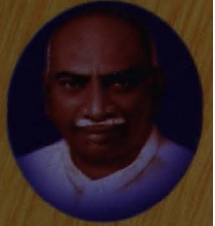




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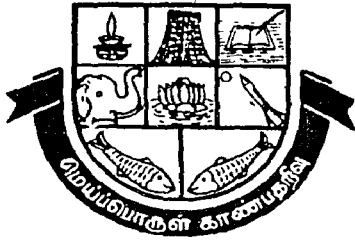
**M.A.,**  
**Second Year**

**Paper-VII**

**WORLD POLITICS AND**  
**HUMAN RIGHTS**

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**R 275**

**DIRECTORATE OF**  
**DISTANCE EDUCATION**

**M.A., SECOND YEAR**

**Paper VII**

**WORLD POLITICS AND  
HUMAN RIGHTS**

**Madurai Kamaraj University**

**Madurai - 625 021.**

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**M.A. (Political Science)  
Second Year**

**WORLD POLITICS  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Lesson -1

Dear Student,

World Politics and Human Rights is one of the subjects prescribed for II M.A. Political Science. You have to write the examination in this subject at the end of this year. In the examination you will be asked to answer five out of ten questions. The model questions found in this lesson will give you an idea as to the type of questions asked in the examination.

The syllabus and the scheme of lessons attached to this lesson will show you the different aspects of International Politics covered in this paper. For the sake of your convenience we have divided the subject into 24 lessons.

In order to clear your doubts, the Directorate arranges contact seminars periodically. If you regularly attend them, you will get the gist of different subjects. Your doubts may also be cleared in the seminars. So please attend all the seminars.

**Department of Political Science.**

# **SYLLABUS**

## **PAPER VII**

### **WORLD POLITICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

- Unit : 1 Development of the Study of the World Politics
- Unit : 2 Theories of International Relations : Realism, Idealism and World State Theory - Marxist Theory and Pluralist Theory.
- Unit : 3 The Concept of Power : Its Constituents and Limitations
- Unit : 4 The Struggle for Power :As Status quo, as Imperialism and as Prestige.
- Unit : 5 The Management of Power : Balance of Power, Collective Security and Co-operative Security - Changing Nature of National Power.
- Unit : 6 The Concept of Non Alignment : Bases, Role and Relevance.
- Unit : 7 Disarmament and Arms Control : CTBT, NPT and PNE
- Unit : 8 Regional Organisation : SAARC and ASEAN
- Unit : 9 Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation
- Unit : 10 Emerging Issues : Humanitarian intervention, Sanctions, Human Rights, Environmentalism, Terrorism and Democratic Expansion.

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## Model Questions

1. Examine the nature and scope of international politics.
2. Critically examine the Realistic Theory of Morgenthau.
3. 'International Politics is a struggle for power' Discuss
4. State and explain the major features of
  - (a) Systems Theory
  - (or)
  - (b) Decision-making approach
  - (or)
  - (c) Game Theory
  - (or)
  - (d) Communication Theory.
5. What is National Power? What are its chief elements?
6. Discuss the concept of Balance of power. What are its methods and techniques?
7. Bring out the relationship between balance of power and collective security.
8. Account for the failure of League of Nations.
9. Examine the role of ideologies in 20th century world politics.
10. Describe briefly the different treaties and pacts signed in the post-second world war era for international co-operation.
11. Assess the achievement and failures of the U.N.O.
12. Define International Law. Examine the sources and limitations of International Law.
13. What is diplomacy? What are its kinds and functions?
14. Examine the contributions of the Non-Aligned nations in promoting world peace.
15. Discuss the nature and trends of cold war. What are the reasons for its origin?
16. Critically analyse the reasons for the Sino-Soviet split
17. What are the major attempts in Disarmament since 1945? Discuss the problems involved in it.
18. Assess the impact of Afro-Asian resurgence in world politics.
19. Discuss briefly the relationship between foreign policy and diplomacy.
20. Discuss the major trends in Indian foreign policy since 1970.
21. Examine the importance of Human Rights in world politics.

## SCHEME OF LESSONS

### Lesson No

1. Introduction - Syllabus - Scheme of lessons - Model question
2. *Scope and problems of International Politics - Morgenthau's Realistic Theory*
3. Approaches to the study of International Politics: Systems Approach - Decision making approach
4. Approaches (contd.) - Communication and Game theories
5. World politics from 1848 to 1945
6. National power and its constituents
7. International Politics as a struggle for power - political power - policy of status quo/Imperialism - Policy of prestige
8. Balance of power: Nature, Growth and Devices of Balance of power
9. Collective Security : Meaning and purpose -collective security and collective action collective security and balance of power
10. Role of Ideology in world politics
11. Concept of Nationalism and Rise of Nation States
12. Pacts and alliances in the post-second world war period - Contemporary trends
13. Regionalism -OAS, OAU, OPEC, EEC, COMECON, OPEC, ASEAN and SAARC
14. The Evolution of International Organisation: The League of Nations
15. The United Nations Organisation
16. International Law - Nature and content - Limitation
17. Diplomacy: Functions of Diplomats - Kinds of Diplomacy-Drawbacks
18. Oil Diplomacy
19. Non - Alignment: Meaning - Bases- New trends in non-alignment
20. Cold war: Origin, Nature, 'Issue and effects.
21. Disarmament : Meaning-Major disarmament effects-Problems
22. Arms race: nature and reasons - arms trade and implications-nuclear issues.
23. Human Rights
24. Emerging Ussues.

**Lesson : 2****Scope and Problems of International Politics : Morgenthau's Realistic theory****Scope and Problems of International Politics**

The study of international politics as a subject began to appear in the academic environment from the beginning of the twentieth century. It was in 1919 that the first chair of the international politics was founded at the University of Wales. The first two occupants of the chair were distinguished historians. Professors Alfred Zimmern and C.K. Webster. While the founding of the chair indicates a beginning of the interest in the study of international politics as an independent academic discipline, the appointment of historians to that chair indicates the tendency of identifying international relations with diplomatic history and also with international law. Diplomatic history is no doubt an essential element of international relations but the intellectual interest of student of a international relations is not the same as that of a historian. The intellectual interest of a student of international relations is in the present rather than in the past only. For international relations, even the interest in the past has relevance only in so far as it serves the interest in the present and the future.

After World War I, when the League of Nations was established the study of international politics took a new turn. The scholars specialised in the field began to study the subject through international law and organisation. After World War II, international studies opened new subjects and explored old topics in new perspectives. The vigorous research in the field has developed new scientific theories in international politics. Now we are not concerned with institutionalization of international politics through law and organisation. But we are concerned with the theoretical investigation of international politics for the main purpose of understanding the field.

**Meaning, Nature and Scope of International Politics**

International politics has been defined in a number of ways. Prof. Schleicher defines international politics as the relations among states. Quincy Wright defines international relations as relations between groups of major importance in the life of the world at any period of history. According to Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, international politics is a struggle for power among nations. A good working definition of international politics is given by Harold and Margaret Sprout. They define international politics as those aspects of interactions and relations of independent political communities in which some element of opposition, resistance or conflict of purpose or interest is present. For an understanding of the nature of international politics, a brief discussion of the connotation of the term *politics* is necessary. Everything in politics, whether domestic or international, flows from the fact that people have needs. The efforts to satisfy needs and wants bring people into contact with each other and contact leads to the formation of groups. These groups follow certain policies and do

certain actions to satisfy their needs and wants. But the needs and wants of the various groups are bound to differ, though the needs and wants of the members of one group are normally supposed to be common.

Politics arises from the very existence of groups and the disagreements among them and from the efforts of men to create relationships under which their needs and wants can be fulfilled to the maximum possible extent. Quincy Wright defines politics as the art of influencing, manipulating, or controlling major groups so as to advance the purpose of some against the opposition to others. Thus there are three essentials to politics: the existence of groups, disagreement between groups and the efforts of some to control the actions of others. Politics, then, is a phenomenon of groups, disagreement, and group action. Politics, however, cannot exist in a state of complete disagreement. Harmony between the groups is necessary. The purpose of one group trying to control the actions of other group or groups in its favour is to alter this type of relationships in its own favor. The ability to control the policies and actions of the group is called power. As such politics involves power. Power becomes a means for the fulfillment of needs and wants. Politics without power is unthinkable. We try to acquire power not only for our wants and desires of the present but also for those of the future. In fact, politics is nothing else but a process in which power is acquired, maintained, used and expanded.

Politics in relationships between nations is international politics. In international politics, groups are nations and their need and wants are called interests and disagreement among groups are called conflicts. But the element of power remains the same. International politics, then, becomes a process of adjustment of relationships among nations in favour of a nation or group of nations by means of power. Thus three important things relevant to international politics are national interest, conflict and power. The first is the objective, the second is the condition, and the third is the means of international politics. But the second is of greater significance than the first or the third. Because if conflict is not there, national interest and power will have little function to perform. In this sense, international politics can be described as the relations among independent political communities in which some element of conflict of interest is present. However, it does not mean that every nation is hostile to every other nation. Nations whose interests are harmonious are likely to have some sort of co-operation. As such international politics involves both co-operation and conflict. But conflict occupies a more prominent place in international politics. This is so due to the fact that co-operation itself is the result of conflict. .

International Politics is sometimes loosely used by some people as world Politics'. But World Politics is not International Politics. For, World Politics is possible only when we are able to achieve a world state. When a world state comes into being we will have institutions analogous to those in national politics. As such international politics should be distinguished from world politics, for the former is the phenomena of the present and the latter of the future.

As international politics should not be confused with world politics, world politics also should not be confused with world affairs. World affairs is a general expression covering every matter of interest in the world, whether political, economic or cultural. The knowledge of world affairs is necessary for the understanding of international politics of the present and world politics of the future. But world affairs only provide data for understanding and are not the exponents of a political process itself. More or less the same thing can be said about international affairs also. This is also general expression covering all matter of interest on international society.

The other term which is still more often used as a synonym for international politics is international relations. These terms are often used interchangeably by scholars of the subject. Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson, for example, believe that the core of international relations is international politics. However, international relations has wider connotation than international politics. The general approach to the study of institutional relations has been traditionally in terms of international institutions, international politics, power rivalries, international strategy and enforcement procedures. The study of all these may be important in international relations. So international relations is not international politics. The term international relations, in fact, describes all aspects of relations between countries and peoples, political or nonpolitical, peaceful or war-like, legal or cultural, economic or geographic, official or non-official.

International politics, on the other hand, is used in a rather narrow sense. It is concerned only with those interstate matters which involve some conflict of purpose or interest. There is however a special sense in which international politics and international relations are coming closer to each other. Concern for peace is the common denominator between international politics and international relations.

If we could summarize all that we have said about the nature and meaning of international politics, we will view international politics as a process in which nations try to serve their national interests by means of their politics and actions. This working definition should broadly apply to international politics many period. What is significant about the nature of the post-1945 international politics is that various developments in international life have brought about a change in the nature of the concepts of sovereign states, the conflict among states, the national interests and the means of the achievement of national interests.

One significant development in international life bringing about a change in the nature of international politics is the multiplication of states. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century world history could be conceived basically in terms of European history. As a result of the fast declining phase of colonialism, there are now many more sovereign states. Being able to decide

their own destiny, these states have now announced the beginning of a new period in world history. Centres of major international developments after the second world war have been not only in Europe, but also in the new nations of Asia, Africa and Middle East. Consequently, international politics has now lost its former European-dominated character and its field have very much widened. The impact of the emergence of the new states has been that the concept of national interest has also changed the means to achieve it. The study of international politics today has to include the national interests of not one or a few nations but of all those nations which are independent. Many of the new nations are faced with their internal problems of economic development, administrative stability and the rise in levels of armaments. These problems have had influence on the determination of the national interest of the small states. The character of the national interests of these states is bound to affect the character of multistate interest which in turn affects the nature of conflict and consequently the nature of international politics.

