

**Institute of Distance and Open Learning
Gauhati University**

**MA in Political Science
(2nd Semester)**

**Paper VI
International Politics in The
Contemporary Period**

**Block 1
Cold War & Emerging World Order**



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Unit 1 : Cold War

Unit 2 : New International Economic Order

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December, 2010

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Acknowledgement

The Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University duly acknowledges the financial assistance from the Distance Education Council, IGNOU, New Delhi for preparation of this material.

Block Introduction:

In this Block we are going to deal with two important topics of International Politics- the Cold War and emergence of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Both the topics of discussion entail serious implications on International Politics. After World War II, emergence of USA and USSR as super powers increased tensions in the international field which ultimately divided the world into two power blocks. On the other hand, during that period the Third World countries focused on their economic development and tried to get rid of the traditional distribution of economic resources leading to the establishment of a New International Economic Order. Here in this block we are going to discuss the period of tension between USA and USSR, marked as Cold War and efforts of the Third World countries for the establishment of a new economic order which changed the international scenario and began a new era of uni-polarism in terms of physical power and multi-polarism in terms of distribution of economic resources in two units.

In **unit I**, we shall discuss the conflicting situation between USA and USSR which emerged after World War II as a result of the rivalry and strained relationship between them. The period was marked as a Cold War. Cold War denotes a situation where an anxious and tensed relation exists between two or more rival competitors. Here in this unit our effort is to trace how cold war resulted in the division of world into two power blocks and the basic causes behind such tensed situation. We also aim to discuss the different phases of cold war from its emergence till its end in this unit.

Unit II deals with the efforts of the Third World and developing countries of different region to establish a New International Economic Order to improve their economic situation. In this unit, we shall discuss the prevailing international economic system and the circumstances and conditions which led to the emergence of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). An attempt is also made to examine the relationship between North and Southern countries in terms of economic development and their interactions in this regard. In this unit we shall also examine the policies taken by the world economic organizations like World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, etc. in the field of economic development.

Thus, this block deals with two of the significant concepts of International Politics-the Cold War and emergence of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). After going through this block you will be able to examine the rival relationship existing between USA and USSR after World War II and the role of different countries and organizations in this regard. The block will also help you to examine the economic relationship among the countries of North and South and the efforts taken by the Third World countries to improve the prevailing economic order. Thus this block helps you to examine the contemporary world order in terms of the international political scenario.

The block consists of the following units:-

Unit I: The Cold War

Unit II: New International Economic Order (NIEO)

Unit: I

The Cold War

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1.1 Introduction

In International relations, cold war denotes a situation where a strained and tensed relations between two or more rival competitors exists. It specifically refers to the war-like situation that emerged at the end of Second World War because of the rivalry and strained relationship between the USA and USSR. After the Second World War the world witnessed a new situation with the destruction of the old capitalist imperialist dominated world. This period also witnessed the emergence of two blocks led by two superpowers - the USA and USSR. In short, the strained relationship that developed between the USA and USSR in the post Second World War period and resulted in the growth of bi-polarism is known as the Cold War. Thus, we can say that Cold War refers to a state of political conflict, military tension and economic competition existing after the Second World War. During this period, though there is no direct clash between the super-powers, the conflict is expressed through military coalitions.

1.2 Objectives

The term 'Cold War' which defines a situation of strained relationship between the USA and the USSR continued for more than four decades in the post-Second World War period. The cold war has passed through various stages. After reading this unit you will be able to

- *discuss* the meaning and nature of the cold war
- *trace* the origin of the cold war
- *explain* the phases of the cold war
- *discuss* the new cold war and end of the cold war
- *examine* the consequences and implications of the Cold War

1.3 Meaning and Nature of Cold War

It is already known to you that the term 'Cold War' is used to refer to the new international system that emerged in the post-Second World War period because of the rivalry between the USA and USSR resulting in the division of world into two blocks, viz, East and West. The 'East' consisted mainly of the communist nations, specially the Soviet Union and its political and military allies. On the other hand, the 'West' consisted of non-communist and industrialized nations of the Western Europe led by the United States. The conflicting situation between these two blocks is termed as 'cold war' since it is different from 'hot' war as the two parties are not involved in direct war but at the same time it is a war-like situation as it involved a comprehensive military, political and ideological rivalry. Hence, it must be remembered here that the cold war was not restricted to two countries only but it involves a host of countries which are divided into two blocks.

The term 'Cold War' was first used by Bernard Baruch, the senior adviser to Harry Truman. Later, the term was popularized by Walter Lippman. Baruch used the term for describing the tense situation that emerged due to the rivalry between USA and USSR in the post-Second World War period when on April 16, 1947, he declared, 'let us not be deceived---- today we are in the midst of cold war'. This conflicting situation is the result of the political as well as ideological differences between these two powers. In this situation each block tried to weaken the other through propaganda and

psychological warfare. It must be noted here that in this situation, no bullet was fired and no blood was shed by violent actions. However, tension prevailed throughout the cold war period and risk and preparation of war continued. The two super powers were always engaged in planning and preparation for war though the direct military confrontation was avoided by them. Therefore, cold war envisaged an era of neither peace nor war between Soviet Union and her allies on the one hand and United States and her allies on the other. Nehru described the situation as a 'brain war, a nerve war and a propaganda war in operation'. Many scholars have viewed cold war as a war between two ideologies. In short, cold war can be described as a state of conflict and strife, suspicion and mistrust without a direct armed confrontation. Thus, this war is not armed war, but a war fought through political propaganda.

Stop To Consider:

Causes of the Cold War:

Scholars were not unanimous regarding the causes of the cold war. The causes of cold war can be divided into two groups, i.e. orthodox and revisionist. The first view makes Soviet Union responsible for the initiation of cold war as it forcibly establishes communist regime in East European countries in the post World War II period in violation of its agreement with the Western Allied powers. On the other hand revisionists argue that the United states that emerged as superpower among the Western nations was responsible for the cold war. Thus, according to the orthodox view the causes for the emergence of cold war are

- a) Russian unwillingness to allow democratic elections in the territories liberated from the Nazis and superimposing communist governments there.
- b) Russia's refusal to withdraw her forces from Iran.
- c) Soviet Union's pressure on Greece and Turkey by supporting subversive activities of communists there.
- d) Discontinuation of supplies from Soviet areas of occupation.
- e) The USA did not accept the anti-American propaganda and propagating of communist ideology which promised to destroy the American type of economic and political system.

On the other hand revisionists believe that America is responsible for the emergence of cold war. According to the revisionists the following actions of USA contributed towards the emergence of the cold war.

- a) The American military intervention in Russia in 1918-19 which was aimed at overthrowing the Bolshevik Revolution still fresh in the memory of the Soviets.

- b) various Acts made by the USA in the post-war period also made the USSR suspicious.
- c) the cancellation of the Lend-Lease aid by the President Truman which Russia used to enjoy earlier also made Russia dissatisfied. Moreover, the Western powers had also been opposing the Soviet demand for reparations. This has also contributed towards the growth of tensions between the two countries.
- d) During talks at Yalta, President Roosevelt has agreed that the Soviet Union can install friendly governments on her Western boundaries. Therefore, it is inappropriate to contend that the Soviet Union expanded in the East Europe in violation of any agreement.
- e) The revisionists hold President Truman largely responsible for the cold war. As a President he practiced anti-communist feelings by adopting stiff policy towards the Soviet Union. He tried to restrict the expansion of Soviet influence in East Europe.
- f) According to the revisionists, high US defence officials and generals also wanted some sort of tension to persist even after the War so that they might return their hold on administration.

1.4 Origin and Phases of Cold War

The cold war which dominated the international politics for a long period went through various stages. In the following subsections we shall try to discuss the origin and different phases of cold war.

1.4.1 Origin of Cold War

It is very difficult to trace the origin of cold war since there is no unanimity among scholars regarding the date of the origin of the Cold War. While it is generally believed that Cold War started in 1945, many believe that its origin can be traced to 1917 to the period of Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The Soviet Communist Party under V.I. Lenin viewed the revolution as an international movement that would replace the existing political orders in the West. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Russia had emerged as an important power in Europe with the capacity of influencing world politics to a large extent. The Western powers had initially refused to recognize the Bolshevik Government in Russia. On the otherhand Russia criticised the policy of appeasement pursued by USA, Britain and France towards Germany. The differing war aims of the two powers greatly contributed to the growth of Cold War.

Thus, from the above discussions it is clear that the ideological differences between the USA and the USSR were largely responsible for the emergence of cold war. Liberal democracy based on Capitalism and Socialist system based on Marxist ideology were so completely opposite and contradictory that a major conflict between the powers based on these concepts was unavoidable. Moreover, many of the war-time alliances continued even after the end of the War and the war-time allies continue their hatred towards the USSR. Though after the Second World War, United Nations Organizations (UNO) was established to ensure peace and security in the international arena, war-like situation prevailed because of the rivalry between USA and the USSR. Ignoring the UNO, the superpowers continue their policies to fulfill their national interests and did not hesitate to go for huge armaments. Hence, it can be said that the UNO failed to control the behaviour of super-powers and they continue playing dominating role in international politics. In this way, the rivalry of two super-powers in the post- Second World War resulted in the emergence of bi-polarism in the world.

1.4.2 Phases of cold war

It has already been mentioned that the cold war passed through many stages. In this section, let us discuss the different stages of cold war.

First stage 1945 - 47:

After the end of Second World War, the USA was threatened by the emergence of USSR as a superpower. Therefore, she advocated the policy of countering the spread of communist ideology. It can be said that the anti Communist outlook which the USA by-endeavoured to implant throughout the world was the hall mark of this period. Threatened by the prospects of Communist presence in Greece and neighbouring Turkey, President Truman declared, 'it must be the policy of USA to support the free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.' The statement later came to be known as Truman Doctrine. Through Truman Doctrine it is attempt was been made to announce the decision that the USA will provide all help to such state as were resisting the Soviet pressures. The Truman Doctrine thus put an end to American isolationism and brought the USA to the threshold of involvement-political, economic and military in

the affairs of those people all over the world who were either supposedly fighting Communism or had to be rescued from Communist influence.

Again in 1947 itself, the USA formulated and announced the European Recovery Programme viz, the Marshall Plan for helping the socio-economic reconstruction of Europe. Though Marshall Plan aid was meant for all European states, in practice covered only the free states i.e. only democratic and non-communist European states. The United States resorted to direct military action through Truman Doctrine of March 1947 and economic integration of West European powers as envisaged in Marshall Plan of June 1947. The German problem also greatly increased the tension between the two powers. Immediately after the unconditional surrender of Germany, she was occupied by the Allied Armies. In accordance with an agreement among the Allies, Germany was divided temporarily into four occupation zones. The four zones were occupied by the Soviet, British, French and American armies. The Western powers after merging their occupation zones proclaimed the Federal Republic of Germany in what was called trizoning the Soviet Union proclaimed the establishment of the German Democratic Republic in her own zone. Later on, when a new currency was introduced in trizoning the Soviet Union retaliated by launching a land blockade of Berlin which the Western powers sought to nullify through huge airlift to Berlin, U.S.A. further proceeded towards military alliance to strengthen the safety of Western Europe. The Brussels Pact (1948 March) and N.A.T.O (1949 April) were the military measures adopted by the West. Another important factor which heightened the tension between the two was the refusal of Western to recognise the newly established communist China (1948)

If the Berlin blockade crisis of 1948 can be considered as the embodiment of post war bipolar conflict situation, the war in Korea in 1950 ushered in an era of the third party projections of bipolar rivalry. In a conflict between the communist North Korea and the now communist South Korea, the USA extended help to South Korea as a part of its containment policy. The Korean crisis continued till 1953. Under the banner of the UN, the American forces fought against the North Korea aggression. The impact of the Korean war on US foreign policy resulted in the increased emphasis on military strength. The USA concluded a peace treaty with Japan and security treaty with Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS) in 1951.

Second phase 1953-57 :

The USA continued its policy of military and economic offence against the Soviet block. During this period, the US organized the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September 8, 1954 and the Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO) in February 24, 1955, through Eisenhower doctrine. During this period USA got engaged in Vietnam War. On the other hand, the USSR also concluded WARSAW treaty with East European powers to counteract NATO. This period was marked by permanency of the Potsdam partition of Germany.

This is followed by a phase where two extreme situations occurred. The cold war was slowed down temporarily after Stalin's death in 1953. The first summit meeting between the leaders of the super-powers took place in Geneva (1955), which could be considered as the first step towards détente. However, in the later period, various activities of Soviet Union like sending tanks to crush a popular uprising in Hungary in 1956 and shooting down of a U.S spy plane over the Soviet Union created hostility which culminated in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. The Soviet Union installed medium range nuclear missile in Cuba. This crisis brought the two powers on the brink of nuclear show down.

Third Phase 1957-62 :

This period has witnessed two extreme trends in international politics. On the one hand the principles of co-existence between the two super-powers were pronounced and on the other hand the world saw the most dangerous Cuban Missile crisis which virtually brought the entire mankind on the verge of the Third World War. Following the end of the Cuban crisis both super powers entered into several pacts for limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In 1963 an agreement was signed for controlling the test of nuclear weapons known as Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT). In 1967 test of nuclear weapons in the space was prohibited. Another treaty towards the reduction of nuclear weapons was signed in 1968.

Fourth Phase (1969-1978):

The period commencing from 1969 was marked by détente. The word 'détente' derived from the French verb 'to slacken' denotes an easing of strained relation between states. The period of relaxation of cold war is

expressed as *détente*. During this period, the two super-powers realized that by mutual co-operation, their distrust could be minimized and the intensity of conflict reduced. As a path on the road to peace, the era of *détente* is marked by a continuation of efforts by the superpower adversaries to reduce tensions, diminish distrust and increase accommodation. The congenial atmosphere for *détente* was created in 1959 when Khrushchev pleaded for peaceful co-existence. The subsequent moves for demanding ban on the spread of nuclear weapons contributed towards reduction of cold war.

A major international development in this field occurred during the period of *détente* (early 1970's) between the West (USA, France, Canada & UK) and the communist bloc countries of Europe, known as the Helsinki process. Helsinki is the capital of Finland where it was first convened in 1973 therefore it is known as the Helsinki process. It reflected a significant diplomatic development in the super power relations during the last days of cold war. While the Soviet Union got the Western borders recognised under the Helsinki Process, the Western powers got the Soviet bloc countries; the Helsinki process acquired far reaching importance. Internationalisation of human rights movement received its major impetus from the concessions which the Western countries extracted from the Soviet bloc countries. In this form human rights movements came to be accentuated to imply democratic government and political pluralism after the liberal democratic ideals of the West emerged from the cold war. It is therefore not surprising to note that human rights have emerged from the periphery of international arena to a position of primacy in the foreign policy of a substantial number of states during the post cold war period.

Thus, it can be said that the period of *détente* is marked by normalcy in the relationship between USA and USSR. There were visits, cultural exchanges, trade agreements and co-operative technological ventures replaced threats, warning and confrontations between the two countries. This policy of the President Nixon and his security adviser, Henry A. Kissinger is officially termed as *détente* in 1969. The Soviet Union also used this term to describe their relationship with the USA in this period. In 1972, SALT - I was signed between the US and U.S.S.R. It was followed by arms control agreement signed in between the two in Moscow in 1974, which subsequently was converted into SALT - II in 1978. These agreements collectively decreased the tension of cold war. Hence, it can be said that *détente* is a policy or

strategy grew out of careful and subtle calculation of power balance. According to Kissinger, détente was designed to create 'an environment in which competitors can regulate and restraint their differences and ultimately move from competition to co-operation'. During the period of détente continuous efforts were made by rival super powers to reduce tension, diminish distrust and increase accommodation that were already underway.

Meanwhile, during that period, there was resurgence of Europe and it has restored itself from the wartime destruction. Again, France under Charles De-Gaulle declined to remain dependent upon the USA. Germany also recovered quickly. The international communist movement was splitting in that period as China and U.S.S.R. were engaged into a kind of cold war. These developments also greatly aided to relax the cold war.

Stop To Consider:

Main features and elements of détente are:

- The period went through a phase of deterrence in which mutual consent of the two sides may lead to effect mutual reduction of forces and armaments. So détente does not exclude maintaining adequate capability by each side.
- It should be noted here that détente did not try to eliminate the ideological warfare between them. The rivalry between the USA and USSR continued during the détente period too. However, inspite of the rivalry between the two, there was peaceful coexistence between the two super-powers.
- Détente involve both negative and positive elements. While, negative element signified substantial reduction of tensions between the two superpowers in particular on the other hand, positive element indicates increase in mutual trust and understanding between them and the brightening of prospect for world peace.
- Détente provided the ground for establishing mutual trust out of mutual fear. Thus, it can be sad that détente was the result of the strategic necessity of avoiding suicidal nuclear war and of awareness of the mutual advantages that could be derived from collaboration.
- Another feature of détente is that there are multiple levels of détente. Initially detente was used to refer to the situation of two superpowers-the USA and the USSR. But it will be too parochial to associate détente with the gradual improving of relationships between these two powers. The process of coming closer and understanding each other in an atmosphere of humane cordiality was visible in the relations of West European countries and the Soviet Union on the one hand and between the United States and China on the other.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss the meaning and origin of cold war.
2. What is Truman Doctrine? Examine the role of this doctrine during the period of cold war.
3. What is Détente? Discuss the developments that took place during the period of détente.
4. Discuss briefly various phases of cold war.

1.5 New Cold War and Indications for the Future 1979-1987

From the above discussions it is clear to you that the cold war has eased during the period of détente and there were exchange of visits and trade agreements reducing the confrontations and threats to a great extent. However, inspite of these developments this situation did not continue for a long time. On the other hand, because of some other developments, bitterness and antagonism started again. Since after easing the tension between the two superpowers for some time, cold war resumed, many scholars consider it as the emergence of cold war II or New cold war. This period witnessed a strained relation between the two superpowers. The origin of this new cold war can be traced back to December 1979 with the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan. However, the Soviet Union held the US responsible for the emergence of new cold war. In June 1979 President Carter and President Brezhnev signed SALT II limiting the expansion of the nuclear weapons till December 1985.

The period after 1980 initially saw an intensification of East -West confrontation an increased emphasis in the West on the arm-race with the deployment of inter mediate range cruise missiles in Europe and the Strategic Defence initiative and an encouragement by the United States of anti communist Guerrillas in Cambodia, Afganistan, Angola and Nicaragua. The Soviet leadership appeared to have retreated behind the defensive positions of the earlier cold war but from 1985 under Gorbachev's leadership the Soviet Union made wide ranging concessions that brought the earlier confrontation and the cold war as a whole to an end. Gorbachev's policies of 'perestroika' and 'Glasnost' were primarily responsible for the end of the cold war.

There are certain differences between new cold war and old cold war. They are-----

- While old war was different mainly in areas around Atlantic and Pacific, new cold war was outside those areas and occurred largely in Indian Ocean.
- In the new cold war allies or alliances were not actively involved. China, Japan and even West European countries were disinterested and the hostilities continued mainly between the two super-powers.
- New cold war resulted in rigorous nuclear arms race between the two major super powers. Nuclear proliferation went beyond the five super powers. On the other hand in the old cold war more emphasis was on qualitative build-up of conventional weapons. Thus, new cold war was more threatening than the old cold war.

SAQ:

Do you find that the slow down of arms race in the absence of cold war at present? (80 words)

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1. 6 The End of the Cold War

The cold war continued for more than four decades various forms. During this period the world was kept free from any world wide conflict directly involving the two super powers. It needs mention here that scholars are not unanimous regarding the reason for the end of cold war. The bitter hostility between the two great powers - the Soviet Union and the United states - on ideological and strategic grounds dominated and influenced the course of international relations. The new cold war did not continue for a long time

because of some changes in international politics in the period after 1985. After the Geneva Accord of 1987, the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw the troops from Afghanistan. The two super powers resumed their summit meetings for improving the relations. The USA and the USSR signed the INF treaty in 1987. The year 1989 is a landmark in the history of international politics as it witnessed the collapse of communism in East Europe and Gorbachev withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The internal political, social and economic problems of Russia hardly left any room for its involvement in the external problems. While discussing the end of cold war we can trace its beginning to June 1989 when massive pro-democracy demonstrations in China's capital of Beijing was suppressed violently by the communist government. Hundreds were killed in the streets to suppress the demonstration. In 1990, many Eastern European countries replaced its communist government under pressure of mass demonstrations. The demolition of Berlin wall in late 1989 and reunification of Germany in 1990 symbolises the end of cold war. Soviet President Gorbachev tried to restructure the system through his policies of perestroika (economic reform) and glasnost (openness in political discussion). By November 1990 cold war was formally ended and on July 31, 1991 the Moscow summit formally brought an end to the cold war. Moreover, in the Moscow summit itself the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) was signed by American President Bush and Russian President Gorbachev that emphasized cutting the nuclear arsenals by 30 percent. In February 1992, President Yeltsin of Russian Federation during his visit to the US declared the formal end of cold war. But with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the world has been experiencing the new and unusual phenomena called Unipolarism. In the scenario of post-Soviet Union disintegration, China remained as a communist, authoritarian government but liberalized its economy and avoided military conflicts. Moreover, is developed close ties with both USA and Russia.

The Early Post-Cold War era:

It is believed that the end of cold war era has left a power vacuum. In such a scenario, Iraq occupied Kuwait for controlling Middle East oil. The USA opposed the move of the Iraq and mobilized coalition with many countries

of the world. Under the banner of UN, the US led coalition imposed sanctions against Iraq. Finding that Kuwait did not withdraw from Kuwait by the UN's deadline, the USA and its allies easily smashed Iraq's military and evicted its army from Kuwait in the Gulf War. The final collapse of the Soviet Union followed only months after the Gulf War. The 15 republics of the Union-of which Russia under President Boris Yeltsin was just one --- had begun taking power from a weakened central government, declaring themselves as sovereign states. The republics became independent states and formed a loose coordinating structure --- the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Western relations with Russia and the other republics have been mixed since the 1990s. because of their economic problems, and because the sense that Russia needed internal reform more than external aid. Despite these problems, the world's great powers increased their cooperation after the Cold War. Russia was accepted as the successor state to the Soviet Union and took its seat on the Security Council. Russia and the USA agreed on the issues of nuclear disarmament. It also needs mention here that China is becoming more central to world politics as the twenty-first century begins.

Stop to Consider:

End of Cold War and the New World Order:

The end of cold war brought a more peaceful transition in world order. In the 1990s, world order lacked a strong direction or guiding principle --- notwithstanding the attempt by the first President Bush to codify a 'New World Order'. State and non-state actors adapted incrementally to changing relationships and technologies. The reduced warfare and more stable great power relations of the 1990s--- along with the stable cheap oil prices -underwrote a period of unprecedented prosperity in North America, Europe and China. Democracy was the growing model in the 1990s.

From 2001 the world order changes in a different direction when the United States is attacked on September 2001. The destruction of the World Trade Center. In Afghanistan, the might of a technologically advanced super-power have turned the tide of a low-tech war, sweeping out terrorists and their collaborators. In the 2003 Iraq War, U.S. military superiority is overwhelming. The Bush administration carried out a regime change in Iraq against the opposition of most of the great powers, most of the world's countries, and the force of world public opinion. In the beginning of twenty-first century, China is becoming more

central to world politics. Its size and rapid growth make China a rising power. China is the only great power from the global South. Its population size and rapid industrialization from a low level make China a big factor in the future of global environmental trends such as global warming. All these elements make China an important actor in the coming decades of international relations. The post-Cold War era has barely begun. The transition into this era has been a turbulent time, full of international changes and new possibilities (both good and bad). It is likely, however, that the basic rules and principles of IR that scholars have long struggled to understand --- will continue to apply even though their contexts and outcomes may change.

1.7 Consequences and implications of the Cold War

It is already mentioned here that Cold war does not involve only two super-powers the USA and the USSR but also a host of nations who join either of the two blocks led by the two superpowers. The cold war has influenced every aspect of international relations ----- political, diplomatic, economic, cultural, ideological and military. Moreover, this war is not restricted to West and Eastern Europe and influences the South East, Far East or West Asia; Africa and Latin America.

A. One important impact of cold war is that most of the temporary arrangements made during the War-time conferences particularly Yalta and Potsdam become permanent as relations between the two superpowers grow stiffer. Likewise, the temporary division of Germany lasts for more than forty years.

B. Emergence of bi-polarism can also be regarded as an important impact of cold war period. The strained relationship between the USA and the USSR led to the change of power structure. Soon after the Second World War, the USA emerged as the super-power in the world. But in the later period, the Soviet Union also emerges as a powerful force in the international arena. As a result, the international community has witnessed transforming of the world order from uni-polarism to bi-polarism with the USA and its allies constituting one pole, the Soviet Union and its allies the other.

C. Cold war has significantly contributed towards the growth of arms race. Huge money is spent on armaments by the nations of the world on weapons of mass destruction including nuclear weapons that have the

potential to destroy the whole world. Every country is aware of the fact that the use of any such devastating weapon will result in mutual suicide. But still to reserve a superior position in the international field the two superpowers were busy in accumulating those weapons. Thus, arms race becomes the order of the day.

- D.** It is also observed that the process of decolonization is speeded up by the growth of political attacks by the socialist ideologies on western imperialist ideas. The newly independent nations are placed under the category of 'Third World' and their alliance with the socialist block has further contributed towards decolonization.
- E.** Another significant impact of cold war can be cited as the emergence of non-alignment movement. After the emergence of new cold war the non-alignment movement has got major impetus and many newly independent nations joined the movement to maintain distance from block politics and to establish a peaceful world order. This movement is also regarded as a platform to maintain their political and economic autonomy and freedom.
- F.** The cold war has also given an international character to the regional conflicts. The intervention by the two super-powers in the conflicts among other states has brought them in the notice of the international community. Such disputes are also made prolonged contribution to the advantage of the super-powers. Here we can cite the examples of Korean war, Vietnam crisis, Afghanistan crisis, Arab-Israel conflict which drew global attention for the super-powers rivalry.
- G.** Cold War gives a set back to diplomacy. Diplomacy suffered hugely since the international issues are not settled peacefully during the period of cold war. A nation's approach to international problem is influenced by its association to a particular block. The cold-war is fought on the basis of propaganda. The two super-powers are engaged in criticizing each other's ideology. The media, the education curriculum were used by these countries to criticize the ideologies of the opponent party. For example, in educational institutions of capitalist countries, communism was denounced while in the communist countries capitalist ideology is denounced. Thus, during cold war period, diplomatic relations have failed and theories were developed to condemn each other.

H. The cold war is also a setback to the process of détente. All the efforts towards the establishment of détente go in vain with the emergence of new cold war. Because of the increasing hostilities between the two super powers no summit meeting is held between the leaders of the two countries in the period between 1979-1985.

I. The cold war has diverted a huge amount of resources from development activity to armaments. It has resulted in economic difficulties of the two super-powers which in turn affects the international economy. Because of such huge expense on defence the Soviet Union has ultimately succumbed to economic problems in the late eighties.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss briefly the impact of cold war in international politics.
2. When did cold war come to an end? What are the factors that contributed towards bringing an end to cold war?

1.8 Summing Up

After reading this unit you are now in a position to discuss the meaning of cold war. You have learnt that in International Relations 'cold war' refers to a period that emerged in the post-Second World War era because of the rivalry between the two super powers, viz, the USA and the USSR. The cold war resulted in the emergence of bi-polarism in the world involving a host of countries clearly divided into two blocks. The cold war is also described as a state of continuous conflict and strife, suspicion and mistrust without a direct armed confrontation. This unit has helped you to examine the origin of cold war which can be traced to the period of Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia. However, the ideological difference between the USA and USSR became apparent in the post-Second World War era leading to the cold war. Reading of this unit gives you a clear idea about different phases of cold war as well as the period of détente. Détente refers to a period that denotes easing of strained relation between states. During the period of détente efforts were made to minimize the intensity of the conflict and distrust through mutual co-operation. However, after the phase of détente, new cold war emerged in the international scenario and

antagonisms between the two superpowers again started. After four decades of continuous conflict, the cold war came to an end with the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1990. However, it must be admitted here that the cold war had serious implications in the international politics. Reading of this unit on cold war helps you to understand the consequences as well as the implications of cold war in the international field. After the end of cold war, new World Order has emerged leading to the growth of Unipolarism. In the next unit of this block we will discuss at length the New International Economic Order, demand for which started during the cold war period itself.

1.9 Reference and Suggested Readings

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Unit: II
New International Economic Order (NIEO)

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2.1 Introduction

In this unit we will discuss in detail the international economic system and the circumstances and conditions which led to the emergence of the New International Economic Order (NIEO). The international economic system according to both Marxists and non-Marxists comprises of an exploitative relation between the rich and the poor country. In this relation of inequality the capital poor countries of the South are kept in a position of dependency or bondage by the capital rich countries of the North through various discriminatory practices adverse to these countries. For instance, the developed countries pursue discriminatory policies by their control of the IMF, World Bank etc. which in turn widens the gap between the North and the South instead of lessening it. The developing countries were economically marginalized and deprived and the developed countries of the global North and responsible for such a scenario.

The NIEO was primarily a set of proposals put forward during the 1970s by the developing countries of the global South. The NIEO was sought to be introduced comprehensively through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, estd in 1964) and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States to promote the interests of the developing countries by improving their terms of trade, increasing development assistance, tariff reductions by developed-country, etc. It was meant to be a revision of the international economic system in favour of Third World countries. Through the NIEO the developing countries wanted to replace the Bretton Woods system, which had benefited the leading states that had created it especially the United States. This was followed by an agenda for discussions between the developed, industrial countries and the developing countries, to focus on restructuring of the world's economy to permit greater participation by and benefits to developing countries. In the international economic system such discussions came to be popularized as the North-South Dialogue.

It is also important to remember that the demand for the NIEO has come up in conjunction with the spurt of decolonization movements in the 1960s. In May 1974, the concretized version of the NIEO was put forward in the 6th UN General Assembly. Since then, the NIEO has come to symbolize the historic struggle of the South to elicit a fair and equal international economic order and to offset their disadvantaged position in comparison to the North. The core issues facing the global South that NIEO hoped to address were poverty, underdevelopment and political instability. At the same time constant intensifying efforts were aimed towards self reliance and reduction in dependence on the North. The NIEO has not succeeded entirely in bringing about the desired equilibrium, none the less it has given a desired beginning to the emaciated South to stand up against the injustices of the North so far as their own resources, raw materials, access to markets, and trade related restrictions etc are concerned. It has also played an important role in addressing the acute North and South dilemma, whose solution though not visible at the moment is deeply needed as the more practical and convenient South- South co-operation is still visible at a comparatively nascent stage.

2.2 Objectives

This unit will deliberate on the various aspects of the North- South dialogue particularly the North- South gap, problems and prospects of North- South Cooperation and the increasing demands for a South- South dialogue. After reading this unit you will be able to:

- *grasp* the tensions and disagreements between the developed and developing countries on various economic issues at different levels and understand the inherent unequal state of affairs.
- *understand* how the developing countries expect a greater degree of special treatment than industrialized developed countries have afforded them.
- *identify* and internalize the new demands and changes that was sought to be brought about by the developing countries with their demand for a NIEO
- *explore* and understand the prospects and benefits of a positive North South dialogue
- *comprehend* the reason behind the South-South co-operation is still not adequately developed by understanding the vital obstacles and realize need and importance of a progressive South-South co-operation

2.3 Understanding The International Economic Order

During the Second World War the allies regarded economics as an important aspect of war. They feared the possible recurrence of a world economic crisis like the one in the 1930s in the absence of a proper economic regulatory mechanism. The Allies hence gave importance to the establishment of an international economic regime. This regime was initiated in the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944. Consequently, it led to the formation of three important financial institutions viz. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which formed the bedrock of the economic order of the post Second World War period. The IBRD's principal task was to rebuild the war torn economies in Europe and Asia. It was later

named as the World Bank and the GATT gave way to the World Trade Organization.

