and, at the same time, conditioned by the fixed facts of geography as well as fluid facts of power relationship—the changing context of the world balance of power. For every nation must adapt its policies, whatever may be its professed ideology, to the objective realities of immediate

international structure.’ In the sixties and seventies, her foreign policy was torn between the imperatives of real-politik and the dictates of ideology.’ ‘But in the eighties, the foreign policy roles, which the Chinese leaders see themselves fulfilling, concerned the strengthening of the regime’s international security, status and influence, the acquisition of external resources for its modernisation and the spread of its own ideology.’ The role of ideology in the post-Mao period went on diminishing and is now confined to a camouflage.

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Objectives of the Chinese foreign policy

In the earliest phase, the Chinese leaders were guided by the following objectives: (1) A firm alliance with the Soviet Union, (2) a deep suspicion of the West, (3) a special sensitivity about imperialist encroachment on their borders, (4) an aspiration to recover lost territories regarded as Chinese. The means adopted to realise these objectives were: (a) Building up of Chinese Military power—Mao believed that, ‘Political power comes out of the barrel of a gun.’ No wonder, China has conducted more than 40 nuclear tests, (b) Effective use of diplomacy. Luckily, in Chou En-lai, China found an accomplished negotiator. China tried to exploit the anti-Western feeling in the Third World. Hence the slogan was: ‘East Wind vs. West Wind’, until the seventies, followed by ‘Rich North vs. Poor South (c) War and aggression to be employed to wrest lost territories. Hence the attack on Tibet (1950) and on India (1962), claiming about 90,000 sq miles in the Eastern sector of the India-China border, (d) Plan for long struggle to achieve world revolution. The plan included armed struggle, subversion, political penetration and support to war of national liberation, (e) Military assistance and economic aid to friendly countries, like Pakistan, Tanzania, Zambia, etc.

Apparently, the track of the Chinese foreign policy objectives has been changing with the passage of time. The Twelfth Congress (1982) of the Communist Party of China set up goals for the eighties. It pledged China to oppose international hegemonism, neo-colonialism and racialism and to work for world peace. In substance, the new line moved China to the Middle (almost equidistant) position between the two superpowers. But when one of the superpowers (the Soviet Union) went out of existence, China herself began to aspire for a superpower status.

All told, notwithstanding several ideological somersaults and many turns and twists in her external behaviour, China’s main foreign policy objective has remained unchanged—to affirm her place in the world in the name of support for world revolution or in the garb of anti-imperialism or anti-hegemonism.

Different Phases of the Chinese Foreign Policy Since 1949

Anybody who examines the evolution of Chinese foreign policy is bound to be struck by the mercurial course of her foreign policy. There have been a series of somersaults in her foreign policy during the last five decades. It is full of about turns and volte faces. For the sake of convenience, the history of Chinese foreign policy may be divided into six phases corresponding to shifts and departures.

- **First phase (1949–53):** The first phase of the Chinese foreign policy can be described as a period of consolidation and angry isolation. It was marked

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by aggressive stance and hawkish posture. This belligerent attitude on the part of China was quite natural. 'To a country smarting from the indignities of a century of abuse and reawakened to a sense of its own pride and strength, the only logical response left was a belligerent and defiant attitude. The depth of humiliation to which a proud, ancient and civilised people are driven can be understood by those who have been through the hell.' Thus, the dynamics of its foreign policy in this phase stemmed from carefully nurtured memories of a century of shame and humiliation. China's past glory and its modern humiliation stood in awful contrast.

Moreover, in this era, China was a pawn of bloc politics. Being a leading member of the Soviet bloc, it was natural on her part to be anti-West. Again, only few Western nations gave recognition to her and they also put obstacles to her entry to the United Nations. A partner of the Soviet Union, she made efforts to expand communism in Afro-Asian countries in cooperation with Russia. She gave full support to wars of liberation and organised a united front against Western imperialism.

In the direction of national reorganisation, China made two demands: (1) To end the existing foreign influence in the Chinese society. Accordingly, she demanded the cancellation of all foreign concession and privileges. All foreigners were asked to leave China forthwith, (2) To get back all those Chinese territories which were snatched by the imperialists during the semi-colonial days. Another notable instance of hostile attitude was reflected in the 'rape of Tibet'. China attacked Tibet and captured it in 1950. To be sure, it was a case of naked aggression against a country which had been enjoying virtual sovereignty since times immemorial. She also intervened in the Korean war (1950–53), when the UN forces under the American command crossed the 38th Parallel, while driving out North Korean invaders. She rejected all talks of truce until she saw no chance of victory, and accepted the ceasefire only in 1953. But after the Korean war, she had to abandon the aggressive stance, as her mentor (the Soviet Union) stood for 'peaceful coexistence', in the post-Stalin period. Apart from this, the economic consequences of the Korean war also compelled her to opt for the Soviet approach. Besides, to make the five-year plan for economic development successful she had to enter into trade agreements with a number of countries.

- **Second phase (1954–56):** The second phase of the Chinese foreign policy can be described as a period of partial peaceful coexistence. It marked the end of 'angry isolation'. In this period, there was a partial thaw in China's relationship with the rest of the world. The year 1954 was indicative of her efforts to break the self-imposed isolation. China now began to appreciate the Indian policy of non-alignment. Both Mao and Chou paid tributes to Nehru for his neutrality in the Korean war. In 1954, Chou En-lai paid a visit to New Delhi and signed an agreement with Nehru on Tibet, and endorsed the Panchsheel Doctrine. Since 1954 China began to play an active role in world affairs. She got invitation to attend the Geneva Conference of 1954, convened

to resolve the Indo-China problem. It was at this Conference where China made her international debut. By these conciliatory moves, she reaped a rich dividend in diplomacy and earned the goodwill of several Afro-Asian countries. At the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries (1955) China emerged as the most notable invitee. Her representative, Chou En-lai, because of his suave and polished diplomacy, became the star attraction of this conference. In fact, it was a sort of premiere for him on the international stage. In order to gain more popularity and credibility, China sent about thirty-five diplomatic missions to Afro-Asian countries. Besides, she established friendly relations with Pakistan, Indonesia and Japan.

- **Third phase (1957–69):** The third phase of Chinese foreign policy is known for new militancy in China's external behaviour. She reverted to aggressive posture once again. She not only moved towards greater militancy but also moved away from close collaboration with the Soviet Union. Perhaps, Soviet Union's spectacular achievements in technological field, such as launching of Sputnik and first manned satellite and intercontinental rocket, had an electrifying effect on the Chinese morale and leadership. While attending the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Moscow (November 1957), Mao gave candid expression to China's new militancy. He declared: 'If the East Wind fails to dominate the West Wind, the West Wind will dominate the East Wind.' Mao felt that the momentum of history was in favour of the East Wind and advocated ceaseless struggle against Western imperialism without any relaxation. But Khrushchev remained unimpressed and unconvinced with Mao's call for confrontation. This difference of opinion marked the beginning of the rift between the two communist giants.

In any case, Mao went ahead with his plan of aggrandisement all alone, and launched his aggressive adventures. For instance, China bombarded off-shore islands—Matsu and Quemoy (1958), forcibly annexed Tibet and destroyed her autonomy (1959), displayed an inflexible attitude in the Lebanese crisis (1958) and Laotian crisis (1959). She also did not relish the Camp David meeting between Khrushchev and Eisenhower (1959). Finally, in 1962, she launched a full scale attack on India and occupied about 15,000 sq miles in Ladakh, thereby flouting all understandings reached in the past between Chou and Nehru. To top it all, she gatecrashed the exclusive nuclear club in 1964. She also started diplomatic offensive towards African countries. Moreover, she attempted economic diplomacy on a significant scale in the sixties, and the Tanzanian railway was its most prestigious effort. Chou En-lai visited ten African countries in 1963-64. During the visit, he tried to enlist the African support on the Sino-Indian border dispute, besides countering the Soviet influence on the African continent. However, his efforts ultimately came to naught. Chou-En-lai, instead, antagonised this part of the world by his overblown rhetoric and his undiplomatic, though inadvertent, remark at Dares Salam. 'Africa is on the verge of revolution and revolutionary prospects are excellent throughout Africa.' Thus, his African safari ultimately turned out to be a diplomatic disaster. As regards Asia, Chou visited Burma, Pakistan and

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Sri Lanka and established diplomatic relations with eighteen new countries in 1965. Incidentally, she openly sided with Pakistan in the Indo-Pak war of 1965.

After the failure of Sino-Soviet talks of 1963-64, China began to move away openly from the Soviet Camp. Mao did not share Khrushchev's assessment of Western strength. For Mao, America was just a 'paper tiger', but to Khrushchev, she was a 'tiger with nuclear teeth'. By the middle of 1965, China's debacle became distinct and it was clear that her foreign policy had gone awry. She had antagonised both the superpowers. Africa was lost to her and in Asia, too, she was more feared than respected after the India-China war.

The ruthless persecution of the communist party of Indonesia and the subsequent ouster of President Soekarno (1965) caused a serious damage to Chinese image among the Afro-Asian countries. That is why her efforts to convene a Bandung like conference in 1965 did not get a favourable response. These diplomatic debacles alongwith the failure of 'Great Leap Forward' programme at home, made China inward-looking for some time to come. She was isolated and withdrawn. This mood was followed by a decade of what is called 'Cultural Revolution'. The Cultural Revolution (1966-76) in fact was an eruption of ideological fervour, mass hysteria and, ultimately, outright brutality (about 20 million people were dead and 100 million were uprooted and ruined because of gory bloodbath of collectivisation). In essence, the Cultural Revolution was a power-cum-ideological struggle between Liu Shao-qui and Mao Zedong as the former tried to side step the latter after the failure of 'great leap forward' experiment.

- **Fourth phase (1969–76):** The fourth phase was marked by a serious domestic upheaval. The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China (1969) constituted a water-shed in China's foreign policy. The line adopted at this Congress meant a full break with the general line of 1956. It gave a call to fight unitedly against both Western imperialism and 'Social imperialism'. In 1970, this call was converted into cohesion of all small and medium states against the superpowers. This rethinking was hastened by clashes on the border (1969) between the armed forces of the two communist giants. During this period the Chinese policy was marked by a desire to improve relations with all countries not aligned or friendly with the Soviet Union, including the United States. Fortunately, many developments in the field of international politics facilitated the application of the new policy adopted by China after 1969.

The most dramatic developments was the desire on the part of Washington for rapprochement with Beijing. In 1970-71, several factors made Sino-American reconciliation easy. If Ussuri border clash frightened China and forced her to mend her fences with the US, a graceful withdrawal from Vietnam compelled America to improve her relations with China. Washington realised that war in Vietnam could hardly be wound up without China's support. Hence, President Nixon gave top priority to normalisation of relations with

China. In the meantime, the Bangladesh issue and the Indo-Pak war of 1971 as its sequel, hastened the process of reconciliation between China and the United States. This reconciliation was sealed with the visit of President Nixon to Beijing in February 1972. China also succeeded in getting entry to the United Nations in October 1971 with the US support. In January 1973, China agreed to sign the Paris Ceasefire Agreement on Vietnam.

In 1973, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China made another Somersault by showing total indifference to interests of national liberation movements, and by concentrating its struggle against the Soviet Union as the only enemy. Now Mao divided the political world into three parts: (1) Two Superpowers, (2) Developed countries—both socialist and non-socialist and (3) Underdeveloped and newly independent states. China claimed that she was the leader of the Third group of states. In other words, the Third World became China's natural constituency.

In the Fourth National People's Congress (January 1975), China reaffirmed to set up a United Front against the enemies of world socialism. She began to treat the EEC and the NATO as Second Front against the Soviet Union. Interestingly, the EEC soon became China's second largest trading partner after Japan.

- **Fifth phase post-Mao period (1976–1978):** The year 1976 snatched in quick succession both Chou En-lai and Mao Zedong on 8 January and 9 September, respectively from the Chinese scene. Mao was succeeded by his own nominee, Hua Guofeng as the Chairman of the Communist Party of China. Hua also held the post of Prime Ministership until he was replaced by Zhao Ziyang (September 10, 1980). Hua declared to follow Mao's policy both in domestic as well as foreign field and repeated the call for launching the broadest possible united front against the hegemonism of superpowers, and strengthen the proletarian internationalism. In 1976, the Beijing Government agreed to resume diplomatic relations (suspended since 1962) with India.
- **Sixth phase-Deng period (1978–1997):** In another domestic development, the eleventh Congress (1977) of the Communist Party of China restored Deng Xiaoping to all the posts held by him earlier. By 1978, Deng emerged as the most powerful leader in Chinese politics. It is notable that in, subsequent years, even without holding any official position, Deng could maintain his controlling authority by putting his own men on key-posts.

Deng was known as a 'Capitalist Reader' since the days of Mao. He unveiled a liberal phase in 1979, and reemphasised socialism as an ideology of modernisation. He set post-Mao China on the path of reform and modernisation, thereby opening a cloistered society to the outside world. His new line was summed up as four modernisations — agriculture, industry, science and technology and defence. In short, development became China's new ideology, Pragmatism and rational method of economic development became a substitute of ideology. In Deng's famous aphorism, 'It does not matter what the colour of cat is so long it catches a mice. He gave preference

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to market over Marx. He became the architect of market socialism, which he called 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. Later on, at the 14th Congress, Deng inaugurated what may be called his double-edged weapon by which he wanted to unshackle the Chinese economy from Marxian dogma, but without disturbing the supremacy of the Communist Party. As such, his new description for the development of China was: authoritarian politics and liberal economics. A writer has likened this system to 'driving a car with one foot on the accelerator for economic reforms and another foot on the break for political control'.

The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is still in no mood to entertain political pluralism. This was clearly demonstrated in the Tiananmen Square episode of June 1989. Deng's crash modernisation programme was immensely successful. It quadrupled China's economy by 1993. It is remarkable that when most of the world's leading economies are showing down trend, the Chinese economy is in robust health.

Apart from the sustained economic growth, Deng's China also acquired a large deterrent of nuclear arsenal and a growing sphere of influence. As regards the foreign policy framework of Deng's period, it becomes manifest only after the 12th Congress (September 1982). Since then it has been characterised by pragmatism and flexibility. The revolutionary rhetoric of the Maoist has been replaced by a more conventional approach to diplomacy.

Estimate of Deng's regime

If Mao Zedong liberated China from feudalism, Deng liberated it from the shackles of command economy. In comparison, Deng has out-shown, outclassed and outlived Mao as a leader. Deng's period is assured as a watershed, both as constituting a sharp break with the previous Maoist era on the one hand, and on the other, signaling China's intention to bring to an end its global isolation and thereby become an active player in world affairs. Undeniably, Deng played an exemplary role in turning China from an in-world-looking command economy to an outward-looking market-oriented economy. Although there may not be any fundamental departure in the Chinese foreign policy in the post-Mao period, yet there is a marked change in emphasis and style. Now China has come still closer to America and its differences with Russia are resolved. Besides, it has succeeded in improving its relations with all big and small nations all over the world.

- **Seventh phase post-Deng period (1997):** With the death of Deng Xiaoping in February 1997, the third generation of Chinese leadership with Jiang Zemin as President and Zhu Rongji as the Prime Minister of China has taken over. The new leadership is functioning under the guidance of Dengism. It is believed that China will continue the modernisation drive. Presently, China is working on a new Five Year Plan for national economic and social development. According to this plan, as claimed by Li Peng on his visit to India (January 13, 2001), 'China's GDP by 2010 will double that of the year 2000.' Li Peng the second most powerful leader in China, also declared that China will continue

to implement the policy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan—‘one country, two systems’, and that it will be opposed to hegemonism and will never seek hegemony itself. ‘Jiag Zemin is following Deng’s latest dictum: ‘Loosen up on the outside, tighten up on the inside.’ Significantly, China is enjoying both political stability as well as economic prosperity in complete contrast to its erstwhile red rival.

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Sino-Soviet relations

The changing course of Sino-Soviet relations provides a fascinating case study. The former Soviet Union and China has been the two great giants of the communist world. Their relations as socialist nations started in 1949 with a note of goodwill and friendship. An alliance was made between the two countries in 1950 under the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance for a period of thirty years. In 1957, Mao had declared: ‘There is no force on earth which can separate us.’ Similarly, in 1961, Cheu En-Iai had also reiterated: ‘The great solidarity and friendship between us will live forever even as the Yangtze and the Volga will flow eternally.’ But ironically enough, within a short span their relationship got ruptured and ruined without repair until the end of eighties.

Contrary to popular perception, ‘the Sino-Soviet dispute did not originate in the after-math of the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956). It could be traced to the relations between the communist parties of the two countries even during 1920-50.’ Nevertheless, the Sino-Soviet dispute gained fresh impetus in the late fifties. As a matter of fact, it was their contrasting historical experience which sowed the seeds of conflict. The Soviet design to keep China a junior partner in the socialist bloc and its efforts to seek détente with the West even at the expense of China, was an additional factor that led to a rift in the Sino-Soviet relations. The Euro-centric policies of Stalin’s successors invalidated the Treaty of Security Guarantee (1950). With détente as a cornerstone of the Soviet policy and its refusal to build up China’s military strength beyond a modest level forced China to delink itself from the Soviet Camp and build up an independent centre of power.

Beginning in 1956, the relationship underwent a series of shocks—Khrushchev’s attack on Stalin, unrest in Eastern Europe, belated support on Taiwan straits, refusal to share nuclear technology, withdrawal of Soviet technicians, support to India on Sino-Indian border dispute, rivalry over leadership of the communist movement worldwide and Moscow’s appeasement of Washington. However, the final break was symbolised by open clash on the Sino-Soviet border in 1969.

Brief History of the Sino-Soviet Schism

Although the study of Sino-Soviet dispute has lost its topical importance in view of the prevalent correct relations between the two countries, a brief survey of this dispute is desirable to understand the present and future of their relationship. After all, the past is too fresh to be ignored by them in their approach to each other.

The major issues between the two countries were: (1) Leadership of the communist world, (2) Path of socialist development, (3) Different perceptions over the relative strength of the capitalist and the socialist world, and (4) The boundary

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dispute. For the sake of convenience, the study of Sino-Soviet dispute has been divided into four periods as follows:

- **First period: The era of friendship and cooperation (1949–59):** This period may be called as a period of honeymoon or an era of détente. It is a well known fact that the Soviet Union was the first country to give recognition to the People's Republic of China at its birth. In February 1950, Mao went to Moscow to seek the Soviet blessings. On 24 February 1950 three treaties were signed between the two countries. (1) Treaty of Friendship, (2) Treaty to return the Chinese territory of Chang Chun Railway, Port Arthur and Dorian, (3) Treaty to provide massive aid to China. Apart from this, the Soviet Union made ceaseless attempts to get China a seat in the United Nations. The Sino-Soviet friendship in this period was natural, as both needed each other's support and cooperation. If for China, it was a period of preparation for great power status for which the Soviet help was a must, for the Soviet Union, it was the period of Cold War at its zenith and hence she required material and moral support of China against the Western Camp, which was far superior in weapon technology at that time. Undoubtedly, the two greats put together, bound by common ideology and common boundaries formed a monolithic giant. Hence, the underlying tension between the two countries was kept under leash until 1956. In short, the period was marked by China leaning on one side.
- **Second period the era of conflict and competition (1960–69):** After Stalin's second death in 1956, China began to claim equal status with the Soviet Union by virtue of Mao's seniority to Khrushchev—the new leader of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Mao was opposed to the policy of de-Stalinisation which Khrushchev inaugurated in the 20th Party Congress (1956), as Mao himself was a seeker of personality cult in China. Further, Mao looked to Khrushchev's road to the summit of Camp David and Paris with suspicion. Yet not until 1959, the quarrel became acute. In 1959, the Soviet Union ridiculed China's Great Leap Forward policy and People's Communes Schemes, launched by Mao in 1958. The nuclear accord with China was also torn up by the Soviet Union by June 1959. In 1960, the Soviet technicians and advisers (ten thousand) attached to China's development projects were unilaterally withdrawn. Moreover, the foreign aid was suspended and the trade turnover was also reduced.

But 'the quarrel flared up in the fall of 1961 and became fully apparent at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU (1961). Later on, the Cuban crisis, the Sino-Indian war, the struggle for supremacy within the socialist bloc added to the sharpness of the conflict, turning hitherto supposed partners into arch rivals.' The disastrous dip in the Sino-Soviet relations occurred in 1962, when the Soviet Union sided with India on the Sino-Indian border question. The final divorce, however, took place in 1963 after China's refusal to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963). The year of 1963 signalled the beginning of the cold war between the two communist giants. In 1969, the cold war developed into

hot war when their force clashed on the Ussuri border. With this clash their relationship touched its nadir.

Nature of dispute between China and the Soviet Union

The differences between the two communist giants went on multiplying over the years and acquired a manifold character—ideological, political and territorial.

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- o **Ideological differences:** Some of the theoretical differences between the two communist giants were as follows:
 - Inevitability of war—China at that time stood for revolutionary line and war. Mao contended that if the First World War gave the Bolshevik Revolution and the Second World War gave the Chinese Revolution, the Third World War would give world victory to communism
 - Export of Revolution—China championed the revolutionary line of action and strongly rejected the capitalist road to socialism
 - Disarmament—China was opposed to all efforts at disarmament until she herself achieved parity with the superpowers in terms of weapon technology. Incidentally, she signed the NPT only in 1992
 - Peaceful Coexistence—China branded the Soviet Union as revisionist and instead stood for militant coexistence, as peaceful coexistence was anti-revolutionary to China. On the other hand, Khrushchev and his successors stood for peaceful coexistence. These theoretical differences led to open polemics between the two sides after the failure of 1963-dialogues.
- o **Political differences:** After China acquired sufficient muscle power, the Sino-Soviet conflict became more geopolitical than ideological. It became actually a contest for leadership in the communist world and the Third World and also for power status. The present and future Sino-Soviet relations, therefore, should be assessed in the context of the calculus of power obtaining in the contemporary world, as lately geopolitics has taken precedence over ideology.
- o **Territorial dispute:** Besides ideological and political differences, the territorial dispute added a new dimension to the Sino-Soviet conflict. China has the longest border (5,813 miles) with the Soviet Union. As early as 1953, China had put forward claims of vast territories in Siberia and Soviet Central Asia which were formerly under the hegemony of Chinese emperors, but were annexed by the Czar dynasty either by force or by fraud under the unequal treaties. China had claimed 1.5 million sq kms of territory from the Soviet Union. However, the main issue was over the boundary line in the two rivers—Ussuri and Amur. In 1969, the border dispute developed into an armed conflict between the forces of the two countries on the question of Chenpao island near Ussuri river. After this clash about one million troops were kept on each side of the border by both the countries. It is significant that China

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under Deng renounced the claims over unequal treaties and toned down her demand to few square miles and the division of the boundary rivers as per the midstream (Thalweg) principle, since conceded by the Soviet Union under the regime of Gorbachev. As a matter of fact, the border dispute was more a symptom rather than a substantial issue.

- **Third period: The decade of Divore (1969–79):** During this period, the two communist giants fought the cold war with full fury. Ironically the ‘first love’ became the ‘first hate’ during this period. The period also witnessed China’s leaning to the other side—the Western Camp. This volte face on the part of China brought about a geopolitical revolution and greatly undermined the strength of the Soviet bloc. This phase of the Sino-Soviet relations remained frozen for about a decade. But by the fall of 1979, the ice was broken and both the countries started normalisation parleys, rectifying the excesses and distortions. But the talks had to be broken off after the Afghan crisis and could not be resumed until 1982, although President Brezhnev had announced at the 26th Congress of the CPSU (1981) the Soviet readiness to negotiate around improvement in relationship between the two red leviathans.
- **Fourth period: The era of reconciliation and restitution (1982 onwards):** Since March 1982, Moscow again started sending feelers to resurrect the suspended dialogue, which Beijing equally reciprocated. As the process gathered momentum after several rounds of talk, the adversarial perceptions that had characterised their relations for over two decades began to give way and thereafter started what can be called as Operation De-freeze. But certain issues like Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan stood as stubborn obstacles. The post-Brezhnev leadership continued the process of repair and reconciliation but the pace was quickened further with the arrival of Gorbachev and his ‘new thinking’. China demanded withdrawal of Soviet 65,000 troops from Mongolia and from Afghanistan and Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Gorbachev vigorously addressed himself to all these obstacles. His policy of disengagement and withdrawal of troops removed these hurdles by the end of eighties. Gorbachev also visited Beijing in May 1989 and accelerated the process of state and party level relationship. During this visit the two countries committed themselves on the non-use of force to resolve their differences on the border dispute, accepting the Thalweg Principle and also agreed to reduce their forces on the Sino-Soviet border. By the end of 1999, China and Russia settled all their border disputes except some small island territories.

Undoubtedly, since the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the development of Sino-Russian relations has been quite smooth. Both the great powers have resolved many historical disputes and irritants with an objective of building and strengthening further ‘constructive partnership to strategic cooperative partnership’. The recent Sino-Russian Treaty for twenty years on 16 July 2001 marks the permanent burial of Sino-Russian rift.

But it would be wrong to expect any dramatic change which may lead to realignment of the two powers. Perhaps, the Sino-Soviet (Russian) relations may never be the same as in early fifties, because close bonds, once broken, are hard to weld. Restitution never means renewal of old relationship. Nevertheless, it can be reasonably anticipated that they may come closer, as ideological hurdles or personality clashes no longer stand in the way. But none can ignore the fact that the elementary fact of geography necessarily imposes limits on the degree of Sino-Russian detente. The geopolitical contest is likely to persist between China and Russia—the legal successor of the Soviet Union. All told, it would be unrealistic to foresee a radical improvement in the relationship between China and Russia over the next few years. ‘No significant Sino-Soviet (Russian) detente is likely to occur, because both are likely to compete for influence in the Asian region’, despite the fact that both have repeatedly declared their intention to forge a strategic partnership to pose a challenge to the US hegemony.

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Review of the Chinese foreign policy

Looking at the mercurial course of the China’s foreign policy one is bound to be intrigued by her external behaviour like a ‘notorious prostitute’ or ‘perfidious Albion’. Perhaps no other foreign policy has seen so many voltefaces, ideological somersaults and postural turnabouts. In other words, the foreign policy of China has been marked by radical reversals and dramatic departures. Hence it has been quite puzzling and unpredictable. Just in three decades, her foreign policy has taken three U-turns—from alliance to cultivation of a middle power bloc to an unwritten alignment with the US. China has literally observed the dictum that ‘in international affairs there are no permanent friends or enemies.’ No wonder, her eternal ally (the Soviet Union) became her implacable enemy and the arch enemy (the USA) became the best friend not long back.