Another development in international life relates to the number of those individuals who formulate foreign policies. Formerly, foreign policies were directed by a small ruling nucleus. International policies consisted of communications and accommodations between a manageable number of elite groups. But now the whole of this concept is in question. The constant pressure towards nationalist movements and the carving out of new nations is a factor to be reckoned with. Once a nation comes into existence its further drive is towards economic and military self-sufficiency. In order to achieve this objective new nations present fresh political mechanisms, political beliefs and social attitudes. All these affect the character of International politics. These new beliefs and attitudes are formed as a result of the influence of public opinion. People in general have now come to have a greater say in foreign affairs. This is not the direct result of the emergence of new states. Today international politics has become more democratic. No nation can afford today to go openly against the ideals of peace, international justice, disarmament, freedom and international organisation, all of which have now become the cherished values of the people of the world.

Another factor that has brought about a change in the nature of international politics is the technological development. Technological change is marked by the advent of atomic or nuclear weapons. All this may be a matter of pride for man's achievement over nature. But one cannot ignore the total destructive potentiality of these weapons. So in attempting to understand the nature of international politics, one has to take into account the importance of this absolute destructive character of modern weapons. Military superiority has become an objective in international politics today. After the First World War, many developments of far-reaching significance have taken place like the rise of Communism, expansion of nationalism, and the ideal of internationalism.

In view of these developments, power politics appeared in a new mould of bipolarity, the concentration on most of the world's power in the hands of two super powers. In contrast to the multipolar world of the past the bipolar world became is the major detriment of the nature of international politics. But bipolarity seems to be in the process of passing with the emergence of countries of Africa and asia.

With the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. has emerged the sole leader in the unipolar world. Two other factors are also relevant in this connection. One is the growing concern for peace and the other is the trend towards international organisation and international integration. The concern for peace is closely related to international organisation. The close relationship between peace and international organisation emanates from the fact that the preservation of peace necessitates the organisation of almost every aspect of international relations. Thus, peace provides a link between international politics and international organisation. Peace is the purpose of present-day international politics and international organisation is the institutional means of the achievement of peace. International organisation itself becomes a centre of international politics. This type of relationship between international politics and international organisation has added a new dimension to the nature of international politics, namely, a tension between the struggle for power and the struggle for order. This is evident from examples such as the bosnian war and the middle east situation.

## **Current Themes**

### **i) Power**

Power seems to be a major determinant of the policies of the leading states of the world. The concept of power has been widened markedly by researchers in various disciplines. The balance of power, national power and the power equation in their application to international politics are considered to be the important forms of power.

### **ii) World community**

In many respects ours is already one world. The community theme emphasises the things that people and nations have in common and the ties that bind them together.

### **iii) War and Peace**

Much international relations have revolved around questions of war and peace. In atomic age, war has become a threat to civilization. So, the questions of war and peace assume a new urgency.

### **iv) Ideologies And Human Rights**

In the twentieth century, with aggressive totalitarianism and deep seated conflicts, between political, economic and social systems, ideological issues

have become the burning realities of international life. So at the present time much of international relations centres on ideological issues.

### **v) The National Interests**

In recent years students of international politics have emphasised the concept of national interests as a central theme for the conduct of international relations. The leaders of every nation are expected to promote the national interest. But interpretations of that interest may vary greatly. The theme of national interest may be useful in assessing the conduct of a nation's foreign policy.

### **vi) Nationalism, Imperialism and Colonialism**

Nationalism is one of the most powerful forces in the world today. Imperialism, and colonialism in their traditional forms seem to be declining. Knowledge of these forces help to explain many of the stresses and strains in the international relations of our times.

### **vii) Economic Factors**

The Marxist-Leninist approach to international relations is basically an economic one. Many non-communists are also inclined to emphasise the economic aspects of international life.

### **viii) National Character**

This theme illustrates the possibilities of broadly based analysis of the distinctive attributes of people and social groups especially those which compose the national units of modern international society. If developed adequately, this theme will provide a valuable guide for policy-makers and students of international politics.

### **Purpose of the Study**

A student of international politics is not a scientist working through the laws of the physical world. He is endlessly concerned with emotions, personalities, traditions, motivations and a host of other intangible and changing factors. International relations reveal how men and nations tend to act in given circumstances and so tell us that conditions should be encouraged and what conditions are to be discouraged if we are to promote international harmony and well-being.

The study of international relations is not a science with which we solve the problems of international life. At its best it is an objective and systematic approach to international problems. Students of international relations must reconcile themselves to the fact that many of the problems of international relations are unsolvable under present conditions. We are living in a very complicated and dangerous world. There are few satisfying solutions to the great problems that face us today. All the problems will not constitute major threats to

peace and security. Unsolved and dangerous problems may sometimes take a different complexion and decline in importance with the passage of time. Basic agreement between the communists and non-communists may never be achieved. This does not mean that war is inevitable. The problems of war may never be solved. But it can be kept under control. Total war in the atomic age with all its frightful consequences, can be avoided. For many issues, it may be impossible to devise a genuine solution. The only possible course in some instance may be to keep the problems under control as much as possible.

### **Morgenthau's Realistic Theory: A Reappraisal**

Recently, the study of international politics has undergone a subtle change. New research in the field builds theories of international politics. Now, many scholars, publicists, analysts, diplomats support consistently the role of theory in the study of international politics. Perhaps, Prof. Hans. J. Morgenthau, one of the long established authorities in the field, is the leading exponent of this view, but he has supported a kind of theory that is very close to the realities of the world. According to him, a theory of international politics is to be judged not by abstract principles or concepts unrelated to reality. The theory, in other words, must be pragmatic. Thus a realist theory relies essentially on objective conditions. It recognises that principles can hardly be fully realised and considers that imperfection in the world is largely due to forces inherent in human nature. It does not seek to attain absolute good but aims at the realisation of the lesser evil. It views that whatever be the ultimate aim of international politics, power is always the immediate aim. Political realism again emphasises the role of historic precedents which mould political behaviour to a considerable extent.

It is rather difficult to attempt a systematic exposition of the philosophy of political realism. Morgenthau refers to six fundamental principles which are relevant to an understanding of political realism.

i) The first principle of Morgenthau's theory is that politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology; society or political system cannot be improved without understanding these laws. Moreover these laws cannot be surpassed as this will only lead to utter failure. With the help of such theory based on human nature and psychology, we can distinguish between truth and opinion i.e., what is based on reason and evidence and what is merely a wishful thinking. Or in other words we can say that by developing a political theory based on human psychology and reason we can better understand political phenomena by distinguishing these from mere prejudice. The theory also believes that human nature is very much stable. Hence the theory does not believe in necessity of novelty nor does it believe that old age is at defects; rather it believes old age is sound and good. The theories however should pass two tests, one of reason; another of experience. Realism consists in ascertaining facts and giving them meaning through reason. Therefore, to understand the foreign policy of a statesman we should examine not

only the circumstances but also the possible ways which he might prefer to choose, under such circumstances.

ii) Secondly, the main characteristic of international politics which also enables us to distinguish it from other social sciences is the concept of national interest which Prof. Morgenthau defines in terms of power. It helps us a lot to understand the events of the political science. As such we assume that all statesmen always think and act only to fulfil their interest by achieving power. Thus Prof. Morgenthau believes that the defence of national interest is the essence of any foreign policy. A realist theory is not concerned with motives and has no ideological preferences. As Morgenthau states Neville Chamberlain's policies of appeasement were inspired by good motives but yet made the Second World War inevitable and brought untold miseries to millions of men. Sir Winston Churchill's motives were much more narrowly directed towards national power, yet the foreign policies that sprang from these inferior motives were certainly superior in moral and political quality to those pursued by his predecessor. Political realism relies on a foreign policy which minimises risks and maximises benefits.

iii) Thirdly, realism is not particularly attracted towards any idea which is fixed once and for all. It considers that the kind of interest determining political action in a particular period or history depends upon the political and cultural context within which foreign policy is formulated. The realists stand for the manipulation of different forces which are already in existence, in order to bring social transformation.

iv) Fourthly, political realism is not, however, ignorant of the moral significance of political action. Realism believes that states are not expected to observe the same standards of morality as individuals. The individual may say for himself, let Justice be done even if the world perishes', but the state has no right to say so. The individual may sacrifice himself in defence of moral principles; but the state has no right to sacrifice its liberty for moral principles. Realism also holds that prudence is the supreme virtue in politics. Without prudence there cannot be any political morality.

v) Fifthly, political realism cannot identify the moral aspiration of a particular nation with moral laws that govern the universe. As power is the motive force which regulates activities of the nations, moral principles just cannot be adhered to though all nations swear in the name of morality.

vi) Lastly, political realism is remarkable by its distinctive intellectual attitude to political matters. Realism assigns a particular importance to political actions but is not unaware of the existence of other standard of thought. It only subordinates these other standards to the political one. It is definitely against the moralistic approach to international politics. Political realism also takes into account the pluralistic conception of human nature. It does not regard politics as complete in itself but considers it in proper relations with other aspects of human nature.

These are the six principles by which Prof. Morgenthau has characterised his realist theory. His realist theory, however, is condemned and criticised by different writers on different grounds. The different points of criticism of realist theory may be summed up as under:

1) Disagreement and disapprovals have been found in the scholarly circles regarding Morgenthau's inclination towards a theory which is concrete or very close to realities. Writers have differed greatly with Morgenthau by contending that theory cannot properly be made concrete, that abstractness is the essential quality of theory and also its chief virtue.

2) Morgenthau's theory is also criticised by many writers on the ground that it is an incomplete theory. Harold Sprout objects to Morgenthau's theory, because it neglects the objectives of national policy. Quincy Wright criticizes this theory for not having considered the impact of values on national policy. Raymond Aron objects to this theory for having ignored the relation between ideologies and policies. Stanley Hoffman criticizes this theory because it ignores the discussion of ends.

3) The realistic theory is also criticized because it is based on the conviction that all men and all states seek their national interest defined in terms of power. It considers that clash of interests is the sole aspect of international politics. If this is so, the question naturally arises what will be the fate of peace. For, if all nations try to achieve their national interest, a clash of interests will then be an inevitable result and international politics will appear as an endless struggle for power. Moreover, the periods of peace will then be considered as deviations from the rule. As such critics point out that clash of interest cannot be considered as the sole aspect of international politics. They stress that other aspects such as cooperation are also relevant to international politics.

4) The idea of an objective national interest is also questionable. It makes sense only in the earlier periods in which the survival of the units of international politics is rarely at stake and in which the units pursue limited ends with limited means. But in the contemporary world, society's survival is always at stake. As such the concept of national interest is of no use in this unstable period because various courses of action can be suggested as valid choices for survival. In such circumstances the concept of national interest becomes subjective. Thus in the formation of national policies there is greater emphasis on subjective survival than objective factors because it is impossible to evaluate the objective factors.

5) Further more, Morgenthau's conception that national interest carries its own morality also makes sense only in stable periods. It is because of the fact that the accommodation of national objectives is only possible in stable times and it is the accommodation of national objective that alone can give meaning to the morality of national interest. But in today's changing world when one nation's interest often resides in eliminating another nation's interest Morgenthau's theory wrongly assumes that national interest carries its own morality.

6) Prof. Morgenthau's assumption that power is the immediate goal of every nation that engages in politics also seems to be an oversimplification. Power may be one of the most significant goals that nations pursue, but it is not the only goal and it is not always the principal goal. Nations may pursue other goals such as wealth, cultural welfare, security, sovereignty, prosperity, justice, the protection and promotion of ideology, aggrandizement and peace. They may pursue all these goals at one and the same time. Actually, one goal may be necessary to achieve another and the same action may be the means to several other goals. Wealth may bring power and power may bring peace and peace may be necessary to preserve the cultural welfare of the nations.