The IMF, basically a monetary lending agency, stabilized the exchange rates of one currency for another. The IMF maintained the international liquidity and helped the states with insufficient foreign cash reserves by giving them short term loans. The primary task of the World Bank, the principal agency of multilateral capital investment is to lend capital for development purposes to capital poor Third World countries with the aim of integrating them more effectively into the economic system. The GATT and later the WTO worked towards the reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and facilitating a freer trading environment.

However the principle of free trade and non-discrimination in international trade which these institutions professed was soon belied. The IMF before giving loans to the Third World countries, the IMF scrutinizes the economic plans and policies of each country in detail. It sanctions the loans only when it is satisfied that the right policies exist in the countries. Loans are given only against IMF approved policies. An agreement to loan IMF funds on the condition that certain government policies are adopted is called an IMF conditionality agreement and the implementation of these conditions is referred to as a structural adjustment program. The problem facing majority of the Third World countries that have entered into such agreements face difficulty to accept the terms insisted by the IMF to be fulfilled by the home governments and this pain is borne to the highest degree by the general citizens. Some of the conditions imposed by the IMF are like, reduction of state spending, cut in subsidies of food and basic goods, control of inflation, closing budget deficits, curtailing short term consumption etc. Such conditions are politically unpopular in the Third World countries and they very often lead to the rise in unemployment, dissatisfaction of home population and riots. It has been further argued that the IMF does not adapt its program according to the differences in local, cultural and economic conditions in different states particularly the Third World states.

So far as the concept of borrowing goes in the 1970s and 80s the Third World countries indulged in massive borrowings from long term lenders like the WB. This spurt of borrowings left many Third World countries in huge debts. The heavy interest payments were burdens on their domestic political

economies. The anticipated growth and expected economic gains often did not materialize. And most of the borrowed money was utilized in non-developmental works. Thus by the 1980s a Third World debt crisis had come about. Major states of the global South like Brazil, Mexico and India found foreign debt, a tremendous weight on economic development.

The WTO monitors trade in agriculture, manufactured goods, banking, insurance, telecommunications etc. but there are many grey areas in regards to each of them and these issues have repeatedly come up in the WTO conferences, primarily the 1999 Seattle Conference, Doha Conference in 2001 and Cancun Conference in 2003 in which the trade talks collapsed. Most developed and industrialized countries press to include issues like environmental protection, labour laws etc in the agenda while the poor countries of the Third World consider them as their disadvantage as they cannot meet the standards of labour and environmental laws of the industrialized countries. In terms of technology transfer, also the Third World countries often find themselves at a less advantageous position.

Stop to Consider:

The main tenets of NIEO

The term New International Economic Order was derived from the Declaration for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, and referred to a wide range of trade, financial, commodity, and debt-related issues.

The main tenets of NIEO are

- Developing countries must be entitled to regulate and control the activities of multinational corporations operating within their territory.
- They must be free to nationalize or expropriate foreign property on conditions favourable to them.
- They must be free to set up associations of primary commodities producers similar to the OPEC; all other States must recognize this right and refrain from taking economic, military, or political measures calculated to restrict it.
- International trade should be based on the need to ensure stable, equitable, and remunerative prices for raw materials, generalized non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory tariff preferences, as well as transfer of technology to developing countries; and should provide economic and technical assistance without any strings attached.

2.4 North-South Divide

From the above discussion you have understood that an extraordinarily large gap exists between the advanced industrially developed countries of the North and the poorer, industrially backward countries of the South. Let us now try to go deeper into the manifold discrepancies that exist. The enormous disparity between the North and the South are starkly brought in terms of different indicators in the table given below.

LEVEL OF DEVELOPEMT

	Low income	Middle Income	High income
Number of countries	36	86	55
Gross National Product	\$1123.9	\$5138.5	\$25,767.9
Annual Real Economic Growth	2.3%	2.0%	1.7%
Official Development Assistance received	2.5%	0.3%	<0.1%
Population	2561	2721	941
Real GDP per capita	451	1877	27312
Life Expectancy (Age in years)	59.1	70	78.3
Literacy	63.6%	89.7%	>99%
Population Growth Rate Annual average since 1990	2%	1.1%	0.7%
Per Capita Annual Energy Consumption (kwh/person)	400	1541	10030
Pollution (share of world total)	8.5%	37.6%	47.8%
Output by Economic Sector	25%	11%	2%
Agriculture	25%	38%	27%
Industry	50%	51%	71%
Services			

Source: World Bank, World Development Report, 2005 and U.N Development Programme, Human Development Report, 2004

The table clearly shows that in terms of GNP and per capita income the high income countries which are mostly the industrialized countries are way above the middle and low income countries. Again in terms of literacy level the high income countries are almost close to 100 while only 64.5% distinguish the low income countries. Other indicators like average life expectancy again are not surprising. The high income countries have a better and longer life span due to the greater intake and supply of food calories, better supply of physicians and nurses and better availability of medicines and treatment of diseases such as tuberculosis which are rampant in the low income countries. In terms of energy consumption again, the less populated North consumes more than six times energy per person than those in middle income countries and more than twenty five times as much as those in low income countries in the South. Hence consequently, the North is also the maximum polluting group.

The North-South divide is also acutely visible in terms of foreign investment by not only governments but also private banks and multi national corporations (MNCs) from the North. The problem arises when the foreign banks and other world agencies who invest become the owners of the facilities in the economies of the South. They then control many of the decisions like intake of employees, production, expansion, marketing and profit distribution. In many cases the profit is taken out from the countries of the South. The concept of technology transfer refers to the Third World countries acquisition of technology which includes knowledge, skills, methods, designs and specialized equipment from countries of the North. Most of the Third World countries lack the knowledge and skills to invest in factories, industries and business and hence they seek it from outside. The former colonies need to develop their own skills and knowledge base as these are limited to the whites alone. The difficulty faced by the Third World countries in technology transfer is when the technological style of the source country does not fit the needs of the recipient country. To elaborate we can cite the example of Green Revolution. This has increased crop yields no doubt in many Third World countries but at the same time it has also caused huge damage to the environment, intensified use of pesticides and fertilizers and disrupted the traditional mode of agriculture. Technology transfer that promotes environmentally sustainable development has been a major demand from the developing countries of the South.

SAQ:

Do you think that establishment of NIEO helps the Third World countries to gain advantages from the First World countries. (80 words)

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2.5 The Struggle for NIEO

The present international economic order with its North and South dimension was sought to be changed to make it more favourable and equitable for the South with the demand for a New International Economic Order. The NIEO argued that the world was a global village and hence there should be greater level of interdependence amongst the countries of the North and South in terms of trade and development. The NIEO pointed out that more than interaction amongst the North and South, a great deal of profitable interdependence was happening amongst the North keeping the South deprived of equal benefits and features. The NIEO therefore questioned the northern model of development. The NIEO however is not against development per se. It does regard development as the sine qua non of existence.

The NIEO proposed a charter of economic rights and duties. It manifested a distrust of international law among Third World states and presented a theoretical rejection of the West as an intellectual paradigm. In addition to the charter of rights and duties it also contained a programme of action. Its goals went beyond merely alleviating poverty in an attempt to change the material relations of production in order to improve condition of people in the Third World. Among the demands of the NIEO were: Increased exports from the third to the first world; transfers of capital to the Third World; transfers of technology to the Third World; a regime to control MNCs; as well as provisions for increasing aid and to alter the international monetary system IMF.

Some have argued that these principles were not so radical since they still presumed at least a mixed economy. The call for unilateral wealth transfer from the first to the Third World was met with skepticism.

The Second World War brought about cataclysmic consequences which stimulated important political and social changes. One such after effect was the drive it provided to the movement towards decolonization. The defeat inflicted on the traditional great powers like Britain, France by an Asian power Japan destroyed the European claims of superiority and invincibility. This caused a surge in the demand for independence among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America leading to a chain of newly independent states in the 1960s. The decolonization period highlighted the extreme

marginalization of the developing countries. The demands of the countries of the South could be articulated through different international forums like the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) and the United Nations (UN). Ever since the 1950s therefore the political economy of the relations between the North and the South or collectively the Third World has been the subject of much enquiry.

Most of the leaders of these new states met at a Conference in Algiers in 1973 and declared themselves as the 'Third World' vowing to remain non-aligned and not join either the capitalist or the communist bloc. They were suspicious of the motives of both Capitalism and Communism wanted to reduce their economic dependence on the North. With this aim in mind the demand for a just and fair economic order was made in the Algiers Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. According to Stephen D. Krasner the gap between the Northern and Southern capabilities is so great that even if the countries of the South made rapid strides and those of the North stagnated; only few developing countries would significantly close the power gap within the next hundred years.

The demand for NIEO was formally resolved in the UN, General Assembly session in May 1974. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was established in 1964 to serve as a platform for improving trade relations between the North and the South.

In the resolution of May 1974, it was resolved under the NIEO that - " We the members of the United Nations....solemnly proclaim our united determination to work urgently for the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all states, irrespective of their economic and social systems, which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustice, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development in peace and justice for present and future generations". It also pointed out that the Algiers Summit was the limited regulating and controlling rights of the South over their natural resources. The plan was towards the complete nationalization if the necessity would be to emerge as equal bargaining partners with the industrialized capitalist North.

It also saw the coming together of the Group of 77 countries who being disillusioned by the IMF and the GATT sought the undoing of the huge marginalization of the South in the economic sphere. The program of action of the Group of -77 constituted of negotiation with industrialized countries to ensure remunerative prices for the raw materials and to secure a better deal in matters of trade and development.

The NIEO is a voice of the countries of the South, against the discriminating and lopsided economic order of the post Second World War which was heavily tilted towards the global North. The NIEO was based on sovereign equality of nations and on interdependence and harmony of their economies and sought to establish economic equality.

Stop to Consider:

OPEC and New International Economic Order:

The comprehension of the sharp realities of the world economy by the developing South was also made possible due to the energy crisis felt due to the increase in the price of oil on 1973-74 in which the dramatic success of Organization of Petroleum Exporting countries (OPEC) in procuring higher oil prices resulted in unprecedented transfer of income from the North to the oil exporting countries of the Middle East.

The countries of the South were interested in replicating this experience in the case of other commodities too, with a view to control market forces and increase their export potential. This no doubt improved Third World unity and doubled hopes of obtaining special trade deals with OPEC. It was believed by the South, that the 'oil weapon' would strengthen their leverage in negotiations with West and bring support for the New International Economic Order. But their hopes were belied as they realized unlike other commodities great value was attached to oil.

2.5.1 Rise of Consciousness of the South

The South became aware of the discriminatory trend under the Bretton Woods System in which most of the benefits were enjoyed by the North, leading to uninterrupted economic growth and rising living standards as shown in the table earlier. The GDP per capita of the North has always been remarkably high. Also in terms of non-economic criteria like infant mortality, life expectancy, nutrition, health care, literacy and life chances,

the gulf between the North and the South is enormous. According to Stephen Gill and David Law the widening gap between the north and the South is due to 'asymmetric interdependence'. The South is any day more sensitive in their economic interdependence than the north is. This is because of the reliance on the export of a limited number of commodities, for example, Uganda exports mainly coffee, Sudan exports cotton, Saudi Arabia, Iran exports oil and also because their imports are mainly food items, machinery etc. which are more in demand than luxury goods. Also the North's main advantage is technology whereas the South's is cheap labour and natural resources.

The South's consciousness grew primarily with the rise of nationalist movement in Latin America and later on in Asia and Africa. In this respect Raul Prebisch, a Latin American intellectual took a leading role in questioning the rationality and fairness of the international division of labour in which peripheral economies of Latin America, Asia and Africa specialized in producing and exporting primary goods and raw materials while importing manufactured goods from the developed or core economies. Two other ills of the economic order are- one, many less developed countries have become dependent on external sources of finance and their failure to repay loans have led to unending debt crisis. And second, a major chunk of world trade took place between the developed countries of the West thereby depriving the developing countries equal access to the big markets. The South being pressed hard by such economic developments came together with concerted efforts to secure economic justice. Moreover the shared values of economic independence and national strength in the South facilitated by growth of transport and communication and the establishment of the UN, where the developing countries were numerically greater in number, compared to their negligible presence in the IMF and WB contributed to their understanding of their own strength. Most developing countries had little leverage in negotiations based on reciprocal tariff concessions and in protection of their infant industries. The South was not able to reap any benefit out of trade liberalization either, bugged as it was by the constant need for development. In contrast to this many liberal economists cite the success achieved by the 'Tiger Economies' of Asia and the benefits accrued by them from export led growth in support of the liberal international economic order.

2.5.2 Demands of the South and Increased Global Interdependence

The Southern countries have adopted an array of strategies to cope with their poverty and economic vulnerability. The demands associated with proposals for the NIEO best depict and showcase the efforts of the South to restructure market oriented international regimes. The different areas of concern were mainly- trade, primary commodities, aid, debt, access, multinational corporations, shipping, mining, special drawing rights etc. The South demanded a greater economic equality and not a superior inferior or patron-client relationship. Demands consisted of freedom in deciding and imposing restrictions on imports and right to check commodity price distribution. The UNCTAD favoured, commodity agreements between producing and consuming countries, serving thereby in raising or stabilizing the prices of primary products. The South also demanded greater access to developed world markets and greater voice and vote power in the IMF, WB etc. their demand also had focused on replacement of the GATT with the UNCTAD, as the main forum of negotiation. At present the WTO (1995) in place of GATT too has not been able to completely eliminate the North South divide.

Due to the need for capital and wealth based their future economic development on a close interconnectedness with the world economy. However the world monetary and financial agencies particularly the WTO trading regime tends to work against the South compared to the North. A free trade regime which the WTO professes becomes an impediment for the developing states to protect their infant industries. It also entails competition with the technologically advanced states in terms of manufactured goods and not in terms of agriculture, mining and drilling industries and textiles where the South has a comparative advantage. The latter were largely excluded from free trade rules of the WTO. As a result the South found that they were expected to open up their home markets to foreign products against which home industries are not competitive, while their own export products were not allowed entry in markets of the North.

Check Your Progress:

1. Enumerate the major points of difference between the global North and South and explain how they have contributed towards a tenuous relation between them after the Second World War.
2. Highlight the conditions that led to the demand for a new world order under the collective cry of a New International Economic Order NIEO
3. Substantiate your answer with examples to state that the prevailing international economic order after the Second World War was discriminatory towards the South. Discuss the role of the Bretton Wood institutions in this regard.

2.6 The North South Dialogue and NIEO

The demands of the Third World had become forceful in the mid 1970s and in the Paris Conference of 1975 concrete steps were taken to work out the possibility of co-operation between the developed countries and the developing countries. The conference which was attended by 19 developing and 8 developed countries was the beginning for a North South Dialogue. The Paris conference only produced half hearted results while the objectives of the NIEO viz. self reliance and increasing trade relations remained unfulfilled.

In 1977 the UN, constituted an independent Commission under former West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt. The report of the commission highlighted the problems of the South and suggested drastic changes in the global economic structure. It concluded that the North was growing richer and the South was growing poorer. Its basic theme was mutually interest of North South and call for joint efforts for a common goal. It also dealt with problems of disarmament, refugees, environment, ecology, food, population, energy etc which deserved attention of both the North and the South.

The Brandt report could only evince a lukewarm response in the North and its belief that there were benefits for all in a new order of international economic relations was not well taken by the North. The Group of 77, demanded resource and technology transfer usually in association with

Foreign Debt investment. The huge amount of debt facing the developing countries of the South has also punctured the North South Dialogue. Debt services have created a net financial outflow from South to North in recent years. The South paid double in the name of interest on what it had borrowed in the name of foreign investment and aid from the North. At present demands for extensive debt renegotiation and debt forgiveness for the poor countries have been called for. The various conference on North South relations that took place since the 1970s achieved little in terms of concrete action and results. They turned out to be mere talking shops and the South could derive only a few concessions viz. the acceptance of the Integrated Program for Commodities, The Common Fund Proposal etc. to compensate the inequities in the free trade regimes and to help the South to boost their economic growth. The GATT had created the Generalized System of Preferences to increase greater participation of the South in world trade and help rather than impede their development.

After the initial shock of 1973-74, oil crisis, the North regained their self-confidence, as they realized oil was a special case and other commodities were not likely to repeat the defeat. With this the North's continued control of the IMF, WB and their superiority in terms of wealth and technology, made them dole out few concessions for the South. So by the 1980s the bargaining position of the South, which had always been subdued and weak, deteriorated.

Stop to Consider:

Importance of SAARC in the Economy of South Asia

Established in 1995 SAARC deserves special mention in the context of South-South co-operation. It is yet to achieve the goals, achieved by it, primary among them are maintaining a distance in terms of bilateral issues raised in the SAARC platform. Meanwhile on the lines of NAFTA, the SAARC adopted SAPTA, for free trade flow within South Asia. SAFTA agreement has come into affect from 1st Jan, 2006, ushering in an era of free trade in goods among the SAARC member countries. It paves the way for a full fledged South Asia Economic Union in the future.

2.6.1 South-South Co-Operation

In December 1978 the NIEO was given a fresh appraisal and thought by a group of Third World thinkers and policy makers Arusha in Tanzania. This meeting can be understood as the first attempt at a South-South dialogue. It examined the overall progress, the negotiating agenda, strategy and concrete proposals of the NIEO.

Much had been expected from a New International Economic Order, but the South made little progress in gaining concessions, then what they had in the 1960s. The NIEO became no more than a rallying cry for the global South, and it was limited to ensure an elevated political visibility of their distress. This was partly due to the South's lack of power and partly because of their internal disparities leading to divergent interests. The North was successful in systematically rejecting and diluting each case forwarded by the South. This position of inequality of the South also reflects on the role of power in international relations. The global North with two-thirds of the world's wealth was obviously more powerful and has more leverage than the South. This disparity of power was also accentuated by the fact that the South was composed of more than a hundred actors whereas the North's power was concentrated in eight large states, the G-8 members. The UNCTAD continues to pursue programs to restructure world trade to benefit the South but it lacked the power to implement major changes in North South economic relations. A more self reliant approach by means of greater promotion of South-South co-operation and trade by reducing dependence on the North was initiated and encouraged.

However the South-South co-operation appears impractical and gets hampered by differences of industrialization, interest in specific commodity and ideology (leading to border clashes and regional rivalry). The attitude toward NIEO is also varied amongst the different countries of the global south comprising of both radical socialist states that fell the demands and concessions were not enough and also conservatist, capitalist less developed countries who fell the demands should be mellowed down. For such countries the NIEO was a means to gain marginal concessions within basically acceptable order, while to the former it was a platform for upsetting the earlier order.

Some attempts to ensure unity of the Southern countries through regional economic planning got off to a good start like the East African Unity, the Andean Pact etc, but soon fell through due to ideological disagreements. ASEAN has been a much successful endeavour so far as strict advanced the dictum of working together as a group to gain leverage and to face the challenges of the North is concerned. The establishment of the India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA) forum was also an ideal intervention, opportunity in pursuance of the New Delhi agenda for co-operation. The IBSA fund for poverty and hunger alleviation programmes have been set into motion with the aim to assist other developing countries. So far as the role of individual states are concerned, South Africa is playing a vital role in seeking a evaluation of the Bretton Woods system the IMF, the World Bank, the W.T.O. and the restructuring of the security council of the UN. Review of these institutions will help the South in consolidating their demands and address the inherent inequities as well as giving them a voice in matters of security, human rights, trade, development, war and peace. Complacency and compliance on the part of the South has to be seen as an impediment in the path of asserting themselves as growing political and economic power. According to Mewa Ramgobin, in order to facilitate and deepen co-operation among ourselves we need to, in the spirit of openness and as a matter of urgency creatively intervene to stop the added and real threats posed by armed insurgencies, state repression, terrorism, separatism, corruption and religious fundamentalism. All these diminish the capacity of the South as did the first fissure in its unity, with the emergence of the oil rich states.

The efforts of the NIEO have made immense contribution in changing the world to a global village, yet the economic order is not in equilibrium and still far from being just and non-discriminatory. The North South divide reflects the unequal distribution of power resources in the global political economy and till global South continues to be economically deprived, the much desired world peace cannot be achieved. So far as the NIEO is concerned it experiences only a limited success in ameliorating the inequalities facing the South. It also fails to convince the North about the possibility of achieving and enjoying their own vital interests in a new world order. In the absence of well structured organizational framework and specific objectives, the South fails to convincingly change the negative attitude of the North.

SAQ:

Do you think that establishment of SAARC helps the South Asian country to achieved their economic goals. (60 words)

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2.7 Role of GATT and WTO in World Economy

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was negotiated during the UN Conference on Trade and Employment and was the outcome of the failure of negotiating governments to create the International Trade Organization (ITO). GATT was formed in 1947 and lasted until 1994 when it was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. The Bretton Woods Conference had introduced the idea for an organization to regulate trade as part of a larger plan for economic recovery after World War II. As governments negotiated the ITO, 15 negotiating states began parallel negotiations for the GATT as a way to attain early tariff reductions. Once the ITO failed in 1950, only the GATT agreement was left. The GATT's main objective was the reduction of barriers to international trade. According to its preamble, the purpose of the GATT was the substantial reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers and the elimination of preferences, on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis.

This was achieved through the reduction of tariff barriers, quantitative restrictions and subsidies on trade through a series of agreements. The GATT was a treaty, not an organization although it did have a small secretariat which i.e. the Centre William Rappard in Geneva, Switzerland. The functions of the GATT were taken over by the World Trade Organization which was established during the final round of negotiations in early 1990s.

The World Trade Organization is an international organization designed by its founders to supervise and liberalize international trade. The organization officially commenced on January 1, 1995 under the Marrakesh Agreement,

replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which commenced in 1947. The World Trade Organization deals with regulation of trade between participating countries, it provides a framework for negotiating and formalizing trade agreements, and also entails a dispute resolution process aimed at enforcing participants' adherence to WTO agreements which are signed by representatives of member governments and ratified by their parliaments. In 1994, the WTO members agreed on the Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes annexed to the "Final Act" signed in Marrakesh agreement in 1994. Dispute settlement is regarded by the WTO as the central pillar of the multilateral trading system, and as a unique contribution to the stability of the global economy. WTO members have agreed that, if they believe fellow-members are violating trade rules, they will use the multilateral system of settling disputes instead of taking action unilaterally. The operation of the WTO dispute settlement process involves the dispute settlement panels, the Appellate Body, the WTO Secretariat, arbitrators, independent experts and several specialized institutions.

The WTO subsumed the GATT agreements on manufactured goods within its jurisdiction and then extended it to include trade in services and intellectual property rights. The WTO framework is based on the principles of reciprocity and nondiscrimination. The principle of nondiscrimination is embodied in the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) concept. MFN status means that trade restrictions imposed by a WTO member on its most favoured trading partner must be applied equally to all WTO members. For eg. If Britain applies a 25 percent tariff on auto parts imported from USA, it is not supposed to apply a 45 percent tariff on auto parts imported from Canada. The WTO does not eliminate barriers to trade completely but it equalizes them in a global framework to create a level playing field for all member states. In this context states can take up measures to protect their own industries but they cannot show a preferential treatment based on favouritism or priority considerations among their trading partners. An exception to the MFN system is the Generalized System of Preferences. By which the industrialized states give trade concessions to the Third World to help their economic development. The WTO thus acts as a negotiating forum for multilateral trade agreements that lower trade barriers on a fair and reciprocal basis.

Most of the issues that the WTO focuses on derive from previous trade negotiations, especially from the Uruguay Round (1986-1994). The Uruguay Round, which was completed on December 15, 1993 after seven years of negotiations, resulted in an agreement among 117 countries (including the U.S.) to reduce trade barriers and to create more comprehensive and enforceable world trade rules. The agreement coming out of this round, the Final Act Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, was signed in April 1994. The Uruguay Round agreement was approved and implemented by the U.S. Congress in December 1994, and went into effect on January 1, 1995. The WTO has 153 members representing more than 97% of total world trade and 30 observers, most seeking membership. The WTO is governed by a ministerial conference, meeting every two years, a general council, which implements the conference's policy decisions and is responsible for day-to-day administration; and a Director-General, who is appointed by the ministerial conference.

The WTO launched the ninth round of multilateral trade negotiations under the Doha Development Agenda or Doha Round in 2001. Here the WTO sought to enhance equitable participation of poorer countries which represent a majority of the world's population. However, the negotiation was affected by disagreement between exporters of agricultural commodities and countries with large numbers of subsistence farmers on the precise terms of a 'special safeguard measure' to protect farmers from surges in imports.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

Objectives of GAAT

According to the preamble of GAAT the objectives of the contracting parties of GAAT includes

- Raising standards of living
- A large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand
- Achieving the full use of the resources of the world
- Expanding the production and exchange of the goods

2.8 Summing Up

In this unit we have introduced you to the conflictual or unequal North-South relation. The economic order which prevailed during the post Cold War period was discriminatory towards the South. This fact was gradually internalized by the South owing to decolonization as on previous accounts this economic exploitation was disguised, kept hidden under a false consciousness, which the exploited South failed to see. The broad areas of divide between the North and the South have been focused in order to enable you to comprehend the ground realities which necessitated the need for the demand of the complete overhaul of the previously existing international economic order.

A proper understanding of the gradual rise of Third World consciousness and their various demands pertaining to the NIEO has been dealt with. The boost supplied by the OPEC in this respect is essential to understand the mosaic of Third World unity. We have also highlighted the disadvantages the faced by the South so far as the South-South co-operation in place of a North South co-operation is concerned. In this unit we have briefly dealt with the internal inconsistencies within the South, as well as the cohesiveness present in the North because of their wealth, control of financial institutions and technological developments.

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**Institute of Distance and Open Learning
Gauhati University**

**MA in Political Science
(2nd Semester)**

**Paper VI
International Politics in The
Contemporary Period**

**Block 2
Indian Foreign Policy**



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Block Introduction–

Unit 1 : Background Of Indian Foreign Policy

Unit 2 : India and its Neighbours

Unit 3 : India, SAARC and NAM

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December, 2010

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Acknowledgement

The Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University duly acknowledges the financial assistance from the Distance Education Council, IGNOU, New Delhi for preparation of this material.

Block Introduction:

In this Block we are going to deal with foreign policy of India and its relationship with its neighbouring countries. Here we shall make an attempt to discuss SAARC as a regional organization and the Non-alignment movement which emerged in a bi-polar world and its role in the post Cold-War uni-polar world. In this block we will also deal with India's Foreign Policy and its determinants, India's relation with its neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh Srilanka and Nepal and the role of SAARC as a regional organization and significance of NAM in the present world in three different units.

In **unit I**, we shall discuss the foreign policy of India and its dynamics. As you know every nation tries to fulfill its objectives through foreign policy which is influenced by certain internal as well as external factors. Here in this unit we shall try to bring out the determinants and basic principles underlying Foreign Policy of India responding to the changing world order, from the period of Jawaharlal Nehru to Manmohan Singh.

Unit II deals with India's relationship with its neighbours. As we know foreign policy of India towards her neighbours aims at peaceful co-existence. India always tries to transform the sub-continent into a "peace region". The policy of peaceful coexistence guides India's relations with its neighbours. Therefore, in this unit we shall try to discuss India's relationship with its neighbours.

Unit III deals with South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation in short SAARC as a regional balancing force of South Asian Region in terms of trade and commerce and other means and Non Alignment movement. This unit is an attempt to analyse the regional politics in the context of SAARC and NAM. In this unit an attempt is also made to analyze the relevance of NAM in the present international scenario.

Thus, this block deals with India's role in world politics in different phases through its foreign policy. We know that foreign policy is the key to maintain a good and healthy relationship with other countries. Thus in this Block we are going to discuss India's foreign policy directed towards its neighbouring states and emergence of SAARC and NAM to promote harmony among the South Asian region. This block helps you to understand the significance of SAARC and NAM in Indian politics as well as in world politics. After

reading this block you will be able to examine the role of India in contemporary world. It also helps you to understand the needs of regional and international organizations for bringing prosperity and development and combat terrorism through organizations like SAARC and NAM.

The block consist of the following three units,

Unit I: Background of Indian Foreign Policy

Unit II: India and its neighbours

Unit III: India, SAARC and NAM

Unit 1

Background of Indian Foreign Policy

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1.1 Introduction

Foreign policy and diplomacy are the wheels with which the process of international politics operates. All states have to adopt some kind of foreign policy and also diplomacy to execute that policy. It is an important key to the rational explanation of international behaviour. It consists of external behaviour of a state. To Norman Hill "It is the content or substance of a nation's effort to promote its interests vis- a-vis other Nations". In the eve of globalization, where there are transnational threats and opportunities, good foreign policy relations with neighbouring countries are of utmost importance. India is one of the fastest growing economics in the world, and

due to India's growing international stature, India seeks to have a more prominent voice in the global affairs.

This unit is an attempt to introduce you with Indian foreign policy and its dynamics. As you know every nation has its own objectives to fulfill, and through foreign policy, the objectives are realized. Here in this unit we will study the determinants and basic principles underlying Indian Foreign Policy. It will also seek to highlight the changes and continuity from the Nehruvian era to the Monmohan Singh. Now let us discuss foreign policy of India

1.2 Objectives

The simplest definition of foreign policy is that it is an attempt by a state to maximize its national interest in the external or internal environment. Foreign policy plays an important role in the articulation of the interest of the whole country. After reading this unit you will be able to

- *explain* the aims and objectives of Indian foreign policy
- *discuss* the determinants of Indian foreign policy
- *examine* the role and importance of India's foreign policy
- *describe* the implementation, objectives aim of Indian foreign policy, and
- *examine* the factors responsible in making foreign policy.

1.3 Determinants and basic principles underlying Indian Foreign Policy

We all know that foreign policy is the attempt by a state to maximize its national interest. It is important to mention here that environmental and organizational settings greatly influenced in making a country's foreign policy. These factors are common to all countries. The basic determinants of foreign policy are: geography, historical traditions and national ethos, national capacity, public opinion, Ideology. These are divided into two groups-----
----- (1) Internal And (2) External. According to C.C.Rodee and Others: Foreign policy involves the formulations and implementations of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its own interest.

The geographical location of a country, its historical and cultural heritage, national interest, economic strength, political ideology, and the prevailing international equations largely guide the foreign policy of a country. We know that the Republic of India is the world's most-populous electoral democracy and has one of the fastest economic growth rates in the world (8.9 percent GDP increase in 2007, the second-fastest major economy in the world after China). With the world's fourth largest armed forces and fourth largest economy by purchasing power parity, it is considered to be a regional power and a potential superpower. India's growing influence gives it a more prominent voice in global affairs.