Nevertheless, China’s foreign policy cannot be described as devoid of principles and objectives. Correctly speaking, it could be described as one of ‘principled flexibility’. In fact, there was never any compromise on fundamental objectives. At the root of so many somersaults there has been cold, often cynical, calculation of China’s strategic interest. She has always put national interest above ideology. As a matter of fact, she has been pursuing in the last thirty years the single goal of restoring China. She believes passionately that she has a right to be in the centre of things in international affairs. She wants to be treated at par with other great powers of the world. Thus, behind the pronounced ideological smoke-screen, China has been seeking a power status commensurate with her overall strength. The ideological mask of Marxism-Leninism has been nothing but an exercise in myth making. ‘Marxism, with all its pseudo left revolutionary phraseology, has only sought to provide an ideological cover to great power designs of the Peking rulers.’ She, therefore, concealed her real aim under radical-looking catch phrases with terrific mass appeal, such as East Wind Versus West Wind, the World Village versus the World Town, proletarian Internationalism, United Front etc.’

But lately, after three long decades China’s policies are assuming a new nationalistic and pragmatic outlook. Her current international stance is marked by

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the quest for balance in her foreign relations. At the 12th Congress the Chinese Communist Party (1982) Deng had declared: 'Independence and self-reliance have always been and will forever be our basic stand.' Commenting on this new posture, V. V. Pranjpe observed: 'At long last China is changing in favour of an independent nationalistic policy and in the process hopefully reverting to the old Chinese way of doing things modestly, moderately, reasonably and realistically, prudently and patiently.'

To sum up, the central aim of China today is to modernise her economy and emerge as a superpower by the middle of the next century. Already in a recent report, the World Bank has said that the 'Chinese Economic Area'—China, Hong Kong and Taiwan taken as a single economic entity—was arguably becoming the fourth or the third (as per IMF calculation its GDP is 2.35 trillion dollars) growth pole of the global economy and that this area will rank far ahead of both Germany and Japan in GDP by 2002. Some current optimists predict that within a generation or so, a country once dismissed as the Sick Man of Asia could have the largest economy in the world.' Already, China is the largest recipient of FDI (\$45 bn) and leads the world in exports (\$250 bn). It is unarguably the dominant power in the region and one of the major global powers in the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

13. What are the factors that impart essentially a dynamic character to the international milieu within which a state has to formulate its external policy?
14. State the keystone of Government of India's policy towards the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.
15. Which American policy was the first step in the direction of containment of communism- in fact, of the Soviet Union?
16. Who is known as the god-father of the Chinese communist revolution?
17. Which principle has become the third arrow to Britain's bow in international relations?

2.7 SUMMARY

- The foreign policy of a country, often referred to as the foreign relations policy, comprises self-interest strategies adopted by the state to protect its national interests and achieve its goals in the international scenario.
- The five main objectives of a foreign policy are protecting territorial integrity of the country, maintenance of links with other member of international community, promotion and furtherance of national interests, promotion of economic interests of the country and the enhancing of the influence of the state either by expansion or reduction of influence of other states.

- The various factors involved in the shaping the foreign policy are: historical factors, population factor, economic development, type of government, natural resources, industrial development, ideological factor, military strength, geographical factor and public opinion etc.
- National power is the strength of the state to do what it likes internally and externally. National power is the power or the capacity of a state with the domestic and foreign policy as effectively as possible to realize its national objectives.
- There are various elements of national power: moral, technology, ideology, leadership, military strength etc.
- National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations. It is the key concept in foreign policy as it provides the material on the basis of which foreign policy is made.
- Among the varied techniques that are used by the state to interact with its citizen and as a part of foreign policy is the instrument of propaganda. Simply defined, propaganda can be explained as the communication instrument that involves the psychological manipulation, command and domination through which the authority of a State exercises control over its citizen and other states.
- Although the term diplomacy is not easy to define, it is generally considered an art and practice of conducting negotiations among state representatives. It is, hence, mostly referred to as an instrument of foreign policy implemented to achieve specific goals of countries and organizations.
- Various researches have come up with various different conceptualization of diplomacy for example Harold Nicholson, A.L. Kennedy among others.
- The Indian foreign policy has some distinctive character of its own. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that after achieving independence (1947), it chose to follow an independent (non-aligned) foreign policy in a world surcharged with Cold War alignment. Apart from refreshing originality, it has shown a rare consistency and a remarkable continuity.
- The major objectives guiding the British foreign policy since 1945 are: (1) to enrich and strengthen her economy; (2) to keep her military strength in proportion to her resources; (3) to have political influence in her ex-colonies, by large scale investment; (4) to support democracy and democratic institutions all over the world; (5) to stand for stability and order in world's situation; and (6) to play a leading role on the Continent (Europe) and a prominent role in the European Community or EU. The last one has undergone a change with the Brexit in the year 2016.
- In terms of industry, agriculture, finance, commerce, gross national product, per capita income, scientific discoveries, technological inventions, techno-scientific manpower, de- fence outfit and, above all, nuclear capability, the

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USA is a pre-eminent world power. In short, today the United States of America has become 'hyperpower', a 'unipolar globocop, dollar dictator and world's 'only indispensable nation'. No wonder, Washington happens to be the common denominator in almost every high-profile peace process.

- The foreign policy of the country has undergone several changes under the leadership of different presidents like Kennedy, Nixon, Johnson, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Clinton, Bush and Obama.
- China has been a slumbering giant due to degenerate dynasties, corrupt administration, famines and floods, and lack of communication, she has always regarded herself as the centre of the world. She has the middle kingdom, complex and Sino-centric obsession, apart from ethno-centric pride. She sees herself as the hub of civilisation. There have been varied changes in its foreign policy in both pre and post-Mao period.

2.8 KEY TERMS

- **Foreign Policy:** It is the policy of a country in pursuit of its national interests in global affairs.
- **Geostrategy:** It is a type of foreign policy guided principally by geographical factors as they constrain or affect political and military planning.
- **Morale:** It is the physical and mental powers of individuals to perform a particular act.
- **Ideology:** It is a body of ideas and beliefs concerning certain values and usually suggesting a certain political and economic order in order to accomplish these values.

2.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. India's foreign policy primarily focusses on having cordial relations, equality of all the states, emphasis on the principles of non-alignment and conducting international relations with equality.
2. National interest and power are the two most important components of a foreign policy.
3. Possession goals are goals which a foreign policy seeks to achieve in order to preserve its possessions, while milieu goals are goals which nations pursue in order to shape favourable conditions beyond their national boundaries.
4. The cultural and historical tradition of a country deeply influences the foreign policy. People generally possessing a unified common culture and historical experience can pursue an effective foreign policy because of the support of all sections of society who share the same values and memories. On the other hand, a country which is culturally and historically fragmented cannot pursue an equally effective foreign policy.

5. The basic facts that must be considered by nations for formulating their foreign policy are geo-strategic situations, population potential, economic endowments and ideological environment.
6. The degree of social integration, adequacy of political control and extent of industrialization, characterize the power of a country.
7. American isolationism was made possible due to its location between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.
8. Diplomacy, balance of power, collective security and war along with sound economy are the different instruments which can help a nation succeed in the pursuit of its different stakes or goals.
9. The application of technology implies better products, cheaper products and more abundant products.
10. The three main types of ideologies as per Morgenthau are Ideologies of status quo, ideology of imperialism and ambiguous ideologies.
11. Diplomacy of the 21st century is defined as being more proactive, multidirectional, and innovative than ever before.
12. Moral influence is founded on seven specific diplomatic features: truthfulness, precision, calmness, modesty, good temper, patience and loyalty.
13. The growth of international law and organization, the mutational impact of technological advance on international relations and the political evolution of the nation-state are some of the major factors that impart essentially dynamic character to the international milieu within which a state has to formulate its external policy.
14. The keystone of the Government of India's policy towards the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is a firm commitment to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and to the restoration of a lasting peace through a peaceful, negotiated settlement that meets the just aspirations of all elements of Sri Lankan society.
15. The Truman Doctrine is the American policy which was the first step in the direction of containment of communism- in fact, of the Soviet Union.
16. Mao Tsetung is known as the god-father of the Chinese communist revolution.
17. The Commonwealth of Nations is the second area of interest for Britain, though lately it has become the third arrow to her bow in international relations—next to the American and European dimension of policy.

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2.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the five main objectives of a foreign policy of any country?
2. Explain the categorization of core value, middle range and universal long range objectives of foreign policy.

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3. State the various factors which affect the foreign policy of a country.
4. What are the determinants of the American foreign policy?
5. Write a short note on India's nuclear policy.
6. What is the relevance of national interest in International relations?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the phases of the Chinese foreign policy since 1949.
2. Describe the political military grouping known as NATO.
3. Write an essay on India's foreign policies with regards to the regional dynamics.
4. What is the significance of the Indian Ocean Region?
5. Discuss the dimensions of diplomacy.
6. Describe the change in UK's foreign policies over the years.

2.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 NEOCOLONIALISM

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Post-Cold War Politics
 - 3.2.1 Neocolonialism
 - 3.2.2 Emergence of the Third-World Problems of the Third World Countries
 - 3.2.3 New International Economic Order
 - 3.2.4 International Economic Imbalance and Structural Adjustment
- 3.3 Non-Alignment Movement
- 3.4 Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Further Reading

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

By the end of the twentieth century, most of the countries in the world had gained independence from the colonial powers. But the end of the colonial era, did not essentially mean the end of the effect these countries still had on the functioning of these former colonies. Even after the Cold War, it has been observed that the colonial powers who had amassed resources both material and financial were now in a very powerful position to influence the policies adopted by the newly independent countries. This has been termed as neo-colonialism. This has given a rise to the Third World nations and with them come the issues which have been characterized as Third World problems. In this unit, you will learn about the post-Cold War politics, Neocolonialism, Emergence of the Third World problems, Non-Alignment Movement and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss post-cold war politics
- Describe the concept of Neocolonialism
- Explain the emergence of third world problems of third world countries
- Discuss the non-alignment movement
- Interpret the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

3.2 POST-COLD WAR POLITICS

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The dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) in December 1991 saw the United States of America standing as the reigning super power. This period also witnessed political scientists and thinkers proposing and rewriting theories on world power. In 1993, Samuel P. Huntington proposed that the future fault line will centre on culture and religion. His theory of the clash of civilizations in the post-Cold War era predicts alignments and wars among various civilizations — Western, Islamic, Chinese, Japanese, Orthodox/Russian, Hindu, African, and Latin.

It was Bernard Lewis who first used the term clash of civilization. In his article in the September 1990, Lewis had forecast war would break out among major civilization in 2020. His theory states that American troops would have left South Korea, which would lead to reunification of Korean and lessen the presence for US troops in Japan. Also, Taiwan and mainland China will reach an accommodation in which Taiwan continues to have most of its de facto independence but explicitly acknowledges Beijing's suzerainty, and with China's sponsorship be admitted to the United Nations on the model of Ukraine and Belorussia in 1946. He further predicted the oil issue in the South China Sea will lead to an attack on Vietnam by the Chinese troops, wherein the latter would avenge its humiliation in 1979. The US will also get involved in the war due to its economic interest in the oil fields, helped by Japan. In response, China will launch a military strike against the American task force. Negotiations for a ceasefire, led by the UN and Japan, would fail, resulting in Japanese neutrality and the latter denying the US to use its land as bases for the war. Despite the quarantine, the US uses the Japanese territory and is inflicted with serious damages to its naval facilities in east Asia. China continues the war from the mainland as well as Taiwan and occupies a major portion of Vietnam, including Hanoi.

To this theory, Huntington's hypothesis claimed the US will avoid escalating the war due to domestic pressure wherein the public would view it as American hegemony in Southeast Asia or control of the South China Sea. While China would be engaged in war, India would attack Pakistan, which would be joined by Iran on Pakistan's side. China's initial success will stimulate major anti-Western movements in Muslim societies, and pro-Western regimes in Arab nations and the Muslim youth bulge (males between the age group of sixteen and thirty) would oust Turkey. The anti-Westernism surge, prompted by the US' weakness will lead to a massive Arab attack on Israel, which the much-reduced US Sixth Fleet will be unable to stop.

China's military success will prompt Japan to change its stand from being neutral to pro-China and occupy American bases on its territory. Hence, the US will be forced to evacuate and declare a blockade on Japan. This in turn will lead to sporadic naval wars between the US and Japan. At the start of the conflict, China will offer a mutual security pact to Russia (vaguely reminiscent of the Hitler-Stalin pact), which the latter would reject. Fearing dominance of East Asia by China, Russia would take an anti-China stand and reinforce its troops in Siberia. This would lead to revolts by the Chinese settlers there, resulting in China occupying Vladivostok city, the Amur River valley, and other important regions of eastern Siberia. As the

war between China and Russia spread to central Siberia, uprisings broke out in Mongolia, which China had earlier placed under a 'protectorate'.

Huntington's hypothetical hostilities, thus, far have been limited to east Asia and the Indian subcontinent. To expand Huntington's theory of hostility in a wider global context, we should look at his hypothesis that further states that China and Iran would, through a secret mission, deploy intermediate-range nuclear-capable missiles in Bosnia and Algeria to intimidate US' European allies from joining it.

This would have the opposite effect because before NATO can mobilize Serbia, which seeks to reclaim its historic role as the defender of Christianity against the Turks, would invade Bosnia. Croatia too would join her, and the two countries partition Bosnia, take control of the missiles and carry on with their 'task' of ethnic cleansing, which they were forced to stop in the 1990s. While Albania and Turkey try to rescue the Bosnians, Greece and Bulgaria invade Turkey. Meanwhile, a missile with a nuclear warhead, launched from Algeria, explodes outside Marseilles, and NATO retaliates with devastating air attacks on North African targets.

Huntington's hypothesis divides the global powers between two groups — the US, Europe, Russia, and India on one side, and China, Japan, and most of Islamic countries on the other. In case of another world war, the destruction would be substantial since both sides have nuclear capabilities. But if mutual deterrence is effective, mutual exhaustion might lead to a negotiated armistice. The West can defeat China by diverting its attention and supporting insurrections in Tibet, Mongolia, and by the Uighurs. Simultaneously, the Western forces along with Russia can move eastward into Siberia for a final assault on Beijing, Manchuria, and the Han heartland.

Huntington further postulates that the warring nations would eventually become economically, militarily and demographically weak due and the center of world politics would move southward to countries, such as, Latin American nations, New Zealand, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Indonesia, and also India in case it survives major destructions despite its role in the war.

Some political thinkers agree to Huntington's war theory following the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center in the US and subsequent American military action on Afghanistan and Iraq. But as we know, it was to protect its oil fields in Iraq and the interest of the Israel lobby that the US attacked Iraq in 2003, and not because of civilizational fault lines. In fact, there has not been any conflict on the lines of civilizational fault lines for the last century. It is economic greed more than any other factors that creates and maintains fault lines among nations and peoples and that drive wars.

It is to be noticed, there is no unifying cord among civilizations apart from Islam. In Islam, too, there is a great divide between the Shias and the Sunnis. Saudi Arabia, which is ruled by the Sunnis, has collaborated with its bitter enemy Israel to fight Iran, a Shia-dominated country. Although Muslims in Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, North Africa, and the rest of the Arab world are Sunnis, they have diverse viewpoints, and many are fighting internal conflicts and secessionists within their country; for example, the Kurds in Turkey, the Baluchs and Pashtuns in Pakistan, and the Aceh in Indonesia. These factors are unlikely to unify the Islamic countries.

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Huntington's hypothesis of a bloody, cataclysmic clash between the Sinic and Western civilizations is, in fact, quite improbable. The Cold War and in particular the Nixon government's theory of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) vis-à-vis the Soviet Union are testimonies that countries with nuclear power would not indulge in war leading to mass destruction. In the post-Cold War world, flags as well as other symbols of cultural identity, including crosses, crescents, and head gears reflect cultural acquaintance, which is of great importance to people. People discovered new but often old identities and marched under new but often old flags which lead to wars with new but often old enemies.

Religion as the sole cause of the conflicts

While Huntington's theory of clash of civilizations gives a compelling argument for the events that took place in the former Yugoslavia, the main argument that was set forth by him using religion as the sole cause of the conflicts in the region—in what he regards as 'fault line' wars—is erroneous. He did not regard nationalism as a legitimate cause. But the fact is, nationalism was one of the most important causes of the unrest in Yugoslavia, which finally led to its disintegration. The mechanisms of nationalism enabled political elites to mobilize ideology for conflict (Bieber, 1999).

For Huntington, a civilization is the foremost cultural grouping of people and the level in which people relate themselves with each other and which distinguishes human species from other species. (Huntington, 1993). Religion is the dominant factor bonding groups in a civilization. But to understand his argument of a civilization clash, one cannot do a generalization of people and nations. That is because in his groupings of civilizations, no civilization is entirely and exclusively homogeneous. No civilization is monolithic and he has failed to recognize this; nation-states in civilizations may have similar cultures and customs but they might have different political ideologies and governmental structures as well as different social structures.

In the former Yugoslavia, Huntington concluded, a cultural fault line existed within the republic, which separated the Christian Croats and Slovenes (Huntington, 1993) from the rest of Yugoslavia, which were Orthodox Christians, and Muslims.

He goes on to say that religious fundamentalism has more sway over ideology and fault line wars, which are based on religion, has been the most extended and violent ones. However, religion did have, in part, a role in the rise of nationalism.

Hence, classifying wars on the basis of 'fault line' is fallible. Numerous conflicts occur between states, but the most influencing instrument is usually ethnic nationalism. Similarly, religion cannot be regarded as the sole basis of civilizations in the Yugoslav conflict. Although Huntington grouped civilizations by religion, the cultural characteristics the people of Yugoslavia shared did not figure in his theory. Religion, however, divided the region into separate entities, which led to differences in language, territory and the questioning of ancestry (Bieber, 1999), but that was not the main cause. Political elites used factors, such as, ethnicity and religion to mobilize nationalist ideas.

Huntington thesis was that 'civilization consciousness' would amplify cultural differences and that is one of the causes of fault line wars. Unrestricted movement of people (along with capital) allows economic and political unity which in turn

prevents wars. In the case of Yugoslavia, religion was the dividing factor as the people shared a common historical past, language and customs. Inter-marriage was prevalent, the rate was, especially high in Bosnia. Also, people were referred to as Yugoslav.

Huntington defined a civilization as a group of people having 'common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people' (Huntington, 1993). Hence, his emphasis on the role of religion in establishing civilizations cannot be held accurate. The Yugoslavian example highlights that awareness of differences does not necessarily lead to conflict. Their fight was to assert political and economic independence in Europe, and create a South Slavic state. The Yugoslav idea of a united state did not mature due to rise of nationalism, which was rooted in ethnicity, and not because of 'cultural fault lines' as stated by Huntington.

The ruling class put in use a combination of factors, such as, ethnicity, religion and nationalism in the form of ethnic nationalism to mould local sentiments in their fight. The frequent changes in border, territory and governance in former Yugoslavia created a cloudy political atmosphere that was key for the nationalist agenda to spread. This was one of the reason, in the period leading up to the dissolution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia did not wish for Yugoslavia to break up. Serbia wanted all Serbs to unit in a single state. This idea gave birth to a new type of conflict between the Bosnian Muslims and the Bosnian Serbs; the latter controlling about half of the territory in Bosnia (Republika Srpska). Moreover, civil nationalism could not grow since the Yugoslav model subverted political unity in states as it grew weak. This led to the rise of ethnic nationalism as propagated by the leaders of individual states.

Huntington's theory of fault line wars escalating into major world wars is based on, what he calls, the 'kin-country syndrome'. According to this, a country in war with another country, but of a different civilization, will gather support from within its own civilization. (Huntington, 1993). However, kin rallying did not happen in the former Yugoslavia during the 1992 Bosnian war, and there was no clear defined support for Kosovo when it seceded in 2008.

Most Albanian Kosovars are Muslim, yet not all countries in Huntington's Islamic civilization support Kosovo's independence. States support causes which are favourable to the nation, such as national interest, and, hence, kin support in a political atmosphere is not a natural move.

Taking the Bosnian case as an example, Huntington says the Islamic civilization is inherently faulty and can break into conflicts at the slightest touch. This is so due to a lack of any centralized authority. He, however, does not explain the role of America and NATO is bringing the war to an end.

Huntington's theory, seemingly, could be applied to the events and the eventual incidents that would happen to the Yugoslav state, but his classifications, criteria and reasoning in attempting to answer and predict future wars is simply too broad to be applied to Yugoslavia. Also, such rigid classification on the basis of civilizations cannot exist, especially, in a situation where free movement of people and capital is taking place.

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In spite of all the arguments against Huntington's thesis above, he does have legitimate points throughout his thesis. While most of his ideas, on the surface, could be applied to the events and the eventual incidents that would happen to the Yugoslav state, his classifications, criteria and reasoning in attempting to answer and predict future wars is simply too broad to be applied to Yugoslavia. Again, such rigid civilizations simply cannot exist in Huntington's terms especially when the movement of people and capital started to pick up.

His assessment of Yugoslavia as the point in Europe where the cultural fault lines between three civilizations — Western, Slavic Orthodox and Islam — passes through and will create conflict is justifiable to an extent. But he has not factored in a crucial aspect — nationalism — as one of the reasons of the numerous conflicts in the region and accused Islam of being prone to conflicts and destabilizing. In this case, because of numerous fallacies in Huntington's clash of civilizations when examined in depth, it cannot be used to explain the events that happened in Yugoslavia.

Unipolar and Multipolar World System

For about four decades since the end of World War II, the world was bi-polar—divided between the control and influence of the USA and the USSR. Collapse of the USSR saw the USA emerge as the only superpower. The question then emerged, will the world go back to the days of multi-polarity?

A unipolar world is a situation where a single country acts unilaterally with little or no assistance from other countries and manoeuvres international issues; other states or even a combination of states lack the power to prevent it from doing so. A multipolar world, on the other hand, is one where alliances are formed among states to tackle international issues. A powerful coalition can resist as well as override stances taken by smaller groups or states.

A 'uni-multipolar world', is one in which resolution of important international issues call for action by a single superpower in coalition with other major state powers. However, the superpower holds the right to veto decision and actions taken by the remaining coalition partners.

The uni-multipolar world we have today has four principal levels. At the top is the US dominating the global powers economically, militarily, diplomatically, technologically and culturally. The next level comprises major regional powers whose extent of dominance is not as wide as the US. These countries have varied degree of dominance in different spheres; for example, the German-French condominium in Europe, India in South Asia, and Brazil in Latin America. The following level consist of regional powers who are less powerful and often compete with the major regional powers, such as Britain in relation to the German-French combination, Pakistan in relation to India, and Argentina in relation to Brazil. At the bottom exists the remaining countries, some of whom might have some regional importance but cannot be brought along in the existing power structure.

A key thread to this system is the relationship between the top level of the power structure and the next level, i.e, the superpower and the major regional powers. There is a constant conflict between the two as the superpower would prefer to have a unipolar world order, which is resisted by the major regional powers and the

latter would like to believe that global politics was moving towards a multipolar world system. A uni-multipolar world, however, would find stability only if these conflicting pulls can be balanced. However, that may not be possible in the long term because increasingly it is evident that a unipolar world is not favoured by states in general and global politics is evolving towards a multipolar system.

A multipolar, multicivilizational world

A multipolar, multicivilizational world came into existence only after the Cold War period. Prior to this, contacts between civilizations were intermittent or nonexistent. In the modern era, beginning from AD 1500, global politics assumed two dimensions. For more than four hundred years, the nation states of Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, Germany, the United States, and others constituted a multipolar international system within Western civilization where they competed, traded and fought wars with each other. At the same time, Western nations also expanded, conquered, colonized, or decisively influenced every other civilization.

During the Cold War, international politics was bipolar and countries were divided into three sections. There were two power camps divided on the lines of ideologies. The group led by the US, comprising the wealthy nations in a democratic social set up, was engaged in political, economic and military competition with a group of somewhat poorer communist societies associated with and led by the Soviet Union. The real conflict between these two groups took place in the ‘Third World’ countries, which were the resource points of the former. These ‘Third World’ countries were usually poor, lacked political stability, attained independence recently, and claimed to be nonaligned.

The collapse of the USSR, brought to an end the political order of the Cold War era. In the new atmosphere people looked for cultural identity. People started defining themselves through their religion, language history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilizations. Politics became instrumental not only in advancing people’s interests but also in defining their identity.

Interestingly, nation states retain the position as the principal actors in global affairs. They are driven not only by the desire of gaining power and wealth, but also cultural preferences, commonalities, and differences. Today, international politics witnesses the play of seven to eight major civilizations, mostly from the non-Western societies. The East Asian societies, for example, are developing their economic wealth and creating the basis for enhanced military power and political influence. In the process of asserting their cultural values, these societies tend to overthrow the Western influence.

The ‘international system of the twenty-first century,’ Henry Kissinger noted, ‘. . . will contain at least six major powers—the United States, Europe, China, Japan, Russia, and probably India—as well as a multiplicity of medium-sized and smaller countries.’ Six of these major powers belong to five very different civilizations. Also, there are important Islamic states whose strategic locations, populations, and oil resources make them important players in world affairs. In this new world order, local politics deals with ethnicity while global politics is the politics of civilizations.

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Hence, we can say that the clash of the superpowers is now replaced by clash of civilizations. The conflicts between the social classes, rich and poor and other economically defined groups is a story of the past; now people will fight for their cultural identity. Within civilizations, there would be more tribal wars and ethnic conflicts. States would wage wars against each other as would groups from different civilizations. There is potential threat of escalation of the civilization wars as groups would rally according to the 'kin-country syndrome'.

The clashes in Somalia among clans do not possess any threat of expansion. Similarly, clash of tribes in Rwanda will have limited consequences, till Uganda, Zaire, and Burundi but not beyond that. However, the clashes of civilizations in Bosnia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, or Kashmir would have a greater impact. In the Yugoslav conflicts, Russia gave diplomatic support to the Serbs, and Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran, and Libya provided funds and arms to the Bosnians, not on ideological ground or economic interests, but due to cultural kinship.

'Cultural conflicts,' Vaclav Havel has observed, 'are increasing and are more dangerous today than at any time in history.' Agreeing to that, Jacques Delors says, 'Future conflicts will be sparked by cultural factors rather than economics or ideology.' And the most dangerous cultural conflicts are those along the fault lines between civilizations.

What we have seen is that post-Cold War, culture has been a divisive as well as a unifying force. Despite ideological differences, people united on cultural ground, as did the two Germanys. Societies united by ideology or historical circumstance but divided by civilization either come apart, as did the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Bosnia, or are subjected to intense strain, as is the case with Ukraine, Nigeria, Sudan, India, Sri Lanka, and many others. Cooperation among countries sharing a common culture is both economical and political. International organizations based on states with cultural commonality, such as the European Union, have witnessed greater success rates than those that attempt to transcend cultures. If the Iron Curtain was the central dividing line in Europe for forty-five years, today, the line has shifted towards the east. It is now the line separating the people of Western Christianity on the one hand, from the Muslim and Orthodox people on the other.

Civilizations differ on philosophical assumptions, underlying values, social relations, customs, and overall outlooks on life. And the revival of religion throughout much of the world is reinforcing these cultural differences. Culture had and has an impact on politics as well as economics, yet different civilizations have reacted differently on the development aspect.