7) Morgenthau's theory is also open to criticism because it holds that there is hardly any relationship or activity that does not involve power. But there are certain non-political relationships and activities. Thus the international sports, events, circulation of books and other reading matters, private letters and telegrams, etc. are not political activities. However, Prof. Morgenthau does not suggest any criterion by which political activities may be separated from non-political activities.

8) Further more Prof. Morgenthau's theory is very much confusing. One of his six principles is that political sphere is as autonomous as the respective spheres of the economists or the lawyers or the moralists. But he is not clear in his mind as to what type of autonomy he had been talking about. In his well-known book *Politics Among Nations*, he points out that a political realist thinks in terms of interest defined as wealth; the lawyer of the conformity of action with legal rules; the moralist, of the conformity of action with moral principles. Thus here he maintains that a political realist should only deal with limited set of variables. But in his various other writings and particularly in his book *Dilemmas of Politics* he holds that politics must play the roles of the common integrating core. Thus here he holds a different viewpoint that politics must be concerned with all variables with which the other specialised spheres deal. So all this leads to more confusion.

There is no end to listing the ambiguities and inadequacies of Morgenthau's theory. But in spite of all these deficiencies, it is worthwhile to bear in mind that Morgenthau's theory was a pioneering contribution towards the development of international theory. Actually, Prof. Morgenthau's theory was the starting point for providing us theoretical orientation to the study of international politics. It was he who gave order and meaning to mass of international phenomena. To conclude we can say that Morgenthau's realist theory occupied the most prominent place in the study of international politics.

### Model questions for guidance

1. Examine the nature and scope of international politics.
2. Discuss critically the realist theory of international politics as expounded by Morgenthau.

## IDEALISM

(SAINT SIMON, WILLIAM LADD, RICHARD COBDEN, ALDOUS HUXLEY, BERTRAND RUSSELL, WOODROW WILSON, MAHATMA GANDHI, MARGARET MEAD AND OTHERS)

### Idealists (Normativists)

1. Politics is the art of the government, not an 'art of the possible'. A good political person does not do what is possible, rather he does what is good. He provides for the good life which involves justice, obedience to legitimate rules (that is, rules derived from universal moral principles) and respect for his fellow humans, both domestically and internationally.
2. No pattern of behaviour is unchangeable. Man has the capacity to learn and to change and control his behaviour. Purely interest-motivated behaviour reduces a person to the instincts of the beasts. Over time, humans learn, improve, and grow. Civilisation means learning to coexist in societies, operating under their fair laws, and banning the laws of the jungle, which permit the survival only of the most vily, the most powerful, and the most ferocious.
3. Moral principles which are universal among all the world's major religions can serve as the foundation from which fair and just laws can be derived, which in turn can be applied effectively (that is, with adequate sanctions against those who break them). Thus, politics should involve the abandonment of force, the encouragement of learning, and the coexistence of societies under the leadership of adequately enlightened rulers.
4. How best the states can meet internal violence and external aggression. Fighting violence with violence is merely falling into a realist (Machiavellian) trap. The only viable alternative is to resist non-violently and to hope that in the long run the cultural patterns of good political behaviour will displace primitive patterns characterised by 'power politics'.
5. Western democratic-competitive systems are models of societies that operate in accordance with idealistic principles. . These principles include rule of law rather than rule by men, peaceful and arbitrated change, progressive taxation allowing for gradual redistribution of incomes and, above all, civil rights that guarantee the freedoms of speech, worship, organisation and peaceful functioning of the government.
6. A world federation with central authority monopolising but not abusing force can be instituted. Thus, the world will be freed from the scourge of international war and many of its derivative civil wars.

1. 'Power' is defined as a psychological relationship in which one actor is able to control the behaviour of another actor. Another central idea is 'interest'. A rational political actor is one who acts to promote his interests. Thus, to act rationally (that is, to act in one's own interests) is to seek power (that is, to have the ability and the willingness to control others).
2. Acting in pursuit of personal, group and national interests is eminently political. It is also like obeying forces that are inherent in human nature. To seek power in order to promote one's interests is to follow the basic dictates of the laws of nature.
3. A good political person is a rational personal person, that is, who understands and seeks power but who also moderates his quest for power because he realises that others also understand and seek power. The most important characteristic of a rational-political person is prudence. He is concerned with the survival and growth of his social collectivity. But he never risks collectivity's survival in the pursuit of limitless growth, or in defence of ideological, moralistic or legalistic righteousness. The rational political person is, in the last analysis, a pragmatist. To him, understandings, bargains, and compromises are more likely to prevail than rules, adjudication, and moral righteousness.
4. Machiavelli remains the source and inspiration of survival-oriented behaviour. Morality, legalism - ideologies these are luxuries that can be pursued only if they do not endanger the viability and the vital interests of the political collectivity or the government that speaks for the collectivity.

## **MARXISM**

The Marxist - Leninist framework about the nature and scope of international relations and politics has these characteristics :

- 1) **Scientific Doctrine** : Politics is to be seen in terms of class conflict at the national as well as international levels. The laws of social development are inexorable. Capitalism will go and so will be the fate of imperialism. International political reality can be understood only by the laws of social development as laid down by Marx, interpreted by Engels and applied by Lenin.
- 2) **Inevitable conflict and peaceful co-existence** : The conflict between the communist and non-communist systems is inevitable, but the policy of peaceful co-existence is to be followed during the transitional period of international social development. That is, co-existence is a period of respite to the communist in their fight for world communism.

- 3) Socialism in one country and export of revolution.
- 4) Strategy and tactics : The only way to terminate the possibility of war in the world is to terminate the capitalist system. It requires that the communist states must adopt such strategies and tactics that not only sharpen the forces of conflict but also create conditions for the final liquidation of the discredited bourgeois state system.
- 5) Support for National Liberation Movements : The moral as well as material support of the socialist states to the slave countries of the world in their struggle for liberation is a corollary to the above point. It is all done with a view to weaken the forces of the bourgeois state. The communists view international relations as those of peace (between socialist and non-capitalist states) and of war (between socialist and capitalist states).

The great leader Mao in his monograph on People's Democratic Dictatorship gave 'lean to one side principle' implying "One either leans to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Neutrality is a camouflage and a third road does not exist."

The Marxist - Leninist framework may be criticised on some forceful grounds in the following manner :

1) It cannot be termed 'scientific' in view of the fact that there are sharp points of differences among the great communist leaders of the world and that the development of international society has not taken place according to the laws of Marxism.

2) The affirmations of the communists are full of inconsistencies not only in the realm of theory but also in that of practice. While their doctrine of 'inevitable conflict' can be understood without any difficulty, their proclaimed principle of active peaceful co-existence fails to be harmonised with it.

3) The development of the international relations over the last few decades has taken place in a way that contradicts the premises of the Marxist - Leninist framework.

It is significant to note here that in the recent past following the demise of the Soviet Union world communism has declined and liberalization is finding an increasingly global application.

## **World State Theory**

According to Morgenthau, "The experience of two world wars within a quarter of a century and the prospects of a third one to be fought with nuclear weapons have imparted to the idea of a World State an unprecedented urgency". In fact, there is no alternative to World Government which can save the world from self-destruction and establish international peace and security. The idea of

world government as such is non-controversial, but the moot question is whether World Government is practicable.

The most argument that is placed in the favour of World Government is that it would end the anarchic condition that is prevailing in the international society today. Every nation being sovereign is free to act as it likes. Every nation violates and by passes international law and international organisation in order to pursue its interests. The anarchic condition generates fear in the nations and they come into conflict with others. The nations are living in an empire of anarchy. The only escape from this anarchic condition is the establishment of a World Government. The World Government, if established, would be able to establish peace and order as is being done by the Sovereign nations in their respective territories.

In national societies such agencies are provided for as are necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. The existence of Supreme power in society is a necessary condition for stability and order. The Sovereignties of individual nations would stand transferred to world authority which like national societies would then be able to establish peace and order in international society.

The aspiration for power among the nations encourages conflict and war. In national societies also the conflict of interests among its members cannot be ruled out, but the state does not allow its members resorting to open conflict and violence. Such disputes and conflicts are settled by the state itself in accordance with its laws and procedures. All the efforts made so far preventing war have failed. The World Government as the supreme power is, therefore, the only device which can prevent war.

The World Government can create favourable conditions for the proper development of civilization and culture. The World Government would promote international co-operation and encourage the development of supernational feelings. It will enable people to rise above narrow nationalism and move towards internationalism. Internationalism can pave the way for the realization of the idea of 'One World'.

### **PLURALISM :**

This is opposed to the world state theory. Political pluralists like Laski believe in the federal nature of society and are opposed to a concentration of political power in one government or one state. On the after hand, they argue that every society or community or nation has its own unique features, culture, needs and characteristics which are not to be destroyed or trodden down by super powers or an institutional frame work that strives for uniformity. They are in favour of local initiatives and resurgence.

**LESSON : 3 .****Approaches to the Study of****World Politics - Systems****Approach - Decision Making Approach**

There are very many approaches to study the issues and problems in international politics. Many scientific approaches emerged as a result of Behavioural Revolution in social sciences. We would be studying four of such approaches, namely, Systems, Decision-making, Communication and Game approaches.

**Systems Approach**

Systems approach in Political Science marks a change from the study of political institutions, such as constitutions and government to the study of political systems. It has occurred owing to certain momentous developments in the discipline of political science where more and more writers have begun to study political system in relation to the role of extra governmental agencies. It has been widely recognised by a number of theorists like David Easton, G.A. Almond, Karl Deutsch and Morton A. Kaplan. They advocated that structural categories such as governments, legislative bodies and cabinets are hopelessly unrealistic guides to the political phenomena of all countries. Instead, political scientists have searched for abstract processes and functions which are performed by some structures in all countries but not necessarily by structures which appear the same from one country to another.

The contributions made by the recent American writers to Political Science have caused a revolution of sorts in the definition of its mission, problems and methods. System theory in this regard covers not only the science of politics, but virtually all social sciences and draws inspirations from natural science. The introduction of systems approach in the discipline of Political Science owes its genesis to the realisation of some American writers like David Easton, G.A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan who argued that the traditional tendency of rigid compartmentalisation of any discipline of social sciences has not only resulted in the reduction of cross-flows between various sister fields of study. Further, such undimensional studies in social sciences has resulted in the reduction of efforts but also impeded scientific analysis and unification of all knowledge in social sciences. With this realisation they began to emphasise that important opportunities would be available to the students of one discipline in case they take the help of analogous disciplines for the study of their analogous problems.

The new social scientists in this direction have drawn inspiration from the contribution of natural scientists like Ludvig Von Bertalanffy who pioneered the movement of unification of all natural sciences. The line shown by this biologist in the thirties of the twentieth century became quite prominent after a gap of some twenty years. Several, important conferences were held in leading American universities to explore the possibilities of scientific research towards a

unified theory of human behaviour. The result is the general systems theory. As Tong says, with such an orientation it was natural that people interested in this movement should begin to search for a body of concepts leading to unity or organisation of studies undertaken in a variety of disciplines widely available. The central and guiding notion that they developed in this quest was the concept of system which has since become the basic conceptual aspect of general systems theory.

The advocates of systems theory believe that there are a number of things common in various disciplines and that if only they can be put in an abstract form a general theory can emerge. This might help each discipline to understand its problem better and this can be used by each discipline as a broad conceptual guideline for detailed research. Obviously, this approach is against compartmentalisation of discipline which has caused a reduction of cross flows between various disciplines.