After independence the first and foremost task for us is to maintain a healthy relationship with the neighboring countries and other countries of the world. As you know, in the formulation of foreign policy the environmental and organizational settings greatly influence. India's foreign Policy reflects a traditional policy of nonalignment, the exigencies of domestic economic reform and development, and the changing post-Cold War international environment. India's relations with the world have evolved considerably since the British colonial period (1757-1947), when a foreign power monopolized external relations and defense relations. On independence in 1947, few Indians had experienced making or conducting foreign policy. However, the country's oldest political party, the Indian National Congress, had established a small foreign department in 1925 to make overseas contacts and to publicize its freedom struggle. From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had the most long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on international issues. As a member of the interim government in 1946, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world. Let us discuss the basic determinants of Indian foreign policy–

1.3.1 Determinant of Indian Foreign Policy since 1947 to 1990

After gaining independence, India soon joined the Commonwealth of Nations and strongly supported independence movements of other colonies, like the Indonesian National Revolution. The partition and various territorial disputes particularly that over Kashmir, have strained its relations with Pakistan for years . During the Cold War, India adopted a foreign policy of

not aligning itself with any major power bloc. However, India developed close ties with the Soviet Union and received extensive military support from it. The founding father of foreign policy for India Pt Jawaharlal Nehru said that "Our general policy is to avoid entanglement in power politics and not to join any group of powers as against any other group. The two leading groups today are the Russian bloc and the Anglo-American bloc. We must be friends to both and yet not join either. Both America and Russia are extraordinarily suspicious of each other as well as of other countries. This makes our path difficult and we may well be suspected by each of leaning towards the other. This cannot be helped."

The end of the Cold War significantly affected India's foreign policy, as it did for much of the world. The country now seeks to strengthen its diplomatic and economic ties with the United States, the People's Republic of China, the European Union, Japan, Israel, Mexico, and Brazil. India has also forged close ties with the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the African Union, the Arab League, and Iran.

1.3.2 Determinant of Indian Foreign Policy from 1990 to till date

Though India continues to have a military relationship with Russia, Israel has emerged as India's second largest military partner while India has built a strong strategic partnership with the United States. The Indo-US civilian nuclear agreement, signed and implemented in 2008, highlighted the growing sophistication of the Indo-US relations.

From the earlier discussion we come to know that India has a long history of collaboration with several countries and is seen as a leader of the developing world. India played an important role in international politics. India was one of the founding members of several international organizations, most notably the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Asian Development Bank and the G20 industrial nations. India has also played an important and influential role in other international organizations like East Asia Summit, World Trade Organization, IMF, G8+5 and IBSA Dialogue Forum. Regional organizations India is a part of include SAARC and

BIMSTEC. India has taken part in several UN peacekeeping missions and in 2007, it was the second-largest troop contributor to the United Nations. India is currently seeking a permanent seat in the UNSC, along with the G4 nations.

Issue of economic development and trade, global and national security as well as problem of national interest has been the hallmark of Indian foreign policy.

Check Your Progress

A. Write true or false

1. India is a member of SAARC. (True/False)
2. The Indo-US civilian nuclear agreement, signed and implemented in 2008. (True/False)
3. Foreign Policy is "content or substance of a nation's effort to promote its interests vis- a-vis other Nations". Who said this?

B. Discuss briefly the major determinants of India's Foreign Policy.

1.3.3 The Guiding principles (Also the objectives) of India's foreign policy

Foreign policy of a country is guided by some principles and it has some objectives to be achieved. Indian foreign policy has also some basic guiding principles as follows:

1. Securing India's national Interest
2. Maintaining territorial integrity
3. Achieving economic growth
4. Promoting international peace
5. Non Alignment (or maintaining independence of policy and decision making)
6. Cooperating with the United Nations
7. Disarmament

8. Active opposition of colonialism, imperialism, racism, apartheid, etc
9. Friendly relations with neighbors
10. Peaceful solutions of international disputes
11. Supporting a world order based on equality, and
12. Panchsheel

STOP TO CONSIDER:

The Five Principles of Panchsheel

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
2. Mutual non-aggression against anyone.
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs
4. Equality and mutual benefit
5. Peaceful co-existence

Now you have an idea that the guiding principles of India's Foreign Policy have been founded on Panchsheel, pragmatism and pursuit of national interest. In a period of rapid and continuing change, foreign policy must be capable of responding optimally to new challenges and opportunities. It has to be an integral part of the larger effort of building the nation's capabilities through economic development, strengthening social fabric and well-being of the people and protecting India's sovereignty and territorial integrity. India's foreign policy is a forward-looking engagement with the rest of the world, based on a rigorous, realistic and contemporary assessment of the bilateral, regional and global geo-political and economic milieu.

It is an interesting fact that as many as 20 million people of Indian origin live and work abroad and constitute an important link with the mother country. An important role of India's foreign policy is to ensure their welfare and well being within the framework of the laws of the country where they live.

STOP TO CONSIDER:**Role of Ministry of External Affairs in the formulation of foreign policy:**

The Ministry of External Affairs is the governmental body most concerned with foreign affairs, with responsibility for some aspects of foreign policy making, actual implementation of policy, and daily conduct of international relations. The ministry's duties include providing timely information and analysis to the Prime Minister and minister of external affairs, recommending specific measures when necessary, planning policy for the future, and maintaining communications with foreign missions in New Delhi. In 1994 the ministry administered 149 diplomatic missions abroad, which were staffed largely by members of the Indian Foreign Service. The ministry is headed by the minister of external affairs, who holds cabinet rank and is assisted by a deputy minister and a foreign secretary, and secretaries of state from the Indian Foreign Service

Thus you find that The Ministry of External Affairs led the nation into the front in the matter of foreign relations. It helps you to explore the importance of The Ministry of External Affairs in Indian politics.

1.4 Indian Foreign Policy in the Changing World Order: From Jawaharlal Nehru to Manmohan Singh:

In the previous sections we have discussed the principles and objectives of Indian foreign policy. Here we will discuss the nature of Indian foreign policy in the context of changing world order. As you know, foreign policy is an important key to the rational explanation of international behaviour. The Prime Minister of India, in collaboration with External Affairs Ministry, handles key foreign policy decisions. You also know that India has parliamentary democratic system of government where government is changed after every five years. So, foreign policy is also changed accordingly depending on the perspective of that particular government. In this section we shall discuss the changing trends of Indian foreign policy.

It is important to mention here that, in the formulation of foreign policy the opposition party also plays an important role. Opposition political parties often have more effectively articulated differing views regarding foreign policy, but even these views had little impact on policy making until the 1990s. Other than the Congress (I)--(I for Indira), only the communist parties, the Janata Party, and the Jana Sangh and one of its successors, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP--Indian People's Party), developed coherent platforms

on foreign policy. After the mid-1950s, the communist parties were broadly supportive of Indian foreign policy. At the beginning of Janata Party rule (1977-79), Prime Minister Desai promised to return to "genuine nonalignment." However, security considerations forced Desai and his minister of external affairs, Jana Sangh stalwart Atal Behari Vajpayee, to adhere to the foreign policy path carved out by the Congress (I)--nonalignment with a pro-Soviet orientation. BJP foreign policy positions differed most strongly from those of the Congress (I). The BJP also favored the overt acquisition of nuclear weapons. By the early 1990s, the rising political fortunes of the BJP had an impact on the conduct of foreign policy, forcing the coalition government of V.P. Singh, which depended on BJP support, to take a hard line in the Kashmir crisis in 1990. Pressure from the Congress (I) also had an impact on India's response to the Persian Gulf crisis.

Let us discuss the Indian Foreign policy under different leaders and government.

1.4.1 Foreign Policy during the Nehru Period

When India gained independence in 1947, few Indians had experienced the making or conducting of foreign policy. However, the country's oldest political party, the Indian National Congress, had established a small foreign department in 1925 to make overseas contacts and to publicize its freedom struggle. From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had a long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on international issues. As a member of the interim government in 1946, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world.

After independence Nehru became the first Prime Minister of India and during his tenure as Prime Minister of free India (1947-64), he achieved a domestic consensus on the definition of Indian national interests and foreign policy goals - building a unified and integrated nation-state based on secular, democratic principles; defending Indian territory and protecting its security interests; guaranteeing India's independence internationally through nonalignment; and promoting national economic development unencumbered by over-reliance on any country or group of countries. These objectives were closely related to the determinants of India's foreign relations: the

historical legacy of South Asia; India's geopolitical position and security requirements; and India's economic needs as a large developing nation. From 1947 until the late 1980s, India's foreign policy goals enabled it to achieve some successes in carving out an independent international role. Regionally, India was the predominant power because of its size, its population (the world's second-largest after China), and its growing military strength. However, relations with its neighbours, Pakistan in particular, were often tense and fraught with conflict.

1.4.2 Foreign Policy during the Period of Lal Bahadur Shastri

India's second prime minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964-66), expanded the Office of Prime Minister (sometimes called the Prime Minister's Secretariat) and enlarged its powers. By the 1970s, the Office of the Prime Minister had become the de facto coordinator and supraministry of the Indian government. The enhanced role of the office strengthened the prime minister's control over foreign policy making at the expense of the Ministry of External Affairs. Advisers in the office provided channels of information and policy recommendations in addition to those offered by the Ministry of External Affairs. A subordinate part of the office—the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) functioned in ways that significantly expanded the information available to the Prime Minister and his advisers. The RAW gathered intelligence, provided intelligence analysis to the Office of the Prime Minister, and conducted covert operations abroad.

In his period by October, 1962, India was at war with China. In fact, on October 26, 1962, the centre announced that "India is being put on a war footing to face the Chinese menace." Indian president Dr. Radhakrishnan even proclaimed a state of emergency. Following this announcement, India went into hyperactivity in order to put an end to the two-pronged Chinese aggression in the then North Eastern Frontier Agency (now, Arunachal Pradesh) and Ladakh. The Chinese did not advance farther and on November 21 declared a unilateral cease-fire. They had accomplished all their territorial objectives, and any attempt to press farther into the plains of Assam would have stretched their logistical capabilities and their lines of communication to a breaking point. By the time the fighting stopped.

SAQ

Do you think, the first Prime Minister of India J. Nehru provides us a suitable base of Indian foreign policy. (80 words)

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1.4.3 Foreign Policy during the period of Indira Gandhi

Like her predecessor she took keen interest in the conduct of foreign policy but the Prime Minister's control and reliance on personal advisers in the Office of the Prime Minister was particularly strong under the tenures of Indira Gandhi (1966-77 and 1980-84) and her son, Rajiv (1984-89), who succeeded her, and weaker during the periods of coalition governments. Observers find it difficult to determine whether the locus of decision-making authority on any particular issue lies with the Ministry of External Affairs, the Council of Ministers, the Office of the Prime Minister, or the Prime Minister himself. The Prime Minister is however free to appoint advisers and special committees to examine various foreign policy options and areas of interest. In a recent instance, Manmohan Singh appointed K. Subrahmanyam in 2005 to head a special government task force to study 'Global Strategic Developments' over the next decade. The Task Force submitted its conclusions to the Prime Minister in 2006. The report has not yet been released in the public domain.

As you know, India's international influence varied over the years after independence. Indian prestige and moral authority were high in the 1950s and facilitated the acquisition of developmental assistance from both East and West. Although the prestige stemmed from India's nonaligned stance, the nation was unable to prevent Cold War politics from becoming intertwined with interstate relations in South Asia. In the 1960s and 1970s,

India's international position among developed and developing countries faded in the course of wars with China and Pakistan, disputes with other countries in South Asia, and India's attempt to balance Pakistan's support from the United States and China by signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. Although India obtained substantial Soviet military and economic aid, which helped to strengthen the nation, India's influence was undercut regionally and internationally by the perception that its friendship with the Soviet Union prevented a more forthright condemnation of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. In the late 1980s, India improved relations with the United States, other developed countries, and China while continuing close ties with the Soviet Union. Relations with its South Asian neighbors, especially Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, occupied much of the energies of the Ministry of External Affairs. Although during her period process of developing close relationship with USA, USSR continued. As a result she got huge financial and military aid from the USA which helped India to emerge as a growing power in Asia. However, India has often known as representing the interests of developing countries at various international platforms. In addition, globally India's nonaligned stance was not a viable substitute for the political and economic role it wished to play.

SAQ

What do you mean by foreign policy? Discuss the basic objectives of Indian Foreign policy. Do you think that these principles help India to protect its national interest? (60 words)

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1.4.4 Indian Foreign Policy in the post Cold War era

In the 1990s, economic problems and the demise of the bipolar world political system forced India to reassess its foreign policy and adjust its foreign relations. Previous policies proved inadequate to cope with the serious domestic and international problems affecting India. The end of the Cold War gutted the core meaning of nonalignment and left Indian foreign policy without significant direction. The hard, pragmatic considerations of the early 1990s were still viewed within the nonaligned framework of the past, but the disintegration of the Soviet Union removed much of India's international leverage, for which relations with Russia and the other post-Soviet states could not compensate. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, India improved its relations with the United States, Canada, France, Japan and Germany. In 1992, India established formal diplomatic relations with Israel.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

The Gujral Doctrine:

The Gujral Doctrine is a set of five principles to guide the conduct of foreign relations with India's immediate neighbours as spelt out by Gujral, India's first External Affairs Minister and later as the Prime Minister. Among other factors, these five principles arise from the belief that India's stature and strength cannot be divorced from the quality of its relations with its neighbours. It, thus, recognises the supreme importance of friendly, cordial relations with neighbours. These principles are:

1. With neighbours like Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity, but gives and accommodates what it can in good faith and trust.
2. No South Asian country should allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country of the region.
3. No country should interfere in the internal affairs of another.
4. All South Asian countries must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
5. They should settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

According to Gujral, these five principles, scrupulously adhered to, would achieve a fundamental recasting of South Asia's regional relationships, including the difficult relationship between India and Pakistan. Further, the implementation of these principles would generate a climate of close and mutually benign cooperation in the region, where the weight and size of India is regarded positively as an asset by these countries.

In the mid-1990s, India attracted the attention of the world towards the alleged Pakistan-backed terrorism in Kashmir. The Kargil War resulted in a major diplomatic victory for India. The United States and European Union recognized the fact that Pakistani military had illegally infiltrated into Indian territory and pressurized Pakistan to withdraw from Kargil. Several anti-India militant groups based in Pakistan were labeled as terrorist groups by the United States and European Union.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:

1. Examine the nature of Indian foreign Policy.
2. Critically examine the foreign policy of I.K. Gujral.
3. Analyze the Panchasheel principle of Nehru.
4. Mention two differences between Nehru and Gujral regarding Pakistan.
4. Mention one policy of Rajiv Gandhi towards Sri Lanka.

1.4.5 Foreign Policy during Bajpayee and Monmohon Singh Government

In the previous sections we discussed the importance stages of Indian Foreign policy in the light of different government or leaders. You know that India marked its history in the late 1990s for the Pokhran Blast. Atal Bihari Bajpayee led NDA government conducted the 'Shakti' Test in Pokhran. It subsequently led to sanctions imposed by the world community.

In 1998, India tested nuclear weapons for the second time which resulted in several U.S., Japanese and European sanctions on India. India's defense minister, George Fernandes, said that India's nuclear program was necessary as it provided deterrence to potential Chinese nuclear threat. Most of the sanctions imposed on India were removed by 2001.

The 9/11 incident has attracted the attention of world community on the issue of global terrorism. Indian intelligence agencies have worked with different countries to tackle the Al-Qaeda and related groups' activities in Pakistan and Afghanistan. India's extensive contribution to fight against terrorism, coupled with a surge in its economy, has helped India's diplomatic relations with several countries. Over the past three years, India has held numerous joint military exercises with U.S. and European nations that have resulted in a strengthened U.S.-India and E.U.-India bilateral relationship. India's bilateral trade with Europe and U.S. has more than doubled in the last five years.

India has been pushing for reforms in the UN and WTO with mixed results. India's candidature for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council though backed by several countries has not yet been successfully maintained. As we earlier stated, in the time of Monmohan Singh led UPA government in 2004, the United States signed a nuclear co-operation agreement with India even though the latter is not a part of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The US argued that India's strong nuclear non-proliferation record made it an exception; however this has not persuaded other Nuclear Suppliers Group members to sign similar deals with India.

India Pakistan relation has been far from stable. The first step came in an assessment that India may share the latest developments in its investigations into the February 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings as Pakistan was expected to reiterate that India should share with them the result of progress in the investigation. As Pakistani president Asif Ali Zardari promised a "no first use" policy on its nuclear weapons India was set to review progress on the composite dialogue process during the Pakistani foreign minister, Shah Mehmood Qureszi's visit on Wednesday. At the same time, legislative assembly election were running in Jammu and Kashmir. The election of J&K has triggered a war of words between India and Pakistan. The Indian ministry of external affairs has strongly objected to comments made by the

Pakistan foreign ministry, questioning the credibility of the ongoing democratic process in Jammu and Kashmir and Indian External Affairs spokesperson commented on Pakistan's reaction to the election that it was "most unfortunate that Pakistan has commented on an internal matter of India. We strongly object to these remarks." The Ministry added that Pakistan ought to behave in a responsible manner as "It is in Pakistan's own interest to play a responsible role in the region. Comments such as these hardly suggest that it is prepared to do so." This came at the time when Pakistan's Indus Water Commissioner Jamaat Ali Shah said India could make Pakistan a barren land by 2014 by blocking water through construction of dams in violation of the Indus Water Treaty. He said that India had, and continued to, construct dams at various rivers in violation of the Treaty. He said that the Treaty allowed India to generate electricity on the flow of the river but it also said that water to Pakistan cannot be stopped.

Thus we find that India's growing economy, strategic location, friendly foreign policy and large and vibrant diasporas have won it more allies than enemies. India has friendly relations with several countries in the developing world. Though India is not a part of any major military alliance, it has forged close strategic and military relationship with most of the major powers in pursuit of its national interest.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

Since its independence, India tries to promote the spirit of cooperation and peaceful co-existence among the states professing different ideologies. India cultivated very intimate relations with China, Nepal, Yugoslavia, Egypt etc and played a leading role in the evolution of Five Principles (Panchasheel, in 1962 with China), emphasizing mutual respect for each others, territorial integrity and sovereignty: non aggression, non intervention, in each others domestic affair; mutual benefits and equality and peaceful coexistence and cooperation that India laid great emphasize on the settlement of disputes peacefully. It does not matter which government is in power, all shown their faith in these principles.

It helps you to understand the basic objectives of Indian foreign policy which lays behind peaceful coexistence. Despite the aggressive motives of Pakistan and China India till firm believers and follows these principles.

1.5. Critical Appreciation

After reading the previous sections you know that, India's foreign policy reflects a certain degree of continuity as well as pragmatism. But if we closely study the principles, you can easily draw out some drawbacks in Indian foreign policy. There is a big gap between theory and practice. In the previous sections you have studied that India is not a part of Cold War. India took initiative to develop non alignment movement to keep out from the power politics during that time. However, India maintains a good relation with USSR, which indicates the difference between theory and practice.

As stated earlier, in the 1990s, India's economic problems and the demise of the bipolar world political system have forced New Delhi to reassess its foreign policy and to adjust its foreign relations. Previous policies proved inadequate to cope with the serious domestic and international problems affecting India. The end of the Cold War gutted the core meaning of non-alignment and left Indian foreign policy without significant direction. The hard, pragmatic considerations of the early 1990s were still viewed within the Non-aligned framework of the past, but the disintegration of the Soviet Union removed much of India's international leverage, for which relations with Russia and the other post-Soviet states could not compensate. Let us discuss the drawbacks of Indian foreign policy

- We can point out that too much importance has been cannot attached to idealism, some time even at the cost of national interest. While it cannot be denied that idealism or moralism has been a predominant feature of India's foreign policy all these years, but it is certainly wrong to allege that it has led to the neglect of the national interest. On the other hand it is mainly due to the impartial stand taken by India on the various international issues that India has gained reputation as an upright country and has been able to play a dominant role in the international politics. The policy of non-alignment pursued by India has been subjected to criticism. It is alleged that in a world divided into two hostile camps, it was not desirable for India to adopt non-alignment policy because this way she was rendered supportless and could not get support and help which she would have received by joining in any group for its better development.

- India's membership of the Commonwealth was also subjected to criticism. It is often said that it has restricted the freedom of action and prevented the country from pursuing an independent foreign policy.
- We can also criticize India's foreign policy as it totally neglected the power factor to conduct relationship in international relationship and emphasized peaceful settlement of disputes which is seen useless in front of aggressive mind of Pakistan and China.
- Finally Indian foreign policy failed to produce desired results. It is because, India failed to settle Kashmir problem, border disputes with China.

Thus you find that though the foreign policy of India has been condemned on various grounds, it cannot be denied that in the context of the conditions prevailing in the international arena this was the best policy. It has combined the twin principle of idealism and pragmatism. Though the basic principles of India's foreign policy have continued to be same since the time of Nehru and the subsequent leaders did not deviate much from it, but the policy underwent a new thrust in the changed context.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Impact of Nuclear Weapons on Indian Foreign Policy:

In 1998, India tested nuclear weapons. As a result several U.S., Japanese and European countries stopped providing aids to India. India's defence minister, George Fernandes, said that India's nuclear program was necessary as it provided deterrence to some potential nuclear threat. Most of the sanctions imposed on India were removed by 2001. India has categorically stated that it will never use weapons first but will defend if attacked. Indian Prime Minister Bajpayee has said that India will developed its nuclear power in any circumstance. But will not use it for war, it is only for developmental activities. So, India does not sign any agreement which prevents India to tests its Nuclear Weapons and does not allowed any country to investigate its nuclear reactors. But in the time of the first phase of MonMohon Singh Government, India signed an agreement as we said earlier, with USA, which gave the power to investigate its nuclear reactors by the team of USA and UN, despite the opposition of various sections including the main opposition party BJP.

It helps you to understand the changing context of Indian foreign policy. Now India got its Nuclear aids from Australia, USA and recently from Israel. According to the government sources, it helps India to develop India's capability in the context of Nuclear power.

1.6 Summing Up

After reading this unit you are now in a position to discuss the main ideas of Indian foreign policy. India's foreign policy reflects a traditional policy of non-alignment as well as is filled with policies which seek to meet the exigencies of domestic economic reform and development in the changing post-Cold War international environment. India's relations with the world have evolved considerably since the British colonial period (1757-1947), when a foreign power monopolized external relations and defense relations. On independence in 1947, few Indians had experienced the making or conducting of foreign policy. From the late 1920s on, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had the most long-standing interest in world affairs among independence leaders, formulated the Congress stance on international issues. As a member of the interim government in 1946, Nehru articulated India's approach to the world. Nehru is the father of Indian foreign policy, during his tenure as Prime Minister (1947-64), he achieved a domestic consensus on the definition of Indian national interests and foreign policy goals--building a unified and integrated nation-state based on secular, democratic principles; defending Indian territory and protecting its security interests; guaranteeing India's independence internationally through nonalignment; and promoting national economic development unencumbered by over reliance on any country or group of countries. These objectives were closely related to the determinants of India's foreign relations: the historical legacy of South Asia; India's geopolitical position and security requirements; and India's economic needs as a large developing nation. From 1947 until the late 1980s, New Delhi's foreign policy goals enabled it to achieve some successes in carving out an independent international role. Regionally, India was the predominant power because of its size, its population and its growing military strength. However, relations with its neighbors, Pakistan and China, were often tense and fraught with conflict.

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Unit II

India and its Neighbours

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2.1 Introduction

As we know India, of late, has been reckoned as one of the fastest growing economies in the world and as a potential superpower. It is India's growing international influence that gives it an important place in the global affairs. This unit is an attempt to provide you an overview of India's relationship with its neighbours. We have already learnt that India's foreign policy towards her neighbours is aimed at peaceful co-existence. India always tries to transform the sub-continent into a "peace region". She has sought to develop warm and cordial relations with its neighbours. In this unit we shall discuss, the ways adopted by to maintain friendly relationship with its neighbours and the disputes involved with them.

2.2 Objective

Due to the emerging economy and military strength now India is a powerful nation in South Asia. In the South Asian region India emerges as promising power. Its relations with its neighbouring countries determine its strength in this region. After reading this unit you will be able to

- *explain* India's relationship with its neighbouring countries,
- *discuss* India's involvement in the international disputes where India is involved
- *describe* India's influence in South Asia.

2.3 India's role in South Asia

Before discussing India's role in South Asia, it is important to know its geography. South Asia, also known as Southern Asia, is the southern region of the Asian continent, which comprises of sub-Himalayan countries and, for some authorities, also includes the adjoining countries on the west and the east. It is surrounded by Western Asia, Central Asia, Eastern Asia, Southeastern Asia and the Indian ocean. South Asia consists of Bangladesh, the British Indian Ocean Territories, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The remote pre-history of South Asia culminates in the Indus Valley Civilization, which is followed by the legends of ancient Vedic period and the sketchy references to the rise and fall of Mahajanapadas - the precursors of regional kingdoms and later ancient empires - ending in the historical accounts of medieval empires and the arrival of European traders who later became the rulers.

You know that almost all South Asian countries were under direct or indirect European Colonial subjugation at some point. Much of modern India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar were gradually occupied by Great Britain - starting from 1757, reaching their zenith in 1857 and ruling till 1947. Nepal and Bhutan were to some extent a protectorate of Great Britain until World War II. The network of means of transportation and communication as well as banking and training of requisite workforce, and also the existing rail, post, telegraph, and education facilities have evolved

out of the base established in the colonial era, often called the British Raj. Most of the region gained independence from Europe by the late 1940s. Tibet at times has governed itself as an independent state and at other times has maintained various levels of association with China. It came under Chinese control in the 18th century in spite of British efforts to seize possession of this Chinese protectorate at the beginning of the 20th century. Tibetan and Chinese views on the Sino-Tibetan relation vary significantly. The Tibetans saw Dalai Lama's relation with the Manchu emperor in more of a religious light than what would be considered political.

Since 1947, most South Asian countries have achieved tremendous progress in all spheres. Most notable achievements are in the fields of education; industry; health care; information technology and services based on its applications; research in the fields of cutting edge sciences and technologies; defence related self-reliance projects; international/global trade and business enterprises and outsourcing of human resources. Areas of difficulty remain, however, including religious extremism, high levels of corruption, disagreements on political boundaries, and inequitable distribution of wealth.

As you know, India is the dominant political power in this region. It is by far the largest country in the region covering around three-fourths the land area of the subcontinent. It also has the largest population of around three times the combined population of the 6 other countries in the subcontinent. India is also the most populous democracy in the world and is a nuclear power. The second largest country in the subcontinent area-wise and population-wise is Pakistan and has traditionally maintained the balance of power in the region due to its strategic relationships with Arab states and neighbouring state of China. Pakistan is the 6th most populous country in the world and is also a nuclear power. India plays an important role in south Asian politics becoming a dialogic partner of Association of South East Asian Nations. Its dialogic relations have grown rapidly from a sectoral dialogue partnership in 1992 to a full dialogue partnership in December 1995.

We know that, with its emerging economy and military strength India is a powerful nation in this region. Monopoly of India is seen in the matter of Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and Tibet, due to their dependence on India for financial and military aid. In the first unit we discussed the basic determinants of Indian Foreign Policy, wherefrom we know that India adopted no-

intervention policy towards other country's affairs. But in reality, India has always influenced its neighbouring country with military and financial strength. It provoked the above mentioned countries to take decisions in favour of India. For example, Bangladesh got its independence with the help of India and Bhutan was given permission by India for undertaking military operations against the militants groups of North East India which were sheltered there.

As evident from the above discussion, we find that through its emerging economic power India plays an important role in the South Asia. At present it has gained nuclear power, so its role in south Asian region is increasing. Certain aspects of India's relations within the subcontinent are conducted through The South Asian association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Its members are Afganistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maladivs, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. And it is established in 1985, it encourages cooperation in agriculture, rural development, science, and technology, culture, health, population control, and anti terrorism. It has intentionally stressed these core issues and avoided more divisive political issues, although political dialogue is often conducted on the margins on SAARC meetings.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

India is involved in the following international disputes in the South Asian Region:

Bangladesh:

- o 6.5 km of the border between India and Bangladesh remains to be demarcated.

Nepal:

- o Kalapani district of India is claimed by Nepal and Nawalparasi district of Nepal is claimed by India

Pakistan:

- o The unresolved Kashmir disputes. Involving Siachen Glacier and other areas with Pakistan

It helps you to understand the reality of India's foreign policy and manner of relation that prevailed in between India and its neighbouring countries.

2.4 Indo-Pak Relations: Conflict and Peace Process

We all know that the joy independence from colonial rule in 1947 was tarnished by the violence and brutality of Partition. The Partition of British India into the sovereign states of India and Pakistan (with its western and eastern wings) led to many sudden developments. Thousands of people snuffed out, many others changed dramatically, cities changed, India changed and a new country was born. There was unprecedented genocidal violence and migration. In this unit will examine the history of India and Pakistan since 1947 till date.

As stated, ever since the partition of the sub-continent in 1947 when Britain dismantled its Indian empire, India and Pakistan have been arch rivals. Relations with Pakistan have demanded a high proportion of India's international energies and undoubtedly will continue to do so. India and Pakistan have divergent national ideologies and have been unable to establish a mutually acceptable power equation in South Asia. The national ideologies of pluralism, democracy, and secularism for India and of Islam for Pakistan grew out of the pre-independence struggle between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, and in the early 1990s the line between domestic and foreign politics in India's relations with Pakistan remained blurred. Because great competition for powers between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the Soviet Union and China--became intertwined with the conflicts between India and Pakistan, India was unable to attain its goal of insulating South Asia from global rivalries. This involvement of the superpower enabled Pakistan to use external force in the face of India's superior endowments of population and resources. Let us discuss the relationship between these two countries phase wise in the following section.

2.4.1 Relation between India and Pakistan since 1947 to 1960

The most difficult problem in relation between India and Pakistan since partition in August 1947 has been their dispute over Kashmir. Pakistan's leaders did not accept the legality of the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir to India, and undeclared war broke out in October 1947. It was the first of three conflicts between the two countries. Pakistan's representatives ever since have argued that the people of Kashmir should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination through a plebiscite, as promised by Nehru

and required by UN Security Council resolutions in 1948 and 1949. The inconclusive fighting led to a UN-arranged cease-fire starting on January 1, 1949. On July 18, 1949, the two sides signed the Karachi Agreement establishing a cease-fire line that was to be supervised by the UN. The demarcation left Srinagar and almost 139,000 square kilometers under Indian control and 83,807 square kilometers under Pakistani control. Of these two areas, China occupied 37,555 square kilometers in India's Ladakh District (part of which is known as Aksai Chin) in 1962 and Pakistan ceded, in effect, 5,180 square kilometers in the Karakoram area to China when the two countries demarcated their common border in 1961-65, leaving India with 101,387 square kilometers and Pakistan with 78,387 square kilometers. In January 1949, the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) was given the task of supervising the cease-fire in Kashmir. The group comprises of thirty-eight observers--from Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and Uruguay who rotate their headquarters every six months between Srinagar (summer) and Rawalpindi, Pakistan (winter).

2.4.2 Relation between India and Pakistan since 1960 to 1980

Armed infiltrators from Pakistan crossed the cease-fire line, and the number of skirmishes between Indian and Pakistani troops increased in the summer of 1965. Starting on August 5, 1965, India alleged that Pakistani forces began to infiltrate the Indian-controlled portion of Jammu and Kashmir. India made a countermove in late August, and by September 1, 1965, the second conflict had fully erupted as Pakistan launched an attack across the international line of control in southwest Jammu and Kashmir. Indian forces retaliated on September 6 in Pakistan's Punjab Province and prevailed over Pakistan's apparent superiority in tanks and aircraft. A cease-fire called by the UN Security Council on September 23 was observed by both the sides. At Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in January 1966, the belligerents agreed to restore the status quo ante and to resolve outstanding issues by negotiation.