East Asian economic success has its source in its culture, as do the difficulties these societies have had in achieving a stable democratic political systems. If we take the example of Islamic civilization, we see most of the Muslim countries have failed to achieve a democratic political system. Developments in the post-Communist societies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are shaped by their civilizational identities. Countries whose heritage lies in Western Christian have witnessed democratic polity and more economic development, while for countries with orthodox values, the development process is uncertain. The prospects in the Muslim republics are bleak.

The Western civilization is a powerful one which is now on a southward slope. It is confronted by non-Western societies, such as Confucian and Islamic societies, as it tries to assert itself and protect its interests, although some of the non-Western societies try to emulate or join the West. Hence, it can be said that the conflict is between the Western civilization against the non-Western ones. The predominant patterns of political and economic development differ from civilization to civilization. Cultural commonalities and differences shape the interests, antagonisms, and associations of states. International politics has become multipolar and multicivilizational.

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Response to American hegemony

America's superpowerdom has had different levels of response, mostly negative. At one level, which is relatively low, there is resentment, envy and fear. At a little higher level, the resentment may turn into dissent, with other countries refusing to cooperate with it. There have been instances where resentment has turned into opposition, with countries attempting to defeat the US policies. The highest level of response would be collective counteraction, the formation of an anti-hegemonic coalition of major powers.

In an unipolar world, an anti-hegemonic coalition is not possible, because the remaining states are too weak to counter it. Similar is the case with multipolar world because no state is strong enough to provoke it. It is, however, a natural and predicted development in a uni-multipolar world.

The most important move toward an anti-hegemonic coalition antedates the end of the Cold War: the formation of the European Union and the creation of a common European currency. But why has there not been a more broad-based, active and formal anti-American hegemony coalition?

States may reject and resent US power and wealth but no doubt they benefit from it.

The international relations theory that predicts balancing under the current circumstances is a theory developed in the context of the Westphalian system established in 1648. The member countries in this system recognized the existence of a common cultural bond starkly different from the Ottoman Turks and others.

The tendency of a superpower to intervene to limit, counter, or shape the actions of the major regional powers in its region of influence is a major point of contention. While regional powers do not see it lightly, the secondary regional powers take the opportunity to unite against the threat they see coming from their region's major power.

Implications for the US

So, what does a uni-multipolar world mean to the United States? Americans should stop acting and talking as if this was a unipolar world. It is unnecessary for the US to expend effort and resources to achieve that goal. Since the US cannot create a unipolar world, it is in America's interest to maintain, for as long as possible, its position as the only superpower in a uni-multipolar world. In a multipolar system, the appropriate replacement for the global sheriff is community policing: devolving to

the major regional powers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international order in their regions.

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In the multipolar order of the 21st century, the major powers would compete, conflict, and coalesce with each other in various permutations and combinations. But this system would be devoid of the tension and conflicts between the superpower and the major regional powers, a defining feature of a uni-multipolar world. And for that reason the US could find life as a major power in a multipolar world less demanding, less contentious, and more rewarding than it has been as the world's only superpower.

This picture of the post-Cold War world politics shaped by cultural factors and involving interactions among states and groups from different civilizations is highly simplified. It omits many things, distorts some things, and obscures others. Yet if we are to think seriously about the world, and act effectively in it, some sort of simplified map of reality, some theory, concept, model, paradigm, is necessary. Without such intellectual constructs, there is, as William James said, only 'a blooming buzzing confusion'.

Intellectual and scientific advance, Thomas Kuhn showed in his classic *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, consists of the displacement of one paradigm, which has become increasingly incapable of explaining new or newly discovered facts, by a new paradigm, which does account for those facts in a more satisfactory fashion. 'To be accepted as a paradigm,' Kuhn wrote, 'a theory must seem better than its competitors, but it need not, and in fact never does, explain all the facts with which it can be confronted.'

'Finding one's way through unfamiliar terrain,' John Lewis Gaddis observed, 'generally requires a map of some sort. Cartography, like cognition itself, is a necessary simplification that allows us to see where we are, and where we may be going.' The Cold War image of superpower competition was, as he points out, such a model, articulated first by Harry Truman, as 'an exercise in geopolitical cartography that depicted the international landscape in terms everyone could understand, and so doing prepared the way for the sophisticated strategy of containment that was soon to follow.' World views and causal theories are indispensable guides to international politics.

For forty years students and practitioners of international relations thought and acted according to a Cold War paradigm of world affairs. This paradigm could not account for everything that went on in world politics. There were many anomalies, to use Kuhn's term, and at times the paradigm blinded scholars and statesmen to major developments, such as the Sino-Soviet split. Yet as a simple model of global politics, it accounted for more important phenomena than any of its rivals, it was an essential starting point for thinking about international affairs, it came to be almost universally accepted, and it shaped thinking about world politics for two generations.

Criticism of Unipolar and Multipolar World Orders

It was tradition to call the world bi-polar during the Cold War period. But since the disintegration of the USSR (on 26 December 1991), according to Derek Kelly, the world had a unipolar order. Former French President Jacques Chirac gave a

framework of the multipolar world order in his speech in November 1999 in Paris. According to him, a unipolar world is essentially unbalanced and the world must be re-balanced by a multipolar world order where a variety of powers balance or offset the power of the US.

On the other hand, in 'The National Security Strategy of the United States of America' report of 17 September 2002, the US argued that unipolarity is a good thing and should be maintained, though not forever.

What we understand as a unipolar world is basically a pyramid where one country heads the power structure. In a multi-polar world, the existence of several major power balance out the concentration of power by a single state.

The debate on unipolar versus multipolar is still on. For obvious reasons, the US and some of its minor allies, like Britain, argue in favor of a unipolar world. This is opposed by the rest of the world arguing in favor of multi-polarity. Led by Chirac (France), powers such as Russia, China, India, Brazil, and a host of lesser powers are working towards a multipolar world. Even Charles Krauthammer, the cheerleader for the unipolar concept, says 'no doubt, multipolarity will come in time'. (*An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World*, 12 February 2004).

On a more theoretical level, the constitutional foundation of the USA, and years of discussion by its founding fathers led to the formation of the new country. It was based on the realization that absolute power is misused and, if unchecked can lead to gross corruption.

Some thinkers perceive unipolarity as a form of narcissism. It is quite evident that the US is in the grips of a collective narcissistic disorder, led by a man with malignant narcissism – grandiose in claims, manipulating others for its own purposes, and believing its own press releases. Listen to Krauthammer, the leading apologist for the unipolar world:

This is now, he says, 'a unipolar world dominated by a single superpower unchecked by any rival and with decisive reach in every corner of the globe... This is a staggering new development in history, not seen since the fall of Rome... Even Rome is no model for what America is today... because we do not have the imperial culture of Rome. We are an Athenian republic, even more republican and infinitely more democratic than Athens.... [W]e are unlike Rome, unlike Britain and France and Spain and the other classical empires of modern times, in that we do not hunger for territory... We've got everything. And if that's not enough, we've got Vegas – which is a facsimile of everything. What could we possibly need anywhere else? That's because we are not an imperial power. We are a commercial republic. We don't take food; we trade for it. Which makes us something unique in history, an anomaly, a hybrid: a commercial republic with overwhelming global power? A commercial republic that, by pure accident of history, has been designated custodian of the international system.'

So, is there any power which can match the US? That may be difficult to answer. Marcel H. van Herpen argues that Chirac's argument in favor of multipolarity, for example, is based the assumption that France is a great power, but not as great as the US. France has nuclear weapons, so does North Korea, Pakistan, India, and

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Iran. France does not have the population or the acreage to be considered a world power. Others could speak in favor of Russia (or Eurasia) as a viable pole in a multipolar world. This, too, is an improbable proposition. With a declining population of 143 million people and a GDP of 1.3 trillion, Russia is inferior even to France.

So, is it India or Brazil or Nigeria or the Islamic states, over one billion strong, or Europe as poles in a multipolar world order? With at least three times the population and a 3 trillion dollar economy, India is not even close to competing on a level playing field with the US. Brazil with 184 million people and a 1.4 trillion economy is, again, not a competition. Neither is Nigeria with a population equal to Russia's but an economy less than Honk Kong's, with 7 million people. The combined population of the various Islamic states, of over a billion, and an economy based on oil cannot be a true competitor. Japan, which has a population of 127 million, a bit less than Russia, and a 3.5 trillion dollar economy, is basically a US puppet.

Can we then consider Europe, without England, with 456 million people and an equivalent GDP of 11 trillion dollars? This is a Europe similar to a free trade agreement with a hybrid English-like language as lingua franca, and twenty-five current states at many different levels of development. After thousands of years of wars, the warring European tribes emerged as nation states. But it would take several decades for the Germans and French to shake off their egocentricisms and truly unite as a union. In case Turkey is brought into the picture, it is highly unlikely that a unified nation state will emerge from a merging of a secular Western civilization and Islam. It is, hence, doubtful that Europe will at any time soon develop as a pole in a multipolar world.

According to Huntington, China's growing economy is many times the economy of the USA in respect of buying power. China is the world's largest consumer country. It is also coping up with the USA in technology and defence equipment. Huntington visualizes a mutually assured competition, instead of a mutually assured destruction between a bloc comprising the US, Europe and Japan, and another comprising China, India and Brazil to the benefit of the whole world.

3.2.1 Neocolonialism

National movement in the colonized states gained popular support with hope and aspirations. It was expected that the demise of centuries' old colonial rule will not only bring political independence but also lead to self reliance, peace and prosperity. However, consequences of the post-colonial period reflected a contrary picture. Though states gained independence from foreign rule, they were far away from self reliance as suffering continued in one form or the other. Newly independent states remained a mere supplier of raw material.

Post-colonial critics have explained this situation with the phenomenon of 'neo-colonialism'. Writings within the theoretical framework of neocolonialism argue that existing or past international economic arrangements created by former colonial powers and developed states hold control on economies and resources of their former colonies and other weak states, thus, mere political independence is not enough to prosper. The term neo-colonialism combines a critique of occurrence of classical colonialism—where some states continue administrating foreign territories and their

populations; and a critique of the involvement of modern capitalist businesses in nations which were former colonies. Critics adherent to neo-colonialism contend that transnational/multinational corporations (TNCs/MNCs) and transnational/multinational banks (TNBs/MNBs) continue to exploit the resources of post-colonial states, and that this economic control inherent to neo-colonialism is akin to the classical European colonialism practised from 16th to 20th centuries. In broader usage, neo-colonialism may simply refer to the involvement of powerful countries in the affairs of less powerful countries; this is especially relevant in Africa and Latin America. In this sense, neo-colonialism implies a form of contemporary, economic imperialism in which powerful nations behave like colonial powers of imperialism, and this behaviour is linked to colonialism in a post-colonial world.

Origin of the concept of neo-colonialism

In international relations, the term ‘neo-colonialism’ was popularized by Kwame Nkrumah, first President of Ghana. He wrote a book entitled *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. The work is self-defined as an extension of Lenin’s *Imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism*, in which Lenin argues that 19th century imperialism is predicated on the needs of the capitalist system. Nkrumah argues that, ‘in place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism ... Neo-colonialism, like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries’. In Latin America, Argentine revolutionary Che Guevara provided theoretical support to this notion, and stated, ‘as long as imperialism exists it will, by definition, exert its domination over other countries. Today that domination is called neocolonialism’.

Mechanisms of neo-colonialism

In his book, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, Nkrumah outlines detailed mechanism of neo-colonialism. He believes that the methods of neo-colonialists are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres. Faced with the militant peoples of the ex-colonial territories in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, imperialism simply switches tactics. Without a qualm it dispenses with its flags certain of its more hated expatriate officials. This means, so it claims, that it is ‘giving’ independence to its former subjects, to be followed by ‘aid’ for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is the sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism, while at the same time talking about ‘freedom’, which has come to be known as ‘neo-colonialism’.

On the economic front, a strong factor that is favouring Western monopolies and acting against the developing world is international capital’s control of the world market as well as of the prices of commodities that are bought and sold there. He elaborates this argument from substantial examples such as from 1951 to 1961, without taking oil into consideration, the general level of prices for primary products fell by 33.1 per cent, while prices of manufactured goods rose by 3.5 per cent (within which, machinery and equipment prices rose 31.3 per cent). In same decade, this caused a loss to the Asian, African and Latin American countries, using 1951 prices

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as a basis, of some US \$41,400 million. In the same period, while the volume of exports from these countries rose, their earnings in foreign exchange from such exports decreased.

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Another technique of neo-colonialism is the use of high rates of interest. Figures from the World Bank for 1962 showed that seventy-one Asian, African and Latin American countries owed foreign debts of some \$27,000 million, on which they paid some \$5,000 million as interest and service charges. Since then, such foreign debts have been estimated as more than £30,000 million in these areas. In 1961, the interest rates on almost three-quarters of the loans offered by the major imperialist powers amounted to more than five per cent, in some cases up to seven or eight per cent, while the call-in periods of such loans have been burdensomely short.

Another neo-colonialist trap on the economic front is the ‘multilateral aid’ through international organizations—the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (known as the World Bank), the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association. All these organization have the US capital as their major backing. Some critics claim that these agencies force their would-be borrowers to submit to various offensive conditions, such as supplying information about their economies, submitting their policy and plans to be reviewed by the World Bank and accepting agency supervision regarding their use of loans.

Nkrumah argues that some of these methods used by neo-colonialists to slip past our guard must now be examined. The first is retention by the departing colonialists of various kinds of privileges which infringe our sovereignty: that of setting up military bases or stationing troops in former colonies and the supplying of ‘advisers’ of one sort or the other. Sometimes a number of ‘rights’ are demanded: land concessions, prospecting rights for minerals and/or oil; the ‘right’ to collect customs, to carry out administration, to issue paper money; to be exempted from customs duties and/or taxes for expatriate enterprises; and, above all, the ‘right’ to provide ‘aid’. Demands such as Western information services be exclusive and that those from socialist countries be excluded are also made and consequently granted.

After the detailed analysis of mechanism of the neo-colonialism, Nkrumah argues that neo-colonialism is *not* a sign of imperialism’s strength but of its last hideous gasp. It can be defeated by unity among Third World states. He states, ‘It testifies to its inability to rule any longer by old methods... all the methods of neo-colonialists have pointed in one direction, the ancient, accepted one of all minority ruling classes throughout history—*divide and rule*. Quite obviously, therefore, *unity* is the first requisite for destroying neo-colonialism. Primary and basic is the need for an all-union government on the much divided continent of Africa. Along with that, a strengthening of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization and the spirit of Bandung is already under way. To it, we must seek the adherence on an increasingly formal basis of our Latin American brothers.’

An important category of states in the context of neo-colonialism is economic dependency. Economic dependencies are those countries which are politically

independent. However, they are not in a position to conduct their economic affairs independently, as they are dependent upon a foreign state (often from the developed world) for financial and technical assistance. By extending economic assistance in the form of grant and loans, the developed countries control the economic policies of these economic dependencies. This type of economic control has been described in relation to the currency of the relevant developed country, such as Dollar Diplomacy, Rouble Diplomacy and Yen Diplomacy signifying efforts of the United States, former Soviet Union and Japan respectively, towards furthering their own economic interests in the developing world.

As a matter of fact, dependency theory or dependencies theory emerged in the 1970s whereby it was argued that there always took place a flow of resources from 'periphery' nations (from the developing world) to 'core' nations (wealthy developed nations). However, this interaction (or terms of trade) is not based on a level-playing field but one which made the 'core' nations richer at the expense of the 'periphery' nations which were left further impoverished.

Some of the leading dependency theorists include Andre Gunder Frank, Walter Rodney, Keith Griffin, Enzo Faletto and others.

3.2.2 Emergence of the Third-World Problems of the Third World Countries

During the Cold War of the twentieth century, the world was divided into three parts. The First world referred to countries like the United States of America and its European allies; on the other hand, the Second World referred to countries like Soviet Union, Cuba and their allies. The Third World was then a term used to represent countries which stayed away from joining either of the two sides and thus were known to be non-aligned to any of these strong groupings.

The Third World countries are not merely the countries involved in the non-alignment movement, but also is used to denote the countries which had a colonial history. These countries are also known to have a newly industrialized economy or countries with a backward and poor economy. The term 'third world' countries is also used sometimes to refer to the countries which newly gained their independence.

With the emergence of the Third World countries, there have been an emergence of certain problems. These include the lack of finances, difficult access to resources and technology as well as differences in the access to trade etc.

There has been a wide gap between the developed and the developing countries. Of the estimated 4,000 million people inhabiting the world, 1,200 million live in countries where the per capita GNP is less than \$2,000 a year. At the other end, a minority of around 600 million live in countries where the per capita GNP ranges between \$ 2,000 to 5,600.

Another 2,200 million live in countries where the per capita GNP level ranges between \$ 200 to 2,000. The enormity of the gap is further illustrated by the fact that in South Asia alone, half of the population is below a stringently drawn poverty line.

The Less Developed Countries (LDCs) have been making persistent demands for introducing fundamental reforms in the economic, commercial and financial

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relationships between themselves and the developed countries. The developing countries raised the question of establishing NIEO and demanded restructuring of international economic relations on fair democratic principles based on complete equality.

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Let us have a look at the theories related to the emergence of Third World and its problems.

Dependency Theory

As an extension of the discussion in the previous section, we will look at how this theory has relevance in understanding the problems of the Third World nations. This theory was propounded by thinkers like Paul Baran, Andre Gunder Frank and Fernando Henrique Cardoso. It is also known as the *Dependencia theory*; *dependencia* being the Spanish word for 'dependency'. The main contention of the dependency theorists was that 'developing countries were trapped in a cycle of dependence on international capital in which there was little room to maneuver.'

The dependency theory emerged during the 1960s at a time when there was hardly any economic progress in the poor and underdeveloped countries of the world. The classical development model explained this situation as 'a temporary stage en route to industrialization and modernisation.' However, the dependency theory put the blame on the 'colonial past and current external linkages.' The countries of the North exploited the poor countries of the South 'during the days of colonialism' and continue to do so even now when 'imperial control' has ended.

Dependency theory stressed that the present situation was likely to continue until the industrialized countries stopped exploiting the resources of the underdeveloped countries. The capitalist countries enter several sectors of the economy of underdeveloped countries, expand their presence there and sustain themselves with the help of the local elites. The local elites align with the capitalist powers and exploit their own people but benefit personally from profits.

According to dependency theory, the absence of capital, technology and expertise in the Third World economies is not internal but rather 'imposed on them by an unequal international economic structure.' The division of labour is such that Third World countries produce cheap labour while the developed North produces 'complex and ...high tech industrial products (such as automobiles and computers) and services (such as banking, insurance and communication).' The present situation continues to remain unchanged because the underdeveloped countries are dependent, both politically and economically on the developed countries as the former derive their income mainly from the production and export of raw materials to the latter. By the early 1970s, the dependency theory was widely accepted.

Centre-Periphery Theory

Immanuel Wallerstein propounded the centre-periphery theory, also known as the metropolis-satellite theory. This theory initiated the idea of 'world economy'. It argued that in the world economy 'movement within and between the centre and the periphery was possible' but the movement was 'regulated by market forces'. The capitalist and industrialized countries are the centre of the world economic system while the

poor and less-industrialized countries are the periphery. The Third World countries are poor not because of underdevelopment but because of overexploitation by the developed countries.

The underdeveloped countries produce and provide raw materials to the developed countries at cheap rates while they import manufactured products from the developed countries at high rates. There is thus an 'asymmetric' centre-periphery relationship between the two. The periphery countries do not have the capital, the technology and the expertise which the developed countries possess. The condition in the periphery countries is 'deteriorating' as now they are importing even food items. For the periphery, the only way out of this subordination is 'to dissociate itself from the world market and strive for self-reliance.'

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3.2.3 New International Economic Order

The Third World countries were dissatisfied with the 'existing international economic structure' as it increased the gap between the rich and the poor. In 1974, they demanded the creation of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the

Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The main idea behind the NIEO was to restructure economic relations between the developed and the developing countries 'in favour of redistribution of wealth.' As part of the NIEO, the developing countries made several demands like undoing the trade imbalance, removing the tariff barriers put by industrialized countries on products from developing countries, stabilizing the prices of primary commodities like sugar, preferential treatment for developing countries in all areas of economic cooperation, debt relief for the poor countries, etc. The NIEO therefore 'pursued a counterhegemonic economic order against values and knowledge which permeate a structure of liberal political economy.'

The Third World countries put up a united front by forming Group of 77 to push for the NIEO. The NIEO, however, met with 'modest success in a few limited areas' like commodity trade but the majority of its demands were left unattended. Also the North-South dialogue that was undertaken as part of the NIEO 'ended in a deadlock'.

3.2.4 International Economic Imbalance and Structural Adjustment

As per the classical and neoclassical economic theories, trade in goods and services would lead to growth. Markets would be integrated to the global market and there would be free movement in goods and services. However, in reality it did not happen as envisaged. The trade benefits had been lopsided more in favour of the developed rather than developing countries who are producers of raw materials.

The developed countries convert these raw materials efficiently into finished goods as they have better technology. The prices of raw materials are susceptible to fluctuations which result in losses for the developing countries. On the other hand, the production and export of finished goods by developed countries gives them more profit compared to the producers of raw materials. Thus, 'the critics of free trade

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argue that international trade produces a value transfer from less developed countries to more advanced ones. Such transfer shows up in the form of losses for less industrialised societies through declining terms of trade for their products *visa-vis* the processed goods they import. Trade imbalance in Third World countries is worsened by the persisting need to import oil and machinery.’

When there is recession in the developed countries as was the case in the early 1980s, the earnings from exports dwindle for the developing countries. In the 1980s, due to recession in the developed countries, the developing countries faced ‘protracted balance-of-payment problems’ and were unable to pay interest on the foreign debt. This resulted in a financial crisis due to which the 1980s decade was labelled as ‘lost decade for development’. To get out of this situation of economic imbalance, the developing countries further borrowed credit (took new loans to pay the interest on old loans), from international organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The IMF and WB proposed structural adjustment to manage the debt situation of the poor countries. As part of this adjustment, poor states of Africa and Latin America had to follow neoliberal economic policies and programmes like economic liberalization, austerity measures, ‘cuts in public expenditure, and the development of a more efficient, transparent and accountable state.’ Due to economic liberalization, several public enterprises were privatized and workers were laid off. As part of the austerity measures, the prices of essential commodities like food were increased and wages and social services were cut down. These measures resulted ‘in large cuts in states’ size and functions and little or no increase in accountability and transparency’ though the WB had recommended that ‘an effective state – not a minimal one – is central to economic and social development.’ The structural adjustment programmes impacted the poor and ordinary people the most as their incomes suffered and their well-being was put at risk. This gave rise to ‘political and social instability’.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Mention the groups of global powers as per Huntington’s hypothesis.
2. State Huntington’s ‘kin-country syndrome’.
3. Name the economic factor which favours the Western monopolies and acts against the developing world.
4. As per the dependency theory, when will the situation of slow economic progress continue?
5. What is the argument of the critics of free trade against international trade?

3.3 NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT

The word non-alignment defines the refusal of states to take sides with one or the other of the two principal opposed groups of powers such as existed at the time of

the Cold War. Non-alignment can be defined as not entering into military alliances with any country, either of the Western bloc led by the US or the communist bloc led by the USSR. It is an assertion of independence in foreign policy. Some Western scholars have persistently confused non-alignment 'with non-commitment, isolationism, neutralism neutrality and non-involvement. Non-alignment is not neutrality. Non-alignment can be defined in two conceptual ways either politically or legally.

George Schwarzenberger deals with the concepts which are often regarded as synonymous with the concept of non-alignment. These are: isolationism, noncommitment, neutrality, neutralization, unilateralism and non-involvement. Isolationism stands for policies of aloofness varying from the splendid isolation of the great powers to the postures of inoffensiveness in international affairs. This pattern may be a result of geographical circumstances or technological development.

Non-commitment refers to policies of detachment from other powers in triangular relationships. Neutrality describes the political and legal status of a country not at war with either of the two belligerents. Neutralization on the other hand, is different form neutrality, because a neutral state remains free to give up its status of neutrality and assume that of a belligerent. But a neutralized state is permanently neutral and cannot give up its neutralized status. It cannot resort to war without a breach of its treaty obligations.

Unilateralism is identified with policies of calculated risks such as the destruction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons irrespective of whether other nations do the same or not. Non-involvement emphasizes the struggle between contending ideologies. It signified the attitude of tolerant detachment from the tensions between the world powers and a resolve not to be deflected from this attitude, though allowing a certain degree of flexibility when absolutely unavoidable.

Schwarzenberger believes that non-alignment strikes a note of distinction between its meaning and the meaning of the other six related concepts. Non-alignment according to him is a policy of keeping out of alliances. Unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not a law written into the Constitution of the state. Neutrality is a permanent feature of state policy, while non-alignment is not. Further, unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not negative, but is a positive concept. It stands for: (a) an active role in world affairs and (b) friendship and co-operation with all countries. It consists of taking an independent position based on the merits of each issue, and, on the requirements of national interest. It is not directed against any ideology but seeks to promote peace and friendship in the world, irrespective of ideological differences. Non-aligned nations continuously opposed the politics of Cold War confrontations. They underlined the necessity of building peace and 'peace areas' in a world clear of bi-polarism. Non-alignment should not be seen as a policy based on opportunism in which the nations tried to gain advantage by playing one power against another.

Origin and Phases of Non-Alignment

Non-alignment has been adopted as a foreign policy by all the developing and under developed countries during the Cold War so that they can keep themselves away

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from the Camp Politics of the powerful nations. To be effective as a tool in foreign policy, it is important to know how does any foreign policy have an impact on the international and national politics. In this consideration the Kenneth Waltz definition of foreign policy can be seen as appropriate, as he says that ‘the foreign policies of nations are affected in important ways by the placement of countries in the international political system or more simply by their relative power’. This definition therefore makes our concept clearer as to why at the time of the Cold War there was a need for the emergence and adoption for this tool of foreign policy. Formally, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) came into existence during the first conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries that took part in Belgrade in September 1961. Non-alignment emerged within the context of two simultaneous global developments—Afro-Asian resurgence and bipolar world politics. The reawakening of the nations of Africa and Asia kindled in them the urge for freedom from colonial rule and infused a determination to shape their destinies on their own. This led to the development of a distinct idea of active and independent involvement in world affairs based on one’s own perspectives of national and international interests. There is evolved an independent stand on national and international issues amongst the newly emergent nations.

After the Bandung summit in 1955, a preparatory meeting for the First NAM Summit Conference was held in Cairo, from 5-12 June 1961. Unlike the case during the Bandung conference where the invitations to the countries were on a regional basis, the invitations for the first Summit were based on each invited country’s commitment to a set of shared principles. During the preparatory meeting held at Cairo, the principal aims and objectives of the policy of non-alignment were discussed with great rigor by the participants. The outcomes of these discussions were adopted as criteria for membership as well as for the invitations to the First Summit Conference.