The tendency on the part of teaching discipline to concern itself with specific phenomena and detailed studies in its own field to the exclusion of abstract and general theoretical considerations could not be of much use in the understanding of similar problems in either discipline. In short, the systems theory is multi-disciplinary or interdisciplinary in approach. Its basic implication is that there are important concepts and propositions that are meaningful over a significant range of specific systems and it is possible to develop in conceptual terms a small number of general systems. Systems theory has its own set of specific concepts and they can be broadly put into three categories. They are:

### **1) Concepts in the nature of primary, descriptive and classificatory variables**

In this category we can include concepts that lay down lines of differences between various kinds of system like a democratic or open and a non-democratic or closed systems and also concepts that show hierarchical levels like systems and sub-systems. The terms lead to the introduction of terms like boundaries, input and output.

### **2) Concepts in the nature of regulatory, preservative variables**

Concepts in this category constitute the key part of the general systems theory. These concepts which play their role of the regulation or maintenance of a system include stability, equilibrium, feedback, repair, etc. Every system must have a state of equilibrium that may be stable or unstable or static.

### **3) Concepts in the nature of forces causing dynamics**

Change is the law of nature, but this change can be both disruptive and non-disruptive. A non-disruptive change can be brought about through responses to altered conditions of environment. A non-disruptive change can be either reversible or irreversible. While changes in the reversible directions include

adaptation, learning and growth goals and teleology, change in irreversible directions covers disruption, dissolution, breakdown, crisis, stresses and strains, overload and decay leading to the application of the law of positive entropy.

## **General Systems Theory and its Application to Political Science**

It may be asked how the principles of general systems theory, originally developed in natural science, be applied to the study of politics with certain transformations made by the anthropologists and sociologists. It is a fact that the general systems theory in its extended and well integrated form has very rarely been applied to the analysis of political phenomena. The reason for this is that the terms of general systems theory are of such a nature that they can be applied with rigour and that deter a social scientist to move ahead with the help of this theory. Of course the concepts of general systems theory have become quite popular in recent years. This does not mean that modern writers on social sciences can make use of the concepts in a free and well-understood style. Realising this fact fully, Easton observes, "In most cases, it is just a handy notion and apparently simple to refer to the range of phenomena that in early days might have roused a different terminology such as politics, government and state."

It is true that the propositions of systems theory are somewhat scattered and it does not support a rather impressive analytical super structure. Yet the use of this approach is of great value in sorting out a large quantity of data and in recognising the pattern and uniformities that tie the elements of a system together. Several concepts like inputs and outputs, stability, equilibrium, feedback and entropy have become well accepted terms in the hands of empirical political scientists to deal with political systems in open and closed societies or advanced and developing countries of the world. It enables an empirical researcher to analyse how changes take place in the political systems and in what direction political development or political decay takes place. Further, systems analysis promote interdisciplinary investigation that may bring more useful information to the study of political systems. It may be used both for macro analysis and micro analysis.

It is on account of these advantage that writers like David Easton, David A. Apter and G.A. Almond have made use of the systems theory and thus made their principal contributions to modern empirical political theory. It is owing to this fact that input-output and structural-functional approaches have become so popular in the form of derivatives of the systems theory. Keeping all these in view, it may be said that the concepts developed by the general system theory open up the question and create new dimensions for investigations into the political process and several of them can be used to great advantage by political scientists by their analysis of political phenomena.

## **Applicator of Systems Theory in international politics**

The most developed systems theory in international politics is the theory of Kaplan.

He has created a number of macro models of international politics based on the following assumptions:

- (i) A pattern of repeatable behaviour occurs within the international system;
- (ii) This behaviour exhibits a pattern because its elements are consistent and fulfills national and international needs;
- (iii) The patterns of international behaviour are related in specific ways to the type of actors; and
- (iv) International behaviour can also be related to military, economic, demographic and other factors.

An international system of action, Kaplan asserts, constitutes a set of related variables which has behavioural regularities or characteristics. According to him, there are five variables, which constitute the basic elements of the international system. They are:

- (a) The essential rules of the system that describes the characteristic behaviour of the system;
- (b) The transformation rules (that constitute the laws of change);
- (c) The actor-classificatory variable (that classifies the actor according to the kind of political system);
- (d) The capability variables (that specifies the physical capacity of actors); and
- (e) The information variables (that refers to the knowledge and information possessed by an actor).

Using these five variables Kaplan adduces six international systems. These six models are macro models, but by no means they are exhaustive. They are: (1) The balance of power model (2) The loose polar model (3) The tight polar model (4) The Unit model (5) The Hierarchical model (6) The Universal model.

Kaplan is also of view that the international system is a null political system. As there is no institution comparable to government in international system, it cannot be considered as a political system, but only as composed of interactions between various political systems, sub-systems and dominant systems.

Despite the popularity enjoyed by Kaplan's model, it still falls short of complete understanding and direct application; it could at best explain the international relations and behaviour, and cannot serve as a concrete model to approach international politics. There is a wide gap between theory and research.

However, the utility of General Systems approach lies in popularising the scientific study of international politics as in stimulating further research in model building.

## **Decision-Making Approach**

Decision-making is a process involving the selection of a particular course of action from among two or more alternatives. Decision-making involves a sequence of activities by political actors, perception of the problem, marshalling of facts and information considering alternatives and choosing a course of action calculated to maximise goal achievement. The decision analyst tries to find answers for such questions as what was the decision? who made it? how was it made? why was it made? what impact did the environmental situation have and what do these answers tell us about the functioning of the political system which produced the decision?

### **Steps in Decision-making :**

The following are the steps that should involve any decision-making process:

- (i) The definition of an issue as being important enough to warrant attention on the part of decision-making groups.
- (ii) The gathering of information about the circumstances surrounding the issue.
- (iii) The formality of alternative courses of actions that might be pursued in handling the issue.
- (iv) Some decisions on the rules or procedures that will be followed in making the final selections of a course of action i.e., decisions about who is ultimately responsible for a final decision will be reached.
- (v) The estimation of likely results of pursuing each of the possible alternative courses of action.
- (vi) The final selection of one course of action from among several.
- (vii) The subsequent appraisal or assessment of the success of the decision, especially as reflected in enforced policy, handling the original issue.
- (viii) The decision to end consideration of the issue or to reformulate the issue for continued action (In the case of negative evaluation of the effect that the decision has actually had in terms of policy. Many political decisions are taken without following all these steps). Sometimes political decisions are made under considerable time pressure, and the information gathering and evaluation functions are slighted. But in general these eight steps provide us with a responsibly accurate impression of the process of political decision-making.

## **Principles of Political decision-making**

### **(i) Principle of Self-interest**

Any state is always ready to sacrifice the interests of any other if there is a perceived conflict of interests. The only exception to this would be a situation in which an organisation believes that its long-run existence depends on the sufferance or good-will of another organisation or agency.

### **(ii) Principle of Identifiable Utility**

No state wishes to provide benefits either to its members internally or to constituents externally unless the recipients can clearly identify the source of those benefits. In other words, political decision-making is based on the premise that you do not give someone something unless he knows exactly from where he is getting it.

### **(iii) Principle of Goal Permanence**

States are not expected to alter the basic goals on short notice. The tactics they use in pursuing their goals may legitimately change, but their goals do not.

### **(iv) Principle of Marginal Operations**

Governments and states spend money as long as their expenditures result in a net gain of support. At the point at which spending more money would result in no additional support-gain, or in support loss, they stop spending money. From this perspective the possible social value of the programme for which additional money might be spent is a secondary consideration.

### **(v) Principle of the Rule of an Articulate and Concerned Majority**

The people who constitute majorities are people who feel particularly involved in certain political and social issues, and who succeed in organising in such a way that their views are clearly articulated to decision-makers. In any political system, other things being equal, government will be likely to choose in its decision-making the alternative preferred by an articulate and concerned majority only when that majority reflects both a consensus of view and consensus of intensities.

## **Snyder and Decision-making Approach**

Snyder begins his decision-making approach with the fundamental notion that (i) all political actions are undertaken by concrete human beings and (ii) that if we want to comprehend the dynamics of this action we should be prepared to view the world not from our points of view but from the perspectives of the persons responsible for taking the decision. According to him, the decision-making lies at the heart of all political action. Therefore, it provides the common focus under which we can bring together the political actors, situations and processes for purpose of analysis. Hence, to understand a political action in its proper perspective it becomes necessary to know (i) who made the key decisions that gave rise to a particular action and (ii) to assess the intellectual and interactive processes by following which the decision-makers reached their decision.

Snyder divides the factors that operate on decision makers into three main sets of stimuli namely, the internal setting, the external setting and the decision-making process

The internal setting is the society for which the officials make decisions. It includes, besides 'public opinion, major common-value orientation, major characteristics of social organization, group structures and functions, major institutional patterns, basic social processes (like adult socialization and opinion formation), and social differentiation and specialization.

The external setting consists of the actions and reactions of other states and the societies for which they act and the physical world.

The decision-making processes refer to those which are generated within governmental organisations and of which they are part. According to Snyder, the decision-making process consists of three main sub categories: (i) spheres of competence, (ii) communication and information and (iii.) motivation. They include rules, and norms within the government in general and the particular unit which makes the decision.

Of the three above-mentioned categories, Snyder and Bruck consider motivation as a major variable that motivates a particular actor to take a decision in that particular way and is more significant than the decisions themselves. Thus, they stress the need to analyse the motive behind the decisions. For example, President Truman decided to use force in South Korea in 1950. This decision was made out of his desire to prevent South Korea from falling under communist rule. But his decisions and desires tell nothing about his motives behind this act. However, the notion of motive is subject to a number of interpretations none of which can be established.

There is considerable ambiguity in the Decision-Making approach with regard to motives behind a decision.

Snyder's decision-making approach has been criticised on the following grounds

- (i) Snyder's decision-making approach is too rational due to the proliferation of categories and sub-categories. Snyder never meant that the decision-maker took care of each category of variables. Much depended upon their insight also.
- (ii) Snyder's decision-making approach makes the researcher to work as an amateur psycho-analyst studying personality traits, private prejudices and uncontrolled drives that might underlie the behaviour of officials. But Snyder points out that the researcher need not be concerned with the personal motivations of the decision-makers. All that the researcher has to take into consideration are the political motivations the decision-makers.
- (iii) Some people have criticised Snyder's approach on the ground of its failure to evolve convincing theory. These critics say that Snyder gives a large number of categories and sub-categories, but has not been able to weave into an integral whole. He has not been able to suggest the relevant strength of the

various sources of decision-making in the internal, external and organisational settings as they vary from one situation another or to interaction between these various situations.

- (iv) Another criticism levelled against Snyder's decision-making approach is that it is not applicable to the realities of human life where decisions are the consequences of political competitions or political participants in which the role of the undefined drives traits, motivations or other attributes of human personality to provide a good or a spur are neglected. In spite of the above criticisms, Snyder's decision-making approach has been immensely useful not only in the study of international relations, but also in the study of other aspects of Political Science.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Discuss the basic concepts involved in Systems Theory and explain the model evolved by Morton Kaplan.
2. State and examine the utility of decision-making approach to study International Politics.

**Communication Theory**

Political communication is a body of thought that seeks to explain the process of information sending, receiving, storing and utilization as they relate to a political system. Communication is the means by which a political system receives and acts upon inputs and develops outputs. The system receives information that is analysed and reacted to. The changing environment continually produces new demands which are communicated to the system and which determine the load that challenges the efficacy of the system. The time interval between receipt of the communication and reaction to it is referred to as lag. Distortion occurs when information received by the system is changed or misinterpreted before it can be acted upon, while gain measures the effective action in terms of changes brought as a result of communications received. Information concerning the effectiveness of system outputs on the environment is termed as feedback and the extent to which the system is able to adjust to feedback information helps to determine its effectiveness as a political system. Information communicated to the system is stored so that it may be used in making future decisions. Communication theory also relates to the ways in which attitudes and images are built up in the minds of decision-makers and the way they affect perception, values, goal-seeking and decision-making.