The third war between India and Pakistan, in December 1971, centered in the east over the secession of East Pakistan (which became Bangladesh), but it also included engagements in Kashmir and elsewhere on the India-West Pakistan front. India's military victory was complete. The independence

of Bangladesh was widely interpreted in India--but not in Pakistan as an ideological victory disproving the "Two Nations Theory" pushed by the Muslim League and that led to partition in 1947. At Shimla (Simla), Himachal Pradesh, on July 2, 1972, Indira Gandhi and Pakistan's President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto signed the Simla Accord by which India would return all personnel and captured territory in the west and the two countries would "settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations." External bodies, including the UN, were excluded from the process. The fighting had resulted in the capture of each other's territory at various points along the cease-fire line, but the Simla Accord defined a new line of control that deviated in only minor ways from the 1949 cease-fire line. The two sides agreed not to alter the actual line of control unilaterally and promised to respect it "without prejudice to the recognized position of either side." Both sides further undertook to "refrain from the threat or use of force in violation of the line."

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Jammu and Kashmir prospered under a virtually autonomous government led first by Sheikh Abdullah and then by his son Farooq Abdullah. In the summer of 1984, differences between Srinagar and New Delhi led to the dismissal of Farooq's government by highly questionable means. Kashmir once again became an irritant in bilateral relations. Indian diplomats consistently accused Pakistan of trying to "internationalize" the Kashmir dispute in violation of the Simla Accord.

In the mid- to late 1980s, the political situation in Kashmir became increasingly unstable. In March 1986, New Delhi invoked President's Rule to remove Farooq's successor, Ghulam Mohammed Shah as chief minister and replace his rule with that of Governor Jagmohan, who had been appointed by the central government in 1984. In state elections held in 1987, Farooq's political party, the National Conference forged an alliance with Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) which won a majority in the state elections. Farooq's government failed to deal with Kashmir's economic problems and the endemic corruption of its public institutions, providing fertile ground for militant Kashmiris who demanded either independence or association with Pakistan.

Check Your Progress:

1. Choose the Correct Option
 - a. Simla accord was signed between India and China. (True/False)
 - b. India is a member of ASEAN. (True/False)
 - c. Farooq Abdullah is the son of Sheikh Abdullah. (True/False)
2. Discuss critically the role of India in South Asia.

2.4.3 Relation between India and Pakistan since 1980 to 1990

In the mid and late 1980s, India-Pakistan relations settled into a pattern of ups and downs. Despite the signing of an economic and trade agreement, little progress was made in concluding a comprehensive, long-term economic agreement for nondiscriminatory bilateral trade. In addition, New Delhi charged Islamabad with arming and training Sikh terrorists in Punjab. The government's 1984 White Paper on the Punjab Agitation stated that India's strength, unity, and secularism were targets of attack. The December 1985 visit of Zia to India, during which both sides agreed not to attack each other's nuclear facilities, ushered in a brief phase of cordiality in which another agreement expanding trade was signed. The cordiality evaporated in early 1986, with Indian unhappiness over Pakistan's alleged interference in Punjab and the bungled Pakistani handling of the terrorist seizure of a Pan American airline in which many Indians died. For its part, Pakistan was disturbed by anti-Muslim riots in India, and Zia accused India of assisting the political campaign of Benazir Bhutto.

Between November 1986 and February 1987, first India, then Pakistan, conducted provocative military maneuvers along their border that raised tensions considerably. India's "Operation Brass Tacks" took place in Rajasthan, across from Pakistan's troubled Sindh Province, and Pakistan's operations were located close to India's state of Punjab. The crisis was heightened when Pakistan's premier nuclear scientist Abdul Qadir Khan revealed in a March 1987 interview that Pakistan had manufactured a nuclear bomb. Although Khan later retracted his statement, India stated that the disclosure was "forcing us to review our option." The tensions created by the military exercises and the nuclear issue were defused following talks at

the foreign secretary level in New Delhi (January 31-February 4) and Islamabad (February 27-March 2), during which the two sides agreed to a phased troop withdrawal to peacetime positions.

The sudden death of Zia in an air crash in August 1988 and the prime ministership of Benazir Bhutto in December 1988 after democratic elections provided the two countries with an unexpected opportunity to improve relations. Rajiv Gandhi's attendance at the SAARC summit in Islamabad in December 1988 permitted the two prime ministers to establish a personal rapport and to sign three bilateral agreements, including one prohibiting attacks on each other's nuclear facilities. As we know from the earlier discussion despite the personal sympathy between the two leaders and Bhutto's initial emphasis on the 1972 Simla Accord as the basis for warmer bilateral ties, domestic political pressures, particularly relating to unrest in Sindh, Punjab, and Kashmir effectively destroyed the chances for improved relations in 1989 and 1990. For her part, Bhutto backed away from her comments on the Simla Accord by continuing to press the Kashmir issue internationally, and Indian public opinion forced Rajiv Gandhi and his successor, V.P. Singh, to take a hard line on events relating to Kashmir.

2.4.4 Relation between India and Pakistan since 1990 to till now

In the early 1990s, India-Pakistan relations remained troubled despite bilateral efforts and changes in the international scenerio. High-level dialogue on a range of bilateral issues took place between foreign ministers and prime ministers at the UN and at other international meetings. However, discussions over confidence-building measures begun in the summer of 1990 as a response to the Kashmir confrontation were cancelled in June 1992 following mutual expulsions of diplomats for alleged espionage activities. In June 1991, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif proposed talks by India, Pakistan, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China to consider making South Asia a nuclear-free zone, but the minority governments of Chandra Shekhar and subsequently that of Narasimha Rao declined to participate. Nevertheless, negotiations concerning the Siachen Glacier resumed in November 1992 after a hiatus of three years. By the mid-1990s, little had occurred to improve bilateral relations as unrest in Jammu and Kashmir accelerated and domestic politics in both nations were unsettled.

In May 1998 both the countries conducted nuclear tests. In 1999 Kargil war was fought between the two countries. In 2001 a summit was called in Agra with Pakistan's military President Gen. Pervez Musharaf and India's Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpayee, but it was not successful in terms of peace. After a few months Pakistani backed militants attacked Indian Parliament.

The tensions are not over and along with it peace process are also continuing. In October 2003 the 12 point proposal was accepted, which included civil aviation, rail diplomacy, relaxation of visa norms, sports diplomacy etc. It was also agreed that ceasefire should be declared on the line of control. Both the countries emphasized on increasing cultural contact and speeding up economic activities. In 2004, talks were held on following issues between these two countries:

1. Working out a peaceful solution to the Kashmir issue while establishing peace and security
2. Solution to Siachen Glacier.

In February 2007, the two countries signed the agreement to minimize the risk of accidental use of nuclear weapons. But these fail to offer a peaceful solution. In 2009, Pakistani backed militants attacked India's heart metro city Mumbai.

Thus we find that the principal source of contention between India and Pakistan has been Kashmir, and the cross border terrorism backed by Pakistan.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

Attacks on Jammu & Kashmir's State Assembly and its impact on Indo Pak Relation:

A car bomb exploded near the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly on October 1, 2001, killing 27 people in an attack that was blamed on Kashmiri separatists. It was one of the most prominent attacks against India apart from the one on Indian Parliament in December 2001. The dead bodies of the terrorists and the data recovered from them revealed that Pakistan was solely responsible for the activity. Again in 2008 Mumbai was attacked by ten terrorists who killed over 160. India blamed the Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Pakistan-based Welfare group for

planning and executing the attacks. Islamabad resisted the claims and demanded evidence. India provided evidence in the form of interrogations, weapons, candy rappers, Pakistani Brand Milk Packet, and telephone sets. Indian officials demanded Pakistan extradite suspects for trial. They also said that, given the sophistication of the attacks, the perpetrators "must have had the support of some official agencies in Pakistan.

Thus we find that despite the efforts made by the Indian government for improving the bilateral relationship Pakistan Government still using militancy groups to destroy the integrity of India.

2.5 Indo-Sri Lankan Relations

We are already familiar with the problematic relationship between India and Pakistan. Another important neighbouring country of India is Sri Lanka which is located off the coast of south East India. It has a very close cultural relation with India. From the ancient time, these two countries have maintained a good relation. A large number of Indians are settled in Sri Lanka. In the political sphere both the countries maintained a very cordial relation from the beginning. They have also preserved proper relationship in the economic sphere. Where there is proper relation, there also exists bitterness. India and Sri Lanka established diplomatic relations when the latter gained its independence in 1948. Both nations proceeded to establish extensive cultural, commercial, strategic and defence ties to establish a common sphere of influence in the region adopting the policy of non-alignment to control Western and Soviet influence. The close relationship between the then-Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike led to the development of strong bilateral relations. In 1971, Indian armed forces helped squash a communist rebellion against the Sri Lankan government

Now let us discuss the bilateral relationship between these two countries phase wise,

2.5.1 Indo-Sri Lankan relations since 1987

India's relations with Sri Lanka got strained towards the late 1984 and the beginning of 1985 due to internal ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka. The conflict takes serious form when the Lankan Government tried to suppress Sinhali

in Tamil Majority areas by using its cops. As a reaction against government's action they also violated law and order. This was followed by burning of many towns, villages by the army which resulted the death of many Tamils who are basically Indian origin. Therefore a large number of Tamils crossed over to India, creating a serious refugee problem in India. It led to strong demand of intervention of India in this matter. But Indian government ruled out from this action and wanted a political solution of this problem and sent its foreign secretary to Lanka in 1985 to discuss the situation. However, no concrete solution emerged. But repeatedly the pressure for intervention of India by the Indian people grew. In May June 1987, following massacre of large number of Tamilians in Jaffana, by the Lanakan armed forces, Indian government dropped relief to them with the help of Indian air Force to relive the sufferings against the wishes of Lanka Government. It generated fresh tension between this two country. But at last Lankan government gave permission to send relief. On 29 July 1987 Indian PM Rajiv Gandhi and Lankan President Jayewardene signed an accord. In terms of this accord, the Tamil majority northern and eastern provinces were to be merged to make one single province to ensure distinct Tamil nationality without disturbing integrity of Lanka etc. This accord helped in improving the relationship between these two countries. By this accord, Lanka got 30,000 Indian Peace Keeping Force for fulfillment of Lanka's obligations. Due to the attacks on Indian force India finally recalled the army on 29 July, 1989.

SAQ

Do you think that cross border terrorism is the real barrier hindering friendly relation between India and Pakistan (80 words)

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2.5.2 Indo-Sri Lankan Relations 1990 to till date

In January, 1991, the two countries reached an agreement for the final solution to the vexed ethnic problem of Lanka as could it be resolved only through political settlement. The two countries also agreed to upgrade the existing joint trade committee. And Sri Lanka agreed to accept 200,000 Lankan refugees camping in Tamilnadu. India assured them that its territory would not be used against Lanka. Following the SAARC summit 1991 in Colombo, the relations again worse, due to Lankan President stand against India. He claimed that Indian intervention was not helpful and engaged in informal talk with the leader of Pakistan, Bangladesh, where open hostility was displayed towards India.

Thus bilateral relations with Sri Lanka continued to be close, friendly and cooperative. High level contacts were regularly maintained to strengthen bilateral cooperation in all fields of mutual interest. India has always stood for a peaceful political settlement of the ethnic issues. During his visit to India from 19-21 June 1996, the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister briefed the Indian leadership on the security situation in Sri Lanka and also on the ongoing debate on the proposed devolution of powers to regional councils. He again came to India in December 1996 to attend the SAARC Ministerial Meeting. The Sri Lankan President came to India on a private visit in December 1996. The Minister of External Affairs visited Sri Lanka from 19-22 January 1997 and co-chaired the third session of the Indo-Sri Lankan joint Commission. India sent 1,750 tons of rice to assist Sri Lankan efforts for rehabilitation of civilian population of Jaffna. India extended a fresh line of credit worth Rs 105 crore through an agreement signed in January 1996.

Development Cooperation

India is active in a number of areas of development activity in Sri Lanka. About one-sixth of the total development credit granted by GOI is made available to Sri Lanka. Let us discuss India's development cooperation in Sri Lanka in different projects in recent times,

Lines of credit: In the recent past three lines of credit were extended to Sri Lanka: US\$ 100 million for capital goods, consumer durables, consultancy services and food items, US\$ 31 million for supply of 300,000

MT of wheat and US\$ 150 million for purchase of petroleum products. All of these lines of credit have been fully utilized. Another line of credit of US\$ 100 million is now being made available for rehabilitation of the Colombo-Matara railway.

A number of development projects are implemented under 'Aid to Sri Lanka' funds. In 2006-07, the budget for 'Aid to Sri Lanka' was Rs 28.2 Crs.

Small Development Projects: A MoU on Cooperation in Small Development Projects has been signed. Projects for providing fishing equipments to the fishermen in the East of Sri Lanka and solar energy aided computer education in 25 rural schools in Eastern Sri Lanka are under consideration.

Health Projects: We have supplied medical equipments to hospitals at Hambantota and Point Pedro, supplied 4 state of the art ambulances to the Central Province, implemented a cataract eye surgery programme for 1500 people in the Central Province and implemented a project of renovation of OT at Dickoya hospital and supplied equipment to it.

The projects under consideration are: Construction of a 150-bed hospital at Dickoya, upgradation of the hospital at Trincomalee and a US\$ 7.5 million grant for setting up a Cancer Hospital in Colombo.

Education Projects: Upgradation of the educational infrastructure of the schools in the Central province includes teachers' training, setting up of 10 computer labs, setting up of 20 e-libraries (Nenasalas), Mahatma Gandhi scholarship scheme for +2 students and setting up of a vocational training centre in Puttalam. India also contributes to the Ceylon Workers Education Trust that gives scholarships to the children of estate workers.

Training: A training programme for 465 Sri Lankan Police officers has been commenced in Dec 2005. Another 400 Sri Lankan Police personnel are being trained for the course of 'Maintenance of Public Order'.

Thus we find that recently India has gained the confidence of Sri Lankan government and India actively participated in the developmental projects in Sri Lanka. But in the mean time the war fought between Lankan rebel group LTTE and the government has lead to tense where Indian Tamil people showed their support to the rebel group. But the Government of India tactfully handled the matter with neutral status.

STOP TO CONSIDRE:**Fishermen Issue is another area of tension between Sri Lanka and India**

There have been several incidents of firing on Indian fishermen fishing in Palk Bay. Indian Government has always taken up the issue of safety of Indian fishermen on a priority basis with the Government of Sri Lanka. Presently there is no bona fide Indian fisherman in the Sri Lankan custody. A Joint Working Group (JWG) has been constituted to deal with the issues related to Indian fishermen straying in Sri Lankan territorial waters, work out modalities for prevention of use of force against them and the early release of confiscated boats and explore possibilities of working towards bilateral arrangements for licensed fishing. The JWG last met in Jan 2006.

It helps you find out the area of tension between these two countries

2.6 Indo-Bangladesh Relations

Although India played a major role in the creation of an independent Bangladesh on April 17, 1971, New Delhi's relations with Bangladesh, were neither close nor free from dispute. In 1975 Bangladesh began to move away from the linguistic nationalism that had marked its liberation struggle and linked it to India's West Bengal state. Instead, Dhaka stressed Islam as the binding force in Bangladeshi nationalism. The new emphasis on Islam, combined with Bangladeshi concern over India's military buildup and bilateral disputes over riparian borders, shared water resources, and illegal immigration of Bangladeshis into West Bengal, led to fluctuations in India-Bangladesh relations.

Indo-Bangladesh Relations since 1970 to till date:

Relations between India and Bangladesh has remained positive and the two countries have maintained a dialogue on a variety of issues and initiated a modest program of joint economic cooperation. In 1977 New Delhi and Dhaka signed an agreement renewed annually on sharing the waters of the Ganga (Ganges) River during the dry season, but the two sides made little progress in achieving a permanent solution to their other problems. The bone of contention is the Farakka Barrage, where the Ganga divides into two branches and India has built a feeder canal that controls the flow by rechanneling water on the Indian side of the river. The two nations were still at odds, despite high-level talks, in the mid-1990s.

In the mid- and late 1980s, India's plan to erect a fence to prevent cross-border migration from Bangladesh and Bangladesh's desire that Chakma insurgents not receive Indian covert assistance and refuge in India were major irritants in bilateral relations. As agreed eighteen years earlier, in June 1992 India granted a perpetual lease to Bangladesh for the narrow, 1.5-hectare Tin Bigha corridor in the Ganga's delta that had long separated an enclave of Bangladeshis from their homeland. The two countries signed new agreements to enhance economic cooperation. Bangladesh also received Indian developmental assistance, but that aid was minor compared with the amounts India granted to Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and Maldives. The year 1991 also witnessed the first-ever visit of an Indian army chief to Dhaka.

However the feelings and trust were replaced by doubts and suspicion, Indo Bangladesh relations have remained formally normal though occasionally they have been full of inherent tensions and disputes. However during the last few years, the situation has been optimistic due to the active role of SAARC and BIMSTEC. Following the implementation of SAFTA in 2006 these relations have started looking up. Talks regarding the terrorist activities in the North east are going on. Bangladesh has agreed, in principles that the two countries should cooperate with each other to deal with the terrorist menaces in the region.

Check Your Progress:

1. Choose the correct one
 - a. SAARC was formed in the year 1985/1986/2000.
 - b. ASEAN was formed in -----(fill in the blanks)
 - c. India became the dialogue partner of ASEAN in 1992/1995
2. Critically analyze the relationship between India and Pakistan.
3. Write a note on Indo-Srilanka relation.
4. Discuss briefly the relationship between India and Bangladesh.

2.7 Indo-Nepal Relations

Like India, Pakistan and Lanka, relations between India and Nepal have been traditionally close and have reflected the links of history, culture, language and religion. These relations continued to be stronger, symbolized by exchange of high-level visits. On the auspicious occasion of the Silver jubilee of the accession to the throne of King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev in 1996, the Government of India announced a Silver Jubilee Scholarship Scheme. Under this scheme, 25 Nepalese students were selected for award of scholarships for pursuing postgraduate studies in professional courses at Indian colleges/universities. India continued to play an active role in Nepal's developmental efforts. Construction of broad gauge rail links between Raxaul and Sirsa, as well as other projects, were initiated. Additional rail coaches were supplied to strengthen the service on the Jayanagar-Janakpur railway sector. Foreign Minister of Nepal visited India in December 1996 to attend the SAARC Ministerial Meeting. Letters were exchanged between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal for renewing the India-Nepal Trade Treaty for a period of five years and the Third Session of High Level Task Force was held in New Delhi on 9 August 1996.

However, relations between India and Nepal are close yet fraught with difficulties. Stemming from geography, economics, the problems inherent in big power-small power relations, and common ethnic and linguistic identities overlap the two countries' borders. In 1950 New Delhi and Kathmandu initiated their intertwined relationship with the Treaty of Peace and Friendship and accompanying letters that defined security relations between the two countries, and an agreement governing both bilateral trade and trade transiting Indian soil. The 1950 treaty and letters stated that "neither government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor" and obligated both sides "to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighboring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two governments." These accords cemented a "special relationship" between India and Nepal that granted Nepal preferential economic treatment and provided Nepalese in India the same economic and educational opportunities as Indian citizens. In the 1950s, Nepal welcomed close relations with India, but as the number of Nepalese living and working in India increased and the involvement of

India in Nepal's economy deepened in the 1960s and after, so too did Nepalese discomfort with the special relationship. Tensions came to a head in the mid-1970s, when Nepal pressed for substantial amendments in its favor in the trade and transit treaty and openly criticized India's 1975 annexation of Sikkim as an Indian state. In 1975 King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev proposed that Nepal should be recognized internationally as a zone of peace; he received support from China and Pakistan. In New Delhi's view, if the king's proposal did not contradict the 1950 treaty and was merely an extension of nonalignment, it was unnecessary; if it was a repudiation of the special relationship, it represented a possible threat to India's security and could not be endorsed. In 1984 Nepal repeated the proposal, but there was no reaction from India. Nepal continually promoted the proposal in international forums, with Chinese support; by 1990 it had won the support of 112 countries.

Again, in 1978 India agreed to separate trade and transit treaties, satisfying a long-term Nepalese demand. In 1988, when the two treaties were up for renewal, Nepal's refusal to accommodate India's wishes on the transit treaty caused India to call for a single trade and transit treaty. Thereafter, Nepal took a hard-line position that led to a serious crisis in India-Nepal relations. After two extensions, the two treaties expired on March 23, 1989, resulting in a virtual Indian economic blockade of Nepal that lasted until late April 1990. Although economic issues were a major factor in the two countries' confrontation, Indian dissatisfaction with Nepal's 1988 acquisition of Chinese weaponry played an important role. New Delhi perceived the arms purchase as an indication of Kathmandu's intent to build a military relationship with Beijing, in violation of the 1950 treaty and letters exchanged in 1959 and 1965, which included Nepal in India's security zone and precluded arms purchases without India's approval. India linked security with economic relations and insisted on reviewing Indo-Nepal relations as a whole. Nepal had to back down after worsening economic conditions led to a change in Nepal's political system, in which the king was forced to institute a parliamentary democracy. The new government sought quick restoration of amicable relations with India.

Another improvement was made when the special security relationship between New Delhi and Kathmandu was reestablished during the June 1990 New Delhi meeting of Nepal's Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai

and Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh. During the December 1991 visit to India by Nepalese Prime Minister Girijad Prasad Koirala, the two countries signed new, separate trade and transit treaties and other economic agreements designed to accord Nepal additional economic benefits.

Again, Indian-Nepali relations appeared to be undergoing still more reassessment when Nepal's Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikary visited New Delhi in April 1995 and insisted on a major review of the 1950 peace and friendship treaty. In the face of benign statements by his Indian hosts relating to the treaty, Adhikary sought greater economic independence for his landlocked nation while simultaneously striving to improve ties with China.

More recently, after the breakdown of Monarchy in Nepal, India heartily supported the move. But the King could not continue his government due to lack of support base in parliament, and the relation going to be worse as he condemned India by saying that it would try to restore monarchy in the Himalayan region.

Thus we find that the relation between India and Nepal witnessed a major rise and fall in different time.

SAQ:

Do you think that the bilateral relation between India and Pakistan will bring peace on South Asian region (80 words)

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2.8 Summing Up

After going through this unit you are now in a position to explain that India shows a friendly relations with several countries in the developing world and with its neighbours. Though India is not a part of any major military alliance, but it has a close strategic and military relationship with most of the

major powers. In terms of relation with its neighbours since the beginning, we saw that it was always not in a good position. India faced cross border terrorism backed by Pakistan and most of its neighbouring country helped India based militants groups with giving them shelter, arms training etc. Another major problem faced by India from its neighbouring country is migration problem. From Bangladesh many peoples were came to India illegally and settled here creating a burning problem in Indian demography. However, the peace process is continuing. You know that since the independence India opted for non alignment and peaceful coexistence with its neighbouring country and favoured the peaceful settlement of disputes, but is yet to achieve success.

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Unit III

India, SAARC and NAM

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- 3.1 Introduction**
- 3.2 Objectives**
- 3.3 Organization of SAARC**
 - 3.3.1 Background of SAARC**
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- 3.4 Role of SAARC in the contemporary period**
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- 3.5 Emergence of NAM**
- 3.6 Significance of NAM in the present world**
- 3.7 Summing Up**
- 3.8 References and Suggested Readings**

3.1 Introduction

In the previous two units we have discussed India's foreign policy which is directed by the Panchasheel policy and peaceful coexistence with its neighbouring countries and India's role in South Asia and its relation with some of the neighbouring countries. One of the most remarkable developments in international relations since 1945 is the proliferation of super national and regional organizations. Regionalism as a concept means organizing states and dependent areas on a regional basis. In international politics it may be described as an association of states based on location in a given geographical area for the safeguard or promotion of interests of the participant's nations.

In this unit we shall discuss South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation in short SAARC as a balancing force of South Asian Region and Non Alignment movement which emerged during the period of Cold War. This unit is an attempt to analyse the regional politics in the context of SAARC and NAM.

3.2 Objective

We all know that in the contemporary world regional organizations play an important role in moulding the foreign policy of a country. It also determines the relationship among nations. By the end of this unit you will be able to

- *describe* the organizational structure of SAARC
- *analyse* the role and influence of SAARC in the regional politics of south Asia
- *explain* the emergence of NAM as a foreign policy doctrine of third world countries
- *discuss* the relevance of SAARC and NAM in contemporary world

3.3 Organization of SAARC

Though the countries of South-Asia have some common issues, but they are failed to create a common platform for themselves until 1985. but attempts were made to create an organization to promote their common interest. This effort paved the way to the establishment of the organization of South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation. Here we are going to discuss the background as well as the overall aspects of SAARC as the balancing force in South-Asian region.

3.3.1 Background of SAARC

We know that South Asia, also known as Southern Asia, is the southern region of the Asian continent which comprises of sub-Himalayan countries and, for some authorities, also includes the adjoining countries on the west and the east. It is surrounded (clockwise, from west to east) by Western Asia, Central Asia, Eastern Asia, Southeastern Asia and the Indian ocean. South Asia consists of Bangladesh, the British Indian Ocean Territories, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Some definitions may also include Afghanistan, Myanmar, Tibet, and Iran. These countries are marked as Third World countries due to lack of economic development. Almost all South Asian countries were under direct or indirect European Colonial subjugation at some point. Much of modern India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar were gradually occupied by Great

Britain - starting from 1757, reaching their zenith in 1857 and ruling till 1947. Nepal and Bhutan were to some extent a protectorate of Great Britain until after World War II. Since 1947, most South Asian countries have achieved tremendous progress in all spheres. Most notable achievements are in the fields of education; industry; health care; information technology and services based on its applications; research in the fields of cutting edge sciences and technologies; defence related self-reliance projects; international/global trade and business enterprises and outsourcing of human resources. Areas of difficulty remain, however, including religious extremism, high levels of corruption, disagreements on political boundaries, and inequitable distribution of wealth.

Although the countries of South Asia has so much in common, yet they failed to create a common platform for themselves until 1985. it was in August 1983, the Foreign Ministers of seven countries met in Delhi and signed the declaration of SAARC. The first SAARC summit took place in Dhaka on 8 December 1985 and thus the SAARC was formally established. It is one of the youngest regional organizations, but in terms of size and population it is one of the biggest regional groupings.

Charter:

We have already got an idea of SAARC. As known to us, SAARC is a regional organization for promoting cooperation in this region and established in 1985. Now we will discuss the Charter of SAARC. Charter is sometimes relating with the constitution where rules and procedures are written. The charter of SAARC consists of ten articles. It describes the conceptual framework, objectives, principles and guidelines of this organization.

3.3.2 Objectives and Principles of SAARC

You know that for the regional development the south Asian nation established this organization. So, the basic objective of SAARC is the overall development of this region. Some other objectives are as follows–

- To promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;

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

Thus we find that it is economic and political institution, which aimed at strengthening the collaboration between these countries in every field.

Principles of SAARC:

In the previous paragraph we discussed the objectives of SAARC. You know that the overall objectives of SAARC are economic development of this region. And the basic principles of SAARC are incorporated in Panchasheel. Let us discuss the principles of SAARC

- Cooperation within the framework of the Association is based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and mutual benefit.
- Such cooperation is to complement and not to substitute bilateral or multilateral cooperation.
- Such cooperation should be consistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations of the member states.
- In SAARC decisions at all levels are taken on the basis of unanimity.
- Bilateral and contentious issues are excluded from its deliberations.

Thus we find that charter of SAARC excludes bilateral and multilateral contentious issues from its deliberations.

3.3.3 Structure of SAARC

We already studied the objectives and principles of SAARC. Let us discuss the organizational structure of SAARC. We know that SAARC was established in the year 1985, and since its inception in world politics it has made impressive progress in organizational evolution. It has now four tiered structure, as

- The Annual Summit
- Council of Ministers
- Standing Committee of the Secretaries
- Technical committee of officials and experts.

Since 1987, it also established its permanent Secretariat located in Kathmandu and its Secretary General is selected by rotation in alphabetical order. Let us discuss elaborately its structure

- **Summits**

The highest authority of the Association rests with the Heads of State or Government. During the period 1985-95, eight meetings of the Heads of State or Government had been held in Dhaka (1985), Bangalore (1986), Kathmandu (1987), Islamabad (1988), Colombo (1991), Dhaka (1993), New Delhi (1995) and Male (1997) respectively.

- **Council of Ministers**

Comprising of the Foreign Ministers of member states, the Council of Ministers is responsible for the formulation of policies; reviewing progress; deciding on new areas of cooperation; establishing additional mechanisms as deemed necessary; and deciding on other matters of general interest to the Association. The Council meets twice a year and may also meet in extraordinary session by agreement of member states. It has held fifteen sessions till November 1995.

- **Standing Committee (SC)**

Comprising the of Foreign Secretaries of member states, SC is entrusted with the overall monitoring and coordination of programmes and the

modalities of financing; determining inter-sectoral priorities; mobilising regional and external resources; and identifying new areas of cooperation based on appropriate studies. It may meet as often as deemed necessary but in practice it meets twice a year and submits its reports to the Council of Ministers. It has held twenty regular sessions and two special sessions till November 1995.

- **Programming Committee**

Comprising of the senior officials, Programming Committee meets prior to the Standing Committee sessions to scrutinize Secretariat Budget, finalize the Calendar of Activities and take up any other matter assigned to it by the Standing Committee. This Committee has held fifteen sessions till November 1995.

- **Technical Committees**

Comprising of the representatives of member states, technical committee formulate programmes and prepare projects in their respective fields. They are responsible for monitoring the implementation of such activities and report to the Standing Committee. The chairmanship of each Technical Committee normally rotates among member countries in alphabetical order, every two years. At present, there are twelve Technical Committees. However, with the merger of the Technical Committees on Environment and Meteorology, beginning from 1st January 1996, the number of Technical Committees will be eleven.

- **Action Committees**

According to the SAARC Charter, there is a provision for Action Committees comprising of member states concerned with implementation of projects involving more than two, but not all member states. At present, there are no such Action Committees.

- **Other Meetings**

During the first decade of SAARC, several other important meetings took place in specific contexts. A number of SAARC Ministerial Meetings have been held, to focus attention on specific areas of common concern and has become an integral part of the consultative structure

Thus you find that for regional development and cooperation, eight South Asian countries established the organization of SAARC through the Summit

held in Dhaka. In the last few years it has got maturity, it is able to codify two conventions namely, Food Security Reserve Convention and Convention on Suppression of Terrorism. So it is cleared that SAARC has played an important role in the process of nation building in the South Asian region.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Members of SAARC

Since the beginning it has 8 members, as,

- Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
- People's Republic of Bangladesh
- Kingdom of Bhutan
- Republic of India
- Republic of Maldives
- Republic of Nepal
- Islamic Republic of Pakistan
- Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

It helps you to understand the role of these countries in the development process of South Asian region through SAARC.

3.4 Role of SAARC in the contemporary period

Already you know that for the regional cooperation 8 South Asian Countries have established SAARC on 1985 in Dhaka, the capital City of Bangladesh. However, SAARC is yet to acquire the status of regional organization like ASEAN. Even after existence of more than two decades, its achievement has been far below its inherent potential. The range of peace cooperation among its member countries is much below the expectation. Till now it has little to show in terms of positive achievement. Let us discuss role of SAARC in the contemporary world

Already we have discussed that due to the lack of positive cooperation SAARC has faced failure in the path of its progress. But as time passed, it has passed its stage of infancy. It should strengthen itself on the basis of collective relations at all events covering all subjects, that include politics too. During the 12 and 13th SAARC summits, extreme emphasis was laid upon greater cooperation between the SAARC members.