The following have been the criteria that were arrived at during the Cairo preparatory meeting:

- (i) The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the coexistence of states with different political and social systems and on nonalignment or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy.
- (ii) The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence.
- (iii) The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
- (iv) If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defence pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.
- (v) If it has conceded military bases to a Foreign Power, the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.

These criteria and principles of NAM, adopted at the Cairo preparatory meeting, were reaffirmed by the Heads of State or Government during the XI Summit in Cartagena.

First NAM Summit, Belgrade (Yugoslavia), 1–6 September 1961

The Belgrade Conference marked the official beginning of NAM in international affairs. It was attended by 25 participant states and three observer states. These came from Latin America, from Africa and representatives of liberation movements, labour and socialist parties from Europe and Asia. The timing of the conference coincided with nuclear tests in France and increased tensions between the two superpowers over Berlin, Laos, Cuba and Congo.

From the platform of NAM, the participating countries voiced their concern for a peaceful world order. They opposed the existence of military blocs as they fundamentally lead to the escalation of tensions. They emphasized the need for peaceful co-existence to mitigate the possibilities of nuclear confrontation. They also voiced the rights of people to self-determination and independence. NAM

countries supported the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They condemned apartheid, the practice of racial discrimination in South Africa, the foreign intervention in Tunisia and Congo and supported the liberation struggles in Algeria and Angola. The NAM countries also demanded the restoration of the rights of Arab people of Palestine.

Political Issues

Looking at the objectives and criteria of membership it can be said that since its formation, which began as a movement, non-alignment attempted to create for its members an independent path in world politics. This attempt reflected the intent that the member states should not end up becoming pawns in the struggles between the superpowers. They were resistant to adopting a bandwagoning role for themselves in the international affairs. Also they were apprehensive of implications of their alignment to any single power bloc with regard to their development. As a consequence of this, a large part of the history of non-aligned countries was influenced by the global tension of the Cold War between the two super powers. To make themselves impervious to the bloc rivalry became a priority item on the agenda and work of the Non-Aligned Movement. However, the Cold War was not the sole or only significant issue on the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement. A cursory glimpse at the history of the NAM reveals three basic elements which influenced the approach of the movement to international issues. These are the right of independent judgement, the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the use of moderation in relations with all big powers. Throughout its history, till the present day context, the NAM countries sought to focus on these crucial areas and also worked towards the restructuring of the international economic order.

Economic Issues

Because of the rivalry between the two superpowers during the Cold War era many economic projects were set up in developing countries as part of the policy of expansion of sphere of influence by these powers. In due course of time, the focus of Non-Aligned Summits also concentrated on the advocacy of solutions to global economic and other problems apart from essentially politically issues. The Jakarta Summit in 1992 was a turning point in the history of NAM since this was the first Summit after

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the end of the Cold War. It emphasized that the movement should redefine itself so as to shift its focus in a direction that also enabled it to work across groupings such as the G-7 and the EU. South Africa assumed the position as the Chair at a time when this transitional phase was still ongoing.

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Administration

The administrative style of NAM is unique. Its administration is non-hierarchical, rotational and inclusive, providing all member states, regardless of size and importance, with an opportunity to participate in global decision-making and world politics. It was recognized by the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement and their successors that the movement would probably be functioning best if it operated without a formal constitution and a permanent secretariat. This gave rise to the practice of a rotating Chair which was vested at the same time with the responsibility of an administrative structure on the country assuming the Chair. The Summit Conferences are the occasions when the Chair is formally rotated and where it is given to the Head of State or Government of the host country of the Summit. The Foreign Ministry and Permanent Mission in New York of the Chair at the same time assume the responsibility of the administrative management of the NAM. The entire structure of NAM is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

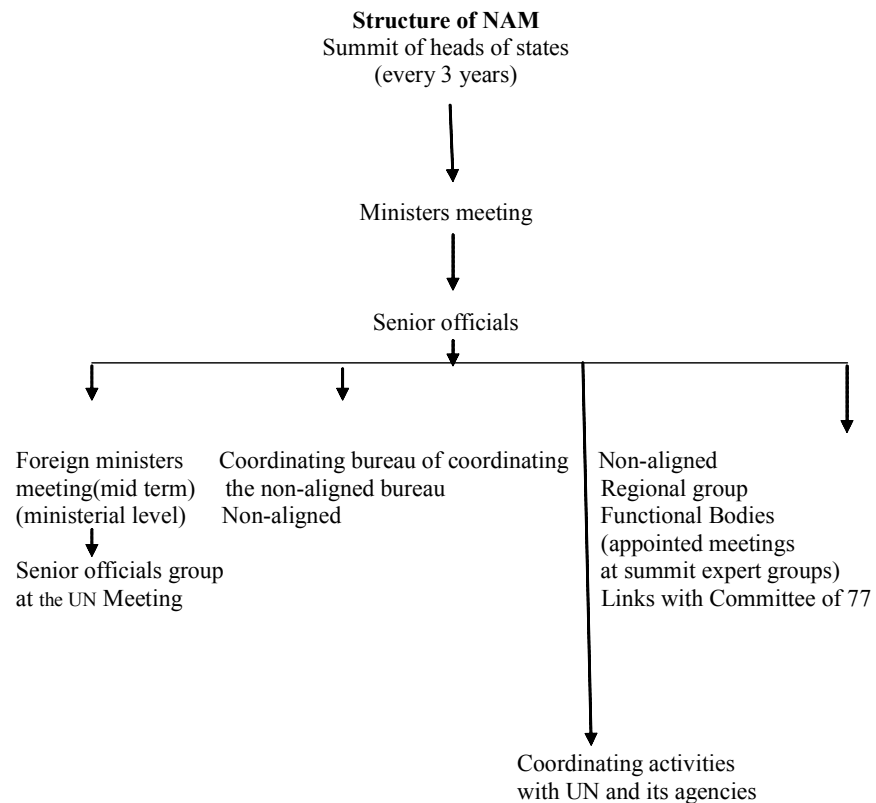


Fig. 3.1 Structure of NAM

Responsibilities of the NAM Chair

The NAM Chair is given certain responsibilities for promoting the principles and activities of the movement. Also a number of structures aimed at improving the coordination and functioning of the existing mechanisms of the movement had been created to facilitate the responsibilities of the Chairs. These are mentioned in the Cartagena Document under Methodology. Of these mechanisms the most important is the Co-ordinating Bureau (CoB) at the United Nations in New York, which forms the focal point for co-ordination. Since the non-aligned countries meet regularly at the UN and conduct much of their work there, the Chairs' Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York functions as the Chair of the CoB. The Bureau reviews and facilitates the harmonization of the work of the NAM Working Groups, Contact Groups, Task Forces and Committees.

The Coordinating Bureau is given the task by the Heads of State or Government of gearing its action to further consolidate co-ordination and mutual co-operation among non-aligned countries, including unified action in the United Nations and other international fora, on issues of common concern. Another important mechanism is the Troika of past, serving and future Chairs. This concept is contingent on the discretion of the incumbent Chair and can act as a pivot for solutions of problems and issues confronting developing countries on which the NAM is supposed to take a position.

Growth of the Movement

The following Table 3.1 gives a cursory glance at the various summits of NAM held till date:

Table 3.1 NAM Summits Held Till Date

PLACE	YEAR
Bandung (Indonesia)	1955
Belgrade (Yugoslavia)	1961
Cairo (Egypt)	1964
Lusaka (Zambia)	1970
Algiers (Algeria)	1973
Colombo (Sri Lanka)	1976
Havana (Cuba)	1979
New Delhi (India)	1983
Harare (Zimbabwe)	1986
Belgrade (Yugoslavia)	1989
Jakarta (Indonesia)	1992
Cartagena (Colombia)	1995
Durban (South Africa)	1998
Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)	2003
Havana (Cuba)	2006
Sharm-el-Sheikh	2009

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The practice of decision making at NAM is by consensus. It is based on an understanding that is respectful of divergences of viewpoints including disagreements. Hence it is accommodating and perceives decisions as outcome of a democratic process of adjustments where agreements are arrived at by following a sincere procedure.

Non-Alignment in the New Millennium

After the end of the cold war the reason for the existence of NAM was questioned. In modern international politics, the NAM has relatively lesser visibility and voice as compared to other organizations, such as the United Nations, the European Union, NATO and even ECOWAS. These have arguably been more effective, and NAM has therefore developed something of an identity crisis as it struggles to find a reason to exist. Nevertheless, it kept on making consistent efforts to redefine its role and assert its presence in the international system.

The beginning of the new millennium witnessed the commitment of the NAM countries to redefine and reiterate their role in the international system according to the requirements of the changing times. It also witnessed an urge in the countries to use this opportunity to make the international system more sensitive to the aspirations of the till now excluded community of the developing nations of the South. The Charter principle of sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference and multilateralism were reiterated with a new rigor.

The Durban conference in 1998 elaborately delineated the role of NAM in the new millennium. It explicitly mentioned the movement's emergence from a history of oppression and marginalization by the dominant forces in the international system. It envisioned the role of NAM as the 'power of the new millennium' to lead the 'invisible people of the world' into 'a new age of emerging nations' an 'age of the South' and 'an age of hope'. The major evils that the movement sought to eradicate were: use of force, aggression, racism, foreign occupation, unfair economic practices and the twin forces of liberalization and globalization. The movement resolved to fundamentally transform the nature of international relations.

The Kuala Lumpur summit in 2003 came up with a Declaration for the Revitalization of the Non-Aligned Movement which warned against the forces of unipolarity and called for the strengthening of the process of multilateralism as an 'indispensible vehicle in safeguarding the interests of the member states of the movement as well as of the United Nations'. During the summit, the member countries sought to address 'the crucial global issues affecting their peoples with a view to agreeing to a set of actions in the promotion of peace, security, justice, equality, democracy and development, conducive for a multilateral system of relations based on principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of states, the rights of people to self determination and non-intervention in matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of states, in accordance with the Charter of United Nations and international law.'

However, this resoluteness of purpose in words does not transform into an equally firm action at the practical levels because of a number of factors. The weak

institutional structures as a consequence of the colonial past constitute one of the significant reasons. Economic dependency as a natural outcome of the colonial exploitation is also a major factor preventing hard decisions. These features make the political independence and sovereignty in these countries more formal than real.

Also NAM faces a number of internal problems and conflicts which have been making its functioning and acting resolutely more difficult. That is why the structure has not been put to its declared use. There is heavy dependence on the United States making them lesser non-aligned. Some other factors acting as impediments are, differing ideologies and regional conflicts, as is the case in the Middle East.

The response to the atomic tests carried out by North Korea is a recent example of the problems NAM faces. North Korea is a NAM member. The movement failed to arrive at an agreement on the issue and consequently no statements were released, either of support or condemnation, referring to North Korea's actions. The UN Security Council and other international bodies did express their concern about the actions in Pyongyang. Yet NAM observed complete silence over the issue. The informal structure of NAM is often blamed for such inactions. The absence of a statute or charter and also that of a permanent secretariat, it is said many a times, leads to such vague responses.

This Afro-Asian resurgence occurred at a time when the world was divided into two hostile camps, each representing two different ideologies and two socioeconomic as well as political systems, and led by the US and erstwhile USSR respectively. Each aspired for greater spheres of influence through military alliances with other states. In this context, the independent position of the newly emergent states came to be viewed as non-alignment, as they refused to be allied with either bloc.

The stimulus for the non-aligned approach stemmed from many sources. One of the foremost objectives of these states was economic development for which they needed resources in the form of economic assistance as well as increased trade. Non-alignment enabled them to have economic relations with all countries.

The second imperative was the need for peace without which there could not be real development. A third source was their need to be secure from global threat perceptions emanating from Cold War politics. Other domestic imperatives also existed which varied from country to country. For example, in the case of India, its internal political plurality, its political processes, its historical role and geographical position were important contributing factors for the emergence of non-alignment.

The non-aligned movement evolved out of the promotional efforts of individual non-aligned states to build a common front against the superpower and neo-imperialist domination. Jawaharlal Nehru from India, Gamal Abdal Nassir from Egypt and Josip Broz Tito from Yugoslavia took the first step in building this movement. Among the first policy-makers, Nehru would be remembered as a strong pillar of this movement. His early perception about the rise of neo-imperialism and the consequent insecurity that would be faced by the smaller states, made a major contribution towards building this movement. Nehru believed that the countries of Asia and Africa,

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should build up an alliance of solidarity to fight neo-imperialism. As a first step he tried to organise the Asian countries in the forties. In 1947, he called an Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi. In the fifties, as the states of Africa started gaining independence from colonial rule it became necessary to expand the base of this front. In April 1955, therefore, Nehru together with leaders of Indonesia, Burma, Sri Lanka and Pakistan convened an Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia.

The two conferences highlighted the political and economic insecurity that was threatening the newly independent states at that time. However, the Bandung Conference failed to build a homogenous Asian and African front as a number of these States did not agree to conduct their foreign relations under the banner of anti-imperialism. They had either already joined the various Western military alliances or had closely identified their interests with that of the Western Powers. The rift between the two groups was visible at Bandung itself. In the post-Bandung years, thus, it became necessary to build up an identity for the non-aligned states on the basis of principles and not on the basis of region. The effort united these states with Yugoslavia which was similarly looking for a political identity in international affairs. The embryo of the later non-aligned conferences first came into being at Brioni, in Yugoslavia, in June 1956, where Tito conferred with Nehru and Nassar on the possibility of making real the unspoken alliance which bound them together. The efforts finally resulted in the convening of the first non-aligned conference at Belgrade in 1961.

Five points were determined and applied, for countries to be members of the Non-Aligned Movement. Only those countries which fulfilled these conditions were actually invited to the conference. They were:

- (a) Independent foreign policy, particularly in the context of Cold War politics
- (b) Opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations
- (c) Should not be a member of any of the military blocs
- (d) Should not have concluded any bilateral treaty with any of the two superpowers
- (e) Should not have allowed military bases on its territory to a superpower, qualified for attendance at the Belgrade summit.

NAM as a platform has increased its members from time to time by organizing frequent summits. The agenda for all the summits was always to be taken into consideration as well as all those aspects that have direct or indirect impact on the member nations. Here are some of the details of the summits which will give the reader a brief view about their agenda. The NAM summit conferences from time to time, have discussed several issues and problems. At the first summit (Belgrade, 1961) the twenty-five countries, who attended, discussed the situation in Berlin, the question of representation of People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Congo Crisis, imperialism as a potential threat to world peace, and Apartheid. The Conference expressed full faith in the policy of peaceful co-existence. India was represented by Nehru.

The Cairo summit, held in 1964 was attended by forty-six countries. The Indian delegation was led by Lal Bahadur Shastri. The conference emphasized the urgent need for disarmament, pleaded for the peaceful settlement of all international

disputes, urged member-governments not to recognize the white minority government in Rhodesia and reiterated the earlier stand of NAM against apartheid and colonialism.

The demand for representation of People's China in the United Nations was also reiterated Cold War period. The third summit at Lusaka in 1970 (attended by 52 countries) called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Vietnam and urged the member-states to boycott Israel which was under the occupation of certain neighbouring Arab countries territories. It requested governments of member-nations to intensify their struggle against Apartheid and as a part of the struggle, not to allow the fly over facility to the South African aircrafts. The summit resolved to increase economic cooperation. It rejected the proposal to establish a permanent secretariat of the Movement. The Indian delegation was led by Indira Gandhi.

There were signs of detente in Cold War Politics by the time the next summit met at Algiers (1973 attended by seventy-five countries). It welcomed the easing of international tension, supported detente, and repeated NAM's known stand against imperialism and apartheid, and resolved to encourage economic, trade and technical cooperation amongst member-states. The conference demanded a change in the existing international economic order which violated the principle of equality and justice.

In 1976, the Colombo summit was attended by 85 countries. The U.N General Assembly had given a call for a New International Economic Order. In 1974, the NAM at Colombo not only gave whole-hearted support to this demand, but asked for a fundamental change in the world monetary system and form. It was proposed that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace. As there was a caretaker government in India, the then Prime Minister Charan Singh decided to send his foreign minister to represent the country at the sixth summit at Havana (1979). The number of participants rose to 92. Pakistan was admitted to the Movement and Burma (a former member) left the NAM. The Cuban President Fidel Castro described the former USSR as a natural friend of the Movement. The summit reiterated the well-known position against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid.

The summit resolved to support the freedom struggle in South Africa and to stop oil supply to that country. As Egypt had resolved her differences with Israel, some of the anti-Israel countries sought suspension of Egypt. The summit merely discussed the proposal. The Seventh Summit (due in 1982 at Baghdad) could not be held in time due to the Iran- Iraq War. It was held at New Delhi in 1983 and attended by 101 countries. The New Delhi declaration sought to reiterate the known position of NAM on various issues. It hoped for any early end to the Iran-Iraq War and for the liberation of Namibia. However, the conference failed to take any stand on Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviet occupation was openly supported by Vietnam, S. Yemen, Syria and Ethiopia. It was strongly opposed by Singapore, Nepal, Pakistan, Egypt and Zaire.

The Harare Conference (1986) adopted the Harare declaration and sought greater economic co-operation among its members and North-South co-operation for faster development in the South. The summit gave a call for the new International Information and Communication Order to end the western monopoly over news

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disbursement. In view of a likely retaliation by the apartheid regime of South Africa against Frontline countries who were applying sanctions, the NAM decided to set up a fund called Action for Resistance against Imperialism, Colonialism and Apartheid.

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In an abbreviated form it came to be known as the AFRICA Fund. The 1989 Belgrade Summit was the last one to be held before Yugoslavia disintegrated and at a time when the Cold War was just ending. It gave a call against international terrorism, smuggling and drug trafficking. The principle of self-determination was reiterated particularly in the context of South Africa and her continued rule over Namibia.

The tenth conference at Jakarta in 1992 was the first assembly of NAM after the end of the Cold War. The summit was at pains to explain that even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, there was utility of the movement as a forum for developing countries struggling against neo-colonialism and all forms of big-power interference. The main issue was the preservation of NAM and strengthening its identity as an agency of rapid development for its members in a tension-free world.

The eleventh NAM Summit was held at Cartagena (Colombia) in October, 1995. India was represented by a high-power delegation led by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. This summit took a decision for the establishment of nuclear weapon free zones as a necessary first step towards attaining the objective of eliminating weapons of mass destruction. In fact, NAM endorsed the regional approach to nonproliferation. NAM leaders also gave a call for the reform of the World Bank and IMF where a weighed voting system was currently making the voice of the developing countries irrelevant.

The twelfth NAM Summit was held at Durban, South Africa, on September 1998. In this Summit 114 members attended. This meeting focused on the nuclear issues, peace and conflict in the South Asian continent, a joint global response to terrorism and the New Economic Order to help the developing nations 'to successfully enter, compete and benefit from the globalization'. Only with the help of a North-South is a dialogue possible, which will promote the multilateral institutions to come forward in this direction.

The thirteenth NAM Summit was held at Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia) in February 2003 and was attended by 112 out of 114 members which included two new members, East Timor and St. Vincent. While the increase in membership reflected the continued faith in the NAM, the deliberations and the decisions revealed the struggle being made by NAM to keep itself relevant, united and active. The Summit was totally guided by the theme of continuing the re-vitalization of NAM. The non-aligned leaders resolved to promote a multi-polar world to strengthen the United Nations and to continue the fight against international terrorism. A nine-pronged strategy was outlined in the Summit Declaration for enhancing the unity of member states, for promoting decentralization, for strengthening the process of securing a multipolar world and for forging South-South co-operation in social, cultural, economic and scientific spheres.

The fourteenth NAM Summit of the 118 member movement was held in Havana (Cuba) on 2006. In this Summit, the NAM members criticized the unilateralist and hegemonic approach of some states. They have also come forward on the issues of UN Reforms, especially, the reforms in the UN Security Council, NAM leaders expressed concern over the lack of progress in this direction. The NAM Summit re-affirmed the inalienable right of developing countries to engage in research, production and development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, without any discrimination. The other issues were the same as had been taken up in the earlier meetings of NAM.

The fifteenth NAM Summit was held in the Egyptian city of Sharm-el-Sheikh on July 2009. The 118 member NAM demonstrated its continued relevance in international relations. All the NAM leaders discussed the major issues and problems of contemporary international relations and expressed their views on them. This Summit has focused on the menace of terrorism, to keep a check on the global economic recession and its impact on the developing countries, to initiate new steps in the field of Climate Change by supporting the research in this direction, and to encourage total nuclear disarmament by all nations.

The earlier and regular meetings and Summits of NAM have shown the awareness of member countries on the current global problems and specifically the grief of developing countries. Although, the ideas discussed at these meetings have not yet been included in the national agendas of the concerned countries. This shows the lack in the implementation strategy and using NAM just as a stage for the moral talks for these wide problems.

Relevance

With the presence of only a single super-power, the USA, the world continued to be univocal world in 1990s. It continued to face the threat from the forces of unilateralism, hegemony and neo-colonialism. In the age of bipolarity, the two superpowers and blocks used to maintain some mutual checks and balances which acted as a blessing in disguise. These prevented attempts at unipolarism, unilateralism and dominance. NAM also acted as a check on the power and policies of both the superpowers. However, in a univocal world, the need for new checks and balances was deemed more essential for the stability and development of the international system. This could be provided by a large group of countries acting on the basis of mutual understanding and consensus. NAM constituted the best platform for such an exercise. It could enable the international community to exercise some checks on unilateralism as well as to help the developing countries to pursue an independent role in the era of globalization. Even under globalization, the rich, powerful and developed countries and other members could dominate international economic relations and decision-making. This gave rise to a stronger need for the protection of the rights and interest of the poor and developing countries. This role could be played by NAM. India considered NAM as a necessary and relevant moment in the international relations of the post-Cold War period. The above logic and several other positive factors helped the NAM leaders to successfully project the relevance of NAM in international relations of 1990s. No NAM country abandoned NAM. On

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the contrary, several new members came to join NAM. The NAM membership began increasing and soon it touched 114. (Now it stands at 118). The international community has now fully accepted the continued relevance of NAM. The 15th NAM summit held in Egypt in July 2009, has once again emphatically demonstrated the continued relevance and strength of NAM in contemporary international relations.

NAM has been a movement against apartheid, the armament race, nuclear weapons, international terrorism, cross-border terrorism and forces of totalitarianism, authoritarianism and unilateralism. Though some progress in controlling these evils has been achieved, the battle against these is yet to be won. NAM is needed for securing united and strong global level efforts for meeting the menace of international terrorism.

NAM continues to be the need of the 21st century. It has not only been a movement against the Cold War and alliance politics, it has also been a positive moment for the unity of the new (Third World) states for ending imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism as well as for securing disarmament and arms control, particularly nuclear disarmament. NAM is needed for securing economic and political rights of the developing countries vis-a-vis the developed countries and for securing a new world order based on equality, justice, freedom and development.

NAM continues to be very popular with the Third World countries of the world. There has been a steady and continuous growth in the membership and popularity of NAM. Over the years, NAM has emerged as a phenomenal international movement with a membership of 118. While accepting the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for international understanding, the then UN Security General, Perez de Cuellar in his speech (27 February, 1990, New Delhi) went to the extent of listing the NAM as 'one of the six big developments which has shaped the character of the age'. All the states now accept the importance of the NAM in international relations. States, like the USA and the UK, which all along have been the key bloc leaders and followers of the Cold War and alliance politics, have also started taking an interest in the activities of NAM. These have abandoned the policy of ridiculing or undervaluing the role of non-aligned countries. The post-Cold War NAM Summits have received a positive review from the Western Press. The European states are warm towards the NAM. Many of them view the contemporary developments as vindication of the NAM philosophy, principles and actions.

Along with other non-aligned countries, India also fully accepts the need to make NAM move fast for adopting an economic agenda for securing rapid economic development of the developing countries through increased South-South cooperation and harmonizing of North-South difference over restructuring of international economy in this era of globalization. NAM constitutes a global platform working for securing the objective of peace, peaceful co-existence, sustainable development peaceful conflict-resolution, and increased co-operation for securing human rights of all.

NAM has the potential to galvanize international efforts against the forces of terrorism, war and violence.

In contemporary times, the major issues and problems being faced by the international community have been: the need to fight terrorism in all its forms; the

need to fight the forces of unilateralism, unipolarism, hegemony and dominance; the need to ensure a strong and effective non-proliferation regime; the need to ensure energy security for all, the need to protect the rights and interests of the developing countries in the WTO; the need to meet the pressures resulting from globalization of world economic relations; the need for the protection of human rights of all; the need for the protection of environment and for this purpose the need for developing alternative technologies; the need for sharing knowledge and technology among the nations; the need for meeting the pressure from the presence of global level economic recession; and the need for securing sustainable development. NAM constitutes the single largest grouping of the countries (118). It can decidedly act for securing increasing co-operation among the member states for securing all the above listed needs. In particular, NAM constitutes the best platform for promoting South-South co-operation which is now doubly needed in this era of globalization for preventing all attempts at the domination of world economy and trade by the developed countries.

NAM continues to be fully relevant. It has been serving the needs of the international community, particularly the needs of the developing countries of the world. It continues to be the mainstay for the member nations in their commitment to pursue independence in international relations and for co-operating for securing their due rights and interests. NAM has the potential to help the nations to be active and alert international actors. It can act as a guide and facilitator and help the developing countries to secure their interests and needs. India fully accepts the relevance of NAM in contemporary international relations.

The NAM Summits held till date fully exhibited the resolve of the member countries to keep up and strengthen the NAM as a group of countries which stand united to oppose the forces of terrorism, neo-colonialism, unilateralism, hegemony, dominance and demonstrated its dominance to uphold its objective, i.e. to oppose and struggle against injustice, inequality, terrorism and underdevelopment. It continues to be a movement committed to work for the removal of economic inequalities between the developed and the developing countries.

NAM And It's Furture Action

The non-aligned movement should, however, watch very carefully the manner in which the world power equation is getting realigned. 'it should ensure that the restructuring of global and military economic power is not for the purpose of domination or hegemony'. Multilateralism under the aegis of the United Nations is the framework in which complex baffling and critical problems of the present age, namely nuclear weapons race, environmental pollution, economic inequality, international terrorism, nuclear hegemony and several others, can be solved. One of the principal tasks of the NAM should be to create a balanced, equitable, democratic and universal power structure, which is predicted on peace, democratisation, decentralisation, denuclearisation, depolarisation, polycentrism, disarmament, stable international order, and sustainable development.

NAM basic guidelines to follow for their smooth functioning are:

- A new commitment to secure poly-centrism or multi-polarity in international relations, in place of the existing unilateralism.

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- The commitment to work for the elimination of all forms of terrorism.
- Commitment to secure Human Rights of all.
- Independence in foreign relations, even while accepting the objective of globalization
- The commitment to secure the sustainable development for securing a world characterized by democracy, development and security.
- To maintain, strengthen and work NAM as the single largest movement of the world.
- To prepare an environment conducive for securing comprehensive nuclear disarmament.
- To encourage coordinated and co-operative efforts for meeting the challenge coming from climate change.
- Continued opposition to military alliance.