**Karl W. Deutsch and Communication Theory**

Deutsch has approached the analysis of Political Systems from the point of view of cybernetics. Cybernetics is the study of methods of control and communication in living, mechanical and social systems. Many of the operations of computers are analogous to the decision-making processes of politics. So he points out that an analysis of the political system from the point of view of cybernetics as would be useful to understand the entire political processes. The concept elaborated by him forms the model of his communication theory which gives us a fairly good picture of the decision-making process of politics.

Deutsch views politics as the coordination of human activity for the fulfillment of social goals. For him, power is neither the centre nor the essence of politics. Power, in his opinion, is one of the currencies of politics, a means of having actions performed to maintain stability or attain a goal. Other political currencies are influence, force, voluntary co-ordination or trading favours. None of these currencies can define politics because they constitute alternative means to fulfilling the essence of politics. Together they define political process, but not the meaning of the process. Thus, all of the currencies are secondary to the essence of politics which is the dependable coordination of human efforts and expectations for the goals of the society.

Deutsch has derived his idea of politics from cybernetics. He believes that information must precede compulsion. That is to say, that before a command can be given or an action can be compelled the commander must know how to transmit his message to the subordinate and have it understood. Further, no action can be compelled if the commander does not know how to contact the subordinate. He also argues that information must precede compliance, that is to say, one cannot follow an order that he neither receives nor understands. It is on these grounds that Deutsch maintains that political theorists should seek to understand the co-ordination of human activity rather than who gets what, when and how.

Deutsch's guiding questions for political analysis flow from his definition of politics as the co-ordination of human efforts and expectations for the attainment of the goals of the society. From the concepts of cybernetics he derives the following four questions:

- (i) What is the load upon political decision system of the state? (Load refers to the extent and speed of change in the position of the target in relation to goal seeking. In other words, what is the amount and rate of change with which the governments must cope?)
- (ii) What is the lag in the response of a government..... to a new emergency of challenge? (lag refers to the slowness in the response of the system to information regarding consequences of decisions or actions).
- (iii) What is the gain of the response? (gain refers to the speed and size of the reaction of a political system to new data it has accepted).
- (iv) What is the amount of lead? (lead refers to the capability of a government to predict and to anticipate new problems effectively):

All the four questions can be summarized in to one query: How do political systems effect the co-ordination of human activity for the attainment of social goals in a world of change and emerging problems? It is in terms of such a question that Deutsch organises his fundamental concepts.

Deutsch's basic concept is self-modifying communicating net-work or learning net. A learning net is any system characterised by a relevant degree of organisation, communication, and control, regardless of the particular processes by which its messages are transmitted and its functions carried out whether by words between individuals in a social organisation or by nerve cells and hormones in a living body, or by electric signals in an electronic device. It may be machines, organisms, human beings or social organisations. All these units are alike in that they are able to steer themselves or adjust to disturbances in their environments as they pursue their goals. Thus, politics is a goal seeking process that depends upon adequate response to feedback. This goal seeking process (politics) is distinct from the mechanical processes in the following four ways:

- (i) the goal sought is outside the goal seeking system.
- (ii) the system itself is not isolated from its environment but depends on information from the environment and from itself for effectiveness in goal attainment.
- (iii) the goal may change
- (iv) the goal may be attained in various ways (strategy and tactics form the important ways. A successful learning net is likely to be flexible in tactics and relatively stable in strategy).

The learning nets have the following three basic elements:

- (i) Receptors which collect information from the environment.
- (ii) Effectors which execute decisions, and
- (iii) Feedback controls which inform the system of consequences of the decisions for goal attainment.

Receptors, effectors and feedback controls provide the learning nets with autonomy. Autonomy of the net indicates their ability to change the goals, or reset their feedbacks by interactions with information from their past, stored in particular memory devices. The autonomous systems must receive three types of information. First, they must receive information about their environments so that they can react to disturbances and take advantage of opportunities. Second, they must receive information from their past so that they can maintain their integrities. Third, they must receive information about themselves and their pasts so that they can maintain integration. The decisive point of decision making in a political system is the boundary between maintenance of patterns from the past and adaptive change to new circumstances. The learning net encounters the central problem of steering a course between self destruction through screening out information from the environment and self dissolution through screening out information from the past. Without memory there is no autonomy and without adaptation there is no system. The learning net should be able to recombine goals and even create new ones in response to opportunities and dangers in the environment. Thus the central problems of a learning net is to steer a course between two poles of destruction (between self destruction and self dissolution.) From the central dilemma of a learning net Deutsch derives a set of subsidiary political dilemmas He gives the principle that every self-governing system must remark its own memories and inner structure as it acts and lists out five ways in which the system can fail. They are:

- (i) A decision system can fail through loss of power (System inability to mobilise the resources and energies necessary for attaining goals.)
- (ii) A system can fail through loss of intake (System's inability to gather the information necessary for attaining goals.)

- (iii) A system can fail through loss of steering capacity. (System's inability to integrate information into a policy and the policy into action.)
- (iv) A system can fail through loss of depth of memory. (System's inability to mobilise the lessons of past experience in its efforts to steer a course towards goals.)
- (v) A system can fail through loss of capacity for partial or comprehensive rearrangement of structure or comprehensive rearrangement of inner structure (the system is so inflexible that it is unable to change the decision-making procedures in response to environmental disturbances)

These models of system failure are related to the three basic elements of learning nets: receptors, efforts, and feedback controls. Loss of power and loss of steering capacity define the failure of efforts. Loss of intake and loss of depth of memory define the failure of receptors. Loss of capacity for partial or comprehensive inner rearrangement of structure define the failure of feedback controls.

The modes of system failure are also closely connected to the central dilemma of a learning net (that is steering a course between self-destruction through screening out information from the environment and self dissolution through screening out information from the past). In effect, when systems fail they have destroyed the tension between the two poles of dilemma and have eliminated one type of information. The loss of intake describes screening out information from the environment and loss of depth of memory describes screening out information from the past. Loss of power and loss of steering capacity are also tied to the way system adjusts to the central dilemma. Loss of "power may come about through the failure to recognise opportunities in the environment and loss of steering capacity may eventuate through the failure to recognise obstacles in the environment. Lack of capacities for reform of inner structure is also conditioned by the failure to learn from experience and expand the range and depth of present experience.

The models of system failure are related to the traditional concept of sin. Loss of power corresponds to the sin of overvaluing the present over the future. Loss of intake corresponds to the sin of overvaluing memories over current experiences. Loss of depth of memory corresponds to the sin of overvaluing established routines for recalling and recombining data over new ways of exploiting the stock of past experiences. Loss of capacities for partial inner rearrangement of structure or comprehensive rearrangement of inner structure corresponds to the sin of overvaluing specific commitments over the realisation of long term goals.

Deutsch summarizes the elements of system failure in a single principle. They involve over estimation or over - valuation of the organisation compared to its environment, or its past methods and commitments over new ones, and of its current will and inner structure over all possibilities of fundamental change.

According to Deutsch, there are two types of orientations in every human organisations: (i) the activity involved with fulfilling the goals the provide the organisation with its reason for existence (ii) the activity involved with maintaining the organisation in such condition that it is able to steer a course towards attaining the stipulated goals. System failure and sin occur when the orientation comprising activities involved with maintaining the organisation takes precedence over the orientation comprising activities involved with attainin stipulated goals. Here he suggests that we should approach politics guided by his concept of grace. His concept of grace is the treatment of the world beyond self or beyond any particular organisation as the potential source of aids or resources in goal-setting and learning becomes particularly important. He identifies three attitudes of grace. There are :

- (i) the individual or official should recognise that the universe contains essential data for the solution of problems involved in goal attainment which has not yet been discovered.
- (ii) the individual or official should recognise that the universe contains essential data for the solution of problems involved in goal attainment which has not yet been discovered.
- (iii) the individual or official should become receptive of new experiences and be prepared to commit the structures of his personality and his organisations to significant change when the experiences warrant such a course.

The application of Communication Theory to International Relations has increased rapidly over the past two decades. Deutsch was mainly responsible for the development and application of the cybernetics and communication theory to international politics.-

What we had seen so far is the general perspective of the communication theory which could be used in the study of any political processes involving communication. But as for as the international politics is concerned this approach could be of some significance, in analysing the pattern of relationship between nations, the styles of policy making and nature of international control system and their effectiveness. For example, we can say, the US decision-making during the Vietnam crisis could be due to the very poor feedback mechanism in the communication network.

The communication Theories, have also evolved an index what is called as Relative Acceptance Index to measure the transactions and nature of existing relationship between countries. According to this, such transaction flows would

determine the political relationship between any countries. Such transactions may include trade, migration, tourism exchanges, mail and telephone traffic etc. Every such transactions are measured according to their importance and significance. If such transactions between two nations keep on increasing it would mean that the relationship between such two nations are also positively increasing. If such transactions decrease then that would mean, the relationship between such nations are also deteriorating. Deutsch cites the example of USA and Canada where the transactions remain heavy and steady over a long period and equates this to the ever steady friendly relationship between USA and Canada. The communication theorists, thus indicate the significance of high and positive transaction flows as a necessary precondition for the political and economic integration of nation states.

But the so-far unresolved problem in communication model is whether such transaction flows are the cause or effect of integration. Lot of criticisms against this model revolve around this particular point. Besides, it has also been criticised on several other grounds.

Firstly, it is criticised that its emphasis is primarily on decision-making as a process and not so much on the results or consequences of decisions. Its focus is on flows of information and/or the various structures which shaped the flows rather than substance of information itself. Secondly, it has been observed that Deutsch's model of Communication theory could deal with the problem of pattern maintenance fairly well and of evolutionary change with some difficulty but it would face enormous difficulties in trying to deal with problems of revolutionary change. Thirdly, the purpose of model building is to explain complex phenomena in simple terms. But in the case of Deutsch, the model itself has become so complex that instead of facilitating an understanding of the phenomena it has a tendency of confusing it. Finally, it is pointed out that while Deutsch's communication model raises a number of interesting questions about the performance of governments it has proved highly inadequate in answering them.

## **Game Theory**

### **Definition**

The game theory is a special kind of analysis of bargaining and conflict. The theory of games may be defined as a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition when each participant or player seeks to maximise gains and minimize losses. The theory believes in applying mathematical models to political studies, especially in international politics.

### **Origin**

The game theory was originally developed in the 1920 by Erl... theory became more popular when John Von Neumann, a mathem...

developed it in 1944 as attempt to deal with the classic problem of defining the behaviour of the economic man or the rational actor. The game model used in the theory was introduced in Political Science by R. Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa. Martin Shubik, Morton A. Kaplan, William H. Riker, and Thomas C Schelling are the chief advocates of game theory in Political Science. They have used the game model particularly in the field of coalition behaviour, judicial behaviour and conflict situations in international politics.

### **Source**

The originators of game theory were inspired by parlour games like chess, chicken, poker or bridge. These games are characterised by decision-making and co-operation as chief elements, in conflict between two or more players. The decisions of each player are contingent upon the decisions of others. The central point in these games is the interdependence among the decisions of the different players. In a situation like this each player is interested in winning the game and two or more individuals have to make choices and have preferences regarding the outcomes of these choices. Therefore, it becomes necessary that each player has some knowledge of the choices available to, and made by each other and of the preferences the other players have in their choices. The point here is that the choice made by a player depends on the choice or choices made by other players. Therefore, the players are expected to make their choices consistent with what they expect from their choice as well as with what other players would expect out of it. Game theory is applied to situations analogous to this in the field of politics. Thus game theory constitutes the formal study of the rational, consistent expectations that participants can have about each other's choices. The game theory is used to study all situations where a decision involving the others has to be taken.