Now terrorism has brought major threat to this region. Basically the Islamic fundamentalist tried to break the integrity among these countries, which become a barrier in the path of rapid development. Every country now realized that without the proper collaboration among the countries they would not be able to combat terrorism. So, significantly, the XII summit of SAARC hold at Islamabad in January 2004 has broken new ground by adopting an additional protocol to the SAARC Convention on Combating terrorism and signing a framework agreement on SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Association), which is to operationalise the free trade area by January 2006. The SAFTA treaty is a major mile stone on the road to economic union. It is another achievement of SAARC that it is able to adopt free trade agreement among these countries. As said above SAFTA is established during the 15th Summit. Over the years, the SAARC members have expressed their unwillingness on signing a free trade agreement. In 1993, SAARC countries signed an agreement to gradually lower tariffs within the region in Dhaka. Let us discuss the role and relevance of SAARC in the present scenario,

SAQ:

Do you think that the objectives that incorporated in the charter of SAARC are completely followed by its member countries? (80 words)

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3.4.1 Relevance of SAARC

In the present context when the world is facing the threat of environmental degradation and world-wide around 852 million people are going without enough food to eat on a regular basis and 2 billion people are facing intermittent food insecurity (SOFI 2004), the SAARC countries take steps for environmental protection and help each other to combat with poverty and hunger situation.

As we know the South Asian region is rich in its cultural heritage. Their cultures attract the attention of other countries. So the SAARC takes initiatives to exchange its cultural heritage with other countries as well as among them. They got success when, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan expressed their desire to become a member of SAARC for providing East-West connectivity. Russia also want to become an observer of SAARC.

However, SAARC is not fully successful in its programmes. The inability to play a crucial role in integrating South Asia is often credited to the political and military rivalry between India, Pakistan unwillingness to implement to tariff reduction in SAFTA have contributed to the problem of SAARC. It is due to the economic political and territorial disputes that South Asian nations have not been able to harness the benefit of a unified economy. Over the years, its role in South Asia has greatly diminished and is now used as a mere platform for annual talks and meetings between its members.

Besides these SAARC has intentionally laid more stress on core issues like cultural exchange rather than more decisive political issues like Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan and the Sri Lankan civil war. However political dialogues are often conducted on the margins of SAARC summit. SAARC has also refrained itself from interfering in the internal matters of its members states.

Hence, the question remains whether it is wrong to have the regional association fulfill the national interests and agendas of these countries. For, finally one of the aims of regional cooperation is to have stability in the region. Does such an attitude lead to stability of the region? If it does, should it not be welcomed? If the answer is in the affirmative, it clearly implies that SAARC has political relevance. Other associations also show that they started in a similar way, whereby national agendas were sought to be achieved and fears and doubts were sought to be removed through regional cooperation.

The political role of SAARC comes out clearly when it is observed with reference to the manner in which relations are structured in South Asia. They are characterised by asymmetry with the scales tilted heavily in favour of India on one side and all the others on the other side. A sense that the relations are indeed unequal, strikes one immediately . The inequalities are inbuilt with respect to the geographical dimension, demographic magnitude,

economic resource base, production structures and growth potentials , and above all their armed forces and military capabilities. Relations between India and most of the member countries have been characterized by mistrust and suspicion. This was especially so during the mid eighties when the SAARC process had begun. Only India has common borders with all the member countries while none of them share borders. The smaller member countries have always looked with suspicion towards India and considered it to be a hegemonic power. Flowing from this asymmetry is that the security perceptions of India and the member countries are also divergent. As a result the policies adopted by India and the other member countries are different which only increases the mutual suspicion. However, by being members of SAARC whereby the principle of consensus and unanimity works, there is a sense of equality, which these countries have with regard to India. In this manner, the sense of asymmetry is cut down symbolically.

In a scenario where India's relations with its neighbours are strained and there is a tendency for bilateral relations to affect the overall relations. It is observed that the regional association has had a very useful role to play. The SAARC forum and especially the summit meetings provide an opportunity to all the nations to maintain continuity in their bilateral dialogue. There is a silent acknowledgement by many; including the political leaders of the member countries, that while the official bilateral meetings may face rough weather, the member countries have been regularly meeting at the various SAARC Forums.

It is difficult to answer if the SAARC informal meetings have in any way helped in bringing the countries closer to each other and resolving their bilateral differences. One can safely say that while it might not have brought the member countries closer it has provided a useful link for the member countries. At times of crisis, it has helped to defuse the short term misunderstandings, which are only possible when the heads of the countries meet to give confidence to the people. Similarly, the meetings have helped to restart and give direction to the often-deadlocked official bilateral dialogue.

For example, the Indo-Pak relations have been given a boost time and again from the informal meetings that have been held on the sidelines. Though

looking back one can say that the substantive nature of bilateral relations between these two countries has still not changed, the significant role of the informal bilateral relations cannot be overlooked.

A few examples will help to give a clearer picture. At the very first meeting at Dhaka in 1985, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Zia met informally and discussed bilateral issues. This was followed by a bilateral visit to India by Gen. Zia where the discussions continued.

Prior to the second SAARC summit in Bangalore, India, in November 1986, the air was tense in the sub-continent regarding some report movements of Indian troop on the western borders and that it was preparing to attack Pakistan. During his visit to India, Prime Minister Junejo of Pakistan expressed the view that the discussions with his Indian counterpart had helped to clear the air between the two countries and that there was no substance in the reports of unusual troop movement. Even the media in Pakistan was almost unanimous in expressing that the summit may have helped in clearing the air and that SAARC in the long run may be expected to create a better climate of trust and co-operation.

Another significant summit was the fourth SAARC summit held in Islamabad. Though not informally, yet Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi did extend his stay for a few hours after the conclusion of the summit meetings and the two countries held official bilateral meetings. The two countries signed three agreements relating to avoidance of double taxation on mutual trade, promotion of cultural exchanges and agreement on prohibition of attack on nuclear installations. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto welcomed the forum of SAARC for having made the visit of Indian Prime Minister possible and hoped that more such visits would follow.

One of the most significant meetings on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit was the one between Nawaz Sharif and Gujral at the Ninth Summit in Male in 1997. Following their meeting, the foreign secretaries of both the countries met in Islamabad on June 19-23, 1997 and spelt out outstanding issues of concern to be addressed by both the countries. The composite dialogue continues with breaks whenever there are differences. Nevertheless, it was the Male Summit which facilitated the deadlock to be broken.

The Tenth SAARC Summit in Colombo held against the background of the nuclear tests conducted by both the countries received a great deal of

worldwide attention for events taking place on the sidelines of the summit rather than the main Summit proceedings itself. It was in the SAARC Forum that the leaders of the two countries were meeting for the first time after the tests. The opportunity provided by the SAARC summit however could not be utilised for breaking the bilateral deadlock due to differing interpretations of the implementation of the composite dialogue agreed upon by both the countries earlier in June 1997.

Similarly, the other countries also hold informal meetings on the sidelines. The informal meetings at the highest level on the sidelines have played an important role with regard to relations between India and Sri Lanka during the peak of the Tamil ethnic crisis when India was also closely involved in finding solutions. So was the case regarding India and Bangladesh with regard to finding a way out to the Ganges water treaty. Presently, there are reports that Nepal and Bhutan have also met in the sidelines to discuss the issue of refugees.

Thus we find that as a regional organizations SAARC is able to preserve its cultural heritages to some extent and they are also able to unify a common economic bond. But as an organization of greater perspective it has failed to bring harmony and cooperation among its member's countries. The above analysis clearly shows that SAARC does provide an alternative if not an accompanying structure within which relations can be conducted among the member countries. This alternative structure is very significant for the smaller member countries who get a sense of equality and a distinct identity with regard to India in issues concerning the region. It is also an important mechanism for India to manage and conduct her bilateral relations with the other member countries.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Observer of SAARC

Besides the members SAARC has also some observer countries. Now 6 countries got the observer status in SAARC. The People's Republic of China has shown its interest in joining SAARC. While Pakistan and Bangladesh support China's candidature, India is more reluctant about the prospect of Chinese membership, while Bhutan does not have diplomatic relation with China. However during the 2005 Dhaka summit India agreed on granting observer status to China along with Japan. During the 14th summit Nepal announced its support for the membership of China.

It helps you to explore the Chinese role in South Asian region and the motive of SAARC countries for the inclusion of China as an observer.

As spelt out, SAARC does provide continuity to relations among the member countries especially when bilateral relations are at the nadir. Since the beginning of the nineties there has been a conscious policy direction by India towards normalization of relations with its neighbours, especially the smaller neighbours. In this context, the importance of the SAARC Forum for India is emerging more clearly. In this continuum, the Gujral Doctrine too, recognizing the importance of the neighbours (especially the smaller neighbours), is based on the assumption that the strength and stature of India cannot be divorced from the quality of the relations with its neighbours.

However, given the tumultuous past, India's intentions are looked upon with suspicion at times. Therefore a policy by India singularly based on bilateralism, to build new bridges with her neighbours has certain inbuilt limitations. The SAARC Forum however, allows India to overcome many of these limitations and provides opportunities to build positive linkages with her neighbours through regionalism. To a certain extent it dilutes the anti-India sting which bilateralism carries with it on certain issues. Further, a regional forum enables India to address these member countries together and put forward policy proposals. This was specifically so at the tenth SAARC Summit where India spelt out two specific proposals dealing with bilateral free trade pacts in case of failure of regional free trade area and secondly, that India will unilaterally reduce tariffs on some 2000 items. Further, it is seen that while bilaterally the issue of transit between India and Bangladesh is met with criticism in the latter country, the same proposal as part of the Asian Highway Project dilutes the criticism.

Similarly for the smaller member countries too, SAARC as a forum helps to develop bridges with India, without the government in power being criticized as seeming pro-India within the country. It therefore means that there is a political role which SAARC is playing at the national, bilateral and regional, levels for the member countries, irrespective of the success or failures in areas strictly considered as part of regional cooperation. This should be reason enough for not going into and questioning the relevance of SAARC every time, though it is not denied that criticism and suggestions for co-operation on issues concerning regional co-operation should be made.

SAARC thus provides an alternative structure (in addition to the established bilateral mechanisms) not only for India, but also for the other member

countries in conducting themselves and when required building positive linkages with each other. During crisis times too, the smaller member countries look upon it as a forum to pressurise India. The working of SAARC has further clearly shown that it has not diluted the national interests of the member countries. Most important is that the forum allows the smaller member countries to establish and develop closer relations among themselves which would not have been the case in the absence of SAARC. Not that it would have been impossible, but SAARC facilitates things.

Thus, given the permanency of certain factors of asymmetry in the South Asian region, it is observed that SAARC enables it to underplay these asymmetries. In this sense SAARC has a permanent political relevance to these countries individually, bilaterally and regionally. The means of defining the success of the regional association have thus to be widened.

Check Your Progress:

1. In which year SAARC was established?
2. How many members are associated with SAARC?
3. In which country the first summit of SAARC was held?
4. The charter of SAARC consist of----- articles (fill the blanks)

3.5 Emergence of Non Alignment Movement (NAM)

The term non-alignment denotes different meanings to different schools of thought. In the study of political science, non-alignment refers to a policy of keeping out of alliances in general and military in particular. Many have preferred the term 'neutralism' to non-alignment. However, non-alignment has broader meanings. A non-align country is not required to be neutral all the time. It can participate actively in world affairs under exceptional circumstances. We must remember that non-alignment is linked with the Cold War and therefore non-alignment aims at keeping away not only from a particular conflict but from the Cold War which divided the world into two blocks

Hence, it is clear to you now that Non-alignment is based on the desire for the national independence and non-involvement in conflicts. During the Cold War many countries of the world have accepted non-alignment as the basis of their foreign policy. There are various factors responsible for the growth of the principle of non-alignment. Now let us discuss these factors below:–

- **Nationalism:** Nationalism was the guiding force of the freedom movements of most of the Asian and African countries. Most of the countries of Africa and Asia obtain freedom after a long struggle. Therefore, they try their best to preserve their independence and adopt the policy of non-alignment to maintain distance from the superpowers.
- **Opposing colonialism:** The newly independent nations in the post World War II period persisted the feeling of anti-colonialism which resulted in the growth of non-alignment. They anticipated that being with any power block may again reduce their status to a colony of a powerful nation.
- **Economic backwardness and Aids:** the newly emerged countries of the post World War II are mostly economically poor. The economies of these countries were devastated by the colonial powers. After getting independence these countries emphasized restructuring their economies with the help of the economically developed countries. Hence they did not join any power block for their own interest.
- **Racial and Cultural aspects:** the colonial powers have ruled most of the Asian and African countries and propagated the idea of their racial superiority. They have also treated the colonies as culturally backward. This racial arrogance and cultural dominance have created a feeling of agony among the people. This has created a sense of affinity among the newly emerged countries and they decided to co-operate each other and curb racial and cultural domination.
- **Establishing a Peaceful Environment:** The countries of Asia and Africa wanted the establishment of a peaceful international environment for the proper economic and political development. Hence they decided to keep away from the military alliances.

You have already studied the principle of non-alignment as an objective of foreign policy of India in the previous unit of this block. You must remember here that not only India, but many countries of the world has opted for the

non-alignment as an objective of their foreign policies. Again, we have also learnt that the basic aim of foreign policy is to promote national interest. Thus, through the principle of non-alignment, the newly independent nations of the world have tried to promote their national interest. The non-alignment as a principle of foreign policy aims at the following:–

- Independence in formulating policies: the newly independent nations were keen to preserve their independence. Since at the nascent stage the countries were economically, politically and militarily weak to compete with economically advanced nations of the world, they adopted non-alignment as a principle of their foreign policy.
- Avoiding war and preserving peace: these countries of the world have learnt a lesson after two devastating World Wars that war cannot bring peace. The new nations of the world has concentrated more on economic development and therefore tried to avoid war by the policy of non-alignment. Moreover, they also believe that throughout the history alliances and arms race have led to war. So by keeping distance from both the power blocks, these nations try to act as a mediator and save the world from the scourge of another world War.
- Economic Development: the foreign policy of every nation also aims at the economic development of the nation. After the World War II, the new nations also thrive to be economically independent besides being politically independent. For that they wanted to divert their resources from armaments to other development schemes makes the lives of the people better.

The non-align countries of the world have united themselves under Non-alignment Movement. Thus, the movement becomes an international platform for the states that are not formally aligned with or against any power block. The origin of the movement can be traced back to the year 1955 when 29 Asian and African nations met at Bandung (Indonesia). The name of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India needs special mention here. By taking the initiative of NAM, he said that coming together of the leaders of Asian and African states was an event of great importance in so far as it marked the birth of Asia and a new Africa. Besides Jawaharlal Nehru, G. Abdul Nasar from Egypt and Joseph Broz Tito from Yugoslavia took initiative in the emergence of Non Alignment Movement.

STOP TO CONSIDER:**Basis of NAM**

The Basis of Non-alignment lies in the Panchsheel principles. These principles are as follows:

- a). Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- b). Mutual Non-aggression
- c). Mutual non-interference in one another's affairs
- d). Equality and Mutual Benefit
- e). Peaceful co-existence

Reading of these principles will help you to understand the basic aims, objectives and priorities of the Movement.

It is pertinent for you to know here that the NAM has a unique form of administrative style i.e, non-hierarchical, rotational and inclusive. It provides all the member states, irrespective of their size, the opportunity to participate in the global affairs. In every Summit, the movement rotates its Chair to the head of the state of the host country of the Summit. The Chair of the movement is entrusted with the responsibility for promoting the interests and activities of the Movement.

Thus, the summits play a very important role in carrying forward NAM policies. Now let us discuss some of the important NAM summits and their policies.

Belgrade Conference (1961):

The non-alignment movement acquired an international character in the Belgrade Conference of 1961. Twenty-six Afro-Asian countries and one European nation took part in the Belgrade Conference. A declaration of 27 points is adopted in this conference. It made an appeal to the superpowers to preserve and protect the international peace and security. It also condemns all types of colonialism, imperialism and racialism. It also stood for complete disarmament

Cairo Conference (1964):

The Second meeting of the non-aligned countries was held in Cairo in October 1964. The conference was attended by the 47 countries and eleven observers all over the world. This conference was very significant because

after the first meet at Belgrade in 1961, the world has witnessed several developments. During this period, world witnessed the Cuban missile crisis and Indo-China conflict in 1962. It was a great blow to a country like India who formulated their foreign policy on the basis on Panchsheel. The Cairo conference adopted a declaration entitled 'Programme for Peace and International Co-operation'. This declaration asserted that peace can be strengthened only if principles of universal freedom, equality and justice were observed and imperialism and neo-colonialism were abolished altogether.

The conference also emphasized principle of peaceful co-existence and insisted on the settlement of all international conflicts through peaceful means. This conference emphasized general and complete disarmament. The principles emphasized by the Cairo Declaration were non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, support to armed struggle or movements of colonial people against colonial powers.

Lusaka Conference (1970):

After that at Lusaka the third summit of non-alignment nations was held. In this summit, the number of countries was increased to 54 and 9 other countries sent their observers. The conference emphasized that the non-aligned countries can use their collective wisdom and influence to tip the balance of power in favour of peace and international co-operation. It also emphasized the role of non-align countries as the vanguard of this peaceful movement to enrich human life. This conference produced a General declaration called, Non-Alignment and Economic Progress which highlighted the relevance of non-alignment and urged all the countries of the world to resolve conflicts through peaceful means. It further emphasized dissolution of military alliances, decolonization and economic co-operation.

Algiers Conference (1973):

In 1973, the fourth non-aligned Summit was held in Algiers. This time the number of members increased to 76 and observers of 9 countries attended it. Thus, this conference represented the majority of the population of the world. This Conference adopted a very detailed set of political and economic resolutions. It laid emphasis on the need of strengthening struggle for freedom

and peace throughout the world. This conference condemned the role of multinationals corporations in the economy of developing countries.

New Delhi Summit (1983):

On March 1983, the seventh non-aligned meet was held at New Delhi. In this meet 99 nations took part. This summit declared the non-aligned movement as the biggest peace movement in the history. This summit appealed to the great powers to desist from drift towards a nuclear conflict. It also called for immediate prohibition of nuclear weapons and establishing nuclear weapon free zones in different parts of the world. It also emphasized adopting new measures for establishing a new international economic order.

Jakarta Summit (1992):

The 10th Summit of non-aligned countries was held at Jakarta from 1st to 6th September'1992. The Summit was attended by 102 countries of the world. Like the previous summits, this also emphasized disarmament with regard to the instruments of mass destruction. This summit also emphasized respecting human rights all over the globe and guaranteeing right to self-determination. It also called for solution of problems in Afghanistan and Palestine and restoring peace in the world.

Durban Summit (1998):

On September 1998, 12th Summit of NAM was held at Durban. This summit mainly focused on issues of cross-border terrorism, global disarmament and also relevance of NAM in the era of economic globalization. It also emphasized solving the problem of terrorism and nuclear disarmament. It also stressed on the significance of universal adherence to Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Further, the Summit calls for reviewing the role of financial bodies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO in developing countries.

Sharm el-Sheikh Summit (2009):

On July 2009, at Sharm el Sheikh of Egypt 118 nations met for the 15th NAM Summit. This summit emphasized the working out of a strategy to tackle world financial crisis and sought international solidarity to fight against terrorism and enhance peace and development. It also talked about promoting new international economic order of equality and sustainable development.

Thus, from these summits it is clear to us that NAM plays an important role in fighting against racialism, colonialism, apartheid, terrorism, equitable and sustainable economic development and disarmament. It also strives to fight against climate change and financial crisis the world is facing today.

3.6 Role and Achievements of NAM

In the above section, you have already learnt about various NAM summits and its changing programmes and priorities. The NAM has made significant contributions towards the preservation of world peace. It has also stood for economic justice in the world. It has successfully pointed out how realistic it is to divide the world between the North and the South than the East and the West. Another significant achievement of NAM is that it has taught the developing countries of the world to pursue independent economic policies for development.

There is a debate going on the relevance of NAM in the contemporary world. As we all know, NAM is a product of Cold War which has come to an end with the dissolution of Soviet Union. Many scholars of the world are, therefore of the view that NAM has no relevance today. The basic aim of NAM, i.e keeping distance from both the power blocks is no longer valid since the world is not bi-polar today. Some others are also of the view that NAM has accomplished most of its programmes and therefore have no relevance today. According to them, colonies have attained independence and apartheid has been dismantled and alliances are also disintegrated and NAM has lost its relevance. Moreover, many criticized NAM for playing an ineffective role in conflict resolutions like the gulf crisis and the Kashmir issue.

However, you must remember that, NAM has contributed a lot towards establishing peace in the world and it has still a lot to do in this regard. Since its inception, the Movement of non-aligned countries has waged a ceaseless battle to ensure that people being oppressed by foreign occupation and domination can exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. During the 1970s and 80s, this movement has played a key

role in the struggle for the establishment of a new economic order. The movement may also be considered as a success seeing its growing number of members with the passage of time. In spite of the ideological, political, economic, social and cultural differences, the member countries have accepted the founding principles and primary objectives of NAM. Historically also, the non-aligned countries have shown their ability to overcome their differences and found a common ground for action.

In the post Cold War period, NAM has tried to refocus its basic priorities and objectives. After the dissolution of Soviet Union, the threat of bipolarity to national independence is no longer there. But, there is a growing threat the nations receive from unipolarity and hegemony of one super-power. Therefore, NAM still has a greater role to play in bringing equality, development and establishing peace in the international scenario. Thus, it can be said that, NAM deals not only with the issues of developing countries, but all the principal global issues from disarmament, terrorism, climate change to financial crisis.

Thus we can say that NAM has contributed significantly towards peace and equitable development of the world till today. Moreover, it has still to play a greater role in a post Cold War unipolar world for strengthening democracy and combat terrorism. Its role is also significant in providing a platform for the developing countries in voicing their grievances.

Check Your Progress:

1. What do you mean by non-alignment?
2. Mention two reasons for the growth of non-alignment in the international politics.
3. Name three founders of NAM.
4. Fill in the blanks:
 - a). The first Summit of NAM was held in _____ in the year_____.
 - b). The New Delhi Summit was held in the year_____.
 - c). the 15th NAM Summit was attended by _____ nations.

3.7 Summing Up

The above analysis clearly brings out that SAARC-the regional association has multiple roles to play. It should not be assessed just with regard to what it has or has not done with regard to regional co-operation per se, but its importance lies for the countries individually in enhancing their national prestige, managing their bilateral relations and having a regional identity. In this sense there is a permanent political contribution of SAARC and herein lies its relevance.

The analysis has also brought out that there exists areas where co-operation in social areas has taken place. Regional co-operation becomes all the more essential in a scenario where challenges in the present and the future are trans-border in nature requiring regional approach and not national solutions. The economic areas of co-operation have not shown much success but SAARC has widened its areas of interaction and is presently experimenting with sub-regional co-operation.

Again, in this unit you have also learnt about the principle of non-alignment and the Non alignment movement (NAM). The principle of non-alignment stands for maintaining distance from the two power blocks that emerged in the Cold War period. The non-aligned countries through NAM have successfully contributed towards establishing peace in the world. The issues and focuses of NAM has been changing with time though it mainly aimed at abolishing colonialism and racialism. You have studied SAARC as a regional organization in this unit and its role in contemporary world. It is interesting to see that all the SAARC countries are the members of NAM. Thus we can say that while SAARC is a regional organization in South Asia, NAM has assumed an international character with the South Asian and African countries taking its leading role.

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**Institute of Distance and Open Learning
Gauhati University**

**MA in Political Science
(2nd Semester)**

**Paper VI
International Politics in The
Contemporary Period**

**Block 3
Peace Studies In International Politics and
International Organization**



Contents:

Block Introduction–

Unit 1 : Role of Peace and Nonviolence in International Relations

Unit 2 : Development in Third World Countries: Internal Sources of Threat to Security

Unit 3 : THE UNO

Unit 4 : International NGO: Amnesty, IRCS, Green Peace, Contribution and Challenges

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January, 2011

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Acknowledgement

The Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University duly acknowledges the financial assistance from the Distance Education Council, IGNOU, New Delhi for preparation of this material.

Block Introduction:

In the previous two blocks of this paper we have discussed India's stands on International field and its relationship with its neighbouring countries and regional organizations. As a student of International Politics it is pertinent to understand various international issues and role of international organizations in our day to day life. Again, as a member of a developing country it is very important for all of us to understand and examine various challenges and issues of major concern faced by these countries. In this Block we are going to deal with four most important topics of International Politics. They are----- the role of peace and non-violence in International Relations, development in Third World countries, the UNO and contributions International NGOs like Amnesty, IRCS, Green Peace. All have serious implications on International Politics. We know that since the beginning of human history, human beings strive to establish peace. After witnessing the devastations of World War II the world community with the help of different International, Regional and other Voluntary organizations tried to establish peace and security in the world. In this context the ideals of non-violence are widely accepted. On the other hand the Third World countries focused on their economic development and tried to get rid of the traditional distribution of economic resources which led to the establishment of a new world order. To solve various problems of the Third World countries, many international organizations come forward. In this context we can point out the role of UNO in establishing peace and security and reduce Human Right violation. In this block we analyzed the role of various voluntary organizations in the international affairs. The block has four units as

In unit 1, we shall discuss the role of peace and non-violence in the international affairs. Though in International Relations, peace has been assigned only a limited understanding while greater significance has been attached to collective security and power balance amongst states. All the thinkers of International Relations only attached their focus on how to maximize power. But a debate is going on since the beginning on the importance of peace in International affairs which is vital for a healthy International Relations and foreign policy. In this unit an attempt is made to explain the views of many prominent political philosophers including Thucydides, Hobbes, Locke, Kant, Jefferson, J.S Mill, Mahatma Gandhi, Freud, Martin Luther King, Thoreau, Johan Galtung, Gene Sharp and Tolstoy for the proper understanding of the role and importance of peace and non-violence in the international affairs.

Unit 2 deals with the subject matter of development in the Third World Countries and their problems with special reference to the threat faced by them in the matter of internal and external security. The term Third World was originated during the Cold War period to define the newly independent countries which were the victim of colonisation. Due to their colonial exploitation these countries are far behind than the developed countries in terms of economy, stability, terrorism, regionalism, communalism etc. After getting independence they were busy with restructuring their society as well as economy but due to the lack of sufficient fund and lack of popular support they are unable to reach their desired goals. Again another challenge faced by these countries is the fear of aggression by their neighbouring and strong countries. In this unit we make an attempt to analyze all the issues of Third World countries with special reference to their security matters in brief.

In unit 3 we shall discuss various aspects of United Nation Organization (UNO). UN was established after the World War II as an International Organization to establish peace and security in the world. UN with its various organs and specialized agencies still works successfully to reduce international tensions. But in some field it also faced failure, however as a world forum the value of UN is not underestimated.

Unit 4 deals with International non- governmental organizations which are voluntarily working for the protection of human right and other related matters. These organizations are task oriented and driven by people with a common interest and perform their functions in various humanitarian fields. However, the success of such organizations depends on popular support and good will of Governments of different countries.

Thus this block gives you a clear cut idea of contemporary world situation and you will be able to understand various aspects of different organizations and problems of Third World Countries along with the role of peace and non-violence in the international affairs in the following four units

Unit 1: Role of Peace and Nonviolence in International Relations

Unit 2: Development in Third World Countries: Internal Sources of Threat to Security

Unit 3: The UNO

Unit 4: International NGO: Amnesty, IRCS, And Green Peace: Contribution and Challenges

Unit I

Role of Peace and Nonviolence in International Relations

Contents:

- 1.1 Introduction**
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- 1.3 Concept of Peace**
 - 1.3.1 Positionality of Peace in International Relations**
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- 1.4 Concept of Non-Violence**
 - 1.4.1 Non-Violence and Gandhi**
- 1.5 Role Non-Violence in International Relations**
- 1.6 Dimensions of Peace and Non-Violence**
- 1.7 Summing Up**
- 1.8 References and Suggested Readings**

1.1 Introduction

The concept of peace has not been properly addressed by mainstream International Relations (IR) theory as International Relations theory focuses more on the dynamics of power, war and violence in human nature and International Relations. It understands war, not peace as a natural state. In mainstream International Relations, peace has been assigned a limited understanding while greater significance has been attached to collective security and power balance amongst states. In this context, the ordinary man and his struggle for life and security in a conflict and post conflict scenario is often construed to be of lesser importance. International Relations theory and its many approaches lack an agenda for peace. Although peace is an important subject matter for thinkers, activists and leaders, a thorough and explicit debate on the importance of peace is long overdue and vital for International Relations and foreign policy. Some of these important thinkers

include- Thucydides, Hobbes, Locke, Kant, Jefferson, J.S Mill, Mahatma Gandhi, Freud, Martin Luther King, Thoreau, Johan Galtung, Gene Sharp and Tolstoy. For a proper understanding of peace and its nuances, important questions like, - How peace can be achieved? What are the different varieties of peace? Why is peace more preferable to war? How to develop a culture of peace? Why peace is less visible in civil spaces, in literature and the arts? Why is war glorified and eulogized while peace is not? How to make peace explicit in theory? - have to be discussed and debated as part of mainstream International Relations theory.

This unit is an attempt at understanding international politics from the point of view of peace and non-violence as a challenge to the three orthodox and more widely discussed and viewed approaches of Liberalism, Realism and Marxism. It gives further understanding of the concept of Peace and Nonviolence and the varied methods to achieve peace as practiced in the world. The concrete examples of methods for realizing peace given in this unit will help you internalize the concept. This unit also deals the related concepts of peace and non-violence for your comprehensive understanding. Our attempt here is to explore the way peace has been conceptualized within the larger context of international politics.

1.2 Objectives

In the context of the widespread ethnic and societal conflicts, intra state wars, economic exploitation and political violence giving rise to gross inequalities which increasing tensions among the nations. In this context establishment of peace is the only antidote. After reading this unit you will be able to

- *examine* the theory towards understanding the international peace.
- *analyze* the effectiveness and desirability of peace theories.
- *discuss* importance of non-violent approach in International Politics.

1.3 Concept of Peace

Peace is an essentially contested concept. Peace can be understood both as a process as well as a goal. Peace however, is not just a strategic goal

(from the point of view of security only); it is a self-conscious and reflexive goal focused on the very process to achieve peace. When the discipline of International Relations was officially founded in 1919, the concept of peace was meant to be a part of its key agenda. International Relations theories however tilted towards understanding the causes and patterns of conflict instead and it dealt with peace in an implicit manner, thereby jeopardizing the development and growth of an independent notion of peace. Peace hence remained under-theorized and at the margins.

1.3.1 Positionality of Peace in International Relations

Peace in International Relations has been traditionally understood from the perspective of the following dynamics:

- Peace is always aspired to and provides an optimum, though idealistic, point of reference;
- It is viewed as an achievable global objective, based on universal norms;
- It is viewed as a geographically bounded framework defined by territory, culture, identity and national interests;
- It is presented as an objective truth, associated with complete legitimacy;
- It is related to a certain ideology or political or economic framework (liberalism, neo-liberalism, democracy, communism or socialism, etc.);
- It is viewed as a temporal phase;
- It is based upon state or collective security;
- It is based upon local, regional or global forms of governance, perhaps defined by a hegemonic actor or a specific multilateral institution;
- It is viewed as a top-down institutional framework or a bottom-up civil society-oriented framework;
- There needs to be little discussion of the conceptual underpinnings of peace because it is one ideal liberal form;
- Most thinking about peace in IR is predicated on preventing conflict, and at best creating an externally supported peace, not on creating a self-sustaining peace.