These are the tasks before the NAM. NAM must continue. It must continue to act for securing these goals in the years to come. India has been continuously pursuing an independent foreign policy. Indian foreign policy is now being guided by the objective of promoting multiplicity in the international relations. It has been opposing attempts at dominance and hegemony at international relations. India continues to follow non-alignment in international relations and regards it as a fully relevant and useful principal of Indian foreign policy. NAM needs to be invigorated and not liquidated.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

6. How is neutralization different from neutrality?
7. Name the Indian leader who was considered as a strong pillar of the Non-alignment movement.
8. What is the meaning of multilateralism under the aegis of United Nations?

3.4 UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

One of the earliest United Nations conferences was held at San Francisco, where a large number of delegates were in favour of an International Bill of Rights. However, the concept of the International Bill of Rights did not gain much ground, yet many nations realized that it should be an obligation of the international community to promote human rights. The conference resulted in the adoption of the United Nations Charter containing some provisions; however, these were general in nature and vague in the context of promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental rights.

Drafting of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

After the United Nations Charter came into force, the most important task before the United Nations was the implementation of the principles of ‘the universal respect for and the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion’ as laid down under Article 55 of the UN Charter. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) recommended before the General Assembly that the purpose of the UN with regard to the promotion and observation of human rights could only be fulfilled if provision was made for an International Bill of Rights and for its implementation, in the year 1946. The General Assembly referred the matter to the ECOSOC for the preparation of the International Bill of Rights. ECOSOC referred the matter to the Commission on Human Rights with guidelines for the preparation of the document.

The Commission on Human Rights appointed a Drafting Committee for preparing the International Bill of Rights. The Drafting Committee in its first Session (9-25 January, 1947), prepared a preliminary draft of the International Bill of Rights which was submitted before the Commission on Human Rights in the Second Session (2-17 December, 1947). The Commission, due to the differences of opinion as to its forms and contents, decided to apply the term ‘International Bill of Rights’ to a series of documents. The Commission decided to create two sets of documents simultaneously, i.e., a draft declaration of a declaration of general principles on human rights, and a draft convention, which would be a convention on such specific rights as would lend themselves to binding legal obligations. The Commission established working groups to prepare the documents. After submission of reports by the working groups, the Commission forwarded these reports to the governments of the member countries for their comments. On receiving comments from the governments, the Commission endorsed the matter to the Drafting Committee to re-draft the documents (Declaration). The Committee re-drafted the entire Declaration.

The Commission in its Third Session (June, 1948) discussed the report and finally adopted a draft of the Declaration for submission to the ECOSOC. The ECOSOC submitted the draft before the General Assembly. The General Assembly adopted the report through a resolution (Resolution 217 (iii) 10 December 1948) known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in Geneva. The Declaration consisted of 30 Articles with a Preamble.

UDHR elucidated the UN Charter provisions and defined expressly certain human rights and fundamental freedoms which needed to be protected. It may be noted that ‘Human Rights Day’ is also celebrated all over the world on 10 December marking the adoption of the Declaration.

Preamble of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The preamble speaks of inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world. Member states pledge to achieve, in co-operation with the UN, the promotion of universal respect and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Preamble states the following:

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Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore the GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims this UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

The Preamble proclaims the Declaration as a common standard of achievement of all peoples and all nations. In case this proclamation is to be taken as a reference or suggestion then it is important to understand to whom the reference or suggestion is being made. It is not addressed either to the Members or to the States or to the Governments. To ease the confusion, Hans Kelsen, jurist and legal

philosopher, says that the General Assembly recommends to every individual and every organ of the society to do something with respect to the human rights laid down in the Declaration.

Human Rights and Provisions of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The objective of UDHR is to endorse and protect various rights of human beings. The UDHR with various provisions lists out the basic postulates and principles of human rights in a most comprehensive manner. It deals not only with civil and political rights, but also with social and economic rights.

General Provisions

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it is independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Civil and Political Rights

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

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Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

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Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

- (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
- (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
- (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

- (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
- (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

- (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

- (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
- (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
- (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

- (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

This right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
- (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

- (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
- (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance

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with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

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Article 23

- (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

- (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
- (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

- (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
- (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
- (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

- (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

- (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Concluding Provision

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

- (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
- (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
- (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Significance of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The UDHR is basically a proclamation of the all the inherent rights, which are absolute and essential, and every individual is entitled to enjoy these rights. This declaration is amongst the first all-inclusive agreement among Member States, which describes rights and freedoms of every individual. The UDHR includes civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Examples of civil and political rights include the right not to be subjected to torture, to equality before the law, to a fair trial, to freedom of movement, to asylum and to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion, and expression. The right to food, clothing, housing, and medical care, to social security, to work, to equal pay for equal work, to form trade unions and to education are examples of economic, social and cultural rights. The UDHR subsumes a comprehensive and common vision of inalienable human rights and shared understanding of what constitutes the inalienable rights and freedoms of all human beings in every corner of the globe.

The rights set forth in the UDHR have been reiterated and affirmed in numerous international human rights treaties dealing with specific populations or with specific rights and freedoms. The rights have also been incorporated into regional human rights treaties and documents, such as the 'European Convention of Human Rights,' the 'European Social Charter,' the 'African Charter of Human and Peoples

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Rights,’ and the ‘Helsinki Accords.’ According to Henry Steiner, author, and Philip Alston, human rights practitioner, to this day it retains its symbolism, rhetorical force, and significance in human rights movement. It is the parent document, the initial burst of enthusiasm, terser, more general, and grander than the treaties, in some sense the constitution of the entire movement. This declaration is the most appealed to for the implementation of human rights.

The Declaration is inspirational and recommendatory rather than being, in a formal sense, binding. It is an authoritative statement of basic rights to which all are entitled. It is accepted almost universally as a gauge by which governments can measure their progress in the protection of human rights. It is constantly appealed to in the General Assembly, Security Council and other organs and has been mentioned in various international legal instruments. The main objective of UDHR is to present the ideals of human rights and freedoms in order to inspire everybody to work for their progressive realization.

Binding Effect of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Those who adopted the UDHR did not imagine it to be a legally binding document; however, its legal impact has grown wider over the years. Internationally, it has been accepted as an essential legal code. Several international treaties, which are legally binding, are derived from UDHR and many a time, it has been cited for justifying various acts of the United Nations as well as that of the Security Council. The UDHR was basically established as a ‘common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations’ and in the past six decades it has become an important instrument in the International Law and countries around the world are expected to abide by its principles.

The Declaration was not intended to be legally binding and therefore it did not impose any legal obligations on the States to give effect to its provisions. From a legal point of view, it was only a recommendation and was not strictly binding on the States. It has legal value inasmuch as it contains an authoritative interpretation of the provisions of the Charter. The General Assembly has declared (Resolution 2625 (XXV), dated 24 October 1970) that ‘the Charter precepts embodied in the Declaration constitutes basic principles of International Law.’

Having a right is not the same thing as being either morally right or good. Rights identify legitimate expectations as to what their holders may have or do. Thus, if I have a right to speak, then I ought to be permitted to speak whether or not other people think, for some other reason that it is right or good that I should speak. Rights exclude or trump, other considerations being brought to bear in determining entitlements. They are valuable normative features of institutional arrangements, because they can be used to settle disputes, to bring order to human relationships, and to protect the interests of those who have the rights in question.

Influence of Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The UDHR is a primary proclamation of the international community’s commitment to human rights and is a basic criterion for realizing these rights for all individuals in

the world. It has inspired United Nations to take corrective actions in several of the international human rights treaties. UDHR has been responsible for a number of declarations and international conventions concluded under the auspices of the UN and of the specialized agencies. It has been a fundamental source of inspiration for all national and international efforts to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Its provisions have also influenced various national constitutions, national legislations, regulations and policies that protect fundamental human rights. These domestic manifestations include direct reference to the UDHR or incorporation of its provisions. The Declaration is frequently cited in support of judicial decisions which upheld a particular right guaranteed under domestic constitutions or statutes.

UDHR as a Customary International Law

When UDHR was being adopted, it was agreed that it would not impose any legal obligation on the member States. The Declaration, however, has been appealed to several times both within and outside the UN and because of general acceptance and common legal opinion, it has been asserted that whatever the intention of its authors may have been, some of the provisions have grown into customary law of nations, and therefore are binding on all States. If the UDHR is regarded to have acquired the status of customary rules it would imply that the subject covered by it, at least in principle, shall be governed by international law and is thus outside the domestic jurisdiction of the concerned states.

The view that the UDHR has acquired the character of customary rule of international law is difficult to accept in view of insufficient State practice. However, it may be said that some provisions of UDHR do reflect customary international law, e.g., Articles 1, 2 and 7 expressing right to equality, Article 4 consisting provision against slavery, Article 5 consisting provision against torture, Article 9 consisting provision against arbitrary arrest and detention.

India and Universal Declaration of Human Rights

India has adopted the UDHR. The UDHR came into existence in the year 1948 and the Constitution of India came into existence in the year 1950. The different provisions of UDHR constituting various human rights and the fundamental rights enshrined under Part III of the Constitution of India are similar. The Indian Constitution is widely held to have provided the model for the latter's human rights guarantees. The Apex Court of India in many cases has viewed that the UDHR is not a legally binding instrument; however, the founders of our Indian Constitution have shown their foresight about the provisions of UDHR by incorporating Part III consisting of fundamental rights. For example, in cases like the *Kesvananda Bharti v. State of Kerala* and, *Chariman, Railway Board and others v. Mrs. Chandrima Das*, the SC has observed that the UDHR has a moral code of conduct that has been adopted by the General Assembly of the UN. If the need arises, the principles of the UDHR may be applied to domestic jurisprudence.

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Limitations of UDHR

The UDHR, on a broad scale, has three limitations. The following are the three limitations of UDHR:

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- It is not binding on States as law but rather a UN recommendation to States.
- Some of its provisions are as general as that of Article 55 of the UN Charter.
- The Declaration offered no means of implementation other than State goodwill.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. When is the 'Human Rights Day' celebrated?
10. State the main objective of UDHR.
11. What is the validity of the UDHR from a legal point of view?

3.5 SUMMARY

- The dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) in December 1991 saw the United States of America standing as the reigning super power. This period also witnessed political scientists and thinkers proposing and rewriting theories on world power.
- There are many theories proposed by scientists like Bernard Lewis, Samuel P Huntington etc.
- It was Bernard Lewis who first used the term clash of civilization. In his article in the September 1990, Lewis had forecast war would break out among major civilization in 2020. His theory states that American troops would have left South Korea, which would lead to reunification of Korean and lessen the presence for US troops in Japan.
- Huntington's hypothesis claimed the US will avoid escalating the war due to domestic pressure wherein the public would view it as American hegemony in Southeast Asia or control of the South China Sea. While China would be engaged in war, India would attack Pakistan, which would be joined by Iran on Pakistan's side.
- Huntington's hypothesis divides the global powers between two groups — the US, Europe, Russia, and India on one side, and China, Japan, and most of Islamic countries on the other. In case of another world war, the destruction would be substantial since both sides have nuclear capabilities. But if mutual deterrence is effective, mutual exhaustion might lead to a negotiated armistice.
- Huntington thesis was that 'civilization consciousness' would amplify cultural differences and that is one of the causes of fault line wars. Unrestricted movement of people (along with capital) allows economic and political unity which in turn prevents wars.

- A unipolar world is a situation where a single country acts unilaterally with little or no assistance from other countries and manoeuvres international issues; other states or even a combination of states lack the power to prevent it from doing so.
- A multipolar world is one where alliances are formed among states to tackle international issues. A powerful coalition can resist as well as override stances taken by smaller groups or states.
- A ‘uni-multipolar world’, is one in which resolution of important international issues call for action by a single superpower in coalition with other major state powers.
- America’s superpowerdom has had different levels of response, mostly negative. At one level, which is relatively low, there is resentment, envy and fear. At a little higher level, the resentment may turn into dissent, with other countries refusing to cooperate with it.
- The debate on unipolar versus multipolar is still on. For obvious reasons, the US and some of its minor allies, like Britain, argue in favor of a unipolar world. This is opposed by the rest of the world arguing in favor of multipolarity. Led by Chirac (France), powers such as Russia, China, India, Brazil, and a host of lesser powers are working towards a multipolar world.
- Neo-colonialism may simply refer to the involvement of powerful countries in the affairs of less powerful countries; this is especially relevant in Africa and Latin America. In this sense, neo-colonialism implies a form of contemporary, economic imperialism in which powerful nations behave like colonial powers of imperialism, and this behaviour is linked to colonialism in a post-colonial world.
- Economic dependencies are those countries which are politically independent. However, they are not in a position to conduct their economic affairs independently, as they are dependent upon a foreign state (often from the developed world) for financial and technical assistance. By extending economic assistance in the form of grant and loans, the developed countries control the economic policies of these economic dependencies.
- The Third World countries are not merely the countries involved in the non-alignment movement, but also is used to denote the countries which had a colonial history. These countries are also known to have a newly industrialized economy or countries with a backward and poor economy. The term ‘third world’ countries is also used sometimes to refer to the countries which newly gained their independence.
- The main contention of the dependency theorists was that ‘developing countries were trapped in a cycle of dependence on international capital in which there was little room to maneuver.’
- Immanuel Wallerstein propounded the centre-periphery theory, also known as the metropolis-satellite theory. This theory initiated the idea of ‘world economy’. It argued that in the world economy ‘movement within and between

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the centre and the periphery was possible' but the movement was 'regulated by market forces'.

- The Third World countries were dissatisfied with the 'existing international economic structure' as it increased the gap between the rich and the poor. In 1974, they demanded the creation of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The main idea behind the NIEO was to restructure economic relations between the developed and the developing countries 'in favour of redistribution of wealth.'
- The word non-alignment defines the refusal of states to take sides with one or the other of the two principal opposed groups of powers such as existed at the time of the Cold War. Non-alignment can be defined as not entering into military alliances with any country, either of the Western bloc led by the US or the communist bloc led by the USSR. It is an assertion of independence in foreign policy.
- George Schwarzenberger deals with the concepts which are often regarded as synonymous with the concept of non-alignment. These are: isolationism, noncommitment, neutrality, neutralization, unilateralism and non-involvement.
- Non-alignment has been adopted as a foreign policy by all the developing and under developed countries during the Cold War so that they can keep themselves away from the Camp Politics of the powerful nations.
- After the end of the cold war the reason for the existence of NAM was questioned. In modern international politics, the NAM has relatively lesser visibility and voice as compared to other organizations, such as the United Nations, the European Union, NATO and even ECOWAS.
- NAM continues to be the need of the 21st century. It has not only been a movement against the Cold War and alliance politics, it has also been a positive moment for the unity of the new (Third World) states for ending imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism as well as for securing disarmament and arms control, particularly nuclear disarmament. NAM is needed for securing economic and political rights of the developing countries vis-a-vis the developed countries and for securing a new world order based on equality, justice, freedom and development.
- The preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights speaks of inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world. Member states pledge to achieve, in co-operation with the UN, the promotion of universal respect and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- The objective of UDHR is to endorse and protect various rights of human beings. The UDHR with various provisions lists out the basic postulates and principles of human rights in a most comprehensive manner. It deals not only with civil and political rights, but also with social and economic rights.

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is inspirational and recommendatory rather than being, in a formal sense, binding. It is an authoritative statement of basic rights to which all are entitled. It is accepted almost universally as a gauge by which governments can measure their progress in the protection of human rights.
- India has adopted the UDHR. The UDHR came into existence in the year 1948 and the Constitution of India came into existence in the year 1950. The different provisions of UDHR constituting various human rights and the fundamental rights enshrined under Part III of the Constitution of India are similar.

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3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Civilization:** It refers to a group of people having common objective elements such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people.
- **Uni-multipolar world:** It is a world in which resolution of important international issues call for action by a single superpower in coalition with other major state powers.
- **Neo-colonialism:** It refers to a form of contemporary, economic imperialism in which powerful nations behave like colonial powers of imperialism, and this behaviour is linked to colonialism in a post-colonial world.
- **Non-alignment:** It is the refusal of states to take sides with one or the other of the two principal opposed groups of powers such as existed at the time of the Cold War.

3.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The two groups of global power as per Huntington’s hypothesis are: 1) US, Europe, Russia and India on one side and 2) China, Japan and most of Islamic countries on the other.
2. According to Huntington’s ‘kin-country syndrome’, a country in war with another country, but of a different civilization, will gather support from within its own civilization.
3. The economic factor which favours the Western monopolies and acts against the developing world is the international capital’s control of the world market as well as of the prices of commodities that are bought and sold there.
4. As per the dependency theory, the present situation of slow economic progress was likely to continue until the industrialized countries stopped exploiting the resources of the underdeveloped countries.
5. The critics of free trade argue that international trade produces a value transfer from less developed countries to more advanced ones. Such transfer shows up in the form of losses for less industrialised societies through declining

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terms of trade for their products *visa-vis* the processed goods they import. Trade imbalance in Third World countries is worsened by the persisting need to import oil and machinery.

6. Neutrality describes the political and legal status of a country not at war with either of the two belligerents. Neutralization on the other hand, is different from neutrality, because a neutral state remains free to give up its status of neutrality because a neutral state remains free to give up its status of neutrality and assume that of a belligerent.
7. Jawaharlal Nehru is the Indian leader who was considered as a strong pillar of the Non-alignment movement.
8. Multilateralism under the aegis of the United Nations is the framework in which complex baffling and critical problems of the present age, namely nuclear weapons race, environmental pollution, economic inequality, international terrorism, nuclear hegemony and several others, can be solved.
9. 'Human Rights Day' is celebrated all over the world on 10 December marking the adoption of the Declaration.
10. The main objective of UDHR is to present the ideals of human rights and freedoms in order to inspire everybody to work for their progressive realization.
11. From a legal point of view, the UDHR is only a recommendation and not strictly binding on the States.

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on religion as the sole cause of the conflicts in the world.
2. What is the criticism against the unipolar and multipolar world order?
3. Briefly explain the mechanism of neo-colonialism.
4. What is the relevance of the Non-Alignment movement in the 21st century?
5. Give a summary of the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the Huntington hypothesis on world power.
2. Compare and contrast the unipolar and multipolar world systems.
3. Describe the theories related to the emergence and problems of the Third world nations.
4. Discuss the origin and phases of the Non-alignment movement.
5. Elucidate on the significance and the influence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
6. Discuss the success and failures of the several NAM summits.

3.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Structure

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- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 The League Covenant and the United Nations Charter Compared
 - 4.2.1 The League Covenant
 - 4.2.2 The United Nations Organization
- 4.3 Purposes and Principles of the UNO, UN Charter, Principal Organs of the UNO
- 4.4 International Organizations
 - 4.4.1 SAARC
 - 4.4.2 OPEC
 - 4.4.3 WTO
 - 4.4.4 IMF
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Key Terms
- 4.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 4.8 Questions and Exercises
- 4.9 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The world up until now has witnessed two World Wars, one Cold War and several other disputes among nations. The differences which lead to such destructive ends have been varied, from the fight over limited resources to the dispute over beliefs and ideologies and a lot of times a pure thirst for power and expansion. Whatever be the reason, our world can never afford to bear wars be it a small or a large level. The destruction of lives, properties and resources can never be fully recompensed with. And this is why it is important that the nations of the world with the different interests learn to peacefully coexist. The organizations set up on the worldwide level have some agreed upon objectives to ensure that the situation doesn't escalate to the level of war. In this unit, we will learn about the League Covenant, the United Nations; the purposes and principles of the UNO, UN Charter, Principal Organs of the UNO and the different international organizations such as the SAARC, OPEC, WTO and IMF.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the League Covenant and the United Nations Charter
- Describe the purposes and principles of the UNO, UN CHARTER and the principle organs of the UNO
- Discuss international organizations such as the SAARC, OPEC, WTO and IMF

4.2 THE LEAGUE COVENANT AND THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER COMPARED

In this section, we will have a look at the two prominent worldwide organizations: The League Covenant and The United Nations Charter.

4.2.1 The League Covenant

League of Nations was the first stable worldwide security organization whose major aim was to uphold world peace. It was an intergovernmental association. It was established as a result of the Paris Peace Conference. The League of Nations had its maximum extent from 28 September 1934 to 23 February 1935. It comprised fifty-eight members.

Origin

The 20th century provided the world two main power blocs through alliances between powerful European countries. These coalitions came into power in 1914, i.e. at the beginning of the World War I, drawing all the main European countries into the war. When the war ended in November 1918, it had had a profound impact, endangering the social, political and economic fabrics of Europe and inflicting psychological and physical harm on the continent. Anti-war feeling rose across the world sovereign states to enter into war for their own advantage.

The Paris Peace Conference was summoned to build a permanent peace after World War I. The Covenant of the League of Nations was prepared by a particular commission, and the League was set up by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles. On 28 June 1919, forty-four countries signed the Covenant, including thirty-one countries that participated in the war on the side of the Triple Entente or joined when the war was going on.

Goals

Its primary goals, as mentioned in its Covenant, included the following:

- Preventing war by combined security and disarmament
- Settling global disputes by negotiation and arbitration

Other goals in this and pertaining treaties were as follows:

- Labour conditions
- Just treatment of native inhabitants
- Trafficking in persons and drugs
- Arms trade
- Global health
- Prisoners of war
- Safeguard of minorities in Europe

The diplomatic philosophy behind the League reflected a basic shift in thought from the preceding hundred years.

Span

The League of Nations did not possess its own armed forces; therefore, it depended on the Great Powers to put into effect its resolutions, for being offered with army when needed. At several times the great powers refused to adhere to this arrangement.

Benito Mussolini replied with the comment that ‘the League is very well when sparrows shout, but no good at all when eagles fall out’ when, during the Second Italo-Abyssinian War, the League accused Italian soldiers of targeting Red Cross medical tents.

Languages and symbols

French, English and Spanish (from 1920) were the official languages of the League of Nations. It also considered adopting Esperanto as its working language and actively encouraging its use but none of the option was ever adopted.

Emblem

In 1939, the League of Nations had a semi-official emblem — Two five-pointed stars within a blue pentagon. The symbol referred to the five continents and five races on the Earth. A bow on top and at the bottom showed the name in English (League of Nations) and French. This flag was installed on the building of the New York World’s Fair in 1939 and 1940.

Postal department

The postal department of the League was very active. Huge numbers of mailings were carried out from headquarters, the specialized agencies and at global conferences. In many instances, exceptional envelopes or overprinted postage stamps were employed.

Principal organs

The following were the constitutional organs of the league:

- The assembly
- The council

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- The permanent secretariat (headed by the general secretary and based in Geneva)

It had two important wings in the permanent court of International Justice and the International Labour Organization.

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The covenant implied the setup of auxiliary bodies for a variety of questions of a relatively technical character. Thus, the League had many agencies and commissions.

Concord was needed for the decisions of both — the assembly and the council, apart from the matters of procedure and some other precise cases, for example, the admission of new members. This general regulation concerning agreement was the gratitude of national sovereignty.

Secretariat

The Permanent Secretariat, set up at the seat of the League at Geneva (Figure 4.1), consisted of a body of experts in several spheres under the direction of the General Secretary. The major sections of the secretariat were:

- Political
- Financial
- Economics
- Transit
- Minorities
- Administration
- Mandates
- Disarmament
- Health
- Social



Fig. 4.1 Palace of Nations, Geneva, the League's Headquarters from 1929 until its Dissolution

Staff

The Staff of the League's secretariat was accountable for readying the agenda for the council and assembly and printing reports of the meetings and other scheduled matters, efficiently acting as the civil service for the League.

Assembly

The assembly comprised representatives of all associates of the League. Each state was permitted up to three representatives and one vote. The exceptional functions of the Assembly involved:

- The admission of new Members
- The periodical election on non-permanent Members of the council
- The election with the council of the judges of the permanent court
- The control of the budget.

In a way, the Assembly had become the general directing force of League's activities.

Permanent Court of International Justice

The Covenant provided the Permanent Court of International Justice, but it was not established by it. The Council and Assembly framed its constitution. Its judges were appointed by the Council and Assembly, and its budget was approved by the Assembly. The Court included eleven judges and four deputy-judges, who were elected for nine years.

International Labour Organization

The International Labour Organization (ILO) was set up in 1919 on the basis of part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and thus became the part of the League's operations.

Health Organization

The League's health organization included the following three bodies:

- A Health Bureau, containing permanent officials of the League, an executive section
- The General Advisory Council or Conference consisting of medical experts
- A Health Committee

Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

The League of Nations had focused on the question of international intellectual cooperation right from the time of its creation. The work of the Committee involved enquiry into the states of intellectual life, help to countries whose intellectual life was scarce, formation of national committees for intellectual cooperation, collaboration with global intellectual organizations and security of intellectual property.

Slavery commission

The Slavery Commission was made to eliminate slavery and slave trading across the globe and fought forced prostitution.

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Committee for the study of the legal status of women

The committee for the study of the legal status of women was made to conduct an inquiry into the status of women across the world.

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Members

Among the League's forty-two founding members, twenty-three (or twenty-four, counting Free France) did not leave the League until it was dissolved in 1946. In the beginning year, six other countries joined, only two of which remained as its members till it got dissolved. An additional fifteen countries joined in later years.

Resolving Territorial Disputes

The consequences of World War I left a lot of issues to be settled between nations, including the precise position of national boundaries and which country in the particular regions would like to join. Most of these questions were taken care by the triumphant allied powers in bodies for example the allied supreme council.

Albania

The borders of Albania had not been set all through the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, being left to the League to make a decision, but had not yet been decided by September 1921. This led to an unbalanced situation with Greek troops frequently crossing into Albanian territory on military actions in the south and Yugoslavian forces engaged, after fights with Albanian tribesmen, far into the northern part of the nation. The League sent a commission of representatives from diverse powers to the area and in November 1921 and decided that the boundaries of Albania should be the similar as they were in 1913 with three small changes that favoured Yugoslavia. Yugoslav forces pulled back a few weeks later, albeit under objection. Mussolini ordered a warship to shell the Greek island of Corfu and Italian forces captured that island on 31 August 1923. This breached the League's covenant so Greece demanded the League's intervention in dealing with the situation.

Aland Islands

Åland is a group of around 6,500 islands that are located between Sweden and Finland. The islands are entirely Swedish speaking, but in 1809, Sweden had lost both Finland and the Åland Islands to Imperial Russia. In December 1917, during the chaos of the Russian October Revolution, Finland declared freedom, and the majority of the Ålanders wished the islands to become part of Sweden again. The government of Finland, however, felt that the islands should be the part of their new nation, as the Russians had included Åland in the Grand Duchy of Finland formed in 1809. By 1920, the clash had spiralled to such a level that there was a risk of war. The British government referred the crisis to the League's Council, but Finland did not let the League interfere as it considered it a domestic matter. The League came up a small panel to determine if the League should examine the matter and, with a positive response, a neutral commission was set up. In June 1921, the League declared its decision; the islands should remain a part of Finland but with guaranteed safety of the islanders, including demilitarization. With Sweden's unwilling agreement, this

became the first European global agreement concluded unswervingly through the League.