### **Conceptual Description**

The game theory starts from the premise that there are players or decision-makers, who may be either individuals or institutions. Each player is a rational entity with well defined objectives and has at his disposal some set of resources, with the help of which he tries to combat the forces against which he is in competition or conflict. The rules of the game describe how the resources may be utilized. But the rules in the game theory imply a different sense Communication Theory in that they are prescribed by those who have the power to apply them. Consequently the resources implications of rules received greater attention than its prescriptive requirements. In this way rules of the game refer to the distribution of resources and the strategic possibilities open to each player in the employment of these resources. These rules are to be specified in terms of the resources and players willing to use.

The game theory assumes that the players are supposed to be engaged in choosing alternatives, here and now, and also that they would be required to use them in some other conceivable state in future. The latter possibility is described

as outcomes in game: An outcome usually implies the relationship between the players and the prize of the objective they aim at. The full range of possible outcomes is viewed as its prospects. The prospect of each game has a specific out-look or reward for each player which is described as its pay-off. The big pay off is winning. The second best is a draw and the third best losing a game. The game theory tries to analyse the strategies by which players might maximise their pay offs which means to get as close as possible to their first preference outcomes.

Strategy is the core concept of the theory of games. It assumes the existence of rationality in the behaviour of the players. Strategy is an overall programme of actions which a player adopts in order to achieve a desired outcome or series of outcomes under adverse or conflicting conditions. It consists of all the different contingency plans that the player has for deciding along the way. The player, since he is a rational being, is capable of designing a strategy that might cover all possible contingences. Besides the general notion of strategy there are other connected notions like those of mini-max strategy or that of saddle point. The mini-max strategy is associated with a player who takes minimum risks and aims at achieving maximum pay off. Here, the assumption is that finite number of possible strategies is available to each player. The saddle point is associated with a situation in which the two parties happen to end up with exactly the same pay off.

### **Different Types of Game Theory**

The simplest type of game is called the *two person zero-sum game*. This means that there are only two players, and that whatever one gains is precisely what the other loses. Gains and losses cancel each other out, or add to zero, hence the term zero-sum. This type of game is one of pure oppositions; it can be found in most card games, chess duels and some kind of warfare. While the two person zero-sum game offers some intriguing examples, political life does not display a great many situations of this sort; hence, certain complicating elements are added to the basic model in order to bring it closer to the kinds of political questions with which we are concerned. The first major alteration to the basic two-person zero sum game is to add extra players. This makes it an *n person zero-sum game*. Examples of this would be a multi-handed poker game or a duel involving three or more persons. In practice, the calculations and pay off matrices of n-person game quickly become exceedingly complex although they retain the limitations of zero-sum games; for that reason many of the more, fruitful game theory examples are restricted to two person games. A more rewarding basic alteration, and one that moves game theory closer to political reality involves the *non zero-sum or variable sum game*. This type of game involves pay off matrices that do not necessarily provide that the amount of the player's gain is exactly equal to the other's loss. Instead there are situations in which both players may gain, both may lose or they may win or lose varying amounts. The variable sum game is said to introduce the idea of nature, or of a bank. The player

may be thought of a being in co-operation to maximize the sum of their pay offs but in conflict over how to distribute it. Thus, they may even have shared interests as in the case of the United States and USSR finding it to their mutual benefit to avoid nuclear war.

Because games can be either two person or n-person zero-sum or variable-sum there are four possible types of games. See the chart below :

### Four different Types of Games

#### Types of Pay-offs

Number of person	Zero sum	Variable sum
2 persons	2 person zero sum (e.g:chess, 2 hand poker, some kind of warfare.)	2 person variable sum (e.g: US-USSR arms race; also Chicken and Prisoner's Dilemma)
N-Person	N-person zero sum (e.g: Multihanded poker, 3 person duel)	N-person variable sum (e.g:US-USSR-China arms race)

A mathematical formula for the n person variable sum game is the ideal model, but it is unavailable because of its complexity. Two persons variable sum game is more manageable and hence we will here concentrate on the *Chicken* and *Prisoner's Dilemma* which offer the most intriguing possibilities for simulating thought about international relations. They are considered to be the most interesting models of war and peace.

### Chicken

One version of the well-known game of *chicken* involved two teenagers driving stolen cars. In the presence of their contemporaries they line up at opposite ends of a stretch of roadway, then drive at full speed directly towards one another. Each driver has two choices; to swerve or not to swerve but, whoever swerves first is chicken. There are thus four possible outcomes for this game. If the two drivers who may be designated as player A and player B swerve simultaneously both *are chicken* but neither loses face. If A swerves and B does not then A is chicken and B gains a status among his friends. Alternatively, If B swerves and A does not their pay offs are reversed. Finally, if both continue straight ahead without swerving they crash; the pay off in this case is death.

In this game each player has a dominant strategy which in this case happens to be swerving, hence the outcome (both swerve is regarded as being the most probable. This is due to what is called the mini-max strategy. The rational approach for each player is to adopt a strategy that guarantees the best

of the worst possible outcomes. In chicken this means that A is expected to observe that the worst that can befall him should he choose to swerve is a payoff (losing face) whereas should he choose not to swerve the worst possible outcome is death. Therefore, A will choose to swerve. Player B makes the same kind of calculation and also chooses to swerve. The outcome (both swerve) is dominant and the game tends towards a certain equilibrium or saddle point.

The chicken has an analogy with international confrontation between America and USSR in this analogy, with the United States being substituted for A the USSR for B, the decision to swerve could be thought of as a stepping back from the brink of nuclear war, while refusing to swerve can mean framing a given policy with total resolution even at the risk of nuclear war. The game of chicken offers an aid to understanding why a nuclear peace has been maintained between the two super powers in the post-war period.

### **Prisoner's Dilemma**

In one popular interpretation of this well-known game two suspects are arrested and separated. The public prosecutor is certain they are guilty of a specific crime but lacks evidence sufficient for conviction at a trial. He tells each prisoner that each has two alternatives: to confess the crime to they have committed, or not to confess. If both do not confess then the prosecutor will book them on a minor trumped up charge such as illegal possession of a weapon and they will both get relatively minor punishment (one year jail); if both confess they be prosecuted, but he will recommend less than the most severe sentence (five years each); if one confesses and the other does not then the confessor will get lenient treatment for turning state's evidence (three months imprisonment) where as the latter will suffer the maximum sentence (ten years).

On examination of this case we find that because each prisoner wants to maximize his own utilities his rational strategy is to confess. The rational or dominant outcome is that both prisoners confess and both get five years. The *rational* outcome is not the best outcome, were they both remain silent they both could spend only one year in jail instead of five. But player A calculates as follows: He does not know what B will do; if A chooses silence the worst possible outcome would be five years. The mini-max strategy thus dictates that he picks the least damaging of the worst possible outcomes, so he necessarily chooses to confess. A can also look at the situation another way-if he is silent his possible- pay-offs are one year (if B is silent) or ten years (if B confesses) if he confesses his possible payoffs are three months (if B is silent) or five years, (if B confesses). Obviously, A prefers three months to one year and to ten years and since he has no communication with B nor control over B's choice he is better off to choose to confess regardless of what B does. Unfortunately for A, B makes the same calculations and also chooses to confess. The strategy of confession strictly dominates. The unique saddle point of the game is mutual

confession and five years in prison for each, despite the fact that had both remained silent, both would have spent only one year in jail.

The crucial lesson of Prisoner's Dilemma is that there are games in which the most rational competitive calculation for each side leads to harm for both, despite the existence of a different and mutually preferable alternative. The lesson is immensely revealing when applied to international relations because it can show us how a situation may lock two participants in the conflict regardless of their individual wishes and even though both may be neither evil nor stupid. A model of the United States-USSR arms race provides a good analogy. Here the United States faced virtually the same calculations as player A in Prisoner's Dilemma. If the United States chose low arms spending the worst possible outcome for it was that the USSR would continue high arms spending and thus obtain a strong military and political advantage internationally. If the United States chose high arms spending, the worst possible outcome was a mutually costly arms race. By this calculation the United States would choose a strategy that offered the least harmful of two undesirable outcomes, and so would choose high arms spending. Looking at the situation another way, the U.S. came to the same strategy: if it kept arms expenditures low, its possible pay offs were arms control (if the USSR co-operated) or a serious disadvantage (if the USSR undertook high arms spending; IF the US chose high arms spending, its pay offs were a strong international advantage, (if the USSR spent little) or an arms race (if the USSR spent much). The United States preferred an international advantage to arms control and an arms race to international disadvantage. So the model implied that the US was better off, regardless of what the USSR did to choose high arms spending. Of course, according to the terms of the model, the USSR made precisely the same calculations and it, too, chose high arms spending. The dominant outcome was an arms race. Each player spent vast sums yet derived a definite advantage over the other; had both chosen to keep down their arms expenditures their relative equality would have been the same, but they would have had vast resources to spend on other needs.

## **Application of Game Theory to Politics**

Primarily the game theory was made use of in the field of economics but soon after its application was made to the study of political phenomenon. In this connection the contributions of Morton Kaplan, William H. Riker and Thomas C. Schelling deserve special mention. Kaplan utilized game theory for the study of systems and processes in the field of international politics. Riker made its best use for the study of coalition behaviour. Schelling made its use for the study of conflict-ridden situations.

## **Kaplan and Game Theory**

Kaplan describes game analysis as the best tool available for the analysis of problems of strategy and thinks that if properly applied, it is likely to increase the exploitation of success in policy. But in his book entitled *System and Process in International Politics*, instead of dealing with problems of application, Kaplan just ends

up with a technical discussion which is only vaguely linked to empirical decision-making. It is difficult to say whether Kaplan means his discussion on the subject to be a guide for policy-makers or merely a suggestion of the ways in which they may use their knowledge to some purpose. The propositions for political actions suggested by him are merely generalizations made by a keen mind and not the results of any empirical research. However, the game theory certainly cannot be applied to political phenomena in the way Kaplan had tried to do. Applied game theory must in some way provide real solutions to real problems. But real problems are exceptionally difficult to handle within the game matrix. The entire approach is based on the concept of rationality which did not seem to work well in politics. Socialization processes of cultural norms must not be left out of political analysis. Since the number of moves in even the simplest of empirical situations is enormous, in order to serve the needs of political enquiry the game theory has to be directed to other purposes. This is what Riker in his study of coalition and Schelling in the study of conflicts seem to do.

### **Riker and Game Theory**

Riker's *The Theory of Political Coalitions* contains his primary ideas on applying game theory. The model applied to the study of international politics by Riker is a *n*-person-zero sum-game, which assumes rational players, perfect information and side payments or bargaining among the players. Riker's main aim of using game theory is to find out some of the general principles that govern the formation of coalition associations and how their decisions are derived from the model of the game theory and are applied to empirical or historical data. These principles are size principle, strategic principle and disequilibrium principle.

The size of the coalition is to be just as large as the decision makers think would ensure winning. This depends on the information with regard to various principles of coalition.

According to Riker, coalitions begin as proto-coalitions and evolve through the acquisition of members to whom side payments are made. When one proto coalition is formed, members left out of it and fearing aggression form another proto coalition. But the aim is to convert a proto-coalition into a winning coalition. How to do it? Here the strategic principles come in. Strategy is needed in order to maximise the possibility of success by transforming a proto coalition into a winning coalition. If a proto-coalition is situated in a strategically advantageous position in the sense that it can make more profitable- pay off to its members, there is the possibility that the coalition ultimately comes out victorious.