These perspectives underline that the development of a theory of peace has not received a persistent effort in IR. The focus has been on preventing violence rather than on developing a self sustaining order. Peace is conceptualized as the de-escalation of violence and the end of war merits critical intervention and enquiry.

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the Blanks:

- a. . Peace can be understood both as a ----- as well as a -----.
 - b. Peace is viewed as an achievable global objective, based on ----- norms.
 - c. International Relations theory focuses more on the dynamics of ----
2. Discuss the positionality of Peace in International Relations.
3. Examine the concept of peace in terms of International Relation.

1.3.2 Theoretical Perspectives on Peace in International Relations

Philosophers, religious thinkers and political activities have written about and demonstrated for 'peace' and decried war. Yet a comprehensive 'theory' of peace is still in very nascent stage. Peace like many theoretical terms is difficult to define and consequently, Johan Galtung and others have proposed the important distinction between positive and negative peace. Positive peace denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society, such as harmony, justice, equity, etc. Negative peace has historically denoted the absence of war and other forms of wide scale violent human conflict.

Liberalism

According to Spinoza 'peace is not an absence of war; it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, and justice'. The core of liberalism and idealism rested on principles of liberal internationalism, interdependence, transnationalism, peace without war, disarmament, eventual eradication of war, right of self-determination of all citizens, and the possibility

of world government or a world federation. The League of Nations, after the end of the First World War was founded on these practical considerations along with the confident argument that human nature is not intrinsically violent and, even if it is, social and political norms, regimes and organization can prevent violence. With the onslaught of the Second World War, such optimism was replaced by concern over the rise of Fascism and Nazism. Liberal thought drew from Locke's individualism and Bentham's utilitarianism; Adam Smith's arguments for free trade and pacifism (notion of free markets and trade as a 'hidden hand' that would build up irrevocable and peaceful connections between states); and Kant's Republican Internationalism.

Kant presented the most comprehensive representation of a liberal understanding of an international order which could be termed peaceful in liberal normative terms. He developed an account of peace that rested upon his belief that a 'categorical imperative' existed as an innate and universal moral law, specifically at three levels: domestic, international, cosmopolitan which dictated that human beings should be treated as ends rather than means, and required just laws that would be reflected in a republican political order, which would also extend to international relations. Kant argued that war was brought about by the absence of an international rule of law and democracy, and that trade enabled peaceful relations.

These provided the foundations for human rights and international law as important components of peace. Liberalism developed a moral account of free individuals in a social contract without the presence of arbitrary authority who prefer peace, freedom, rights and prosperity, and that IR is, or should be, a zone of peace.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Baruch Spinoza

Baruch Spinoza was born to Portuguese who got an early rabbinical education. Soon he engaged in serious study of medieval Jewish thought, Cartesian philosophy, and the new science at Rijnburg and the Hague, Spinoza supported himself by grinding optical lenses, an occupation that probably contributed to the consumption that killed him. Private circulation of his philosophical treatises soon earned him a significant reputation throughout Europe, but Spinoza so treasured his intellectual independence that in 1673 he declined the opportunity

to teach at Heidelberg, preferring to continue his endeavors alone. His first published work was a systematic presentation of the philosophy of Descartes, to which he added his own suggestions for its improvement. The Principles of Descartes's Philosophy (1663) contain many of the characteristic elements of his later work, but Spinoza seems to have realized that a full exposition of his own philosophical views would require many years of devoted reflection. In the meantime, he turned his attention briefly to other issues of personal and social importance. The Tractatus Theologico-Politicus (A Theologico-Political Treatise) (1670) is an examination of superficial popular religion and a vigorous critique of the militant Protestantism practiced by Holland's ruling House of Orange. Spinoza disavowed anthropomorphic conceptions of god as both logically and theologically unsound, proposed modern historical-critical methods for biblical interpretation, and defended political toleration of alternative religious practices. Christians and Jews, he argued, could live peaceably together provided that they rose above the petty theological and cultural controversies that divided them.

Realism

Realism subscribes to a constricted conception of peace mostly witnessed in state-centric balance of power and limited within state boundaries and powerful actors which are primarily the nation states. The peace that percolates in realism is a victor's peace and entrenched hegemony. Realism is based on the values of national security and state survival and sees IR as a state of war and stresses on the continuity of violence for stability, quite contrary to liberalism's progressive view on the eventual elimination of violence and war. Realism, negatively responds to a universal ethics of peace. To realists peace involves a zero-sum game. It is at best an absence of open violence between self-interested states, but not an absence of threat. Neo-realist Kenneth Waltz, in his book *Man, the State, and War*, talks about 'three images', which are representative of the propensity for violence in IR. The first, human nature, is the root cause of war. The second, the state, dictates the clash of national interest between states, and the third, the international system, is structured in such a way (anarchical) that state behaviour is determined by this clash. According to Waltz, international anarchy is the cause of war. In this system, there was little room for any peace like alternative other than the brief absence of war. Peace remained simply, an interruption from violence. As all states operated within a balance

of power, underwent a security dilemma vis-à-vis other states' war like intentions and selfish national interests consequently the graph that peace followed undoubtedly became very limited, transitory and chimeral.

Marxism

Marxism believes in the existence of peace in the absence of certain types of structural violence, embedded in the economic and political structures which promote economic and class domination. This domination is perpetuated by small political and economic elites and social classes who own the means of control of production and institutions resulting in the disempowerment of much of the world's population. The elite's status and resources depends upon the disempowerment of the many. When such structures of exploitation exist peace remains illusory. Marxism deals on the question- Whether the injustice caused by elite political and economic structures can be replaced by the agency of masses with a new form of economic justice by means of peaceful reform or coercive measures to create a more determined peace. Such a conceptualization of peace has influenced a wide range of theory, including development theory; critical theory etc which would be dealt in detail another unit. Marx effectively contributed towards development of the idea of a classless peace without structural violence and with inherent justice. This classless peace would arise in the event of control of the means of production by the masses free from class conflict and evils of private property. According to Marxism the capitalist system was an obstacle to such a form of peace, which should include social justice and equity and would not rest merely on peace treaties between states or on the self-appointed elites which controlled material and political resources. For Lenin, this could be carried onto the international stage, whereby capitalism fed imperialism, which prevented a Marxist-Leninist version of peace.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

Feminism in International Relation

In the above section we have learnt three prominent theories of IR related to the power politics. Another important theory regarding IR which is also reflecting

the real picture of peace is Feminist theory. The feminist theory which attempts to bring peace through gender equality now gets the acceptance of the every section of the people. Feminist approaches to international relations become popular in the early 1990s. this approach emphasize that women's experiences continue to be omitted from the study of international relations. International Relations according to the Feminists the gender relations are integral which focus on the role of diplomatic wives and marital relationship that facilitate sex trafficking. Early feminist IR approaches are part of the "Third Great Debate" between positivists and post-positivists. Jacqui True one prominent supporter of feminist theory argued that the empirical feminism sees women and gender relations as empirical aspects of international relations. Thus it can be said that the mainstream international relations emphasis on anarchy and statecraft mean that areas of study that make the reproduction of the state system possible are marginalized.

1.3.3 Negative and Positive Peace

In their endeavour for peace by lessening and preventing wars, peace studies want to integrate theory with practice. They are not just satisfied with the realist and liberal approaches that emphasize only objectivity of what the world is. They want to change the world and want to influence the world leaders towards the achievement of the goal of peace. It also consists of a broader approach for transforming societies through social revolutions and seek peace in the trans-national communities. This they intend to do by bypassing states and ignoring state borders to connect people and groups globally.

Peace is conceptualized in a broader way into two forms i.e. negative and positive. Negative peace prevails when there is the temporary absence of great power war. However, during such negative peace also, there is the unflattering instance of Third World proxy wars killing millions of people. Therefore, negative peace is not true peace. It is a limited and narrow understanding of peace. Such negative peace prevailed during the Cold War period and as mentioned earlier was promulgated as victor's peace in realism.

By contrast, positive peace implies termination of fighting by state armies. It also implies end to their further arming and war preparation. Further, it reverses the economic exploitation and political oppression, which are

believed to be responsible for social conflicts that lead to war causing poverty, hunger and oppressive forms of violence. Such forms are described as structural violence. Structural violence kills and harms more people each year than do wars and other forms of political violence (direct violence). It is also regarded as a source of conflict and war. Positive peace therefore wants the elimination of such structural violence. The point is that the negative peace retains the sources and causes of wars and conflicts whereas the positive peace eliminates them. Advocates of positive peace also want the transformation of the militaristic culture that exists in a status quo maintaining socio-political system. Based on such culture, there is the glorification of war, military force and violence leading to militarism and war. Moreover, war is always the antithesis of peace. In this context, Benjamin Franklin observes, "there never was a good war or a bad peace". Positive peace further depends upon overcoming ethnic conflict, racism, xenophobia and other sources of tension between groups with different cultures languages and religions. Positive peace also includes political equality, justice and human rights.

SAQ:

According to you among the Liberalism and Marxism, which one is more relevant in present time. Give arguments. (80 words)

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1.3.4 Galtung's Model of Conflict, Violence and Peace

Johan Galtung, the founder of structural and cultural violence offers a very influential model for understanding the relationship between conflict, violence and peace. He stated that conflict could be viewed in the form of a triangle with contradiction (C), attitude (A) and behaviour (B) at its three vertices.

Here, contradiction refers to the underlying conflict situation; attitude includes the conflicting parties' perception and misperceptions of each other and of themselves and behaviour involves gestures signifying conciliation or hostility and co-operation or coercion. Galtung argues that all three components have to be present together in a full conflict. Conflict is a dynamic process in which structures, attitudes and behaviours constantly change and influence one another. Galtung also distinguished between direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence. Direct violence can be addressed by changing conflict behaviours, structural violence by removing structural contradictions and injustices and cultural violence by changing attitudes. Unless structural violence and cultural violence are addressed permanent or positive peace cannot be instituted. Addressing structural and cultural violence has broadened the span of peace strategies which include peacekeeping, peace-building and peacemaking.

Check your progress

1. How is peace conceptualized by the traditional theories of International Relations?
2. What is the difference between negative and positive peace?
3. Explain Galtung's model of Peace and Violence?
4. Fill in the blanks (Read each sub section carefully and try to answer)
 - a. In _____ peace the underlying root causes of injustice and exploitation remain.
 - b. The change in our beliefs and wills can bring end to _____ violence.

1.4 Concept Non-Violence

According Kenneth Boulding in his essay on 'Non-violence and Power in the 20th Century' - a really striking phenomenon of the twentieth century has been the rise of organized non-violence as an instrument of social and political change. And this phenomenon began with Mahatma Gandhi perhaps the first non-violent philosopher and theorist who stressed on the power of truth and the capacity of undeserved suffering to produce shame in the perpetrators of violence. Non-violence whether as a moral philosophy or

as an action strategy rejects the use of physical violence to attain social, economic and political change. It is opposed to both passive acceptance of oppression and armed struggle against it. Non-violence offers a number of tactics for popular struggle; education, persuasion, civil disobedience, non-violent direct action to non-co-operation with political, economic and social authorities. Simply understood connotes non-hurting or non-injury. The theories of non-violence are based entirely on the absence of the use of force and violence in any kind of bargaining situation.

Theorist Gene Sharp identifies three basic planned categories of non-violent action. The first is non-violent protest and persuasion. Here the wrong is named, pointed at and sought to be understood. It includes petitioning, picketing, demonstrating and lobbying. The second category is non-violent non-cooperation. Here there is refusal to participate in the wrong that has been named and identified. This category includes tactics like boycotts, strikes, and tax resistance. Third category is non-violent intervention. Here the wrong that is pointed out, is faced directly and there is interference, blocking, prevention and stepping into the way of the wrong. It includes tactics like physical obstruction, blockades, civil disobedience and sit-ins.

It is believed by many a pacifist scholars that only with the complete renunciation of violence can International Relations be rid of future wars. Non-violence however is more than mere pacifism which is seen to imply passivity in the face of aggression. A proper analysis of Gandhian non-violence (ahimsa) helps us distinguish between the two.

1.4.1 Non-Violence and Gandhi

Gandhi recognizes non-violence as a dynamic and active concept. In his view non-violence could not be restricted to merely non-injury and non-killing. This restricts non-violence to negative and passive terms. To be non-violent in the real sense Gandhi opined that it has to be born out of compassion. Conscious compassion on the other hand means the wish not to cause harm or destruction. This constitutes the essence of non-violence. Gandhi here identifies ahimsa with active love. For instance: A thief stabbing a man was guilty of violence (himsa) whereas a surgeon using a knife on a patient for operating on him was not, because the surgeons action was motivated by a desire to alleviate pain and not cause pain as unlike in the

former case. Gandhi distinguishes between the two senses of non-violence thus: in its narrow literal, negative or passive sense it means refraining from causing harm and destruction to others. In its broad, positive and active sense, it means promoting their well being. Gandhi emphasized that non-violence must be active in order to prevent violence, to resolve conflicts without violence and to stand up against injustice imposed violently. Gandhi's non-violent struggle against the British colonial occupation of India stands testimony to the effectiveness of non-violence as a response to violence to establish peace.

1.5 Role of Non-Violence in International Relations

Leverage is regarded as a critical aspect in International Relations and foreign policy decision making. Traditional thinking in International Relations emphasizes violence or threat of violence as a guarantor of leverage in a bargain. However, this violence comes to be questioned by the proponents of non-violence as an effective tool for generating leverage. They emphasize the practical side of non-violence in addition to its morality, of renouncing violence at all cost. As a tactic in bargaining it uses moral norms as leverage in place of violence. This is to say by forgoing one kind of leverage viz. violent physical force, it hopes to capitalize and build on other kinds of leverage viz. popular support and strength of a just cause (struggle against colonialism, imperialism, racism or liberation movements etc). From the practical point of view the disposition not to resort to violence automatically leads to a lessening of the security dilemma in the mind of the opposing party or oppressor so as to accommodate such non-violent options even in his strategy.

The non-violent approach to social struggle represents a radical departure from conventional International Relations thinking about power and conflict. Non-violence has been variously described as the politics of the ordinary people, as a tool of the powerless against the injustices of the powerful. Non-violent movements have specially made sense to unarmed or insufficiently armed people whose adversaries are not only equipped with a range of weapons and military apparatus but are rigorously trained, ready and willing to use violence. However, non-violence has been estimated as a cost effective approach compared to any violent resistance which involves

huge costs human as well as material. Non-violence is seldom adopted by those who have excess to the instruments of violence viz. the state, the ruling government, the military, majority groups (ethnic, religious, tribal, cultural) and patriarchs. In USA, the message of non-violence spread widely in the 1960s, embedded in the civil rights movement under the aegis of Martin Luther King Jr. other instances of non-violent movements can be drawn from Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Africa, Latin America, in the soviet Bloc etc.

Non-violence does not always succeed when faced with violence. So, does it mean we give up on non-violence as irrelevant? Or should we more resolutely hold on to non-violence? The answer lies in our acceptance and adherence to non-violence steadfastly. That, non-violence does not always succeed should not undermine its importance. Violent response to violence is also not a sanguine alternative. Rather it involves great risk. The political leaders and strategists however fail to see this inherent risk and disadvantage and helplessly decide in favour of violence assuming it to be a more effective strategy.

1.6 Dimensions of Peace and Non-Violence

Peace Movements

Since the middle of the 19th century an international peace education movement (peace studies) evolved for the advancement of peace through education. It aims at deconstructing the traditional thinking on war and peace that dominates International Relations and society at large. Such an initiative was taken by the peace movement until the mid 20th century. A peace movement is a social movement that seeks to achieve ideals such as the ending of a particular war (or all wars), minimize inter-human violence in a particular place or type of situation, often linked to the goal of achieving world peace. Such movements of people occur mostly in states involved in wars. The important tactics adopted by peace movements are advocacy of pacifism, non-violent resistance, public demonstrations, diplomacy, moral purchasing, peace marches, anti war slogans, boycotts, civil disobedience and National Political lobbying groups to create legislation. Peace studies were based on the conviction that people all over the world want peace more than governments do. During the second half of the 20th century with

the foundation of the United Nations, UNESCO and peace research, peace studies promoted, education about conflicts and issues in international community that endangered peace and afforded to intensify the awareness of problems related to the international struggle for peace. Peace gradually came to be understood in a more progressive sense encompassing justice and human rights, rejecting unjust, oppressive and restrictive social structures and not the mere diminishing of the threat of war endemic in International Relations. This reflected the internationalist arm of the peace movements particularly in the U.S.A. The pacifist arm howsoever distrusts all international organizations and favours fundamental social change to achieve positive peace

Peace Culture

The concept of a Culture of Peace was formulated at the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of men, held in 1989. It recommended that UNESCO 'help construct a new vision of peace by developing a peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between men and women'. The United Nations General Assembly defined the Culture of Peace as consisting of values, attitudes and behaviours that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by addressing their root causes with a view to solving problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations. The decade from 2001-1010 has been launched by the UN as the International Decade for Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the children of the World.

Peace Building

The term peace building plays an important role in both international efforts to restore peace and in intra-national efforts for reconciliation and conflict transformation. Peace building is increasingly incorporated into the policies of major international institutions such as the United Nations as well as in peace studies. In the words of Norbert Ropers- 'Peace- making is understood to mean the attempt to tackle some concrete problem in a process that generally begins with a difference of interests, proceeds in the form of negotiations and in the end if successfully dealt with leads to an

agreement concerning the conduct of both sides. Peace building on the other hand, covers a wider area and in most cases a longer time scale. Its aim is a change in the social structures underlying the conflict and a change in the attitudes of parties to the conflict'.

Check your progress

1. What do you understand by non-violence? Do you consider it as an effective strategy in International Relations?

2) Elaborate Gandhian Non-violence in the light of India's national movement.

II. Fill in the blanks (Read each sub section carefully and try to answer)

- a) Non-violence must be _____ in order to prevent violence.
- b) Peace building aims at changing the social _____
- c) Non-violence is the weapon of the powerful. State whether true or false.

1.7 Summing Up

Several major international theories have been formulated to understand International Relations. The discipline of International Relations has not been able to come out with one final and universal conception of peace. This is because no single ontology of peace has been able to triumph over others, whether it is a victor's peace, an idealist or liberal peace or an emancipatory peace. This however is indicative of the growing vibrancy of International Relations and worth appreciating. Peace and non-violence theory in the contemporary period has assumed added importance and urgency in the context of conflicts, inequalities and injustices around the world. Peace theory is developed with a practical dimension of achieving positive peace. Its study is no longer neglected and subordinate aspect in the discussion and debate of other major theories like liberalism or realism.

Negative peace is distinguished from positive peace. Treaties, ceasefires may bring temporary peace without resolving the causes of conflicts and wars. Positive peace aims at the removal of such causes permanently.

Non-violence is a moral and active means to fight injustices, inequalities and even war. Peace movements have played an active role in ending conflicts or minimizing inter-human clashes. In the words of E.H.Carr, 'the many dimensions of contemporary IR theorizing, drawing on many disciplines and sites of knowledge, the broad range of approaches an issues, the increasing level of reflection and self-awareness, are necessary for a consideration of peace'

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Unit II

Development in Third World Countries: Internal Sources of Threat to Security

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2.4 Sources of Threat to Security in the Third World Countries

2.4.1. Internal sources of threat to security in the Third World countries

2.5 Summing Up

2.6 References and Suggested Readings

2.1 Introduction

The phrase 'Third World' dates back to the Cold and first used by the French historian Alfred Sauvy in August 1942 to refer to the newly independent countries and also to define those countries that remained non-aligned in Cold War. It is generally held that NATO block along with its allies which idealized capitalism as an economic policy represented the First World; and the Soviet Union and its allies with its communist goals and principles of communism represented the Second World. These countries have some common characteristics, such as fragile governments, poverty, high birthrates, and economic dependence on the advanced countries. Basically the countries from Middle East, South Asia, Latin America, Africa,

and Oceania, considered as Third World Countries. The development experiences of Third World countries since the fifties have been varied and accompanied by political upheavals. Along with economic problems, issues such as Military coups, terrorism, human rights violations is often associated with Third World countries. Almost all countries from this category were former colonies and with the end of colonial rule the countries, were faced with the challenges of nation-building. Due to the challenges, these nations are still today, "developing" in terms of their economic development and political stability. Hence here in this unit we are going to discuss the problem of development in Third World countries and an attempt will be made to explore the sources of threat to their internal as well as external security.

2.2 Objectives

As you know, the progress and development of nations are dependent upon many factors. Issues of history, social and industrial infrastructure, per-capita income and military strength closely affect the future path of Third World Countries. But the reality is that the countries of Third World have failed to address the issues of development and security of their people adequately. As a result, these countries have continued to languish in virtually all aspects of progress and thus remained underdeveloped. After going through this unit you will be able to

- *examine* the concept of development from the perspective of Third World Countries
- *analyze* the relation between development and security in Third World countries
- *understand* the nature of internal threats faced by Third World countries.

2.3 Problem of development in Third World countries

In this section we will try to analyze the concept of development in Third World countries. Later on, we will look into the issue of problems of development as well as analyze the complex relationship between development and security in Third World countries.

2.3.1 Meaning and Concept of Development

After the Second World War, the process of decolonization and the widespread poverty of newly developing nations became important issues for social theorists and economists. The concept of development studies commenced as an academic field after the Second World War, where the interest in 'development' was broadly conceived as human progress, along with the rise and spread of capitalism. In this sense the first mainstream post-war theories of development within the capitalist world were born as modernization theories, that is to say, as theories of the processes and stages through which traditional or backward societies were bound go during their transition to modern society.

However, by the 1960s, world economy was moving towards a crisis where a new phase opened up world-wide. It led to the slowing down of economic growth, a falling rate of profit and more frequent recessions and trade crises on a global scale. Again, after decolonization was over, modernization theory faced a credibility crisis as it increasingly became evident that development characteristic of the dominant capitalist states was not occurring in the Third World countries. The so called 'trickle down' effect had not materialized and according to dependency theorists Third World countries were becoming 'underdeveloped' rather than developed. Accordingly, it led to an international economic structure of wealthy "center" economies exporting industrial goods, the prices of which tended to rise, and impoverished "peripheral" economies of the Third World exporting raw materials subject to falling prices, and thus resulted in a process of "unequal exchange" with the center.

In the mid 1980s, the concept of development accommodated issues of entitlement and capacities. Amartya Sen in his article 'Development - as Capability Expansion' argues that 'human beings are the agents, beneficiaries and adjudicators of progress, but they also happen to be- directly or indirectly, the primary means of all production'. Issues such as quality of human life and people's freedom to choose from various alternatives will reflect the state of development. Likewise Mahbub-ul-Haq in his article 'The Human Development Paradigm' argues that 'people are the means and the ends of development'. According to Haq, 'development must put people at the centre of its concerns' and 'the purpose of development is to enlarge all human choices, not just income'. The paradigm of human development is concerned both with 'building up human capabilities (through investment in people) and using those human capabilities fully (through an enabling framework for

growth and employment)'. According human development has four essential pillars: 'equality, sustainability, productivity and empowerment'. This view of development has come to the forefront of development studies, which has focussed broadly on the issues of entitlement and distribution. This perspective has been propagated by grassroot movements, academicians, UN agencies and by many Third World governments. Essentially development is a contested concept.

Development : A Contested Concept*	
The orthodox view	The alternative view
Poverty: a situation suffered by people who do not have the money to buy food and satisfy other basic material needs.	Poverty: a situation suffered by people who are not able to meet their material and non-material needs through their own effort.
Purpose: transformation of traditional subsistence economies defined as 'backward' into industrial, commodified economies defined as 'modern'; production of surplus; individuals sell their labour for money, rather than producing to meet their family needs.	Purpose: creation of human well being through sustainable societies in social, cultural, political and economic terms.
Core ideas and assumptions: the possibility of unlimited economic growth in a free market system; Economies would reach a 'take-off' point and thereafter wealth would trickle down to those at the bottom; Superiority of the 'western' model and knowledge; and belief that the process would ultimately benefit everyone; Domination, exploitation of nature.	Core ideas and assumptions: sufficiency; the inherent value of nature, cultural diversity and community controlled resources (water, land, air, forest); human activity in balance of nature; self reliance, democratic inclusion, political participation and local control.
Measurement: Economic growth, Gross domestic Product (GDP) per capita; industrialization, including agriculture.	Measurement: fulfilment of basic material and non-material human needs of everyone; condition of the natural environment; political empowerment of the marginalized.
Process: top-down; reliance on expert knowledge, usually western and definitely external; large capital investments in large projects; advance technology; expansion of the private sphere.	Process: bottom-up; participatory; reliance on appropriate (often local) knowledge and technology; small investments in small scale projects; protection of commons.

* Extract from Caroline Thomas, 'Poverty , development and hunger' in John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds) The Globalisation of World Politics, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2007, Pg.65.

2.3.2 Problem of Development in Third World countries

We all know that as a concept, development 'denotes the significant rise of the production of an increasing range of goods and services that substantially improves the quality of human life'. In the book 'Theories of Development', Richard Peek and Elaine Hartwick have extensively dealt with the concept of development. According to them, 'development means making a better life for everyone. In the present context of a highly uneven world, a better life for most people means, essentially, meeting basic needs: sufficient food to maintain good health; a safe, healthy place in which to live; affordable services available to everyone; and being treated with dignity and respect. Beyond meeting these needs, basic to human survival, the course taken by development is subject to the material and cultural visions of different societies'. Development is often identified with economic growth. But economic growth can occur without touching the problems like inequality or poverty. Indeed, growth has occurred in most Western countries and many Third World countries over the last few years, at the same time income inequality has widened. If economic growth and its benefits get concentrated in a few hands, then it is not development. And again, if growth is the outcome of market processes which does not promote equity, it is not development. Development means changing the world for the better, which should start from the bottom rather than be imposed from the top.

In this context it is evident to mention here that the 1950-60s period was an era of disillusionment for Third World countries. Though the formal notion of equality in world politics was well entrenched; decolonization, and access to international institutions, did not result in a more substantive equality. At the global level, the gap between the haves and the have-nots has not diminished and there is increasing concentration of wealth amongst a few people. In 1960, the richest 20% of the world population had incomes 30 times greater than the poorest 20%. By 1990, the richest 20% were getting 60 times more. And this comparison is based on the distribution between rich and poor countries. Adding the maldistribution within countries, the richest 20% of the world's people get at least 150 times more than the poorest 20%. The rules and processes in global markets can be unfair to Third World countries. A country's decision making power in multilateral banks is usually correlated with its economic strength. Even when each country has equal representation in an international body, such as the United

Nations system or the World Trade Organization (WTO), powerful forces can chisel away the developing-country interests (through separate bilateral agreements, for example). The capacity of the developing countries to make informed decisions can be limited. Hence, Development of Third World countries has proved to be more difficult than thought originally.

Third World countries continue to be in the grip of poverty, hunger and corruption. According to the 1990 Human Development Report (HDR), 'There still are more than a billion people in absolute poverty, nearly 900 million adults unable to read and write, 1.75 billion without safe drinking water, around 100 million completely homeless, some 800 million who go hungry every day, 150 million children under five (one in three) who are malnourished and 14 million children who die each year before their fifth birthday. In many countries in Africa and Latin America, the 1980s have witnessed stagnation or even reversal in human achievements'. Again, during the 1980s and 1990s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund promoted reforms known as 'structural adjustment' for developing countries. These programs sought to reduce the role of the state in the economy, and called for reductions in state expenditures on social services such as education and health care, introduction of user fees for such services, trade liberalization, currency devaluation, selling off of state-owned enterprises, and financial and labour market deregulation. In spite of taking radical steps, the Third World countries continue to languish in poverty and the growing gap between the rich and the poor now seems to be unreachable.

Despite the withdrawal of the state from many key areas, the state will continue to play an important role in regulation of markets and promotion of public goods and a decade later, things have not moved at the required pace in the right direction. According to the World Development Report 2000-2001, the average income in the richest 20 countries is 37 times the average in the poorest 20—a gap that has doubled in the past 40 years. Again, 'of the world's 6 billion people, 2.8 billion—almost half—live on less than \$2 a day, and 1.2 billion—a fifth—live on less than \$1 a day, with 44 percent living in South Asia (figure 1). In rich countries, less than 1 child in 100 does not reach its fifth birthday, while in the poorest countries as many as a fifth of children do not. And while in rich countries fewer than 5 percent of all children under five are malnourished, in poor countries as many as 50 percent are'. Such appalling conditions lay down the foundations for insecurity of the nation.

Again, extreme poverty is the breeding ground for political instability and insecurity in the Third World Countries. The Third World countries are characterized by fragile leadership and weak economic resources. Under such conditions, these countries are more vulnerable to global threats like terrorism, environmental devastation and diseases affecting the human development. The link between poverty and insecurity is well documented in the HDR 2005. According to that report titled 'International Cooperation at a Crossroads: aid, trade and security in an unequal world'-

- Nine of the 10 lowest HDI countries have experienced conflict at some point since 1990. Only two of them were democracies.
- Seven of the 10 countries in the bottom ranking in GDP per capita have undergone conflict in recent years.
- Five of the 10 countries with the lowest life expectancy suffered conflict in the last 15 years.
- Nine of the 10 countries with the highest infant mortality and child mortality rates have suffered conflict in recent years.
- Eight of the 10 countries with the lowest primary enrolment ratio have experienced conflict at some point since 1990.
- Nine of the 18 countries whose HDI declined in the 1990s experienced conflict in the same period. Per capita incomes and life expectancy fell in virtually all of these countries.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Armed conflicts within states of Third World

Global conflicts seem to be changing from wars between states to wars within them. Of the 82 armed conflicts between 1989 and 1992, only three were between states. Although often cast in ethnic divisions, many also have a political or economic character. Most of the conflicts are seen in developing countries. During 1993, 42 countries in the world had experienced 52 major conflicts, and another 37 countries had political violence. Of these 79 countries, 65 were in the developing world. But there have been conflicts in all regions. Many of the conflicts within states are protracted. More than half the conflicts in 1993 had been under way for more than a decade, taking the lives of four to six million people. Between 1989 and 1992, more than a thousand people were dying each year in eight countries: Afghanistan, Angola, India, Peru, the Philippines, Somalia, Sri Lanka and Sudan.

These conflicts have also caused millions of people to flee their borders to avoid repression and death. In 1983, there were nine countries from which more than 50,000 people had fled. But by 1992, there were 31. The major refugee-generating countries in the past decade: Afghanistan (4.3 million), former Yugoslavia (1.8 million) and Mozambique (1.7 million). Since 1945, more than 20 million people have died in wars and other conflicts. Even in this era of "peace", then numbers show no signs of abating. Unless strong national and international action is taken, the death toll will continue to rise.

(Courtesy: Human Development Report, Chapter3: Capturing the Peace Dividend, Page 47, available at: hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994/)

2.3.3 Relationship between Development and Security in Third World Countries

Developing countries have pursued democratization in the face of immense poverty coupled with severe social, economic and political tensions. Many countries have returned to authoritarian rule; military dictatorships continue to rule as and many others have become failed states. Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, Iraq have become breeding grounds for extremism and violent conflict. While multi-party elections are held in 140 countries and the number of wars between countries have dropped substantially, the world hardly seems to be a safer place. The intensity of conflict, the nature of casualties, the general disregard for 'laws of war' by conflictual parties, shows that the Third World countries continue to remain vulnerable from all directions.