4.2.2 The United Nations Organization

The United Nations was founded in 1945 after World War II to substitute the League of Nations, to end wars between nations and to offer a platform for dialogue. It contains manifold subsidiary organizations to complete its missions. The name ‘United Nations’ was planned by US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first applied in the ‘Declaration by United Nations’ of 1 January 1942, during the World War II, when envoys of twenty-six nations vowed their governments to carry on fighting together against the Axis Powers.

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The idea

The idea for the future United Nations as a global organization came up in declarations signed at the time of the World War II at the wartime Allied conferences: the Moscow Conference and the Tehran Conference in 1943. From August to October 1944, envoys of France, the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the USSR met to discuss plans at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, D.C. Those and later talks led to the proposals outlining the functions of the United Nations Organization, its membership and organs, as well as arrangements to keep international peace and security and global economic and social cooperation. Governments and private citizens, all-inclusive, discussed and debated these suggestions.

The origin

The United Nations Charter was drafted by the envoys of fifty countries at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, which met at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. The members deliberated the aims worked out by the envoys of — China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks in August-October 1944. The Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 by the envoys of the fifty nations. Poland, which was not present at the Conference, signed it later and became one of the original fifty-one Member States. The United Nations formally came into subsistence on 24 October 1945, when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States and by a majority of other signatories. On 24 October each year, the United Nations Day is celebrated.

Establishment

On April 25, 1945, the United Nations conference on global organization started in San Francisco. In addition to governments, many non-governmental organizations, including Rotary International and Lions Clubs International were invited to help in the drafting of a charter. After a hard work of two months, the fifty countries represented at the conference signed the Charter of the United Nations on June 26. Poland, which was incapable of sending a representative to the conference because of political instability, signed the charter on 15 October 1945. The charter noted that

before it would be implemented, it must be ratified by the governments of the Republic of China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States, and by a majority of the other forty-six signatories. That happened on 24 October 1945 and the United Nations was officially established.

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The League of Nations officially dissolved itself on 18 April 1946 and handed over its mission to the United Nations.

The High Hopes

The UN leaders had high hopes that it would take action to stop conflicts between nations and make future wars impossible. Those hopes have clearly not completely come to pass. From about 1947 until 1991, the splitting up of the world into hostile camps during the Cold War made accord on peacekeeping matters very hard. After the end of the Cold War, renewed calls arose for the UN to turn out to be the agency for attaining world peace and collaboration, as several dozen active military disagreements continued to rage across the globe. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has also left the United States in a sole position of international dominance, creating a number of new problems for the UN.

The Aim

The United Nations is a global organization whose declared aims are as follows:

- Facilitating cooperation in international law
- International security
- Economic development
- Social progress
- Human rights
- Achievement of world peace

It has its offices all across the world. The UN and its specialized agencies decide on substantive and secretarial issues in regular meetings held throughout the year.

Six principal organs

The organization has the following six principal organs:

- The General Assembly (the main deliberative assembly)
- The Security Council (for deciding certain resolutions for peace and security)
- The Economic and Social Council (for assisting in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development)
- The Secretariat (for providing studies, information and facilities needed by the UN)
- The International Court of Justice (the primary judicial organ)
- The United Nations Trusteeship Council (which is currently inactive)

Other famous UN System agencies include the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Food Programme (WFP) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Legal basis of establishment

Just after its setting up, the UN sought identification as an international legal person. Therefore, the court has come to the conclusion that the organization is a global person. That is not the similar as saying that it is a State, which it surely is not, or that its legal personality and rights and duties are the same as those of a State ... What it does mean is that it is a subject of international law and competent of possessing international rights and duties, and that it has ability to maintain its rights by bringing global claims.

The General Assembly

The General Assembly (Figure 4.2) is the major deliberative assembly of the United Nations. It comprises of all the United Nations' member states. The assembly meets in regular annual sessions under a president elected from among the member nations. Over a two-week period at the beginning of each session, all members have the chance to address the assembly. Usually, the Secretary-General makes the initial statement, followed by the president of the assembly. The first session was convened on 10 January 1946 in the Westminster Central Hall in London and incorporated representatives of fifty-one nations. When the General Assembly votes on significant questions, a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is needed.



Fig. 4.2 The General Assembly

UN Headquarters in New York City

In December 1945, the US Senate and the US House of Representatives, by agreed votes, requested that the UN establish its headquarters in the United States. The UN accepted this proposal and, after considering sites in the Black Hills, The UN headquarters formally opened on 9 January 1951. Although the main headquarters of the UN remain in New York City, chief agencies base themselves in Geneva, The Hague, Vienna (Figure 4.3), Nairobi and elsewhere.

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Fig. 4.3 UN Building in Vienna

Structure and associated organizations

The essential constitutional makeup of the United Nations has altered a little, though greatly increased membership has changed the functioning of some elements. The UN has generated a rich variety of non-governmental organizations and individual bodies over the years: some with a regional focus, some specific to a variety of peacekeeping missions, and others of global scope and significance. Other bodies (such as the International Labour Organization) formed before the setting up of the United Nations and only then became associated with. Over the lifetime of the UN, over eighty colonies have achieved freedom. The General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960 with no votes against but abstentions from all main colonial powers. Through the UN Committee on Decolonization, set up in 1962, the UN has focused substantial attention on decolonization.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Name the conference which was summoned to build a permanent peace after World War I.
2. Which treaty specified the setting up of the International Labour Organization in the year 1919?
3. When the UN General Assembly votes on significant questions, what kind of a majority is required?

4.3 PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNO, UN CHARTER, PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF THE UNO

The United Nations Organization (UNO), as we have learnt is better known as the United Nations (UN), is an international organization. It was founded on

24 October 1945 after the Second World War, replacing the League of Nations, to prevent any further wars between countries and provide a platform for dialogue. It contains multiple subsidiary organizations to carry out its missions.

There are currently 192 member states, including nearly every sovereign state in the world. From its offices around the world, the UN and its specialized agencies decide on substantive and administrative issues in regular meetings held throughout the year

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Objectives of United Nations

The objectives of United Nations are enshrined in the Preamble of the UN Charter. It has been given in the following four objectives, which are mentioned as follows:

- (i) To save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war
- (ii) To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the work and dignity of human person and equal rights of men, women and nations large and small
- (iii) To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained
- (iv) To promote social progress and better standard of life in large freedom.

Objectives, purpose and principles of united nations

The constitution of the United Nations is the Charter of the UN. It has nineteen chapters which is divided into 111 articles that explain the purposes, principles and operating methods of the organization.

(i) Objectives

The objectives of the UN are enshrined in the preamble to the Charter of UN. It has the four objectives as mentioned below:

- (a) To save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war
- (b) To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the work and dignity of the human person and equal rights of men, women and nations large and small.
- (c) To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- (d) To promote social progress and better standard of life in larger freedom.

(ii) Purpose

The purpose of the UN has been set forth in Article 1 of the Charter. These are mentioned as follows:

- (a) Maintenance of international peace and security
- (b) Development of friendly relations among nations
- (c) International cooperation in solving problems of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature; promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

- (d) To be a center of harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve the above ends.

(iii) Principles

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To fulfill the purposes of the UN, the following principles are envisaged in Article 2 of the Charter. It has been mentioned as follows:

- (a) The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.
- (b) All members shall fulfill in good faith the obligations they have assumed under the Charter.
- (c) The members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means.
- (d) The members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the UN.

Principal organ of United Nations

The United Nations has six official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. As we have discussed in the previous section, the six principle organs of the UN are:

- (a) The General Assembly
- (b) The Security Council
- (c) The Economic and Social Council
- (d) The Secretariat
- (e) The International Court of Justice and
- (f) The United Nations Trusteeship Council

General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only major organ in which all members are presented. It is the apex body of the United Nations. It has been described as ‘the town meeting of the world’ since all members are *ipso facto* members of the General Assembly. It is the main deliberative assembly of the United Nations and also one of the most important of the six principal organs. As it is the forum in which all member states are represented and in which each member has an equal vote irrespective of its size or population. The importance of the General Assembly has grown through the expansion of UN membership.

Composition of General Assembly

According to the Article 4 of Chapter 2 of the United Nations Charter, the membership of United Nations is open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations as well as the judgment of the Organization that is contained in the present Charter and are able and willing to carry out these obligations. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Beginning with fifty-one nations at the end of the Second World War, the membership of the General Assembly has grown to 192 members at present. All the members of the General Assembly are the member states of United Nations.

The General Assembly meets in regular yearly sessions under a president, who is elected from among the member states. The first session was convened on 10 January 1946 in the Westminster Central Hall in London and included representatives of fifty-one nations. Traditionally, the Secretary-General makes the first statement, followed by the president of the assembly. Over a two-week period at the start of each session, all members have the opportunity to address the assembly.

Each member country has one vote. Apart from approval of budgetary matters, resolutions are not binding on the members. The Assembly may make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the UN, except matters of peace and security that are under Security Council consideration. When the General Assembly votes on important questions, a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is required. All other questions are decided by majority vote. The examples of important questions include:

- Recommendations on peace and security;
- Election of members to organs;
- Admission of new members,
- Suspension, and expulsion of members; and,
- Budgetary matters

Committee of General Assembly

The General Assembly is quite a large body and therefore for an effective deliberation, it works through various Committees. The matters are allocated to the various committees on the advice of the General Committee. The main committees of the General Assembly in addition to the General Committee, are as follows:

- (i) First Committee (Disarmament and related International Security Matters)
- (ii) Special Political Committee
- (iii) Second Committee (Economic and Financial matters)
- (iv) Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural matters)
- (v) Fourth Committee (Decolonization matters)
- (vi) Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary matters)
- (vii) Sixth Committee (Legal matters)

Functions and powers of General Assembly

The General Assembly performs varied and extensive functions which can be studied under the following heads:

(i) Deliberative functions

The General Assembly can discuss any question or matter within the scope of the UN Charter and relating to any organ of the United Nations. It can invite the attention

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of the Security Council to the situation which is likely to endanger international peace and security. It can also recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of situation which is likely to disturb the friendly relations amongst nations.

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The General Assembly can also initiate studies and make recommendations for the following:

- (a) Promoting international co-operation in political arena and encourage progress of international law and its codification
- (b) Promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, education and health fields
- (c) Assisting in realizing human rights and fundamental freedom for all without discrimination as to race, sex, language or religion.

However, the recommendations of the General Assembly do not possess any legal sanction and are merely an expression of opinion or advice of the Assembly which is not binding on the member states.

(ii) Legislative functions

The General Assembly has also performed legislative functions even though the UN Charter did not assign any legislative functions to the Assembly. This occurs whenever there can not be an agreement between any countries, they would refer the matter to the General Assembly for its recommendations on the issues, with the understanding that the recommendations of the General Assembly would be binding on the parties; as it had happened in the case of US, Great Britain, France and Soviet Union in relation to the disposal of their Italian colonies.

(iii) Supervisory functions

The supervisory functions of the General Assembly include the power to exert control and regulate working of other organs and agencies of the United Nations. It receives and considers annual and special reports from other organs of the United Nations. Thus, the Security Council reports to the General Assembly the measures decided upon or taken for the maintenances of international peace and security.

(iv) Financial functions

The General Assembly enjoys important financial powers as it appoints expenses among the member states and approves the budget of the United Nations. It has to also review the working of the other organs of the United Nation as the responsibility for the financial and budgetary arrangements of the specialized agencies of the organization also rests with the General Assembly. The control over finances gives the General Assembly the power to supervise and control the activities of other organs and agencies of the organization.

(v) Electoral functions

The Electoral Functions of the General Assembly include the admission of new members and selection of members of other organs. It admits new members to the UN on the recommendation of the Security Council but no new members can be admitted without an affirmative vote of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly can also suspend a member on the basis of recommendations of the Security Council on the ground of violating the principles of the UN Charter continuously.

The General Assembly also elects members of several other organs such as the ten non-permanent members of the Security Council, the judges of the International Court of Justice for a period of nine years in concurrence with the Security Council. It also appoints the Secretary General on the recommendation of the Security Council.

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(vi) Constituent functions

The General Assembly enjoys important power with regard to the amendments of the Charter. The amendments to the UN Charter can be carried out by the General Assembly by two thirds majority of its members. However, this member has to be ratified by two thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all permanent members of the Security Council, in accordance with their constitutional processes.

The General Assembly can also convene a General Conference in concurrence with the Security Council to review the original Charter. For the discharge of these duties, the General Assembly can establish various committees and subsidiary organs. Some of the Committees which have been set up by the General Assembly in this regard include the Political and Security Committee, Economic and Financial Committee, Social Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, Trusteeship Committee, Administrative and Budgetary Committee, Legal Committee, General Committee and the Credential Committee.

Security Council

The Security Council is often described as the enforcement wing of the United Nations. Its primary responsibility is to maintain international peace and security among countries. In other words, the services can be requisitioned any time; the Security Council has to work continuously so that it can take quick action in the event of threat to international peace and security.

While the other organs of the United Nations can only make ‘recommendations’ to member governments, the Security Council has the power to make binding decisions that the member governments have agreed to carry out, under the terms of Charter Article 25. The decisions of the Council are known as United Nations Security Council resolutions.

Composition of the Security Council

The Security Council is made up of fifteen member states, consisting of five permanent members- namely; China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States— and ten non-permanent members. The five permanent members hold veto power over substantive but not procedural resolutions allowing a permanent member to block adoption but not to block the debate of a resolution unacceptable to it.

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 is rotated alphabetically each month and is held by Uganda for the month of

October 2010 followed by United Kingdom and United States till December 2010 and in January 2011 it will start from Bosnia and Herzegovina followed by Brazil.

Functions and powers of Security Council

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The UN Charter has entrusted the responsibility of maintenance international peace and security to the Security Council. It is for this purpose that all members of the United Nations are committed to carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

The main functions of the Security Council can be conveniently studied under the following heads:

(i) Deliberative functions

The Security Council has the power to discuss and investigate any dispute or situation and make recommendations to the member states to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Any disputes or a situation that is likely to endanger international peace and security may be brought to the attention of the Security Council by any member of UN, General Assembly or by the Secretary General.

Even the non member states can bring the dispute before the Council provided they accept in advance the obligations of a peaceful settlements contained in the UN Charter.

(ii) Enforcement functions

The Security Council has also been vested with important enforcement powers. This include adopting measures such as partial or complete interruption of economic relations such as severing of rail, sea, air, postal, radio and other communications links like snapping of diplomatic relations; when the Security Council finds peaceful settlement among the disputant countries is not possible.

The Security Council can also urge the member nation states to apply sanctions against the aggressor as given in Article 43 of the UN Charter.

To assist the Security Council on all questions relating to its military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, a Military Staff Committee has been established. This Committee also assists the Security Council with regard to employment and command of forces at its disposal, the regulation of armaments and possible disarmaments.

(iii) Electoral functions

The Security Council enjoys extensive electoral powers which pertain to admission of new members and the Constitution of other organs of the United Nations. The new members to the world body can be admitted by the General Assembly only on the recommendation of the Security Council.

The Security Council also takes part in the election of the Judges of the International Court of Justice. It also make recommendations regarding the appointment of the Secretary General and the in the suspension of a member of the United Nations by the General Assembly.

The Economic and Social Council

The framers of the UN Charter were fully aware of the importance that the social and economic conditions for preserving world peace. Therefore the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) has been established to coordinate the economic and social work of the United Nations along with the specialized agencies and institutions to assist the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development.

The ECOSOC is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations that operate under the authority of the General Assembly in accordance to the Article 55 of the UN Charter. The article also enjoins the United Nations to create conditions of stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of the people by:

- (i) Promoting higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development
- (ii) Solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems and in international cultural and educational cooperation
- (iii) Universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Composition of Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) has fifty-four members. Each year the General Assembly elects eighteen members for a period of three-year term but the retiring members are eligible for immediate re-election. Originally, the Council comprised of twenty-seven members which was raised to fifty-four in 1974. The Council's fifty-four member Governments are elected by the General Assembly for overlapping three-year terms. The seats on the Council are based on geographical representation with fourteen of the seats allocated to African States, eleven to Asian States, six to Eastern European States, ten to Latin American and Caribbean States, and thirteen to Western European and other States.

The president is elected for a one-year term and chosen amongst the small or middle powers represented on ECOSOC. All the decisions are taken by a simple majority with each member enjoying one vote.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) meets once a year in July for a four-week session. One session is held at New York and the other is held at Geneva. It has also held another meeting each April with the finance ministers who head key committees of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since 1998. During the remaining part of the year, the Council carries on its work through its subsidiary bodies-commission and committees, which meet at regular intervals and report back to the Council.

Functions of Economic and Social Council

The functions of the ECOSOC include information gathering, advising member nations, and making recommendations. Besides, providing policy coherence and

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coordinating the overlapping functions of the UN's subsidiary bodies. There are many UN organizations and agencies that function to work on particular issues.

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Besides, the Council also performs variety of functions through studies and reports, discussions and recommendations and coordination, such as the following:

(i) It can make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters. Thus the Council has made studies regarding the problem of refugees, the world shortage of housing, the reconstruction of devastated areas and the economic status of the women. These studies and reports are very helpful in tackling these problems.

(ii) The Economic and Social Council also makes recommendations to the General Assembly, the members of the United Nations and specialized agencies with regard to economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters.

It can also make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. However, it may be noted that the recommendations of the Council are not binding on the members.

(iii) The Economic and Social Council can prepare draft and conventions for submission to the General Assembly with respect to matters falling within its competence. Such draft conventions have proved quite useful device for the conclusion of international agreements.

(iv) The Economic and Social Council convenes international conferences both on its own initiative as well as on instructions from the General Assembly. These conferences can be both intergovernmental as well as non-governmental and usually pertain to matter beyond the domestic jurisdiction of the members. Some of the important conferences convened by the Economic and Social Council include the World Population Conference in 1954, the UN Scientific Conference on Conservation and Utilization of Resources, etc.

The Council can also call conferences of regional character on subjects like health, trade, transport, employment, refugees, stateless persons, etc.

(v) The Economic and Social Council coordinates the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. These specialized agencies are created through inter-governmental agreements and have wide international responsibilities such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the World Bank and the World Health Organization. It is through these agencies that the UN performs most of its humanitarian work such as mass vaccination programmes (through the WHO), the avoidance of famine and malnutrition (through the work of the WFP) and the protection of vulnerable and displaced people through UNHCR).

Subsidiary Bodies of the Council

The Subsidiary bodies of the Economic and Social Council include five regional commissions, six functional commissions, six standing committees and other standing expert bodies.

(i) Regional Commission

The Economic and Social Council has five Regional Commissions which are as mentioned below:

- (a) Economic Commission for Africa with head quarters at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia
- (b) Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific with head quarters at Bangkok in Thailand.
- (c) Economic Commission for Europe, with head quarters at Geneva in Switzerland
- (d) Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean, with head quarters at Santiago, Chile
- (e) Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, with head quarters at Baghdad, Iraq

(ii) Functional Commission

The Economic and Social Council has six functional commissions, which are discussed as follows:

- (a) **Statistical Commission:** The Statistical Commission promotes the development of national statistics, the coordination of statistical work and the development of central statistical works. It also advises the organs of the UN, on general questions of statistical information.
- (b) **Population Commission:** The Population Commission studies and advises on the size and structure of populations in different country. The interplay of demographic factors and policies which is designed to influence the size and structure of population and changes therein.
- (c) **Commission for Social Development:** The Commission for Social Development advises on social policies of a general character on vital social problems and on related required measures.
- (d) **Commission on the status of women:** The Commission on the status of women prepares recommendations and reports on promotion of women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields.
- (e) **Commission on Narcotics Drugs:** The Commission on Narcotics Drugs assists in exercising powers of supervision over the application of international conventions and agreements dealing with narcotic drugs. It advises the Council on all matters pertaining to the control of narcotic drugs and prepares such draft on international conventions as may be necessary.

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- (f) **Commission on Human Rights:** The Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and prevention of discrimination are involved in upholding the basic human rights and all out any injustice or discrimination.

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(iii) Standing Committees

The Economic and Social Council has six standing Committees. These include the Committee for Programme and Coordination which advises and assists the Council in the discharge of the coordination function and keeps under review the activities of the United Nations and its related agencies and programmes.

The Standing Committee is expected to continuously review the steps required to implement within the United Nations to recommend the Ad Hoc committees of Experts to examine the finances of the United Nations and concerning the development of an integrated system of long term planning programming and budgeting.

This Standing Committee is as mentioned below:

- (a) *The Committee on Non Governmental Organizations and on negotiations* with intergovernmental agencies recommends the status of individual Non-governmental organizations and is called whenever it is necessary to negotiate an agreement with a newly created agency.
- (b) *The Committee of Housing, Building and Planning* examines reports and makes recommendations to the Governments and United Nations bodies. It promotes research in the field of housing related community facilities and physical planning.
- (c) *The Committee on Natural Resources* lays down guidelines, examines reports, analyses existing resolutions and makes recommendations in areas related to the natural resources.
- (d) *The Committee on Science and Technology* promotes international cooperation. It encourages formulation of over all policy and evaluates and reviews policies and new developments in the field of science and technology.
- (e) *The Committee on Review and Appraisal* assists the Council and the General Assembly in the overall review and appraisal of the UN Development Decades. The committee also examines the obstacles and reasons for shortfalls identified in the various sectorial and regional reviews; and recommends on the basis of such reviews and its own conclusions. It measures to overcome the obstacle and shortfalls, including new or revised goals and policy measures required.

(iv) Expert Bodies

The Economic and Social Council has a number of standing expert bodies, advisory committees and on Ad hoc groups.

The expert bodies are on the following subjects as mention below:

- (a) *Crime Prevention and Control*; advises policies and international action in the area of crime prevention.

- (b) *Development Planning* evaluates programmes in their progress, analyse major trends and studies individual question in the area of economic planning, programmes and projection.
- (c) *International Cooperation in tax matters* explores ways and means for facilitating the conclusion of tax treaties between the developed and developing countries; *and*
- (d) *Transport of dangerous goods* not only revises and updates the list of dangerous goods but also considers the existing transportation practices and studies problems relating to packing and other related matters.

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There is an advisory committee on Application on Science and Technology to Development which reviews programmes and suggests practical measures for such application. It also advises on desired changes in the area of science and technology.

The Ad hoc group of Experts on Tax Treaties explores ways and means for facilitating the conclusion of tax treaties between the developed and developing countries.

The meeting of the Experts on the United Nations Programme in Public Administration works in close collaboration with the specialized agencies and non governmental organizations and formulates programmes in the field of public administration. It also examines the Secretary General's proposals on public administration for the development decades.

Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council has been one of the principal organs of the United Nations in the UN Charter. It works as an auxiliary organ of the General Assembly in so far as it supervises the administration of the non-strategic trust territories and an auxiliary organ of the Security Council with regard to strategic areas.

Composition of Trusteeship Council

The UN Charter did not prescribe the size of the Council and merely provided that the Trusteeship Council must reflect a balance between members that administers Trust Territories and the members that do not. In order to ensure this balance, it was provided that the General Assembly may elect for three years as many members as may be necessary in order to ensure that the total membership may of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those members of the United Nations which administer Trust Territories and those which do not .

Objectives of the Trusteeship System

According to the UN Charter, the Trusteeship System has the following objectives as mentioned below:

- (a) To promote international peace and security
- (b) To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories and their progressive developments towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people and the freely

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expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be approved by the terms of each trusteeship agreement.

- (c) To encourage respect for all without distinction as to race, sex or religion and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the people of the world
- (d) To ensure equal treatment in social, economic and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations and also equal treatment of the latter in the administration of justice without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives.

Functions and Powers of Trusteeship Council

The functions and powers of the Trusteeship Council have been outlined in Article 87 of the UN Charter. Its functions include the following:

- (a) Consideration of reports submitted by the administering authority
- (b) Acceptance of petitions and their examinations in consultation with the administering authority
- (c) To arrange periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority
- (d) To take over other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

The functions can be studied under the following heads as follows:

(i) Consideration of reports from Administering Authority

According to the UN Charter, each of the administering authority is expected to submit an annual report for the territories under its control. In the report, it should provide information regarding the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the territory under its control.

The council also studies reports with the help of the specialized agencies and make necessary suggestions. It is on this basis of the examination that the reports that the Council drafts and incorporate the annual report as given to the General Assembly in the case of non-strategic territories and areas and to the Security Council in the case of the strategic areas.

(ii) Receipt and examination of petitions

The Trusteeship Council reviews and examines the petitions from individuals as well as Organization in the Trust Territories. On receipt of petitions, the same are sent to the administering authority for comments before these are examined by the Council. These petitions can cover a wide range of subjects such as property claims and titles, denial of civil and human rights, racial discrimination, poor educational services and appeals for greater participation in local administration.

(iii) Visit to trust territories

The Trusteeship Council can also arrange periodic visits to the Trust territories, at times agreed upon with the Administering Authority in

order to acquire first hand information about the conditions and problems of the Trust territories. Usually such missions are sent to each trust territory every two years.

In addition to the above function, the Trusteeship Council can take any other action in conformity with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreements.

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International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It has been established in 1945 according to the Statute of the International Court of Justice which forms an integral part of the UN Charter. The Statute of the International Court of Justice, similar to that of its predecessor, is the main constitutional document constituting and regulating the Court. It is based on the Permanent Court of International Justice which was prepared by the League Council and has been unanimously approved by the League Council in 1920.

It is located in The Hague, Netherlands and is based in the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, sharing the building with the Hague Academy of International Law, a private centre for the study of international law. The Court began work in 1946 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Its purpose is to adjudicate disputes among states. The court has heard cases related to war crimes, illegal state interference and ethnic cleansing, among others, and continues to hear cases.

Membership of International Court of Justice

All the members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* member of the International Court of Justice. A state which is not member of the United Nations can also become a party to the statute of the Court.

The conditions for the membership of the Court have been laid down in the General Assembly, which includes the following:

- (i) Acceptance of the Statute and other obligations with respect to the Court which other members of UN have accepted
- (ii) Undertaking to contribute to the expenses an amount assessed by the General Assembly after consultation with the Government concerned.

Composition of International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice consists of fifteen judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. The Judges are elected on the basis of their merit and their high moral character and not on the basis of their nationality. It carefully elects the judges so that no two judges can be nationals of the same state. This has been done in order to ensure that no country or group dominate the courts.

Functions and Powers of International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice enjoys two types of powers viz settlement of disputes and rendering advisory opinions.

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(i) Settlement of disputes

The Court hears all the cases involving the sovereign states which have accepted the Statute of the Court. The other states can also take their disputes to the court on fulfillment of conditions laid down by the Security Council.