Riker holds the view that in coalition formations there is always an element of instability and disequilibrium. Hence he attempts to discuss the sources of disequilibrium and the means of maintaining equilibrium and examines exogenous and indigenous factors which influence them. He points out that the decision-making system is in disequilibrium when leaders and nations fall and power

changes due to miscalculation of leaders themselves, their over-spending and their restless search for power after power. Thus, for him, the indigenous factors count most.

## **Schelling and Game Theory**

The credit of having applied the game theory more effectively to politics goes to Schelling. His (*The Strategy of Conflict*) contains Schelling's principles related to the application of game theory. He does not intend applying the rules of the game theory in a blind manner. He tries to analyse national and international problems from a realistic stand-point. He believes that the game on a theoretical plane is different from what is played between and among the states and institutions. He has recognised the fact that most of the international relationships involve a certain degree of conflict and a certain amount of mutual dependence. For this reason he has introduced the concept of bargaining games or mixed motive games. In playing these games, the intellectual processes involved are quite different from those in games of pure conflict or pure co-operation. In order to distinguish it from the formal model which he calls the collapsed or normal form of play he introduces the concept of extended form of play. The study of the extended form involves each particular choice in the play of the game and brings within its purview the psychological factors determining the individual's choice and even his perception and definition of the situation under which the choice is made. Accommodating psychological aspects of the situation, he has introduced certain new concepts also - making threats, giving promises, relinquishing the initiative, identifying friends.

## **Appraisal**

The game theory has been criticised on the ground of being too abstract to be applied successfully for empirical investigations. The theory assumes that the decision makers are perfectly rational creatures or they are amoral in their calculations and they have perfect information available to them. This is seldom possible in practice. Even the best players may be having no information or wrong information about certain things and they may not act in a purely rational manner. Moreover, the theory is not concerned with ethics though man is an ethical animal. It is concerned with *situational ethics* as the player is concerned with the strategy of his partner he is likely to choose and not why he chooses that particular strategy. Motives and convictions are kept out of the room since the player is concerned with the object of having the possible.

Game theory is not the empirical study of how people take decisions, but a deductive theory about the conditions that their decisions would have to satisfy in order to meet demands rationally and consistently. Therefore, some writers have taken a view that game theory is made of framework analysis than a theory. (A framework is not a theory but something which can be useful in the development of a theory).

Eventhough game theory is criticised on the ground of being too abstract and deductive, yet its usefulness in the study of international politics cannot be ruled out. The theory is found useful in the study of delegating authority, *accepting mediation* etc. The choice of strategy is defined by empirical considerations rather than by purely formal operations in issues like military generals engaged in the battles and diplomats involved in the processes of bargaining and negotiation. The only requirement is that this theory should be applied to the study of international politics with abundant caution. The game models help in the investigation of concepts such as power, freedom, and equity. In the study of the bargaining and negotiation they help to explore the meaning of concepts such as threat. They also raise questions concerning the meaning of social and political stability.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Examine the characteristic features of the Game theory and its relevance to the study of international politics.
2. Describe Karl Deutsch's Communication-model and its usefulness to analyse the relationship between nations.

**From Westphalia to Versailles**

The ancient world had known a succession of sprawling dynastic empires and tiny city states. It had known the vast Roman Empire. But the ancient world had never known a nation state or a system of independent states. Notable changes had come on the eve of Westphalia Treaty in 1648. England, France and Spain had emerged as nation states and others were well on the way.

With the Thirty Years War and the Peace of Westphalia, a notable landmark was reached in the history of the nation state system. In addition to its religious aspects, the war involved dynastic rivalries. The struggle established no dominant religious group, but it did result in a mutual toleration which has lasted until the present time. In spite of enormous destruction, the wrecking of the Universal Church, and the fragmentation of Europe into well defined nation-states, the resulting Peace of Westphalia (1648) paved the way for a resemblance of European stability. The settlement at Westphalia may be said to have formalised the nation state system though it was recognised that the Empire no longer commanded the allegiance of its parts and that the Pope could not everywhere maintain his authority, even in spiritual matters. While it is true that the state system that came into being at Westphalia still remains unchanged in its basic pattern, it is also true that the passing of time has brought many developments which have affected the system. These include the rise of representative government, the Industrial Revolution, population changes, the growth of international law, the evolution of diplomatic method, the increase in the economic interdependence of states, the setting up of procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and many others.

**Westphalia to Utrecht**

The international relations of the years between the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 were dominated by the ambition of Louis XIV to establish French hegemony on the continent of Europe, and by the rivalries of Great Britain, France, Holland and Spain for colonial supremacy in the Western Hemisphere.

Louis XIV was successful in extending his power and his domains. But a coalition of powers, headed by Britain and Austria, stopped him in the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713). France suffered heavy losses by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). The Treaty of Utrecht gave further impetus to the unification of Prussia. In fact, after Utrecht no European state could act without reckoning with the others.

**Utrecht to Vienna**

The balance of power set up at Utrecht was often imperilled during the next hundred years, but it was not destroyed. No state was able to establish

permanent hegemony over Europe. Between Utrecht and Vienna one old European state had passed from the scene and a new state had appeared in the western hemisphere. Poland had been divided and absorbed by Prussia, Russia and Austria and the United States has been born of American Revolution. England, Prussia, Russia, Austria and France remained as major powers, while Spain, Holland, Portugal and Sweden had definitely become lesser powers.

### **Vienna to Versailles**

The years between 1815 and 1914 were disturbed only twice by major conflicts. In the first of these, the Crimean War (1854-1856), the Russian threat to dominate Constantinople and straits was blocked by Britain and France. The second, the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) did not immediately disturb the overall balance of power in the European system, but it did mark displacement of France by a united Germany as the leading power in the continent.

In the Balkans, the decline in Turkish strength permitted realization of the dreams of independence among Slavs in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania became the sovereign states which were to make nationalism in the Balkans a constant threat to the peace of Europe and to the conflicting designs of the great powers.

A group of new states joined the United States of America in the Western Hemisphere. America was recognised as one of the major world powers after the Spanish- American War in 1898. In the Far East Japan emerged from feudalism in 1867-1868 with the overthrow of the Shogun. As a result of Japan's victory over China in 1894 - 1895 Japan's alliance with Great Britain in 1902 and Japan's defeat of Russia in 1904-1905, Japan was admitted as an equal along with the other major powers.

By the outbreak of war in 1914, there were eight major powers. Their interests were varied. Germany, Austria and Italy had combined in the Triple Alliance (1882). Great Britain, France and Russia had teamed together in the Triple Entente (1907).

### **European Diplomacy from 1871 to 1919**

A great event not only in the history of Europe, but also of the world was the unification of Germany in 1870. Bismarck was supreme in Europe from 1871 to 1890. He had proved himself to be a great statesman in 1866 by winning over the friendship of Austria-Hungary after her military disaster by offering very moderate terms to her. He committed a blunder by treating France vindictively after her defeat in 1870. In 1871 he took away Alsace and Lorraine from her and also forced her to pay a huge war indemnity. The result was that Bismarck began to fear an attack from France. Hence, the pivot of his foreign policy after 1871 was to isolate France in such a way that she was not in a position to have her revenge. It was with that object in view that Bismarck created the Three Emperors League or Dreikaiserbund in 1873. The ruler of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia agreed to co-operate

with one another for the preservation of peace and to consult one another in order to determine a common course of action in case of threat of war. The League continued upto 1878 when Russia felt that she was betrayed by Germany. The relations between Germany and Russia were positively hostile between 1879 and 1881. Bismark was able to renew the Three Emperors' League in 1881. The three powers mutually promised benevolent neutrality in case any one of them was involved in a war with a fourth power. The Three Emperors' League broke down completely in 1887 on account of bitter hostility between Russia and Austria-Hungary on the question of Bulgaria. As Bismark was not prepared to give up Russia, he entered into the Russo-German Re insurance Treaty in 1887. This new friendship prevented an Austro-Russian war and a Franco-Russian Coalition. However, this Treaty lapsed in 1890 after the dismissal of Bismark.

In addition to the above alliance, in 1879 Bismarck entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary. That is known as the Austro-German Alliance. The alliance continued up to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and was one of the causes of the war. Russia got annoyed with Germany on account of the pro-Austrian attitude adopted by Bismarck on the occasion of the Congress of Berlin.

### **The Austro-German Alliance**

When Bismark informed the German Emperor that he wanted to enter into an alliance with Austria-Hungary, he disapproved of the idea completely. But Bismarck was determined to have an alliance with Austria-Hungary. As Bismarck persisted, the emperor ultimately gave way on October 5, 1879. The treaty was signed in Vienna and ratified by both the governments in the same month.

The dual alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary provided that if one of the two countries was attacked by Russia, the other was bound to assist and conclude peace only in common. If any of the two was attacked by another power supported by Russia the other power was to assist. If any power attacked either Austria-Hungary or Germany and was not helped by Russia, the other party was to keep neutral. The treaty was to remain secret. It was to last for 5 years and was to be extended for three years. Actually it continued right up to the outbreak of war in 1914.

### **The Triple Alliance (1882)**

The Austro-German Alliance of 1879 was transformed into the Triple Alliance in 1881. In 1877, Italy tried to come to an understanding with Austria-Hungary and Germany. But she had met with discouragement in 1879. Bismarck was prepared to welcome Italy as a third partner of Austro-German Alliance, but the Italian government did not accept the offer. However, the establishment of a French protection over Tunis in 1881 brought about a change in Italian attitude. Italy had an eye on Tunis as it was near the country and was considered to be a good place for Italian colonisation. The establishments of a

French protectorate over Tunis wounded the pride of Italian patriots. They decided to do something against France. Italy tried to enter into treaty with Great Britain but the latter declined. It was in these circumstances that the King of Italy, accompanied by his Prime Minister and Foreign Minister visited Vienna. The Italians were very anxious to have an alliance. Ultimately, Italy was included in the Dual Alliance. Thus the Triple Alliance Treaty was signed on May 20, 1882.

This Treaty was to last for 5 years. Its contents were to be kept secret. By this Treaty, Germany and Austria-Hungary bound themselves to assist Italy with their whole military strength if she was attacked by France without any provocation. Italy was bound herself to reciprocal aid to Germany under similar circumstances. In the case of an unprovoked attack by Russia alone upon Germany or Austria-Hungary, Italy was bound to remain neutral. If the attack was made by two or more great powers, her assistance was to be active. Italy was not informed of the contents of the secret alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary by which Germany was pledged to help Austria-Hungary against Russia.

### **Franco-Russian Alliance**

Another important event in European politics was the signing of the Franco-Russian alliance in 1894. The existence of the Triple Alliance was a source of worry to Russia. She found herself all alone. Even Great Britain appeared to be sympathetic towards the Triple Alliance. The renewal of the Triple Alliance forced the Russian Government to invite the French Fleet to Russia. When the French Fleet visited Russia in 1891, the French were given a rousing welcome. In 1891, a political agreement was made between the two countries by which they agreed that they would confer with each other on every question which threatened peace.

France was prepared to enter into a military convention with Russia. The same was signed on December 31, 1893. It was of a defensive nature. It provided that if France was attacked by Germany or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia was to employ all her forces to fight Germany. Both France and Russia were to employ a certain number of troops against the enemy. The clauses of the treaty were to be kept secret. The treaty was to last as long as the Triple Alliance lasted.

### **The Entente Cordiale (1904)**

The year 1898 was a great landmark in the history of Anglo-French relations. In that year, Anglo-French rivalry reached its high watermark and there was every possibility of a clash between the two countries. Great Britain and France had been rivals for a long time. During the latter half of the 19th century, the scramble for Africa had made them keen rivals. The Anglo-French settlement of 1890 about Africa had solved some of the thorny problems. France was allowed to establish a protectorate over the island of Madagascar. French influence was recognised

supreme in the Sahara. In spite of that the rivalry between the two countries continued.