The relationship between development and security is extremely complex, especially when the concept of security has undergone a change in contemporary times. The concept of security becomes more complex because of its 'relative' character rather than being an 'objective' one. From a realist perspective, issues of power, survival and security lie at the heart of national sovereignty. During the period of the Cold War, security was firmly enshrined in the military. The purpose of security was to defend the integrity and sovereignty of the state. The responsibility of the state to provide security-for itself and its citizens allows the state to impose all manner of draconian measures on society. National security from external forces was addressed through instruments like alliances, balance of power, deterrence etc. However, there has been a major change in 'what' constitutes security and 'how' these threats are to be addressed. While the military continues to be

the most important ally of the state to protect its national security; in a globalized world, the nature of threats and the nature of responses to meet the changing nature of security threats have also assumed new dimensions.

The international security institutions of today were formed as a response to the two great wars of the first half of the twentieth century and the threats posed by the Cold War. Contemporary world faces new challenges and the nature and geography of conflict have changed. The nature of violent conflict has undergone a tremendous change in the last few decades. These conflicts are increasingly a threat not just to the lives of military personnel but also to civilian populations. At the beginning of this century, around 90% of war casualties were military. Today, about 90% of the casualties are civilians. Third World countries are spending huge amount of money to protect their national security from external enemies. Huge spending on armaments undermines human security in another way-by eating up precious resources that could have been used for human development. In 1987 alone, the developing world spent more than \$34 billion of its scarce foreign exchange reserves on arms imports (75% of the world's arms trade in that year went to the poor nations).

The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation-states than to people. In the post Cold War period, the security risks have shifted towards the poor countries. During 1946-89 low-income developing countries accounted for just over one-third of all conflicts. Over 1990-2003 low-income countries accounted for more than half of the countries and territories that experienced violent conflict. Nearly 40% of the world's conflicts are in Africa, including several of the bloodiest of the last decade and a half. Meanwhile, even though the number of conflicts is falling, today's wars last longer. As a consequence, their impact on human development is severe.

The post Cold War period has witnessed the emergence of new kinds of threats to a nation state which are transnational in character i.e. global warming, AIDS, terrorism, refugees etc. of the same time the nation state is witnessing new kinds of internal threats which threaten its political, economic and social stability. Internal threats may include those which hurt the 'physical

well being' of the people, i.e. ethnic strife, civil wars, fratricidal clashes; again internal threats may be those which hurt the 'capabilities' of the peoples, e.g. malnutrition, illiteracy, poverty, hunger, unemployment, environmental insecurities etc. Thus, the concept of development must be seen in context of this changing nature of security threat to the nation-state. Today the issue of security must also be identified through 'human security' perspective, which includes 'freedom from fear' as well as 'freedom from want'.

Check Your Progress

1. Why is 'development' a contested concept? Give reasons.
2. Analyse the relationship between development and security in Third World countries.
3. Write a note on the armed conflict occurred in the Third World Countries

Stop to consider:

Threats to Human Security

According to the HDR 1994, the list of threats to human security may be categorized as follows:

- Threat to Economic security
- Threat to Food security
- Threat to Health security
- Threat to Environmental security
- Threat to Personal security
- Threat to Community security
- Threat to Political security

2.4 Sources of threat to Security to Third World Countries

The concept of security for Third World countries in a globalised world has to be seen from various angles. While Third World countries continue to face the traditional threats mainly identified with inter-state conflicts, the world has been threatened by a series of intra-state violent conflicts, the sources of which are varied, complex and transnational. In the UN report "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility", Secretary General

Kofi Annan points out the link between development and security. According to him, "Development and security are inextricably linked. A more secure world is only possible if poor countries are given a real chance to develop. Extreme poverty and infectious diseases threaten many people directly, but they also provide a fertile breeding-ground for other threats, including civil conflict. Even people in rich countries will be more secure if their Governments help poor countries to defeat poverty and disease by meeting the Millennium Development Goals". The report further identifies the different types of threats faced by a nation state. Accordingly, 'any event or process that leads to large-scale death or lessening of life chances and undermines States as the basic unit of the international system is a threat to international security. So defined, there are six clusters of threats affecting the world must be concerned now and in the decades ahead:

- Economic and social threats, including poverty, infectious disease and environmental Degradation;
- Inter-State conflict;
- Internal conflict, including civil war, genocide and other large-scale atrocities;
- Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons;
- Terrorism;
- Transnational organized crime'.

We are now beyond the Mid-Point between adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the target date of 2015. According to the UN report, 'Beyond the mid-point: Achieving the Millennium Development Goals', the progress has been rather slow, and the fruits of development have not been felt by the Third World countries. According to it 'evidence on MDG achievements indicates an enormous variation among countries. Progress is highly uneven across countries even within a region for the different Goals. Some countries appear to have made steady gains towards a number of MDG targets - such as income poverty, primary education and gender parity in education - whereas others have actually reversed course on some targets, even while making progress on others. And most countries appear to have made insufficient progress towards achieving key sanitation and maternal mortality targets'. The reports also says, 'Typically, the severe

developmental damage that violent conflict inflicts on the formal sector reshapes, but does not eliminate, patterns of accumulation, distribution and social exchange. Moreover, the patterns of violent predation and criminal economic activity that thrive during the anarchy of war often continue to pose serious challenges to post-conflict recovery'. Thus it is clear that lack of development especially human development creates an ideal breeding ground for conflict and new security threats for Third World countries. An even after the mitigation of the threat, the recovery of the state may prove to be an arduous task. According to the HDR 2005, 'Today's security strategies suffer from an overdeveloped military response to collective security threats and an underdeveloped human security response'. Again, the report goes on to identify the close linkage between violent conflict and human development. Accordingly, the prevention of violent conflict is at the root of economic growth and progress. It states 'violent conflict can lead to problems that are difficult to resolve- and to human development costs that are cumulative and irreversible. When poor people lose assets, their ability to cover health costs, keep children in school and maintain nutrition is diminished, sometimes with fatal consequences. Lost opportunities for education are transmitted across generations in the form of illiteracy and reduced prospects for escaping poverty'.

Now the new security agenda (primarily concerned with internal security) includes various diverse threats to Third World countries. It includes ethnic-religious conflicts, terrorism, crimes and also those which hurt the 'capabilities' of peoples, such as poverty, hunger, inequality, diseases, environment hazards, illiteracy, migration , drug and human trafficking etc. All these threats can greatly affect the development of Third World countries which in long run can threaten a nation's political, economic and social stability.

STOP TO CONSIDER

The Millennium Development Goals in the context of Third World Countries

The Millennium Declaration, endorsed by 189 world leaders at the UN in September 2000, is a commitment to work together to build a safer, more prosperous and equitable world. The Declaration was translated into a roadmap setting out eight time-bound and measurable goals to be reached by 2015, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The main goals are:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
- Develop a global partnership for development

2.4.1. Internal sources of threat to security in the Third World countries

Internally, Third World countries are facing multiple problems in the form of poverty, lack of good governance, corruption, resource wars, growing economic inequality, government neglect and state abuse. Therefore, the foundation for long term insecurities of the peoples is already laid out. Some of the main internal threats to security of Third World countries are as follows:

Internal Conflict:

There are many factors responsible for the violent internal conflict in Third World Countries. According to the report 'Human Security Now' (2003), the main sources of violent internal conflict are as follows:

- Competition over land and resources.
- Sudden and deep political and economic transitions.
- Growing inequality among people and communities.
- Increasing crime, corruption and illegal activities.
- Weak and instable political regimes and institutions.
- Identity politics and historical legacies, such as colonialism.

Poor countries are much more likely to experience civil war than the rich countries. When conflict breaks out, poverty can help perpetuate the fighting, and once a conflict has ended, poverty may also increase the likelihood that it will recur. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, in 1990 Sierra Leone was ranked last on the UN Human Development Index. Lacking opportunities to pursue responsible employment, disaffected youth more easily drawn to rebel activity as a means of gaining power and income looted from civilians and the country's rich alluvial diamond fields. Civil wars in Somalia, Liberia, Congo and Uganda have led to complete

impoverishment of these states. Pakistan is reeling under violent conflict. Violent sectarian groups from the Sunni and Shiite schools occupy the extremist end of the political spectrum. In recent years, Pakistan has been repeatedly hit with virulent Sunni- Shia sectarian violence, in which hundreds of people have died. The attack and counter-attacks have also revealed the increasingly complex relationship between sectarian wars and the "war on terrorism."

According to the HDR 2005, poverty and low income are associated with conflict, which in turn reinforces the conditions for poverty and low growth. For many countries, the conflict trap is part of the poverty trap. The economic costs associated with conflict are not neatly contained within national borders. The most immediate spillover effect of a civil war on a neighbouring country is the influx of refugees, such as Afghans in Pakistan and Iran, Congolese and Burundians in Tanzania and Sudanese in Chad. Internal conflicts can greatly hurt the prospects of long term prosperity. Violent conflict destroys education infrastructure, reduces spending on schools and teachers and prevents children from attending classes. Schools are often a target for groups hostile to the government as schools are associated with state authority. The capacity of governments to maintain education systems is further eroded by budget constraints as military spending crowds out social spending.

Conflict-prone states are often poor, but enormously rich in resources which has led to a 'resource curse'; and resulting in civil wars in many Third World countries. The combination of weak governance structures and resources that offer the promise of windfall gains to those who control their production and export is a major cause of violent conflict in Third World countries. According to HDR 2005, 'between 1990 and 2002 the world saw at least 17 such conflicts in which natural resource wealth was a primary factor. Diamonds in Angola and Sierra Leone, timber and diamonds in Liberia, gems in Afghanistan, and copper, gold, cobalt and timber in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have all been at the centre of civil conflict'.

Insurgency and Terrorism:

The early 20th century saw the awakening of many nationalist and revolutionary impulses. For example, many Jews began to embrace Zionism and its vision of a Jewish state in Palestine. Many of the Arab peoples in the

Middle East developed a stronger sense of their own nationhood. Religion soon became an important tool for terror group for mobilization of youths into its ranks. Again, in Latin America, guerrilla groups, usually inspired by communist or socialist ideas, took up arms against the governments. In the post 1990 era, has witnessed the growth of 'new terrorism'. According to Walter Laqueur, The New Terrorism, 'is different in character, aiming not at clearly defined political demands but at the destruction of society and the elimination of large sections of the population'. During the 1990s groups such as Japan's Aum Shinrikyo cult used Sarin nerve gas in the Tokyo subway. Likewise, Al-Qaeda seeks the imposition of its distorted version of Islam through a theocracy in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the other countries of the Middle East. Al Qaeda has preyed on the territory, cash crops, natural resources, and financial institutions of low-income but comparatively more stable states from Senegal to Yemen.

SAQ:

Do you think that the arms race among the Third World Countries prevent its human development. Give arguments in your favour (80 words)

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Environmental degradation and climate change:

Though the issue of climate change is different from other national security challenges, it affects us at various levels. According to the HDR 2007-08, Climate change threatens to erode human freedoms and limit choice and it will undermine international efforts to combat poverty. Rich nations and their citizens account for the overwhelming bulk of the greenhouse gases locked in the Earth's atmosphere. But, poor countries and their citizens will

pay the highest price for climate change. The report goes on to identify that 'climate change will affect rainfall, temperature and water availability for agriculture in vulnerable areas. For example, drought affected areas in sub-Saharan Africa could expand by 60-90 million hectares, with dry land zones suffering losses of US\$26 billion by 2060 (2003 prices), a figure in of bilateral aid to the region in 2005. Other developing regions-including Latin America and South Asia-will also experience losses in agricultural production undermining efforts to cut rural poverty. The additional number affected by malnutrition could rise to 600 million by 2080'. The consequences of environmentally unsustainable production are already visible. Increased exposure to floods, drought and environmental stress is a major impediment to national prosperity as well as for realizing people's aspirations of the people. The effects of climate change are likely to lead to the displacement of peoples from coastline and river delta areas, severe natural disasters and increasing food shortages. This would lead to increased human suffering, greater social unrest, revised patterns of living and the pressure of greatly increased levels of migration across the world Deforestation will result in loss of biodiversity, as well as in flooding and drought. This in the long run will further contribute to miseries and increased poverty levels.

Disease:

This is another internal threat faced by a Third World country. While it may not fall in the conventional category of 'threat' to national security, it can still be safely said that health hazards and diseases are one of the key players which affected the progress of a nation. According to HDR 2003, 'every day more than 30,000 of the world's children die from preventable causes-dehydration, hunger, disease. In Sierra Leone, an urgent priority country, 18% of the children will not see their first birthday. Every year more than 500,000 women die in pregnancy and childbirth-one every minute of the day. A pregnant woman is 100 times more likely to die in pregnancy and childbirth in Sub Saharan Africa than in a high-income OECD country. Around the world 42 million people are living with HIV/AIDS. Moreover, the disease has killed the mother or both parents of 13 million children. Tuberculosis is the other leading infectious cause of adult mortality, killing up to 2 million people a year. Malaria kills 1 million people a year, and without effective intervention the number of cases could double in the next 20 years'.

Thus the nature of threats to Third World countries is varied. While a Third World country will continue to face traditional military challenges to its sovereignty, internally the nature of threats to its security may be more complex and difficult in the long run.

Check Your Progress

1. What is security? Examine the changing nature concept of security in post Cold War era.
2. Examine the various internal sources of threat to security in the Third World countries.
3. Discuss the various types of conflict faced by Third World countries.

4. Write the correct answer
 - a. Human development report is published by(UNDP/ World Bank/ICRC/WHO)
 - b. W.W.Rustow is identified with theories of (system/ development/ modernization/ imperialism)
 - c. Structural Adjustment Programmes are associated with issues of (human rights / economy / defence / refugees).

2.5 Summing up

After going through this unit now you are in a position to examine the concept of development in the context of Third World Countries. Here you have find that the concept of development is essentially that contested and complex. During the post war period, it was identified with economic development and growth of capitalism and free markets. Later development has been identified with issues of capacities and entitlements, with people being at the centre of all development process. Development in Third World countries continues to be a complex process because the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' have not diminished and the 'trickle down effect' has not effectively been materialized. The measures initiated by global economic institutions too have not had a positive impact on the economies and societies of Third World countries. Lack of development coupled with issues of poverty creates an ideal breeding ground of security challenges

for the Third World countries. Security challenges for the Third World countries have undergone a change. While traditional security challenges in the form of military challenges to a nation state will continue to be a concern, the long term challenge of addressing the issue of human security will affect the progress of Third World countries. Internal sources of threat to a Third World country can be very varied and complex having multiple dimensions. It can range from issues of civil wars, insurgency to those relating to poverty, diseases and resource wars.

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Unit III

THE UNO

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3.1. Introduction

Modern age is an age of international cooperation and no state, however powerful it might be, can live in isolation. To ensure systematic relations between various states, agencies and methods of international cooperation have been developed which are popularly known as international organizations. Human civilization has faced many violent wars, where people died and million of properties were destroyed. After witnessing the brutality of the wars, world leaders opt such organizations, which prevent the wars. In this process League of Nations was born first after the First World War. But it could not prevent the war, and the Second World War took place. After the Second World War, with tremendous effort of some well known political leaders as Roosevelt, Churchill the United Nations Organization emerged as a world forum. Now it gets its maturity, and since the beginning it tried to prevent war, and to some extent got success. In this unit we, will try to give you an overview of its nature and functions, mainly directed

towards ensuring world peace. Now the UNO plays an important role in world politics. It gives an opportunity to the small countries to maintain their sovereignty and take part in world politics. After reading this unit you will be able to analyze the importance of the UNO in the modern world. In this unit an attempt is also made to introduce you with the different organs of the UNO and some of its specialized agencies. The unit also deals with the functioning of these organs and agencies.

3.2 Objectives

The UNO is an organization where all countries, small or large, have equal rights. In other words, we can say that it is a world parliament. After reading this unit you will be able to

- *analyze* the history and the development of the UNO as an international organization.
- *discuss* the charter of the UNO
- *explain* the organizational structure of the UNO
- *describe* the functioning of such structure
- *examine* the success and failure of the UNO

3.3 The UNO: History and Development

The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries committed to maintain international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights. Due to its unique international character, and the powers vested in its founding Charter, the Organization can take action on a wide range of issues, and provide a forum for its 192 Member States to express their views, through the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies and committees. But it has a long history behind its formation. Let us discuss the main incidents or events which help to form the UNO.

- **Atlantic Charter:**

As we know the failure of the League of Nation failed to prevent the war forced the statesman of the world to make an effort together during the Second World War to thrash out schemes for the establishment of an international organization. In August 1941, Churchill met President Roosevelt in a ship somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean and they issued a declaration which was popularly known as Atlantic Declaration. It aims to create a war free world, freedom from fear and its charter said about establishment of a world organization.

- **Moscow Declaration:**

The Atlantic Charter influenced the world community, on 1st January, 1942, UK, US, China, and the Soviet Union signed a short document known as the "United Nations Declaration". And the next day it was signed by another 22 countries. It is known as Moscow Declaration, in the beginning the word United Nations was used by this declaration. The leaders were sure that their concord would win an enduring peace.

After that a conference with Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin was held at Yalta from February 4 to 11 February, 1945. This conference decided upon the voting procedure of Security Council and also agreed that a conference of the United Nations should be summoned to meet at San Francisco in April, 1945, to prepare the charter of The UNO.

- **San Francisco Conference:**

As per the schedule drawn by the Yalta Conference, 50 Nations sent their delegates to the conference. It was opened on April 25, 1945. After a considerable discussion, the charter of The UNO was signed on the 26th June by these delegates. At the final plenary session, addressing the delegates, the secretary of State Settinius said "the charter of the UNO is a compact born of suffering end of war. With it now rests our hope for good and lasting peace". It has the following objectives:

- To save the succeeding generations from scourge of war.
- To affirm faith in fundamental human rights.
- To maintain international law and order, and
- To promote social progress and better slandered of life.

And it came into operations on October 24, 1945. It took four years to plan and form the United Nations Organization. Now the work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peace building conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialized agencies, funds and programmes) affect our lives and make the world a better place. The Organization works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for present and future generations.

Check Your Progress

1. Why was the UNO created?
2. What are the main objectives of the UNO?
3. How many countries attend the first conference to establish the UNO?
4. In which conference the Charter of the UNO was formed?

3.4 UN Charter

Already we have stated that in 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on international organization to draw up the United Nations Charter. The charter is the constructing instrument of the UNO, setting out the rights and obligations of members States, and establishing its organs and procedures. The Charter of the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on 24 October 1945. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is an integral part of the Charter.

The charter contains 111 short articles, prefaced by a preamble, which sets forth the aims of the UNO. It starts with the word "WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED" signifying thereby that

the United Nations speaks in the name of the people of the world. The basic aims of the UNO are

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
- to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Purpose:

If we analyze the charter of the UNO we find that it clearly explains the purpose of it. Article 1 of the charter stated that the basic purpose of the UNO is

- maintenance of international peace and security
- development of friendly relations among the nations
- to achieve its ends and act as a harmonizing agency

In pursuit of the above aims and purpose, the charter lays down some fundamental principles which are

- the sovereign equality of all its members.
- that each member will fulfill its obligations under the charter in good faith.
- that all members settle disputes by peaceful means

Hence it can be said that the charter is the heart of the UNO. This was signed on 16th June, 1945. This date is celebrated as United Nations Day each year. The principle organs of the UNO are also established in accordance to the provision of its charter.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Membership of the UNO

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, 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.

3.5 Organizational Structure

In the previous sections of this unit we have discussed the aims and objectives of The UNO along with its evolution. Now in this section, we are going to discuss the organizational structure of The UNO. The introductory lines of the Charter make immediate reference to the central objective of the United Nations: the prevention of war. Further aims in the sense of a comprehensive understanding of peace are assigned to this objective. The mention of "fundamental human rights" refers to human rights, the promotion of economic and social development. The charter of the The UNO set up six principal organs-the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice-, all of which still exist today.

Besides these six principal organs, the UNO's Family is made up of the United Nations Secretariat, the United Nations programmes and funds---- such as the UN children's fund (UNICEF) and the UN development Programme (UNDP) and the specialized agencies. The programmes, fund and agencies have their own governing bodies and budgets, and set their own standards and guidelines. Together they provide technical assistance and other forms of practical help in virtually areas of economic and social Endeavour.

Now, you know that the UNO consists of six principal organs and some other agencies. These organs and agencies are vital to world politics. In other words we can say that development and peace rest on their hand. Here in this unit we will discuss only the basic components, functions of such organs.

SAQ:

Discuss the importance of the UNO's Charter. (50 words)

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3.6 The General Assembly

The general assembly is the main deliberative organ of the UNO. Decision for any matter such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters require a two thirds majority. Decisions on other questions are by simple majority.

It is a forum for multilateral negotiation. Established in 1945 under the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly occupies a central position as the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations. Comprising of all 192 Members of the United Nations, it provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion of the full spectrum of international

issues covered by the Charter. It also plays a significant role in the process of standard-setting and the codification of international law. The Assembly meets in regular session intensively from September to December each year, and thereafter as required.

Functions and powers of the General Assembly:

According to the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly may:

- Consider and make recommendations on the general principles of cooperation for maintaining international peace and security, including disarmament;
- Discuss any question relating to international peace and security and, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed by the Security Council, make recommendations on it;
- Discuss, with the same exception, and make recommendations on any questions within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations;
- Initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and international collaboration in the economic, social, humanitarian, cultural, educational and health fields;
- Make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation that might impair friendly relations among nations;
- Receive and consider reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs;
- Consider and approve the United Nations budget and establish the financial assessments of Member States;
- Elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of other United Nations councils and organs and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, appoint the Secretary-General.

Pursuant to its "Uniting for Peace" resolution of November 1950 (resolution 377 (V)) the Assembly may also take action if the Security Council fails to

act, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member, in a case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. The Assembly can consider the matter immediately with a view to making recommendations to Members for collective measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. While the Assembly is empowered to make only non-binding recommendations to states on international issues within its competence, it has, nonetheless, initiated actions-political, economic, humanitarian, social and legal-which have affected the lives of millions of people throughout the world.

The landmark Millennium Declaration, adopted in 2000, and the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document reflect the commitment of member states to reach specific goals to attain peace, security and disarmament along with development and poverty eradication; safeguard human rights and promote the rule of law; protect our common environment; meet the special needs of Africa; and strengthen the United Nations.

Each Member State in the Assembly has one vote. Votes taken on designated important issues, such as recommendations on peace and security and the election of Security Council members, require a two-thirds majority of Member States, but other questions are decided by simple majority.

In recent years, a special effort has been made to achieve consensus on issues, rather than deciding by a formal vote, thus strengthening support for the Assembly's decisions. The President, after having consulted and reached agreement with delegations, can propose that a resolution be adopted without a vote.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

General Assembly and Human Rights:

Now the question of human right violation is an important issue for every country. As the custodian of world politics the UNO is also aware of this question. Since the beginning of this organization it is working for the protection of Human Rights. Among them the most important step taken by the UNO is the establishment of United Nations Human Rights Council.

On 15 March 2006, the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly in favour of establishing a new United Nations Human Rights Council, the successor to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, with the

resolution receiving approval from 170 members of the 191-nation Assembly. Only the United States, the Marshall Islands, Palau, and Israel voted against the Council's creation, claiming that it would have too little power and that there were insufficient safeguards to prevent human rights-abusing nations from taking control.

3.7 Security Council

The Security Council has primary responsibility, under the Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is organized such a way that it will be able to function continuously, and should be representative of its each member states, and its members must be present at all times at the United Nations Headquarters. On 31st January 1992, the first ever Summit Meeting of the Council was convened at Headquarters, attended by Heads of State and Government of 13 of its 15 members and by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the remaining two. The Council may meet elsewhere than at Headquarters; in 1972, it held a session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and the following year in Panama City, Panama. The Security Council consists of 15 members. Out of 15, five are permanent and remaining ten is temporary elected by the general assembly for two years tuner. The five permanent members are

- USA
- UK
- French
- Russia, and
- China

The primary function of the council is to maintain international peace and security. Let us discuss the working procedure of the council. When a complaint concerning a threat to peace is brought before it, the Council's first action is usually to recommend to the parties to try to reach agreement by peaceful means. In some cases, the Council itself undertakes investigation and mediation. It may appoint special representatives or request the Secretary-General to do so or to use his offices. It may set forth principles for a peaceful settlement.

Again, when a dispute leads to fighting, the Council's first concern is to bring it to an end as soon as possible. On many occasions, the Council has issued cease-fire directives which have been instrumental in preventing wider hostilities. It also sends United Nations peace-keeping forces to help reduce tensions in troubled areas, keep opposing forces apart and create conditions of calm in which peaceful settlements may be sought. The Council may decide on enforcement measures, economic sanctions (such as trade embargoes) or collective military action.

A member state against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. A member state which has persistently violated the principles of the Charter may be expelled from the United Nations by the Assembly on the council's recommendations.

A State which is a member of the United Nations but not of the Security Council may participate, without a vote, in its discussions when the Council considers that that country's interests are affected. Both members of the United Nations and non-members, if they are parties to a dispute being considered by the Council, are invited to take part, without a vote, in the Council's discussions; the Council sets the conditions for participation by a non-member State. The Presidency of the Council rotates monthly, according to the English alphabetical listing of its member States

STOP TO CONSIDER:

Veto power of Security Council's Permanent Member:

The charter of UN provides veto power to its five permanent members of the Security Council. It is the supreme power through which one permanent member can stop any proceedings taking place in the Council. For any kind of solutions council needs the support of its all permanent members. Without the support, no permanent member of this council can take any decisions. In this regard one permanent member has the power to stop the proceedings. This power is known as veto power. Using this power one permanent member may change the direction of its decisions. For example, due to the veto of America India still out from its permanent member seat despite having the support of USSR, French and Britain.

SAQ:

Do you think Security Council is able to maintain international peace and security in present world order. (80 words)

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3.8 The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

ECOSOC was established under the United Nations Charter as the principal organ to coordinate economic, social, and related work of the 14 UN specialized agencies, functional commissions and five regional commissions. The Council also receives reports from 11 UN funds and programmes. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) serves as the central forum for discussing international economic and social issues, and for formulating policy recommendations addressed to Member States and the United Nations system. It is responsible for:

- promoting higher standards of living, full employment, and economic and social progress;
- identifying solutions to international economic, social and health problems;
- facilitating international cultural and educational cooperation; and
- encouraging universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Hence it can be said that, the Economic and Social council (ECOSOC), is under the overall authority of the General Assembly. It coordinates the economic and social work of the united nations an the UN family organizations. As the central forum for discussing international economic and social issues and for formulating policy recommendations, the council plays a key role in fostering international cooperation for development. It also consults with the non - Governmental Organizations, thereby maintaining a vital link between the UNO and civil societies.

The council has 54 members, elected by the general assembly for three years terms. One third of the member retired. Retiring members are eligible for reelected. Each member has one vote. A majority of the members present and voting makes decisions. It meets through out the year and holds a major session in July, during which a high-level meeting of Ministers discusses major economic, social, and humanitarian issues.

The council's subsidiary bodies meet regularly and report back to it. For example, the commission For Human rights monitors the observance of human rights throughout the world. Other bodies focus on such issues as social development, the status of women, crime prevention, neurotic drug and sustainable development. At present five regional commissions, promote economic development and cooperation's in their respective regions. The UN has US \$ 6,300 million a year to spend on economic and social development.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Trusteeship Council

In setting up an International Trusteeship System, the Charter established the Trusteeship Council as one of the main organs of the United Nations and assigned to it the task of supervising the administration of Trust Territories placed under the Trusteeship System. Major goals of the System were to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. The Trusteeship Council is made up of the five permanent members of the Security Council --China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and United States. The aims of the Trusteeship System have been fulfilled to such an extent that all Trust Territories have attained self-government or independence, either as separate States or by joining neighbouring independent countries.

The Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1 November 1994, with the independence of Palau, the last remaining United Nations trust territory, on 1 October 1994. By a resolution adopted on 25 May 1994, the Council amended its rules of procedure to drop the obligation to meet annually and agreed to meet as occasion required -- by its decision or the decision of its President, or at the request of a majority of its members or the General Assembly or the Security Council.

Under the Charter, the Trusteeship Council is authorized to examine and discuss reports from the Administering Authority on the political, economic, social and

educational advancement of the peoples of Trust Territories and, in consultation with the Administering Authority, to examine petitions from and undertake periodic and other special missions to Trust Territories.

3.9 International Court of Justice

You all know that The UNO is a world forum, with the prime objective to bring peace in the world and solve the international disputes through negotiation and prevent the war. International Court of Justice plays an important role in this regard. The International Court of Justice (French: Cour Internationale de justice; commonly referred to as the World Court or ICJ) is the primary judicial organ of the United Nations. It is based in the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands. Its main functions are to settle legal disputes submitted to it by states and to give advisory opinions on legal questions submitted to it by duly authorized international organs, agencies, and the UN General Assembly. The ICJ should not be confused with the International Criminal Court, which also potentially has "global" jurisdiction.

The International Court of Justice was established in 1945 by the UN Charter. The Court began work in 1946 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Statute of the International Court of Justice, similar to that of its predecessor, is the main constitutional document constituting and regulating the Court.

The Court's workload is characterized by a wide range of judicial activity. The ICJ has dealt with relatively few cases in its history, but there has clearly been an increased willingness to use the Court since the 1980s, especially among developing countries. The United States withdrew from compulsory jurisdiction in 1986, and so accepted the court's jurisdiction only on a case-to-case basis. Chapter XIV of the United Nations Charter authorizes the UN Security Council to enforce World Court rulings, but such enforcement is subject to the veto power of the five permanent members of the Council. Presently there are twelve cases on the World Court's docket.

Composition:

The ICJ is composed of fifteen judges elected for a term of nine years by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council from a list of persons

nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The election process is set out in Articles 4-12 of the ICJ statute. Judges serve for nine year terms and may be re-elected for up to two further terms. Elections take place every three years, with one-third of the judges retiring (and possibly standing for re-election) each time, in order to ensure continuity within the court

Chambers:

Generally, the Court sits as full bench, but in the last fifteen years it has on occasion sat as a chamber. Articles 26-29 of the statute allow the Court to form smaller chambers, usually 3 or 5 judges, to hear cases. Two types of chambers are contemplated by Article 26: firstly, chambers for special categories of cases, and second, the formation of ad hoc chambers to hear particular disputes. In 1993 a special chamber was established, under Article 26(1) of the ICJ statute, to deal specifically with environmental matters (although this chamber has never been used).

Jurisdiction:

As stated in Article 93 of the UN Charter, all 192 UN members are automatically parties to the Court's statute. Non-UN members may also become parties to the Court's statute under the Article 93(2) procedure. For example, before becoming a UN member state, Switzerland used this procedure in 1948 to become a party. And Nauru became a party in 1988. Once a state is a party to the Court's statute, it is entitled to participate in cases before the Court. However, being a party to the statute does not automatically give the Court jurisdiction over disputes involving those parties. The issue of jurisdiction is considered in the two types of ICJ cases: contentious issues and advisory opinions. An advisory opinion is a function of the Court open only to specified United Nations bodies and agencies. On receiving a request, the Court decides which States and organizations might provide useful information and gives them an opportunity to present written or oral statements. Advisory Opinions were intended as a means by which UN agencies could seek the Court's help in deciding complex legal issues that might fall under their respective mandates.