Although, the court does not enjoy any compulsory jurisdiction, the states who are party to the statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreements, in relation to any other states accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning the following:

- (a) The interpretation of a treaty
- (b) Any question of international laws
- (c) The existence of any facts which if, established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation
- (d) The nature of extent or the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

(ii) Law applied

The International Court of Justice decides the case referred in accordance to the international law, international conventions and the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations. In addition, to this the court also makes use of judicial decisions and teachings of highly qualified publicists of various countries to determine the rules of law.

The Court does not enjoy any enforcement power. It has to mainly rely on two factors for the enforcement of its decisions.

Firstly, each member of the United Nations has an obligation to comply with the decisions of the Court in any case to which it is as under. In other words, if the state has agreed to submit the case to the court, it would accept the decisions of the court.

Secondly, the Security Council can undertake enforcement action to give effect to the judgments of the Court, the other party, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken or give effects to the judgments.

(iii) Advisory opinions

The International Court of Justice also enjoys power to give advisory opinion to the General Assembly, the Security Council and other specialized agencies of the United Nations, on legal questions. While seeking such an opinion the agency has to submit in writing the request containing an exact statement of the question upon which an opinion is required as well as all the documents likely to throw light upon the question.

Besides, the advice of the court is more like an advice than a decision and the Court does not render advisory opinion on its own.

The Secretariat

The Secretariat is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. It comprises the Secretary General and such other staff as the organization may require. It provides services to the other organs of the United Nations namely the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council as well as their subsidiary bodies in their duty stations around the world; carrying out the diverse day-to-day work of the Organization. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a five-year, renewable term.

The duties carried out by the Secretariat are as varied as the problems dealt with by the United Nations. These range from administering peacekeeping operations to mediating international disputes, from surveying economic and social trends and problems to preparing studies on human rights and sustainable development. Secretariat staff also informs the world's communications media about the work of the United Nations; organize international conferences on issues of worldwide concern; and interpret speeches and translate documents into the Organization's official languages.

The Secretariat has offices located at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. It also has branch offices at Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi. The Secretariat also includes the regional commission's secretariat at Addis Ababa, Baghdad, Bangkok, Geneva and Santiago and has offices all over the world

The staff members and the Secretary-General are answer to the United Nations alone for their activities, and take an oath not to seek or receive instructions from any Government or outside authority, as international civil servants. Under the Charter, each Member State undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and to refrain from seeking to influence them improperly in the discharge of their duties.

Composition of the Secretariat

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

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

The Secretary-General's duties include helping resolve international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering

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information on the implementation of Security Council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various initiatives. The key Secretariat offices in this area include the Office of the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that, in his or her opinion, may threaten international peace and security. At present the Secretary General is António Guterres from Portugal.

Functions of the Secretariat

The main functions of the Secretariat are as follows:

- (i) Production of reports and other documents containing information, analysis, historical background, research findings, policy suggestions etc. to facilitate deliberations and decision making by other organs and their subsidiary bodies.
- (ii) Provision of secretarial services to legislative organs in accordance with the policies adopted by the General Assembly
- (iii) Provision of meeting services to the legislative organs in accordance with the policies adopted by the General Assembly
- (iv) Provision of editorial, translation and documents reproduction services for the issuance of UN documents in different languages
- (v) Conduct of studies and provision of information that answers to the priority needs of the governments of member countries in meeting challenges in various fields.
- (vi) Production of statistical publications, information bulletins and analytical work which the General Assembly has decided.
- (vii) Organization of conference, expert groups meetings and seminars on topics of concern to the international community
- (viii) Provision of technical assistance to developing countries
- (ix) Undertaking of services missions to countries, areas or locations as authorized by the General Assembly or the Security Council
- (x) To arrange for dissemination of information on United Nations activities and decisions among the public
- (xi) Provision of programme planning, financial, personal, legal, management and general services which are essential for rational selection of work items and allocations of resources among them for effective, economic and efficient performance of the services and functions of the Secretariat.

Secretary-General

The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General, who acts as the *de facto* spokesperson and leader of the UN. The Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer of the Secretariat. He is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. The current Secretary-General is António Guterres, who took over from Ban ki Moon in 2017 and will be eligible for reappointment when his first term expires in 2021.

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

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

Powers and function of the Secretary-General

The UN Secretary General has been given more powers than he enjoyed under the League of Nations. These can be conveniently studied under the following heads:

(i) Administrative and service functions

The Secretary-General is responsible for the organization and direction of the activities of the UN. The staff of all the UN organs excluding the International Court of Justice falls under his purview.

It is his responsibility to ensure that the various organs of the UN and their committees and conferences work properly. It is for this purpose that he draws the provisional agenda, notifies about the meetings to various members, provides staff and facilities for the holdings of meetings, examines the credentials or representatives and submits reports to the concerned organ.

He also assists in the drafting of documents, resolutions and reports and provides legal and technical advice. He also takes necessary action on the resolutions passed by the General Assembly viz communicates these resolutions to the member governments and ascertain the steps taken to implement these resolutions or recommendations.

According to Article 102 of the UN Charter ‘every treaty and every international agreements entered into by any member of the United Nations shall, as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it’.

(ii) Financial functions

The Secretary-General has also been entrusted with important financial responsibilities, subject to the authority of the General Assembly; he prepares the budget of the United Nations. He allocates funds, control expenditure, collects the contributions from members and acts as custodian of all the funds.

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He tries to develop common fiscal controls and financial practices in consultation with specialized agencies and undertakings.

(iii) Representational functions

The Secretary-General represents United Nation in negotiations with other agencies and governments as the chief representative of UN. He also occupies a central position in the working of the various organs of the UN because the staff of these organizations and agencies is not only recruited but also controlled by the Secretary-General.

(iv) Political functions

The Secretary-General has also been assigned important political functions. It is through these political functions he exercises profound influence on the formulation of the policy. This power emanates from Article 99 of the UN Charter which stipulates that ‘the Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matters of which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.’

Critical Evaluation of United Nations

Unlike other intergovernmental organization, United Nations (UN) is unique in its scope. Nearly all the nations of the world are members of the UN. This arrangement provides an unprecedented legitimacy and an opportunistic forum in which all the nations are heard, but if any member nation tries to ignore the voice of another the status and efficiency of the system becomes intimidated.

The basis of the UN is the concept of collective security. This concept originally gained importance with the persistence of President Wilson of the USA. After the end of World War I, after recognizing the ‘failures’ of the typical balance of power system, Wilson disputed that a joint power would be the most competent way to limit the future destructiveness of any nation who wanted decisive power and conquest.

The basis of this system was that no nation should become powerful enough so as to be capable of overpowering the others. Through this arrangement, an uneven equality was kept by two camps of states in the system. Basically, this arrangement occurred due to the fear of empire that so often troubled Europe.

The United Nations came up in October of 1945, with the major objective of maintaining international peace and security in the hope of evading another world war. The UN has an array of mechanisms that it uses for achieving its aims.

The Security Council first determines whether there is a ‘threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and makes recommendations, or decide what steps should be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, for maintaining or restoring international peace and security.’ If such a determination is made, the Security Council then has the ability to determine whether or not to give sanctions, first to non-military (Article 41), and then to military (Article 42) only after it has been decided that measures provided for under Article 41 were insufficient.

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The future of the collective security arrangement is problematic as it requires all participating parties to be eager to refrain from violence and completely accept the system.

Nowadays, communal security has become quite difficult to market, not only to just discontented nations, but also to the US as well.

The United Nations gives the best options by which the international peace and security can be maintained, and all nations, including the US, should be eager to give up selfish needs in the quest of this aim.

The UN is a little bit better than the League of Nations but still not enough. People need an international organization that is on the vertical rather than the horizontal.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. Name the six principal organs of the United Nations.
5. What are the supervisory functions of the General Assembly?
6. Where is the International Court of Justice located?
7. State the duties of the Secretary-General.

4.4 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In this section, we will have a look at the major international organizations which have been formed for various reasons including regional cooperation, united front against terrorism, trade facilitation among other. The four major international organizations of interest to us here are the SAARC, OPEC, WTO and IMF.

4.4.1 SAARC

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an organization of the South Asian nations. It was founded in 1985 dedicating to the economic, technological, social and cultural development and emphasizing of collective self-reliance.

Its seven founding members are Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Recently, Afghanistan became its member. The Headquarters of SAARC is in Kathmandu, Nepal. The meetings of the heads of state are scheduled annually while the meetings of foreign secretaries happen twice annually.

Origin and Development of SAARC

The concept of SAARC was first adopted by Bangladesh during 1977, under the administration of the then President Ziaur Rahman. He mooted the idea of SAARC among the neighbouring states of South Asia based on the goodwill visits of the leaders of the neighbouring South Asian Nations between 1977–1980. In November

1980, a working paper on 'Regional co-operation in South Asia' was prepared by Bangladesh and circulated among the South-Asian countries.

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The ministerial conference meeting was convened in New Delhi, India 1983 to set up the Committee for SAARC, and an Integrated Programme for Action (IPA) was launched. Under these agreements, cooperation in the following areas was agreed on:

- Education
- Culture and sports
- Environment and meteorology
- Health and population activities and child welfare
- Prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse
- Rural development
- Science and technology
- Tourism
- Transport
- Women in development

Objectives of SAARC

SAARC has been created with the following objectives:

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

Structure of SAARC

The SAARC, as a regional cooperation, has a structure according to which it seeks to function effectively. It is operated through the following structures:

- Meetings of Heads of State or Government

- The Council of Ministers
- The Standing Committee of Foreign Secretaries
- The Programme Committee
- The Technical Committee
- The Secretariat

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Political Issues in SAARC

SAARC, as a regional cooperation, has discussed and deliberated on different political issues. It has stressed on the 'core issues' which are mentioned above. SAARC meetings are conducted on the margins of political dialogue. It has refrained from interfering in the internal matters of the member states.

The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was again mooted in May 2001. It has deliberated on the different issues which are mentioned as follows:

- **Political issue-terrorism:** One of the political issues that the SAARC countries has deliberated and discussed is on the topical theme of Terrorism. During the 12th and 13th SAARC summits in 2004 and 2005 SAARC laid extreme emphasis on greater cooperation between the SAARC members' countries to fight terrorism.
- **Economic issue-free trade area:** The SAARC countries focus on cooperation in the economic areas. They signed an agreement to gradually lower tariffs within the region, in Dhaka, 1993. After eleven years, at the 12th SAARC Summit at Islamabad, they devised the South Asia Free Trade Agreement as a framework for the establishment of a free trade area covering 1.6 billion people.
- **Cultural areas:** One of the areas that the SAARC has focus is on the cultural areas through cultural exchange as well. It has also instituted the SAARC Youth Award in recognition of the outstanding individuals from the SAARC region. The award recognizes and promotes the commitment and talent of the youth who give back to the world at large through various initiatives such as Inventions, Protection of the Environment and Disaster relief and is based on specific themes designated every year.

The recipients who receive this award are the ones who have dedicated their lives to their individual causes to improve situations in their own countries as well as paving a path for the SAARC region to follow.

The recipients of the awards have been given to Mr. Md. Sukur Salek of Bangladesh for Outstanding Social Service in Community Welfare in 1997, Dr. Najmul Hasnain Shah of Pakistan in 1998 for New Inventions and Discoveries, Mr. Mushfiqul Alam of Bangladesh for Creative Photography: South Asian Diversity in 2001. In 2002, it was given to Dr. Masil Khan of Pakistan for his Outstanding contribution to protect the Environment. In 2003, it was given to Mr. Hassan Sher of Pakistan for his Invention in the Field of Traditional Medicine and in 2004 to Mr. Ajij Prasad Poudyal of Nepal for his Outstanding contribution to raising awareness for TB and/

or HIV/AIDS and so on. In 2010 the award was given to Ms. Anoka Abeyrathne of Sri Lanka for her outstanding contribution for the Protection of Environment and mitigation of Climate Change.

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4.4.2 OPEC

The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is a permanent, intergovernmental Organization, created at the Baghdad Conference on September 10–14, 1960, by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. The five Founding Members were later joined by nine other Members: Qatar (1961); Indonesia (1962) – suspended its membership in January 2009, reactivated it in January 2016, but decided to suspend it again in November 2016; Libya (1962); United Arab Emirates (1967); Algeria (1969); Nigeria (1971); Ecuador (1973) – suspended its membership in December 1992, but reactivated it in October 2007; Angola (2007); and Gabon (1975) - terminated its membership in January 1995 but rejoined in July 2016. OPEC had its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, in the first five years of its existence. This was moved to Vienna, Austria, on September 1, 1965.

OPEC's objective is to co-ordinate and unify petroleum policies among Member Countries, in order to secure fair and stable prices for petroleum producers; an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations; and a fair return on capital to those investing in the industry.

The 1960s

OPEC's formation by five oil-producing developing countries in Baghdad in September 1960 occurred at a time of transition in the international economic and political landscape, with extensive decolonisation and the birth of many new independent states in the developing world. The international oil market was dominated by the 'Seven Sisters' multinational companies and was largely separate from that of the former Soviet Union (FSU) and other centrally planned economies (CPEs). OPEC developed its collective vision, set up its objectives and established its Secretariat, first in Geneva and then, in 1965, in Vienna. It adopted a 'Declaratory Statement of Petroleum Policy in Member Countries' in 1968, which emphasized the inalienable right of all countries to exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources in the interest of their national development. Membership grew to ten by 1969.

The 1970s

OPEC rose to international prominence during this decade, as its Member Countries took control of their domestic petroleum industries and acquired a major say in the pricing of crude oil on world markets. On two occasions, oil prices rose steeply in a volatile market, triggered by the Arab oil embargo in 1973 and the outbreak of the Iranian Revolution in 1979. OPEC broadened its mandate with the first Summit of Heads of State and Government in Algiers in 1975, which addressed the plight of the poorer nations and called for a new era of cooperation in international relations, in the interests of world economic development and stability. This led to the establishment of the OPEC Fund for International Development in 1976. Member Countries embarked on ambitious socio-economic development schemes. Membership grew to 13 by 1975.

The 1980s

After reaching record levels early in the decade, prices began to weaken, before crashing in 1986, responding to a big oil glut and consumer shift away from this hydrocarbon. OPEC's share of the smaller oil market fell heavily and its total petroleum revenue dropped below a third of earlier peaks, causing severe economic hardship for many Member Countries. Prices rallied in the final part of the decade, but to around half the levels of the early part, and OPEC's share of newly growing world output began to recover. This was supported by OPEC introducing a group production ceiling divided among Member Countries and a Reference Basket for pricing, as well as significant progress with OPEC/non-OPEC dialogue and cooperation, seen as essential for market stability and reasonable prices. Environmental issues emerged on the international energy agenda.

The 1990s

Prices moved less dramatically than in the 1970s and 1980s, and timely OPEC action reduced the market impact of Middle East hostilities in 1990–91. But excessive volatility and general price weakness dominated the decade, and the South-East Asian economic downturn and mild Northern Hemisphere winter of 1998–99 saw prices back at 1986 levels. However, a solid recovery followed in a more integrated oil market, which was adjusting to the post-Soviet world, greater regionalism, globalisation, the communications revolution and other high-tech trends. Breakthroughs in producer-consumer dialogue matched continued advances in OPEC/non-OPEC relations. As the United Nations-sponsored climate change negotiations gathered momentum, after the Earth Summit of 1992, OPEC sought fairness, balance and realism in the treatment of oil supply. One country left OPEC, while another suspended its Membership.

The 2000s

An innovative OPEC oil price band mechanism helped strengthen and stabilise crude prices in the early years of the decade. But a combination of market forces, speculation and other factors transformed the situation in 2004, pushing up prices and increasing volatility in a well-supplied crude market. Oil was used increasingly as an asset class. Prices soared to record levels in mid-2008, before collapsing in the emerging global financial turmoil and economic recession. OPEC became prominent in supporting the oil sector, as part of global efforts to address the economic crisis. OPEC's second and third summits in Caracas and Riyadh in 2000 and 2007 established stable energy markets, sustainable development and the environment as three guiding themes, and it adopted a comprehensive long-term strategy in 2005. One country joined OPEC, another reactivated its Membership and a third suspended it.

2010 until now

The global economy represented the main risk to the oil market early in the decade, as global macroeconomic uncertainties and heightened risks surrounding the international financial system weighed on economies. Escalating social unrest in many parts of the world affected both supply and demand throughout the first half

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of the decade, although the market remained relatively balanced. Prices were stable between 2011 and mid-2014, before a combination of speculation and oversupply caused them to fall in 2014. Trade patterns continued to shift, with demand growing further in Asian countries and generally shrinking in the OECD. The world's focus on multilateral environmental matters began to sharpen, with expectations for a new UN-led climate change agreement. OPEC continued to seek stability in the market, and looked to further enhance its dialogue and cooperation with consumers, and non-OPEC producers.

4.4.3 WTO

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is a multilateral agreement regulating trade among 153 nations. It was set up after World War II along with other international institutions such as International Monetary Fund and World Bank to promote economic cooperation of nations. Of the fifty countries who had drafted the Charter for International Trade Organization (ITO), a specialized agency of the UN, twenty-three countries became members of GATT. The Charter provided rules for world trade and also for restrictive business practice, employment, commodity agreements and international investments and services. After World War II, an effort was made to boost trade liberalization and remove protectionist measures existing since 1930s. For this, tariff negotiations were initiated among the twenty-three founding 'contracting parties' in 1946. The trade rules included in the ITO Charter and tariff concessions were together known as GATT that came into force in January 1948. Despite the fact that GATT was only provisional in nature, it remained the only multilateral institution governing international trade from 1948 until WTO was established in 1995. A series of trade rounds was held as a continuous measure for tariff reduction. In the first round of negotiations, 45,000 tariff concessions affecting \$10 billion, which was 1/5 of the world trade, were made.

Objectives

- GATT aimed to bring all-round economic prosperity by liberalizing and expanding international trade.
- It aimed at preventing discrimination in world trade and reducing trade barriers.
- It provided a platform for member countries to settle trade-related disputes.
- It helped to fully utilize the resources of the world and expand production of goods.
- It aimed at raising standard of living and ensuring full employment in the member countries.
- It aimed to reduce tariff on imports of member countries.

Membership

By 1994, 128 countries had signed GATT. World Trade Organization (WTO) replaced the original GATT on 1 January 1995 and all the existing GATT contracting parties came to be known as WTO members. India joined WTO in 8 July, 1995.

Provisions of GATT

1. Tariff	<p>(i) Under GATT, it is obligatory for each country to accord non-discriminative, most favored nation (MFN) treatment to the respective contracting parties in respect to tariffs.</p> <p>(ii) Imports from contracting parties are subject to tariffs or quotas. MFN treatment means no countries, apart from the ones that have signed the contract, receive better treatment or lower tariffs.</p>
Exceptions to MFN	<p>(i) Existing tariff preferences such as those between British Commonwealth</p> <p>(ii) GATT/WTO allows the formation of customs union, which causes a significant erosion of the MFN principle.</p> <p>(iii) An escape clause allows any contracting party to withdraw or modify tariff concessions, if it threatens a serious injury to domestic producers.</p>
2. Quantitative Restrictions	GATT in general prohibits the use of quantitative restrictions on imports and exports.
Exceptions	<p>(i) Agriculture—when the government needs to remove surplus of agricultural and fisheries products. Important to the US.</p> <p>(ii) Balance of payments—to safeguard balance of payments. If a country's foreign exchange reserve is low.</p> <p>(iii) Developing countries—least-developed countries (LDCs) may use import quotas to encourage infant industries.</p> <p>(iv) National Security—strategic controls on certain exports. Patents, copyrights.</p>
3. Developing Countries	Special provisions to promote trade in developing countries. In 1965, the contracting parties added Part IV (Trade and Development) to GATT.
	<p>(i) Reduction/elimination of tariffs on products of LDCs will be given high priority by developed economies.</p> <p>(ii) Refrain from introducing tariffs and NTBs to such imports.</p> <p>(iii) Refrain from imposing internal taxes to discourage consumption of primary products from LDCs</p> <p>(iv) Not expect reciprocal commitments from LDCs.</p>
Other provisions	<p>Provisions to eliminate concealed protection such as customs valuation. For example, American Selling Price (ASP) valuation. By ASP, an ad valorem tariff is imposed on the domestic price.</p> <p>Procedural matters: each member is entitled to one vote, decisions are made by majority vote. 2/3 majority is required to waive obligations. Settlements of disputes.</p>

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- **Non-Discriminatory Most Favored Nation (MFN Status):** There should be no discrimination in world trade. Under this principle, there was to be no discrimination among member countries in the conduct of international trade and MFN status had to be applied to all imports and exports among all member countries.
- **Prohibition of quantitative restrictions:** GATT stresses on limiting restrictions on trade and to remove quantitative restrictions as far as possible. Besides, non-tariff barriers like quotas, excessive regulations and import licensing were also to be eliminated.
- **Consultations:** GATT provided continuous consultation to member countries and thereby helped to resolve disagreements.

Evolution of GATT

GATT is a consensual organization of sovereign states. It works essentially through conferences. Here is a list of GATT Conferences held so far:

- **The Geneva Tariff Conference, 1947:** This was the first round held in Geneva and in this first round of negotiations 45,000 tariff concessions affecting \$10 billion which was 1/5 of the world trade were made.
- **The Annecy Tariff Conference, 1949:** This was the second round held in Annecy, France in which thirteen countries participated. The main focus was on further tariff reduction on around 5000 items in total.
- **The Torquay Tariff Conference, 1950-51:** In this third round held in Torquay in England, thirty-eight countries participated and 8,700 tariff concessions were made which was equivalent to 1/4 of the tariffs existing in 1948.
- **The Geneva Tariff Conference, 1955-56:** In this round, twenty-six countries participated and a decision was taken to reduce around \$2.5 billion in tariff.
- **The Dillon Round, 1960-62:** This fifth round again occurred in Geneva and twenty-six countries participated in this round. In this round around \$4.9 billion in tariffs were reduced and also discussions for the creation of a European Economic Community (EEC) were held.
- **The Kennedy Round held in 1964-67.**
- **The Tokyo Round held in 1973-79:** In this round, 102 countries participated and concessions were made to the tune of \$190 billion. The idea was to further control the increase of voluntary export restrictions and non-tariff barriers.
- **The Uruguay Round held in 1986-94:** It was the most important round till date which aimed to expand the competence of GATT to new areas such as capital, services, textiles, agriculture and intellectual property.

The Uruguay Round

The seeds of the Uruguay Round were sown in November 1982 at a ministerial meeting of GATT members in Geneva. Despite its troubled progress, participants had agreed on a package of cuts in import duties on tropical products—which are mainly exported by developing countries. They had also revised the rules for settling disputes, with some measures implemented on the spot. And they called for regular reports on GATT members' trade policies, a move considered important for making trade regimes transparent around the world.

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Highlights

- *Liberalization of trade in textile goods and agriculture:* Textiles and agriculture sector were highly protected sectors but this round brought about liberalization of both these sectors and also reduced import barriers on them.
- *Reduction in agriculture subsidies:* Export subsidies to be cut by 20 per cent in developed countries and by 13.3 per cent in developing countries.
- *Expansion in the sphere of activities:* This round expanded the sphere of activities of GATT from international trade in goods to trade in for information and investment, services and technology.
- *Reduction in tariff:* Tariffs in sectors like pharmaceutical, wood and wood products and steel were totally eliminated while tariffs were to be cut by 36 per cent in developed countries and by 24 per cent in developing countries.
- *Opening trade in services:* This round extended the scope of GATT to services as well. Initially only the goods came under the purview.
- *Establishment of WTO:* This round made the rules and regulations for international trade more transparent which were finally to be implemented by WTO, which later replaced GATT.
- *Dispute settlement:* Initially settlement of disputes under GATT was a time-taking process but after this round it was decided that all disputes would be settled within eighteen months and the verdict had to be binding to all concerned parties.
- A code was drafted to deal with intellectual property rights, especially copyright violation.

Achievements of GATT

- It led to free global trade among member countries.
- GATT contributed in increasing world trade by 12 per cent.
- Helped to increase the share of developing countries in the world trade by 31 per cent.
- Helped to increase the world income and standard of living.
- Helped countries to specialize in trade and production.
- It led to the reduction of duty on industrial goods by developed countries by about 40 per cent.

- It also paved way for the developed countries to scrap import duties on steel, medical equipment, furniture, pharmaceutical, construction equipments and farm equipments.

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Limitations of GATT

- Developed countries dominated all affairs.
- Negotiations between member countries were again dominated by developed nations.
- Countries in many instances still preferred bilateral agreements as compared to GATT.
- Adverse effects were felt by many developing countries on patenting of certain goods.

Difference between GATT and WTO

GATT was replaced by ‘amended GATT’, i.e. WTO on 1 January 1995. WTO is just not an extension of GATT but is different in many ways. Let us study the differences below:

GATT	WTO
GATT was a multilateral agreement with a set of rules which were not enforceable. It had no institutional framework and a very small secretariat	WTO is a permanent institution with its own secretariat.
It was applied on a provisional basis initially and continued to be treated like that even after 40 years of its existence	Its commitments are full and permanent.
GATT applied to only trade in merchandise goods	WTO applies to both trade of merchandise goods and services and also trade related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights.
Agreements constituting GATT were initially multilateral in nature but by 1980s many new agreements which were added were pluri-lateral or of selective nature.	All agreements are multilateral in nature and involve commitments by all members.
GATT dispute settlement was slower and with a lot of hurdles.	WTO dispute settlement is more automatic and faster than that of GATT.
GATT existed until 1995 as GATT 1994-which was an updated version of GATT 1947	WTO agreements still constitutes ‘GATT 1994’ focusing on disciplines regarding international trade.

Achievements of GATT/WTO

The establishment of WTO brought in a new trade order and world trade expanded. Some of its achievements and drawback are as follows:

- Many studies have proven that increased trade promotes peace. There have been no world wars since 1948.
- It led to trade liberalization of industrial products (as per the goal of Kennedy Round).

- GATT has over 100 members and has generated 85-90 per cent of world trade.

Problems of GATT/WTO

- GATT/WTO did not succeed in liberalizing trade in agricultural products to a large degree (as per the goal of Uruguay Round).
- It has not been successful in regulating trade practices which have been adopted by member countries to handle balance of payment problems. For example, when the US imposed 10 per cent surcharge on its imports in 1971 leading to double import duties, GATT could not stop that.
- It has led to gradual erosion of the most favored nation (MFN) principle by European Union (EU) and to a lesser degree by NAFTA. As per article 14 of GATT, member countries could form an FTA. Taking advantage of this EU adopted VILs, to lower duties to many African and Mediterranean countries and also to keep out the agricultural products.
- GATT has critically managed trade for textiles due to pressure from the US and automobiles (VERs). Since GATT was just a voluntary agreement it could not be enforced if members violated the rules. Besides this, members had the freedom to bypass or sidestep rules which were inconsistent with their domestic laws at the time of their joining GATT and narrowly defined commodities for tariff reasons.
- GATT has failed to control currency manipulations used by countries to restrict imports. Example: China.
- Pirate activities in Africa could not be eliminated by GATT/WTO.