Check Your Progress:

1. Choose the correct option
 - a. Inclusion of country in THE UNO depends on General assembly. (true/false)
 - b. ECOSOC is under the supervision of Security council. (true/false)
 - c. The ECOSOC has 54 members. (True/false)
2. Examine the role of ICJ.
3. What is Trusteeship Council?
4. What are the functions of General Assembly?

3.9.1 Critical Appraisal

The UN was born as soon as the Second World War ended in Europe. In other words we can say that it was created out of the ashes of the Second World War. No doubt, its prime objective is to bring permanent peace, but after some years of its formation world faced a new war called Cold War. It failed to repent the war. Moreover, in Kashmir problem, it was a total failure to provide any solution to India and Pakistan.

Another criticism labeled against it that the permanent members by using their veto power in Security Council may prevent any decision, which may be right for world peace.

Another problem with the United Nations is that finances are not controlled by the overwhelming monetary contributors. In theory, democratizing the budget by allowing all members to vote on it would be the ideal situation.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights came under fire during its existence for the high-profile positions it gave to member states that did not guarantee the human rights of their own citizens. Several nations known to have been guilty of gross violations of human rights became members of the organization, such as Libya, Cuba, Sudan, Algeria, China, and Vietnam.

STOP TO CONSIDER

The Secretariat:

As stated earlier you know that the UNO has six major organs. The Secretariat is the most vital in the UNO. It is the executive branch of the UNO. The Secretariat - an international staff working in duty stations around the world - carries out the diverse day-to-day work of the Organization. It serves the other principal organs of the United Nations and administers the programmes and policies laid down by them. 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 prepare 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. As 30 June 2008, the Secretariat had some 40,000 staff members around the world.

As international civil servants, staff members and the Secretary-General 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. 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.

The United Nations, with its headquarter in New York, maintains a significant presence in Addis Ababa, Bangkok, Beirut, Geneva, Nairobi, Santiago and Vienna, and has offices all over the world.

3.10 Reforms of United Nations

It is no doubt that the UNO is still working smoothly to achieve its desired goals. But in the mean time it can be said that there is a need for some reforms to make it more effective. It is the call of time that we should think for its re-construction. For the same purpose former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said in front of UN's General Assembly that if the international community of the United Nations were to be founded anew tomorrow, it would certainly look different to our organisation of today.

Since the late 1990s there have been many calls for reform of the United Nations (UN). However, there is little clarity or consensus about what reform might mean in practice. Both those who want the UN to play a greater role in world affairs and also limiting its role confined parties to humanitarian work or otherwise use the term "UN reform" to refer to their ideas.

The range of opinion extends from those who want to eliminate the UN entirely, to those who want to make it into a full-fledged world government. Although it is possible to ascribe considerable flexibility to the United Nations, the reform of the world organisation stood at a prominent position on the international agenda no later than after the epochal revolutionary changes of 1989/90. The following text excerpt from Varwick and Knelangen summarises the most important requirements of the reform:

"Even if numerous fundamental differences concerning the future form and function of the United Nations exist, there is no actual dissent concerning the importance of a comprehensive reform. Both the Charter and the organisation itself require thorough reconstruction.

Numerous reform requirements addressed would need an amendment to the UN Charter to institute them. The procedure provided for this in Articles 108 and 109 however requires

- a three-quarters majority in the General Assembly,
- ratification by two-thirds of the member states,
- whereby, all five permanent members of the Security Council need to be included.

This represents a series of extremely high hurdles. Reforms can be blocked by just one of the five Security Council members. Not only is the power of prevention large however; the hurdle to achieve a structural majority is considerable, when one considers that 127 states have to be won in the general Assembly for an amendment to the Charter to be made.

In the 5th Anniversary of the United Nations in 1995, and the discussions on Global Governance as a response to the challenges of globalisation have given the reform debate further impetus. In 1997, Secretary-General Kofi Annan put forward a programme of reforms and began with the measures

affecting his Secretariat. This concerns reforms of the first type in the typology, dealing with measures to raise efficiency the reform of the Security Council counts as one of the most important reform topics.

A very frequently discussed change to the UN structure is related to the change of the permanent membership of the UN Security Council which reflects the power structure of the world as it was in 1945. There are several proposed plans, notably by the G4 nations, by the Uniting for Consensus group, and by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

Another frequent demand is that the UN should become "more democratic", and a key institution of a world democracy. This raises fundamental questions about the nature and role of the UN. The UN is not a world government, rather a forum for the world's sovereign states to debate issues and determine collective courses of action. A direct democracy would request the presidential election of the UN Secretary-General by direct vote of the citizens of the democratic countries (world presidentialism) as well as the General Assembly (just as cities, states and nations have their own representatives in many systems, who attend specifically to issues relevant to the given level of authority) and the International Court of Justice. Others have proposed a combination of direct and indirect democracy, whereby national governments might ratify the expressed will of the people for such important posts as an empowered World Court.

But, no successful reform initiative has stood out till date. Neither the member states agrees on the inclusion of new permanent members in the Security Council. If we agree with Gareis and Warwick that this constitutes a test of the reformability of the United Nation in toto, then we are forced to come to a sceptical verdict regarding the urgently required adaptation of the United Nations to the challenges of the 21st Century.

STOP TO CONSIDER:

Peace keeping Role of UN:

The Peace keeping operation is not defined by the charter of the UN. It is the invention of its own efforts. Through the peace keeping role UN helps the nations to negotiate their disputes through peaceful means. Since its creation UN has carried out more than 40 peace keeping missions and helped negotiate more than 100 peaceful settlements of inter-state disputes. UN used two-way

process to restore peace in this process. First of all it tried to negotiate the disputed states through peaceful means, if it fail, it sent its force to the disputed area. At present, the UN is engaged in peace keeping missions in about 17 countries involving more than 70,000 civilian and military personnel drawn from its 70 member country.

In this regard it is pertinent to mention here that its peace keeping initiatives are undoubtedly successful in Iraq-Iran war of 1987. UN is also successful in Namibia (1990) when it own its independence), in Afghan War. But in the mean time its success in so many places must not obscure the failure of UN mission in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia. Notably in Bosnia the UN has been relegated to sideline and it is NATO troops who are operating as peace keeping mission under the Dayton Pact.

At present UN is also involved in a number of Global problems such as environmental protection, economic development and social issues.

3.10.1 Relevance of UN

Despite facing some problems on peace front the UN still represents the best institutional hope to gurantee peaceful existence among nations. Seeing the increasing role of UN, it can be said that it is the last best hope for peace on earth. In the words of Pt. J. Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Independent India, "it is the chief repository of our hopes, several shortcomings notwithstanding." UN is the world's greatest board for the expression of world public opinion and it is the only podium for world censorship.

It is for UN at that time of nuclear race small states which have not nuclear power get their status and recognition in the international politics. The UN is playing the role of mediator between the states and helps the small states to get their desired goals. The Charter of the UN clearly states that it makes no discrimination between a big and a small power.

Again due to the efforts of UN, an economically weak nation can get financial assistance for its development. On behalf of UN, the International Bank and its affiliate the International Development Association (IDA) advances substantial loans for economic development.

We know that in almost every country women are treated as second class citizens. UN has worked for the improvement of status of women throughout the world. It set up a commission on the status of women to secure equal

status for women. It is also working for their better protection and for equal payment. It is for UN's vigilance that states are working for the protection of women rights.

We also find the relevance of UN in terms of its efforts towards the protection of cultural hazards, environmental protection, bringing awareness to reduce pollution etc. so it can be said that despite having some limitations, UN still have relevance in the present world order. It is the last resort to prevent war and restore peace and security.

Check Your Progress

1. In which conference the charter of The UNO was made?
2. Mention two prominent name related to the formation of The UNO?
3. In which country San Francisco conference took place?
4. Write the full form of ECOSOC.
5. Write the full form of IDA.
6. Examine the peace keeping role of UN.

3.11 Summing Up

The assessment of The UNO depends upon one's outlook, expectations, philosophical orientations and educational background. The modernisation of the most important principal organs of the United Nations represents one of the largest challenges for the world organisation, and at the same time a decisive test for its reformability, since all the difficulties and hurdles of institutional remodelling of the organisation appear compounded here like in a test tube. Since its foundation, the organisation has been----- impenetrable network of programmes, commissions, special organs and specialist institutions. The work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peace-building, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialized agencies, funds and programmes) affect our lives and make the world a better place. The Organization works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter terrorism,

disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for present and future generations.

3.12 References and Suggested Readings

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Unit IV

International NGO: Amnesty, IRCS and Green Peace: Contribution and Challenges

Contents:

- 4.1 Introduction**
- 4.2 Objectives**
- 4.3 Role of International NGOs**
 - 4.3.1 Characteristics of International NGO's**
- 4.4 Amnesty International**
- 4.5 International Red Cross Society**
- 4.6 Green Peace**
- 4.7 Summing Up**
- 4.8 References and Suggested Readings**

4.1 Introduction

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is any non-profit, voluntary, citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, make the Governments aware of the concerns of the citizens, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. Some NGOs are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, environment or health. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements. The term "non-governmental organization" has no generally agreed legal definition. In many jurisdictions, these types of organization are called "civil society organizations" or referred to by other names.

This unit will help you understand the role played by the NGO's the consequent challenges and the contribution made NGO's have made in various fields for the upliftment of humanity and working towards strengthening of civil society.

4.2 Objectives

NGOs in any country all over the world including international development agencies seek collaboration with government and development organizations for acquiring appropriate solutions to development problems and to enhance people's participation in government programmes. After going through this unit you will be able to

- *examine* role played by Amnesty International, ICRC and Green peace in ensuring human welfare.
- *understand* the challenges faced by them
- *discuss* various contributions these NGO's have made in their required fields

4.3 Role of international NGOs

International NGOs play an important role in strengthening civil society in developing countries and promoting the role of civil society actors in the global arena. International NGOs have helped to establish, develop and scale up local NGOs; provided them training in organizational governance, strategic planning, financial management, fundraising, advocacy, etc. and helped them by, helping them gain access to global expertise, and linking them to funding and networks. Although the relationship between international NGOs and local organizations are often fraught with power imbalances, international NGOs have played a significant role in building an infrastructure of local capacity including the professionally-managed local NGOs to implement development programs.

Many international NGOs are born of humanitarian responses and maintain strong capacities to respond rapidly to natural disasters and conflict situations. Their long-term presence in countries gives them useful contextual knowledge to improve the quality of emergency responses and mark the transition from relief to rehabilitation to development. In addition, international NGOs played a leading role in the development of global normative standards for humanitarian action.

Many international NGOs have developed a capacity to influence policy (via policy analysis, evidence building and advocacy). The engagement of the NGO has increased in the field of public education and policy advocacy. This is driven by the NGO's understanding of the nature of poverty and their commitment to address root causes of poverty. Coupled with an ambition to contribute to change at a much larger scale, international NGOs are leveraging for more consistent and effective development policies and practices on the part of industrialized countries. Because of their long presence in many developing countries International NGOs have identified innovations and promising practices in one context, shared the ideas across borders, and help adapt approaches to other contexts involving areas like basic education or maternal health, or principles like gender equity or partnership. By adopting and refining approaches they absorbed from working in thousands of poor communities, international NGOs have helped to establish values like community participation, gender equity and local ownership as cornerstones of good development practice. International NGOs have introduced people-centered and rights-based approaches into the mainstream of development thinking.

Stop to consider

Role and Importance of International NGO's

- The role that international NGO's play in strengthening the civil society is an important contribution.
- International NGOs respond rapidly to humanitarian crises throughout the world.
- International NGOs have helped in the formulation of policies in the developing countries.
- International NGOs raise substantial resources for development and relief efforts and enable their supporters to express solidarity with people in some of the poorest communities in the world.

4.3.1 Characteristics of International NGO's

Some of the characteristics of an international NGO are as follows:

1. Global presence - Most of the large international NGOs characterized by global presence covering both developing countries and industrialized countries.

2. Independence - International NGOs are non-partisan and take independent positions, based on principle and mission.
3. Partnerships with local organizations - The preferred mode of operation of International NGOs' is to work with and through local governments and community based groups.
4. Collective action - International NGOs take collective action on issues of importance, ranging from advocacy to advance policy change (e.g. reform of U.S. foreign assistance) to the establishment of normative standards that promote more effective field programs.

In the following sections we will discuss the contributions and challenges faced by some international NGO's like the Amnesty International, International Red Cross Society, and Green Peace.

SAQ:

Do you think that the role played by the International NGOs help in the process of Human Development. Give arguments in favour of your answer. (100 words)

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4.4 Amnesty International

Amnesty International (commonly known as Amnesty and AI) is an international non-governmental organization. Its stated mission is "to conduct research and generate action to prevent and end grave abuses of human rights and to demand justice for those whose rights have been violated." Amnesty international was founded in 1961 with the mission to draw attention to human rights abuses and campaigns for compliance with international laws and standards. It works to mobilise public opinion to exert pressure on governments to take action against those that perpetrate abuses.

By the mid-1960s Amnesty International's global presence was growing and an International Secretariat and International Executive Committee was established to manage Amnesty International's national organisations, called 'Sections', which had appeared in several countries. Apart from the work of the library and groups, Amnesty International's activities were expanding to help prisoner's families, send observers to trials, make representations to governments, and finding asylum or overseas employment for prisoners. Its activity and influence of AI was also increasing within intergovernmental organisations; it was awarded consultative status by the United Nations, the Council of Europe and UNESCO before the decade ended. In 1977, Amnesty International was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its contribution in securing the ground for freedom, justice, and thereby also for peace in the world. In 1978, Amnesty International received the United Nations Human Rights prize for its outstanding contributions in the field of human rights.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Aims and Objectives of Amnesty International

The object of Amnesty International is to contribute to the observance of protecting and protesting the abuse of Human Rights throughout the world as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In pursuance of this objective, and recognizing the obligation on each person to extend to others rights and freedoms equal to his or her own, Amnesty International adopts as its mandate:

- a. To promote awareness of and adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other internationally recognized human rights instruments, the values enshrined in them, and the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights and freedoms
- b. To oppose the grave violations of the rights of every person to freely hold and to express his or her convictions and to be free from discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin, sex, colour or language, and of the right of every person to physical and mental integrity, and, in particular, to oppose all kinds of human rights abuse by appropriate means irrespective of political considerations:

Contribution:

Amnesty International has contributed immensely in the field of human rights. For example with regard to the Assyrians persecutions in the context of their human rights, urgent Action was taken in April 1985 when 153 members and supporters of the Assyrian Democratic Movement (Zowaa) were arrested and three of the leaders were executed by the Iraqi government without trial. There are some other actions taken by Amnesty International in order to promote human rights and to express concern such as home government approach, symbolic events and theme and country campaigns, etc. Amnesty supporters around the world took action to demand an end to the violence against ordinary Burmese people who simply wanted to have a say in the administration of their country.

Amnesty International's campaigns to stop violence against Women over the world laid down the following objectives in its effort to stop violence against women. These are as follows:

- Implementation of existing laws that guarantee access to justice and services for women subjected to violence including rape and other forms of sexual violence
- New laws to be enacted that will protect women's human rights.
- Demands to end laws that discriminate against women
- Demands the ending of violence against women perpetrated by a state and its agents.

Amnesty International campaign is to end human killings. Its work with Moazzam Begg has focused exclusively on the human rights violations committed in Guantánamo Bay and the need for the US government to shut it down and either release or put on trial those who have been held there. Moazzam Begg is one of the first detainees released by the US without charge.

Amnesty International has a long history of demanding justice .In the case of the Counter Terror with Justice Campaign it called for both an end to human rights abuses at Guantánamo and other locations. It also called for the detained to be brought to justice, in fair trials and respect the due process. Amnesty International has done considerable research on the Taleban case and campaigning to stop violence against women and to promote women's equality.

The organisation still continues to take a strong line against abuses by religiously based insurgent groups and governments imposing religious strictures, Islamic or otherwise, in violation of human rights law. Amnesty International stands for the protection of human rights abuse all over the world without any discrimination.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Role of UN and NGOs in the issue of Environmental Conservation and Development

At the beginning of the 21st century environmental issues have emerged as a major concern in front of world community. The environmental degradation is emerged as a major threat to the development of human race. At the mean time the process of in Environmental Conservation and Development is going on. In India, the concept of environment protection can be seen starting from the period of Vedas. In the contemporary period Sundarlal Bhauguna through Chipko movement campaigned for protection of environment. Annahazare campaigned for rain water harvesting. Arundhati Roy and Medha Patkar campaigned against major dams. The past few years have witnessed a sweeping change in the attitudes, approaches and policies of the United Nations system with regard to relations with NGOs and their participation in the work of the UN. While this has been most visible in the recent series of UN world summits and conferences, measures to strengthen cooperation with NGOs are being taken across the entire UN system and in virtually all areas of its activity: policy research and analysis; policy dialogue and normative work; monitoring and advocacy; operational development activities; humanitarian work, particularly responding to emergencies and to the needs of refugees; promoting human rights, democratization, disarmament and peace; and information dissemination and raising public awareness of the issues and challenges on the UN's agenda.

Challenges:

Amnesty International has worked with human rights defenders for decades. During the functioning of the organization, the organization has witnessed and worked against a range of repressive tactics that governments of every political group deployed by the AI to silence human rights defenders. Patterns of repression varied over time and across context: in Latin America, for example, "disappearances" and "death squad killings" replaced politically

motivated imprisonment in the 70s and 80s as the favoured tactics for suppressing dissenting voices, tactics which allowed the military governments of the time to cover their tracks and deny all responsibility.

Disappearances, death squad killings and politically motivated imprisonment are used against defenders in many countries around the world, particularly those experiencing armed conflict or severe civil unrest. In such situations, death threats are the common means of intimidation, in which the police or judiciary neither investigate nor punishes. Defenders working on human rights issues traditionally neglected or marginalized often face obstacles. The rights they uphold are contested or controversial, either because they challenge dominant social norms or because they are seen as threatening to the established political, religious or economic order. The challenges faced by the group of human rights defenders includes those working on economic, social and cultural rights, sexual and reproductive rights and those defending the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender people.

Human rights defenders in many countries stand at a risk of being detained or abducted. Detention safeguards are often flouted and many may be held without charge. Others may have spurious charges brought against them, a pattern Amnesty International has increasingly observed in countries where the authorities seek to tarnish the image of the defenders and reputation by portraying them as criminals, terrorists or delinquents. In some cases charges are clearly fabricated. In others, legitimate activities such as convening a demonstration or lodging an official complaint have been characterized as public order offences or acts of libel. Defamatory tactics are also used to delegitimize the work of defenders. The media often collude in spreading slanderous accusations and attacks on their personal integrity and political independence.

Bureaucratic barriers are applied in politically motivated ways to hamper the work of organizations working for the defense of human rights by

- denying the organizations legal registration
- restricting their meetings
- obstructing fact-finding visits
- forcing them to cease operating, either directly or by preventing access to sources of funding.

Check your progress:

Answer the following question in your own words:

1. Mention some of the contribution made by Amnesty International in protecting human rights.
2. What are the various challenges faced by the organization its work.
3. Examine the role of NGOs in the issue of protecting Human Rights.

4.5 International Red Cross Society

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence and to provide them with assistance. It directs and coordinates international relief activities in situations of conflict. It also endeavours to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles. The IRCS was established in the year 1863 on the recommendations made in the meeting of the Geneva Conventions with the initiative of Henry Dunant's.

Objective:

First and foremost role of The IRCS' to ensure that they care for members of the enemy armed forces as well as their own and guarantee medical establishments and personnel the protection. They are entitled to enjoy. Some countries do not have the necessary infrastructure like lack of surgical infrastructure necessary to care for war wounded, in others, access to existing hospitals is denied to certain victims for political reasons, or is simply not available because of geographical factors and inadequate means of transportation. In accordance with the principles of the Geneva Conventions, the ICRC first attempts to solve such problems by either providing medicines, dressing materials and surgical equipment to local structures or by negotiating with the authorities to obtain access to surgical care for all the wounded. The ICRC also helps to set up first aid posts and transportation facilities where possible, send surgical teams to work within existing structures, or open new ICRC administered facilities for surgical care and rehabilitation.

Contribution:

The ICRC is carrying out humanitarian activities in zones of armed conflict or internal violence which has always been a dangerous undertaking. The ICRC currently has more than 11,000 staff members working in 79 contexts worldwide. They travel to areas marked by fighting or cross front lines between opposing parties to reach the persons they are mandated to protect and assist. For the ICRC, the security of its personnel is a crucial responsibility. While working in contexts of armed conflict or situations of violence evidently implies being confronted with significant levels of risk, it has always sought to develop approaches and instruments of security management to minimise the security threats faced by its personnel to the limited extent possible.

The contribution of the ICRC in the case of the land mine victims is significant. In June 1999 the ICRC launched an appeal for 105 million Swiss francs (U.S. \$69 million) to fund its activities for mine victims over the next five years.

The financial appeal covers all the following activities of ICRC's relating to mine victims.

- To promote universal adherence to and full implementation of the Ottawa Treaty and amended Protocol II to the 1980 U.N. Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons.
- To reduce the risk of mine-related incidents through mine awareness programs currently being conducted by the ICRC in six countries.
- To provide mine victims with treatment and physical rehabilitation in 23-limb-fitting centres that the ICRC is running in 11 countries, and to continue its support for similar centres run by ministries of health, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and NGOs in many other countries
- To collect and analyze, wherever possible, data for use in the development of appropriate mine action programs.

The ICRC also provides direct medical assistance to health facilities and appropriate training for doctors and nurses treating mine victims. Between 1979 and the end of 1998, the ICRC manufactured over 130,000 artificial limbs, over 175,000 pairs of crutches and about 9,000 wheelchairs. In 1998 alone, the ICRC manufactured over 11,500 prostheses, of these,

more than 6,500 were for mine victims. During the same year it produced over 17,200 pairs of crutches and more than 700 wheelchairs. Since February 1994, the ICRC and Red Crescent Movement have been actively involved in a drive to impose a total ban on anti-personnel mines, running public awareness campaigns and encouraging diplomatic and military circles to support their efforts. These efforts are undertaken to coordinate and improve the care given to victims, and to extend preventive mine awareness programs.

The ICRC is currently running 25-limb-fitting and rehabilitation programs in 13 countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Georgia, Iraq, Kenya, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan and Uganda. In a number of countries, the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, supported by their International Federation, have undertaken the responsibility to cure the mine-injured people through rehabilitation, health and social welfare programs. In addition to these activities, the ICRC and national societies are conducting mine awareness programs in several countries in order to reduce the number of landmine incidents in mine-affected area.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Democracy, Education and NGOs

There is an intimate relationship between democracy and functioning of NGOs. Before the existence of democracy, NGOs are not allowed to be registered and operate. Only in a democratic country the NGOs, could play an effective role. The roles are specially directed towards the people oriented programs such as health, family planning, environment and non-formal education. It is clear that since democracy provided an opportunity to NGOs, it could be said that the existences of NGOs is intimately linked with democracy. At present NGOs are playing a very important role to provide health services to the population in rural areas. Similarly it has done remarkable work in the field of literacy, family planning, population, environmental conservation and development of non-formal education. Since 1950s, many schools and colleges have been opened. But still more than 50 percent of the adult population is illiterate in the developing countries. It is a fact that Education For All (EFA) could not be provided through schools alone. Non formal education should be developed to provide literacy education combined skill training to all. As a matter of fact the NGOs have shown that they are more effective and efficient to provide education for all especially through non-formal education.

Challenges:

The most important operational function of ICRC's is to ensure access to victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence. However, in a changing conflict environment, granting access is becoming difficult because of security constraints. To overcome the constraints faced by the ICRC in its mission and to remain close to the victims and to communicate with all the existing or potential parties to a conflict, the ICRC has developed a network of more than 230 delegations, sub-delegations and offices throughout the world. It has been working constantly to expand its network of contacts with all weapons bearers, and the ones who can influence them. However, such contacts seemed useless without the capacity to fulfil the expectations created by the ICRC's presence and mandate. It is only by being effective in the field and taking action to relieve the suffering of those affected by armed conflict that the ICRC can gain its acceptance.

Today, a humanitarian response is provided by a wide range of actors viz. international and local humanitarian agencies, governmental or non-governmental, and, in some regions, military units. The ICRC as per the norms of its mandate stands for humanitarian action that is neutral and independent. Without being biased to any party involved in an armed conflict, ICRC seeks to bring protection and assistance to those in needs. It is a real challenge for ICRC to ensure that this identity is clearly perceived and respected by all concerned, especially the belligerents.

The most important work of the ICRC is to encourage parties involved in armed conflicts to implement international humanitarian law in order to prevent and alleviate suffering. The task of alleviating the sufferings of the poor victims of conflicts in a fair and just manner is a big challenge for the organization.

Check your progress:

Fill in the blanks:

1. _____ is the founder of ICRC.
2. The ICRC is about to open three new limb-fitting centers _____, _____ and _____.
3. ICRC was established in _____.

State true or false:

- a. ICRC is mainly responsible for protecting human rights _____.
- b. ICRC was founded during the Geneva Conventions _____.

4.6 Green Peace

Greenpeace is a non-governmental environmental organization. It has its offices in over 40 countries with an international coordinating body in Amsterdam, Netherlands. Greenpeace states its goal as to "ensure the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity". It focuses on worldwide issues such as global warming, deforestation, overfishing, commercial whaling and anti-nuclear issues. The methodology used by Greenpeace to achieve its goal includes direct action, lobbying and research. Greenpeace has evolved from the peace movement and anti-nuclear protests in Vancouver, British Columbia in the early 1970s.

In the late 1970s the different regional Greenpeace groups formed Greenpeace International to oversee the goals and operations of the regional organizations globally. During the 1980s Greenpeace received international attention when the French intelligence agency bombed the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbour, one of the most well-known vessels operated by Greenpeace, killing one. Over the years Greenpeace has evolved into one of the largest environmental organizations in the world.

Objectives:

Greenpeace is an independent global organization that acts to protect and conserve the environment and promote peace by:

- Addressing the important threat affecting our planet: climate change by bringing an environment revolution.
- Create a global network of marine reserves to protect our oceans by challenging wasteful and destructive fishing.
- To protect the world's remaining ancient forests on which by many animals, plants and people depend.
- To work for disarmament and peace by eliminating all nuclear weapons.
- To create safer alternatives to hazardous chemicals in products and manufacturing for a toxic free future.

SAQ:

Can you name some NGO's in your locality? Give brief account of their activities. (100 words)

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Contribution:

The aim and objective of Green Peace lies in its effort to protect environment from the threats emanating from diverse perspective. The core values are reflected in its environmental campaign work. Taken worldwide by this organizations witnesses the environmental destruction in a peaceful manner and seeks solution by upholding non-violent confrontation to raise the level and quality of public debate. In developing the campaign strategies and policies, they undertake great care to reflect their fundamental respect for democratic principles and seek solutions that will promote global social equity.

Based on the core values upheld by the organisation, it has made important contribution in the field of environment protection. On July 2010, followed by a ten-year Greenpeace campaign, Europe banned the trade in illegal timber .This was considered a great leap forward in the struggle to protect the world's forests and climate. Over the last 25 years the efforts of Greenpeace to expose and oppose nuclear waste shipments from France to Russia end in victory when Russia puts an end to the practice. The illegality of the shipments was confirmed when French officials admitted that the stated intention to reprocess and return the fuel is false.

As a result of massive pressure from consumers via social media and non-violent direct action by Greenpeace activists Nestle Company agreed to stop purchasing palm-oil from sources which destroy Indonesian rainforests. Greenpeace opposed the plan for a third runway at Heathrow airport because it ran contrary to the efforts to reduce carbon emissions in the UK,

and co-purchased, with 91,000 supporters, a plot of land that would have made the runway impossible to build. Indian computer manufacturer Wipro announced the launch of a new PVC and BFR-free computer, after several years of pressure by Greenpeace on tech companies to provide toxic-free electronics. Apple cleared the last hurdle by removing toxic PVC plastic in its new Mac book and iMac, capping the "Green my Apple" campaign making Apple products safer, easier to recycle and causing less pollution at the end of their life due to pressure exerted on it by Greenpeace activists.

Currently Greenpeace considers global warming to be the greatest environmental threat and working for the environmental protection. Greenpeace has called for global green house gas emissions to peak in 2015 and to decrease as close to zero as possible by 2050. For this Greenpeace has called for the industrialized countries to cut their emissions at least 40% by 2020 (from 1990 levels) and to provide substantial funding for developing countries to build a sustainable energy capacity, to adapt to the inevitable consequences of global warming and to stop deforestation by 2020.

STOP TO CONSIDER

NGOs in the contemporary period

NGOs have proliferated in number, and have become increasingly more vocal on many domestic and international issues in the last few decades. Nongovernmental organizations have become active in international politics in great variety, but they are all issue oriented and advocacy organizations to some degree. NGOs are independent to choose their own programs and targets, but they need help from numerous institutions as well as the state to pursue its line of action. Now, NGOs are addressing different issues such as the rights of indigenous peoples, prisoners, refugees, children, women, consumers, endangered animals etc. At the same time, many international NGOs active in areas which seek to protect 'global commons', global poverty and human rights. Therefore, the growth in the number of NGOs may reflect the increase in decline of state authority; on the contrary they might also signal the increasing scope of democratic space as well as resilience of the state and its institutions. Infact NGOs represent a 'signal the shift away from a politics based on national and class interests to a politics based on moral values and emotions'

Challenges:

Over the years Greenpeace has faced numerous challenges in its functioning. In 1994, Greenpeace published an anti-nuclear newspaper advert which included a claim that nuclear facilities Sellafield would kill 2000 people in the next 10 years, and an image of a hydrocephalus affected child said to be a victim of nuclear weapons testing in Kazakhstan was posted. The Advertising Standards Authority viewed the claim concerning Sellafield as unsubstantiated and did not accept that the child's condition was caused by radiation. As a result the advertisement was banned. Several Lawsuits have been filed against Greenpeace for loss of profits as well as reputation damage caused by Greenpeace campaigns.

Some corporations, such as Royal Dutch Shell, BP and Electricite de France have reacted to Greenpeace campaigns by spying on Greenpeace activities and infiltrating Greenpeace offices. Greenpeace activists have also been targets of phone tapping, death threats, violence and even state terrorism.

SAQ:

Make a critical estimate of the activities undertaken by Green peace.
(80 words)

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4.7 Summing Up

International NGOs have palyed an important role in extending humanitarian services. Many international NGOs have achieved significant growth in the past decade. However, most of them are not very effective in terms of their contribution to social change in ways that make greater and more lasting contributions to fight and eradicate poverty. In the ongoing competitive sphere international NGOs are concerned about building their brand, maintaining a distinct identity and preserving their institutional strengths. These aims often conflict with their intention to be a partner, facilitator, connector and catalyst for local action.

International NGOs like Amnesty, Greenpeace, and ICRC have helped to raise awareness of the consequences of poverty and conflict, environment and have generated enthusiasm for personal engagement in developing countries. At the same time, international NGOs have become increasingly professionalized and less able to accommodate volunteers and visitors in their programs. This hamstrings international NGOs' ability to tap into the growing desire, especially of young people, to personally connect with poor communities and fight for the cause of fighting poverty and other social issues faced by the countries.

4.9 References and Suggested Readings

www.amnesty.org

www.greenpeace.org

www.ifrc.org

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