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WTO Membership and its Importance

As on 10 May 2012, WTO membership reached 155. Through its trade agreements, WTO helps trade to be conducted smoothly throughout the world. Members of WTO enjoy global benefits such as any trade-related disputes settlement without resorting to violence or war. Besides, as WTO members, countries are prevented to erect trade barriers to protect their domestic industries which may benefit them temporarily but later hurt the overall world trade as seen during the Great Depression in 1929 when the global trade decreased by 25 per cent. Trade barriers imply tariffs, excessive regulations and import quotas. As a part of WTO, countries have to abide by certain trade-related rules and are also aware of the penalties for breaking them. This creates a safer trading scenario for everyone and its benefits can be felt by everyone. Members of WTO enjoy lower trade barriers between each other and have to give no preferential trade treatment to any one partner. Lower trade barriers lead to greater markets for goods which further lead to greater sales, more jobs and faster economic growth. It is seen that more than 75 per cent of WTO's members are developing countries. These countries being a part of WTO get an access to developed markets at a lower tariff rate and also are able to do away with their own reciprocal tariffs. As a result these countries are able to catch up to the MNCs and their mature industries before facing the competitive pressure in their own domestic markets.

Current Status of WTO

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The WTO is an organization for trade opening. It is a forum for governments to negotiate trade agreements and settle trade disputes. It operates a system of trade rules. Essentially, the WTO is a place where member governments try to sort out the trade problems they face with each other.

The bulk of the WTO's current work comes from the 1986–94 negotiations called the Uruguay Round and earlier negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The WTO is currently the host to new negotiations, under the 'Doha Development Agenda' launched in 2001.

Where countries have faced trade barriers and wanted them lowered, the negotiations have helped to open markets for trade. But the WTO is not just about opening markets, and in some circumstances its rules support maintaining trade barriers — for example, to protect consumers or prevent the spread of disease.

At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations. These documents provide the legal ground rules for international commerce. They are essentially contracts, binding governments to keep their trade policies within agreed limits. Although negotiated and signed by governments, the goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business, while allowing governments to meet social and environmental objectives.

The system's overriding purpose is to help trade flow as freely as possible — so long as there are no undesirable side effects — because this is important for economic development and well-being. That partly means removing obstacles. It also means ensuring that individuals, companies and governments know what the trade rules are around the world, and giving them the confidence that there will be no sudden changes of policy. In other words, the rules have to be 'transparent' and predictable.

Trade relations often involve conflicting interests. Agreements, including those painstakingly negotiated in the WTO system, often need interpreting. The most harmonious way to settle these differences is through some neutral procedure based on an agreed legal foundation. That is the purpose behind the dispute settlement process written into the WTO agreements.

Trade negotiations

The WTO agreements cover goods, services and intellectual property. They spell out the principles of liberalization, and the permitted exceptions. They include individual countries' commitments to lower customs tariffs and other trade barriers, and to open and keep open services markets. They set procedures for settling disputes. These agreements are not static; they are renegotiated from time-to-time and new agreements can be added to the package. Many are now being negotiated under the Doha Development Agenda

Building trade capacity

WTO agreements contain special provision for developing countries, including longer time periods to implement agreements and commitments, measures to increase their trading opportunities, and support to help them build their trade capacity, to handle disputes and to implement technical standards. The WTO organizes hundreds of technical cooperation missions to developing countries annually. It also holds numerous courses each year in Geneva for government officials. Aid for trade aims to help developing countries develop the skills and infrastructure needed to expand their trade.

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4.4.4 IMF

International monetary fund is an international organization set up for standardizing global financial relations and exchange rates.

The current membership of IMF is of 188 countries. India joined the IMF on December 27, 1945, as one of the IMF's original members. To become a member, a country must apply and then get the approval of the majority of members. Once a country becomes a member of IMF, it is assigned a quota, which is based on its size in the world economy. A member's quota in IMF determines its organizational and financial relationship with IMF such as special drawing rights (SDR) allocation, voting power, its capital subscription and its access to IMF financing. Each member country's quota determines the amount of financial resource that country needs to provide to IMF. This capital subscription is supposed to be paid in full by the member country upon joining. Twenty-five per cent of this amount can be paid in SDR or any hard currency such as dollar, Yen, euro or pound sterling and the remaining can be paid in the member country's own currency. Further, a member's voting power in IMF's decisions is also determined by its quota. Each member is allocated the basic vote alongwith one additional vote for each special drawing rights 1,00,000 of quota.

Besides this, the quota also determines the amount of financing a member can obtain from IMF. For example, a member can borrow up to 200 per cent of its quota in a year and 600 per cent cumulatively under the Stand By and Extended Agreements which is a type of loan granted by IMF.

On November 2010, there has been an agreement between the member countries to re-jig the quota system to take into consideration the changing dynamics of the global economic realities.

IMF's main goals:

- promoting international monetary cooperation
- facilitating the expansion and balanced growth of international trade
- promoting exchange stability
- assisting in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments
- making resources available (with adequate safeguards) to members experiencing balance of payments difficulties.

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IMF Loan Data—2012

- **Loans committed (as of 5/21/12):** \$247 billion, of which \$189 billion have not been drawn
- **Biggest borrowers (amount agreed as of 5/21/12):** Greece, Portugal, Ireland
- **Biggest precautionary loans (amount agreed as of 5/21/12):** Mexico, Poland, Colombia
- **Surveillance consultations:** Consultations concluded for 128 countries in FY2011 and for 112 countries in FY2012 as of 03/05/12
- **Technical assistance:** Field delivery in FY2011—198.2 person years

Source: IMF website

Special Drawing Rights

Special Drawing Right (SDR) is an international reserve asset created by IMF in 1969, to add to its member country's reserves. The special drawing rights are not a currency or a claim on the IMF but, it is a potential claim on the freely usable currencies of the IMF's member countries. The SDR is also used as the unit of account of the IMF and other international organizations.

Every five years, this composition of SDR is reviewed by the executive board if IMF feels the changing global scenario demands so and that SDR basket should correctly reflect the relative importance of currencies in the financial and trading systems of the world. On the review done on November 2010, there was a revision in the weights of the currencies based on the value of the exports of goods and services and also on the amount of reserves denominated in the respective currencies which the other members of the IMF were holding. These changes came into effect from 1 January 2011. The next review will be done in 2015.

SDR's can be exchanged for freely usable currencies. SDRs are allotted to member countries as per their respective quotas with IMF. If required, members can also voluntarily exchange SDRs for currencies among themselves.

Resources of IMF

The resources of IMF are provided by the member countries through payment of quotas which reflect each country's economic size. In the G-20 summit in April 2009, the world leaders pledged to triple the lending resources of IMF from \$250 to \$750 billion. To strengthen global financial and economic stability, again in April 2012, the member countries have announced additional pledges to increase the Fund's resources by over \$430 billion.

Initially, the annual expenses for running IMF were met by interest receipts on outstanding loans but now the member countries have agreed to follow a new income model, which is based on revenue resources which are better suited to the various activities of the Fund.

Organization and Governance

The organizational structure of IMF has the board of governors at the top, comprising one governor and one alternate governor from each of its member country. A meeting of the Board of Governors is held once a year at the IMF-World Bank annual meetings. Twenty-four of these governors are a part of International Monetary and Financial Committee (IMFC) and meet twice each year. There is a 24-member Executive Board of IMF, alongwith IMFC and the IMF staff, which oversees the day to day workings of IMF. The IMF staff is headed by the managing director, who is also the chairman of the executive board and is assisted by four deputy directors.

The International Monetary Fund is accountable to the governments of its member countries.

Operations

Surveillance: This a formal system designed by IMF to review the regional, national and global developments of its 188 member countries to maintain stability and prevent further crisis in the international monetary system. It advises them to reduce vulnerabilities to economic and financial crisis, foster economic stability and raise standard of living of people in their respective countries. There are two main aspects to the IMF's surveillance work: bilateral surveillance, or the appraisal of and advice on the policies of each member country; and multilateral surveillance, or oversight of the world economy.

Financial assistance: The member countries can correct their balance of payment situations with the help of IMF financing. The national authorities of these countries develop policy programmes in close cooperation with IMF and the effective implementation of these programmes determines the continuation of this financial support. As an early response to the financial crisis, IMF took necessary actions to increase its lending capacity and went for a major change in its financial support mechanism and reforms in April 2009, then in August 2010 and November 2011. As a part of its recent reforms, IMF has improved its lending instruments to provide 'flexible crisis prevention tools' to a large number of members who had sound policies, fundamentals and institutional policy frameworks. For the low income countries of the world, IMF has not only doubled its lending capacity, loan access limits but has also charged zero interest rates through end-2012.

Technical assistance: The IMF provides training and technical assistance to help its member countries increase their capacity to devise and execute effective policies. This technical assistance is offered in several areas such as monetary and exchange rate policies, expenditure policies, tax policy and administration, banking and financial system regulation and supervision and legislative framework and statistics.

Lending by the IMF

A country in severe financial trouble, unable to pay its international bills, poses potential problems for the stability of the international financial system, which the IMF was created to prevent. Any member country, whether rich, middle-income, or poor, can

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turn to the IMF for financing if it has a balance of payments need—that is, if it cannot find sufficient financing on affordable terms in the capital markets to make its international payments and maintain a safe level of reserves.

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IMF loans are meant to help member countries tackle balance of payments problems, stabilize their economies, and restore sustainable economic growth. This crisis resolution role is at the core of IMF lending. At the same time, the global financial crisis has highlighted the need for effective global financial safety nets to help countries cope with adverse shocks. A key objective of recent lending reforms has therefore been to complement the traditional crisis resolution role of the IMF with more effective tools for crisis prevention.

The IMF is not a development bank and, unlike the World Bank and other developmental agencies, it does not finance projects.

The changing nature of lending

About four out of five member countries have used IMF credit at least once. But the amount of loans outstanding and the number of borrowers have fluctuated significantly over time.

In the first two decades of the IMF's existence, more than half of its lending went to industrial countries. But since the late 1970s, these countries have been able to meet their financing needs in the capital markets.

The oil shock of the 1970s and the debt crisis of the 1980s led many lower- and lower-middle-income countries to borrow from the IMF.

In the 1990s, the transition process in central and eastern Europe and the crises in emerging market economies led to a further increase in the demand for IMF resources.

In 2004, benign economic conditions worldwide meant that many countries began to repay their loans to the IMF. As a consequence, the demand for the Fund's resources dropped sharply.

But in 2008, the IMF began granting loans to countries hit by the global financial crisis. The IMF currently has programmes with more than fifty countries around the world and has committed more than \$325 billion in resources to its member countries since the start of the global financial crisis.

While the financial crisis has sparked renewed demand for IMF financing, the decline in lending that preceded the financial crisis also reflected a need to adapt the IMF's lending instruments to the changing needs of member countries. In response, the IMF conducted a wide-ranging review of its lending facilities and terms on which it provides loans.

In March 2009, the Fund announced a major overhaul of its lending framework, including modernizing conditionality, introducing a new flexible credit line, enhancing the flexibility of the Fund's regular stand-by lending arrangement, doubling access limits on loans, adapting its cost structures for high-access and precautionary lending, and streamlining instruments that were seldom used. More reforms have since been undertaken, most recently in November 2011.

Lending to preserve financial stability

The purpose of the IMF's lending has changed dramatically since the organization was created. Over time, the IMF's financial assistance has evolved from helping countries deal with short-term trade fluctuations to supporting adjustment and addressing a wide range of balance of payments problems resulting from terms of trade shocks, natural disasters, post-conflict situations, broad economic transition, poverty reduction and economic development, sovereign debt restructuring, and confidence-driven banking and currency crises.

Today, IMF lending serves three main purposes:

- It can smooth adjustment to various shocks, helping a member country avoid disruptive economic adjustment or sovereign default, something that would be extremely costly, both for the country itself and possibly for other countries through economic and financial ripple effects (known as contagion).
- IMF programmes can help unlock other financing, acting as a catalyst for other lenders. This is because the programme can serve as a signal that the country has adopted sound policies, reinforcing policy credibility and increasing investors' confidence.
- IMF lending can help prevent crisis. The experience is clear: capital account crises typically inflict substantial costs on countries themselves and on other countries through contagion. The best way to deal with capital account problems is to nip them in the bud before they develop into a full-blown crisis.

Conditions for lending

When a member country approaches the IMF for financing, it may be in or near a state of economic crisis, with its currency under attack in foreign exchange markets and its international reserves depleted, economic activity stagnant or falling, and a large number of firms and households going bankrupt. In difficult economic times, the IMF helps countries to protect the most vulnerable in a crisis.

The IMF aims to ensure that conditions linked to IMF loan disbursements are focused and adequately tailored to the varying strengths of members' policies and fundamentals. To this end, the IMF discusses with the country the economic policies that may be expected to address the problems most effectively. The IMF and the government agree on a programme of policies aimed at achieving specific, quantified goals in support of the overall objectives of the authorities' economic programme. For example, the country may commit itself to fiscal or foreign exchange reserve targets.

Loans are typically disbursed in a number of installments over the life of the programme, with each installment conditional on targets being met. Programmes typically last up to three years, depending on the nature of the country's problems, but can be followed by another programme if needed. The government outlines the details of its economic programme in a 'letter of intent' to the managing director of the IMF. Such letters may be revised if circumstances change.

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For countries in crisis, IMF loans usually provide only a small portion of the resources needed to finance their balance of payments. But, IMF loans also signal that a country's economic policies are on the right track, which reassures investors.

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Main lending facilities

Since its creation in June 1952, the IMF's Stand-By Arrangement (SBA) has been used time and again by member countries; it is the IMF's workhorse lending instrument for emerging market countries. Rates are non-concessional, although they are almost always lower than what countries would pay to raise financing from private markets. The SBA was upgraded in 2009 to be more flexible and responsive to member countries' needs. Borrowing limits were doubled with more funds available up front, and conditions were streamlined and simplified. The new framework also enables broader high-access borrowing on a precautionary basis.

The Flexible Credit Line (FCL) is for countries with very strong fundamentals, policies, and track records of policy implementation. It represents a significant shift in how the IMF delivers Fund financial assistance, particularly with recent enhancements, as it has no ongoing (ex post) situation and no caps on the size of the credit line. The FCL is a renewable credit line, which at the country's judgment could be for 1-2 years, with a review of eligibility after the first year. There is the flexibility to either treat the credit line as defensive or draw on it at any time after the FCL is approved. Once a country qualifies (according to pre-set criteria), it can tap all resources available under the credit line at any time, as disbursements would not be phased and conditioned on particular policies as with traditional IMF-supported programmes. This is justified by the very strong track records of countries that qualify to the FCL, which give assurance that their economic policies will remain strong or that remedial measures will be taken in the face of shocks.

The Precautionary and Liquidity Line (PLL) builds on the strengths and broadens the scope of the Precautionary Credit Line (PCL). The PLL provides financing to meet actual or potential balance of payments needs of countries with sound policies, and is intended to serve as insurance and help resolve crises. It combines a qualification process (similar to that for the FCL) with focused ex-post conditionality aimed at addressing vulnerabilities identified during qualification. Its qualification requirements signal the strength of qualifying countries' fundamentals and policies, thus contributing to consolidation of market confidence in the country's policy plans. The PLL is designed to provide liquidity to countries with sound policies under broad circumstances, including countries affected by regional or global economic and financial stress.

The Rapid Financing Instrument (RFI) provides rapid and low-access financial assistance to member countries facing an urgent balance of payments need, without the need for a full-fledged programme. It can provide support to meet a broad range of vital needs, including those arising from commodity price shocks, natural disasters, post-conflict situations and emergencies resulting from weakness.

The extended fund facility is used to help countries address balance of payments difficulties related partly to structural problems that may take longer to correct than macroeconomic imbalances. A programme supported by an extended arrangement usually includes measures to improve the way markets and institutions function, such as tax and financial sector reforms, privatization of public enterprises.

The trade integration mechanism allows the IMF to provide loans under one of its facilities to a developing country whose balance of payments is suffering because of multilateral trade liberalization, either because its export earnings decline when it loses preferential access to certain markets or because prices for food imports go up when agricultural subsidies are eliminated.

Current Challenges

The global economic mess created by the subprime crisis, almost led to a worst recession, similar to the Great Depression of 1930s. The crisis originating in the United States in 2007 affected almost all the countries and institutions across the world. The IMF tried to support and sustain its member countries on many fronts such as advising on policy solutions using its cross-cultural experience, increasing lending and introducing reforms to modernize its operations. Now, as the direction of the crisis has shifted to Europe, IMF has increased its activity in that region and is also working with G-20 side-by-side to adopt a multilateral approach.

Some of the pressing issues that top's IMF's agenda at the moment are:

1. **Partnering Europe:** The common currency euro, after its successful creation in 1999, has not been able to meet its purpose due to a lot of problems being faced by the member countries of European Union. Since the emergence of the Euro zone debt crisis, IMF has been actively involved in providing technical assistance, financing and policy advice. It is working independently as well as in cooperation with European Central Bank (ECB) and European Commission (EC). The present IMF Managing Director Christine Lagarde has laid emphasis on three key issues which are to be addressed such as need for greater integration, reduced competitiveness and lack of growth. She has also stressed that it is very important at this time for euro zone to restore confidence in its members and to protect them with the right policy actions.
2. **Reinforcing multilateralism:** The crisis faced by the world since 2007 has shown the great benefits from international cooperation. Had it not been for the support and cooperation of the G-20 group of countries comprising the industrialized and emerging market economies, this crisis would have taken a very bad shape. In 2009, at the Pittsburgh Summit, the G-20 nations had pledged to adopt policies and framework for ensuring a brighter economic future and lasting recovery of the affected countries and launched the 'framework for strong, sustainable, and balanced growth'. The backbone of this framework is a multilateral process where the G-20 nations have formed shared objectives and policies and also periodically check their progress to meet those objectives. This is done through the Mutual Assessment Process (MAP). The IMF provides technical analysis to evaluate how the policies of member countries fit together and whether they will be able to meet their

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desired goals collectively and whether their policies fit together. A series of options have been considered by the IMF executive board to increase bilateral, multilateral and financial surveillance and how the three can be integrated. For the five most important economies – the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, euro zone and China — IMF has launched ‘spillover report’ to assess the effect of policies taken by one area or country on rest of the world.

The list of G-20 countries is given below:

1. Argentina
2. Australia
3. Brazil
4. Canada
5. China
6. France
7. Germany
8. India
9. Indonesia
10. Italy
11. Japan
12. Mexico
13. Russia
14. Saudi Arabia
15. South Africa
16. Republic of Korea
17. Turkey
18. United Kingdom
19. United States of America

The European Union, who is represented by the rotating Council presidency and the European Central Bank, is the 20th member of the G-20.

- 3. Rethinking macroeconomic principles:** The depth of the crisis and the misery and hardship caused by it worldwide, has forced policy makers and IMF to rethink and re-examine the macroeconomic principles followed by countries to avoid a repeat of similar events. On 7-8 March 2011, the IMF held a conference to discuss the future of the macroeconomic policy and these policy questions. The agenda of the conference was on six key areas such as: fiscal policy, monetary policy, capital account management, international monetary system, growth strategies and financial intermediation and regulations. The main aim of the conference was to provide an open floor for discussion and ongoing dialogue that extends beyond IMF’s domain.
- 4. Stepping up crisis lending:** In order to support the countries during the global crisis, the IMF has increased its lending capacity. The IMF not only offered higher amounts, but also loan terms were tailor made as per the

individual countries' economic circumstances and economic strength. Moreover, more reforms were introduced to strengthen IMF's capacity to prevent future crisis.

Some of these reforms were:

- Lending limits were doubled and procedures were streamlined.
- A flexible credit line (FCL) was introduced for countries with sound policy framework and strong track record of economic performance. A precautionary credit line (PCL) was introduced for countries facing weaknesses while having sound economic policies and fundamentals.
- To provide focused and tailor made loan disbursement conditions as per the strengths of members' policies.
- Focusing on more concessional terms of lending for low income countries and also on social spending. It has also stepped up lending to these countries to reduce the impact of the present crisis on their economic gains and also to facilitate in eradication of poverty.
- IMF has supported countries in the euro zone like Ireland, Greece, Portugal, Ukraine and Romania with almost \$280 billion and has extended credit under a new flexible credit line to countries such as Poland, Mexico and Columbia.

5. Strengthening the international monetary system: The international monetary system is a set of internationally agreed conventions rules, and supporting institutions that facilitate cross border investments and international trade and also the flow of capital among countries. Although this system has delivered a lot, yet it suffers from a number of weaknesses such as lack of an orderly and automatic mechanism to check volatile capital flows and exchange rate that have disastrous effects on economy, real and financial imbalances, and an accumulation of international reserves which are concentrated on a narrow supply.

It is very important that the IMF addresses these issues to achieve global financial stability and focus on rebalancing demand growth which is necessary for a strong and sustained recovery and for reducing systemic risk. It has recently reviewed its lending toolkit and surveillance but still further reforms are the need of the hour.

6. Supporting low-income countries: The IMF has increased its support and focus to the low income countries after analyzing on their changing economic conditions and increased vulnerabilities to the global economic crisis. It has stepped up its lending instruments to address emergency and short term needs of these countries.

IMF and World Trade Organization

One of the functions of the IMF is to support the expansion and growth of international trade; therefore, the IMF works with the World Trade Organization (WTO) to create a sound system of global trade and payments. In fact, the functions of both WTO and the IMF are complimentary and, therefore, a cooperative agreement between

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them, covering various aspects has also been signed between them. According to the agreement, WTO has to consult the IMF on issues of balance of payment, monetary reserves and foreign exchange arrangements. The IMF has an observership status at WTO and actively participates in many of the WTO meetings. The WTO secretariat also attends meetings of the IMF executive board.

The WTO secretariat and the IMF staff consult each other regularly on trade policy developments and advice for individual countries.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. Mention the seven founding members of SAARC.
9. In which year did WTO replace the GATT?
10. What does a member's quota in IMF determine?
11. Define the Precautionary and Liquidity Line (PLL).
12. What is the objective of OPEC?

4.5 SUMMARY

- League of Nations was the first stable worldwide security organization whose major aim was to uphold world peace. It was an intergovernmental association. It was established as a result of the Paris Peace Conference. The League of Nations had its maximum extent from 28 September 1934 to 23 February 1935. It comprised 58 members.
- The principle constitutional organs of the league were : The assembly, the council and the permanent secretariat.
- Other institutions like the Permanent Court of International Justice, International Labour Organization, Health Organization, Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Slavery Commission and the Committee for the study of the legal status of women were constituted under the League.
- The United Nations was founded in 1945 after World War II to substitute the League of Nations, to end wars between nations and to offer a platform for dialogue. It contains manifold subsidiary organizations to complete its missions.
- The aims of the United Nations are: Facilitating cooperation in international law, international security, economic development, social progress, human rights and achievement of world peace.
- The six principle organs of the United Nations are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice and the United Nations Trusteeship Council.
- The General Assembly is the only major organ in which all members are presented. It is the apex body of the United Nations.

- The security Council is often described as the enforcement wing of the United Nations, its primary responsibility is to maintain international peace and security among countries.
- The Economic and Social Council has been established to coordinate the economic and social work of the United Nations along with the specialized agencies and institutions to assist the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development.
- The Trusteeship Council works as an auxiliary organ of the General Assembly in so far as it supervises the administration of the non-strategic trust territories and an auxiliary organ of the Security Council with regard to strategic areas.
- The International Court of Justice's purpose is to adjudicate disputes among states. The court has heard cases related to war crimes, illegal state interference and ethnic cleansing, among others, and continues to hear cases.
- The Secretariat comprises of the Secretary General and such other staff as the organization may require. It provides services to the other organs of the United Nations.
- The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an organization of the South Asian nations. It was founded in 1985 dedicating to the economic, technological, social and cultural development and emphasizing of collective self-reliance.
- The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is a multilateral agreement regulating trade among 153 nations. It was set up after the World War I. In 1995, it was replaced by the World Trade Organization.
- International Monetary Fund is an international organization set up for standardizing global financial relations and exchange rates.

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4.6 KEY TERMS

- **The League of Nations:** It was the first stable worldwide intergovernmental association whose major aim was to uphold world peace.
- **SAARC:** South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is an organization of the South Asian nations dedicated to the economic, technological, social and cultural development and emphasizing of collective self-reliance.
- **GATT:** The General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is a multilateral agreement regulating trade among 153 nations. It was set up after World War II to promote economic cooperation of nations. It was replaced by WTO in the year 1995.
- **Special Drawing Rights:** It is an international reserve asset created by IMF. It is a potential claim on the freely usable currencies of the IMF's member countries.

- **OPEC:** It is an association of oil and petroleum exporting countries in order to co-ordinate and unify petroleum policies, prices, returns etc. among member countries.

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4.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Paris Peace Conference was summoned to build a permanent peace after the World War I.
2. Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles specified the setting up of the International Labour Organization in the year 1919.
3. When the General Assembly votes on significant questions, a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is needed.
4. The six principal organs of the United Nations are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice and the United Nations Trusteeship Council.
5. The supervisory functions of the General Assembly include the power to exert control and regulate working of other organs and agencies of the United Nations.
6. The International Court of Justice is located in The Hague, Netherland.
7. The Secretary-General's duties include helping resolve international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering information on the implementation of Security Council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various initiatives.
8. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are the seven founding members of the SAARC.
9. World Trade Organization (WTO) replaced the original GATT on 1 January 1995.
10. A member's quota in IMF determines its organizational and financial relationship with IMF such as special drawing rights (SDR) allocation, voting power, its capital subscription and its access to IMF financing.
11. The Precautionary and Liquidity Line (PLL) is a lending tool of the IMF which provides financing to meet actual or potential balance of payments needs of the countries with sound policies, and is intended to serve as insurance and helps resolve crises.
12. OPEC's objective is to co-ordinate and unify petroleum policies among Member Countries, in order to secure fair and stable prices for petroleum producers; an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations; and a fair return on capital to those investing in the industry.

4.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the goals of the League Covenant?
2. Write a short note on the establishment of the United Nations conference.
3. What are the deliberative functions of the Security Council?
4. List the six standing committees of the Economic and Social Council.
5. State the objectives of SAARC.
6. Briefly discuss the changing functions of OPEC over the years.
7. What were the limitations of GATT?
8. What are Special Drawing Rights?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the composition, functions and powers of the General Assembly.
2. Discuss the functions of the Economic and Social Council.
3. What kind of powers and functions does the International Court of Justice enjoy?
4. Critically evaluate the functioning of the United Nations.
5. Discuss the different political issues which has been present in SAARC.
6. Compare The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organisation.
7. Discuss the current challenges of the IMF.

4.9 FURTHER READING

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