France wanted to penetrate from the coast of West Africa to that of East Africa and dominate the Sudan. The British Government was equally determined not to allow France to do so as she was determined to link up her possessions in North and South Africa. In 1898 a French expedition from French Congo entered the Upper Nile valley and unfurled the French flag at Fashoda on the Nile. The British- Egyptian forces hurried to Fashoda and demanded the lowering of the French flag. As the French refused to do so, there was every possibility of a war. At this time a new Ministry was formed in France. Delcasse became the Foreign Minister of France. He brought a new approach to the whole problem. His view was that France could not afford to fight against England. If France was to get back Alsace-Lorraine from Germany, the only way to do so was by getting help from England. Under the circumstances, a fight with England was suicidal. Delcasse decided to retire from Fashoda and he sent orders accordingly. An Anglo-French Convention of March, 1889 fixed a line beyond which Great Britain was not to seek territory or influence westwards and France eastwards.

Although Delcasse asked the British government to settle the other outstanding disputes between the two countries, the British Government declined the offer. That was partly due to the fact that England was more favourably inclined towards Germany than towards France. Moreover, the British government had no faith in the stability of French Ministries. The settlement of 1889 between France and England was not popular in France. The Frenchmen were of the view that Delcasse had surrendered before Great Britain. When the Boer War started, the relations between England and France became bitter once again. While the French supported the Boers in their fight against the British government the Germans supported the British government. However, events took a different turn when William II refused to enter into an alliance with Great Britain. Statesmen like Chamberlain who stood for Anglo-German collaboration felt disgusted with the German attitude and they decided to seek friends elsewhere. It was in that mood that Great Britain decided to enter into an alliance with France.

Negotiations were started with France in 1902. In 1903 when Edward VII visited France, he was given a hearty welcome everywhere. In the same year President Loubet and Delcasse went to London on a return visit and were warmly received. The result was that an Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty was signed in October, 1903. However, the main treaty was signed in April 1904. It dealt with Egypt, Morocco, New Foundland, West Africa, Madagascar, Siam and New Hebrides. The treaty was ratified both by Great Britain and France.

This settlement came to be known as Entente Cordiale of 1904. The Entente was tested in 1905-6, 1908, and 1911 on the three occasions of the Morocco crises. On all these three occasions Great Britain backed France. The

Entente Cordiale of 1904 bound England merely to give diplomatic support to France on the question of Morocco. The public opinion in England felt that Germany was trying to break up the Entente by bullying France. It was also felt that France was being threatened merely on account of her friendship with Great Britain. There was also political and commercial rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. The rapid growth of the German navy was also worrying British statesmen. Hence Britain was prepared to offer France more than mere diplomatic support. Negotiations had reached the final stage when Delcasse fell. England was favourably inclined towards France. But she was not prepared to enter into any formal agreement with France which might bind England to go to war. Moreover, such an agreement was likely to add to the already existing hostility with Germany.

The bitterness was intensified on the question of the Berlin Baghdad Railway. Russia was opposed to the project for political and economic reasons. Delcasse was opposed to the project on account of French alliance with Russia. The British Government opposed the project as that was likely to affect adversely the British interests in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf and also endanger the safety of the British Empire in India. The Germans completed a part of the railway in 1904 but they found their further progress blocked on account of the opposition of the Entente Powers.

Moreover, Great Britain was determined to maintain her naval supremacy. William was himself determined to make Germany the strongest power in the world. That could be done only if he was able to defeat Great Britain and her allies. He was prepared to go to any extent to achieve that object.

### **Rivalry between Triple Alliance and Triple Entente**

Between 1907 and 1914, there was keen rivalry between Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. Although the Triple Alliance was renewed in 1907 and 1912, it became weaker and weaker on account of many causes. There were troubles within Austria itself. She was also too much entangled in the Balkan politics. There was distrust between Austria and Italy on account of unredeemed Italy. The Italians were determined to get back the Italian-speaking territories under the control of Austria. As Austria was not prepared to oblige Italy, there was no genuine co-operation between them. Moreover, both Austria and Italy were rivals in the Balkans. All these factors weakened the effectiveness of the Triple Alliance. Italy entered into an agreement with France in 1902 and with Russia in 1909. She voted with France against Germany on the occasion of the Algiers Conference.

On the other hand, the Triple Entente was positively much stronger. The conflicting interests among the powers were reconciled. Moreover, they were prepared to ignore petty differences for the sake of higher objects. Europe was divided into two armed camps, one represented by the Triple Entente and the other by the Triple Alliance. Every effort was made to lessen friction and

suspicion and to increase harmony, solidarity and security of the camp. The allies were coming to rely more and more on the support of one another. There was feverish activity for the growth of military and naval armaments. That led to suspicions and fears and that in turn gave an impetus to the era of armaments. The First World War followed.

### **The Consequences of the First World War**

The First World War was the first war of its kind in which all the resources of the countries involved were mobilized. It was a Total War. In spite of the discrepancy in different estimates it can be safely concluded that nearly eight lakh soldiers and many more civilians became casualties of the war. According to a rough calculation the cost of the war in terms of money for all the belligerents was 186 million dollars. To this may be added the damage caused by the destruction of property, the loss caused due to the sinking of ships and the labour and energy that has been expended on unproductive purposes. The war resulted in the economic exhaustion of Europe. Mounting National Debt and inflation dislocated normal economic life. Economic dislocation affected Europe's Balance of Trade. The United States of America became henceforth the leading industrial nation. In the Far East the rise of Japan affected the interest of the western nations who so far had monopolised the trade with the eastern countries.

The political consequences of the First World War were far reaching. In Germany, Austria and Russia monarchies tumbled down. But the dream of making the world safe for democracy was not realised. The rise of fascism in Italy and Germany was a challenge to the political and social conditions of the world. The Bolshevik Revolution of Russia was a threat for the old capitalist democracies. Labour movements and socialist parties acquired new importance. In capitalist democracies attempts were made to ameliorate the condition of the workers by enacting welfare legislation. The League of Nations encouraged labour welfare activities through its agency the International Labour Organisation. Democracy was attacked by another new and reactionary philosophy which Mussolini adopted in Italy and Hitler successfully applied in Germany. This reactionary doctrine is known as fascism or nazism. The League of Nations had created opportunities for co-operation in the international field. But the League failed to guarantee collective security due to the existence of mutual rivalries among its members. The world reverted to the age-old system of balance of power. Thus, peace was demolished.

The rise of Japan in the Far East was a challenge, both to Europe and the United States. Japan's effort in the post-war period to capture the market of China, India and South America by feeding them with her textile industry was attended with a large amount of success. The growing influence of the United States of America in world trade was an unquestionable fact in the post-war period. The United States had become a creditor country in the years following

the First World War. In the post-war reconstruction of Europe and for the repayment of reparations the U.S.A. advanced loans to different European countries. Though the League of Nations was the creation of Wilsonian Fourteen Points, yet, the United States refused to associate itself with the League system.

One of the chief results of World War I was the intensification of the forces of nationalism. In the colonial countries the post-war period saw strengthening of the national liberation movement.

### **The Peace Conference of Paris**

Men of wealth, intellect and of commerce, representatives from under-developed countries and delegates of great powers assembled together at Paris to observe and participate in the recasting of the war-shattered Europe, mainly accomplished under the direction of President Wilson of the United States, Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France and Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister. But the work of the conference was, to a large extent, directed by certain inexorable facts which were beyond the control of these politicians. The tremendous pressure of varied problems and demands, the various interests that worked for realising contradictory interests, the problem of accommodating the secret treaties concluded during the war were among the host of other obstacles placed before the organizers of the conference. Among these limitations three stand out as the foremost. The first among these was the problem of militant nationalism. The Czechs, the Poles, the Rumanians and the Serbs had set up their own national governments. The Allied Powers had neither the will nor the strength to impose upon them any other decision. Secondly, Germany 'was held responsible for the outbreak of the war and the miseries consequent upon it. Therefore, public opinion in Europe demanded compensation of the losses suffered and redressal of the wrongs committed due to German atrocities during the war. Even if the statesmen assembled in Paris desired to offer liberal terms to Germany, they did not dare to do so, because they were already committed to a policy of retribution. Thirdly, the venue of the conference was wrongly selected. Paris had not yet recovered from the shock of war.

But the personal element also counted much. Among the leaders of the conference, President Wilson enjoyed enormous prestige. His idealism inspired him to look beyond and to strive for peace without victory. The four leaders - Wilson (U.S.A.) Lloyd George (U.K.) Clemenceau (France) and Orlando (Italy) entrusted with the responsibility of taking a decision had to identify their interests. While Wilson wanted to establish a long and durable peace based upon justice and neutrality instead of taking revenge upon the enemy, Clamenceau and Orlando were more keen to protect the territorial interests of France and Italy respectively. They were not much bothered by the problem of world peace. Lloyd George was no doubt eager to establish international peace on the basis of truth and justice, but he was willing to do all this only if the interests of Great Britain were protected. Hence, the proceedings of the conference were hindered by the conflicting approaches adopted by the leaders.

## **The Basis of Peace Making**

President Wilson was in favour of a peace without victory. So, he urged the Congress to declare war against Germany to make the world safe for democracy and champion the rights of mankind. In his address to the Congress on January 8, 1918, the American President enunciated the basis of the future peace. These are the famous Fourteen Points:

## **The Peace Settlement**

The First World War lasted up to November 11, 1918 when the Allied Powers agreed to a peace with Germany. The peace settlement took seven more months to be finalised. In the Peace Conference at Paris five treaties were concluded. The most important among them was the Versailles Peace Treaty.

## **The Treaty of Versailles**

The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on June 28, 1919. It was a dictated peace; the German delegates were not allowed to discuss the treaty with the Allies. On May 7, 1919 the draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister. Germany was given three weeks time to give written objections, if any. On May 29, voluminous objections to the treaty were received from the Germans. Although Lloyd George proposed certain concessions, Clemenceau adopted a stiff attitude. After a few minor alterations in the original treaty, a revised treaty was given to the Germans. They were given five days to accept the treaty and were warned that if they failed to do so, their country would be invaded. As Germany was in the throes of a famine, Germany decided to accept the terms of the treaty with the exception of the provision relating to the punishment of the German war-guilty and surrender of war criminals. As the Allies demanded unconditional acceptance of the treaty, the Germans had no other alternative and they appended their signatures to the Treaty on June 28, 1919. The Treaty of Versailles was a voluminous document containing 440 articles. This Treaty dealt with the issues of territorial, economic, military and political settlement with Germany and forced Germany to accept the provisions of the treaty in haste.

## **Critical Estimate of the Treaty**

The treaty of Versailles was one of the most controversial documents signed by the nations in modern times. The points of criticism leveled against the treaty are as follows:

### **1) A Dictated Peace**

The treaty was a dictated peace because the Germans were not consulted throughout the drafting stage. Their objections were also lightly brushed aside and she was forced to sign under the threat of another invasion. Though all the treaties which bring a war to an end are dictated peace, in the treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any treaty of modern times. The revengeful attitude of Germany also contributed to the hardening of the Allies.

In actual practice the severity of the terms of treaty of Versailles was reduced when reparation payment was finally abolished in 1932, the armies of Allies were withdrawn from German soil before the expiry of 15 years term and only a dozen of German military officers were tried and given light punishment.

## **2) Spirit of Revenge**

The Allies adopted revengeful and vindictive attitude towards Germany which was not wise. The peace makers should have realised that lenient and kind treatment was more conducive to peace.

## **3) Unjust Economic and Colonial Terms**

The treaty imposed unjust economic conditions on Germany and reduced her area by one eighth, her population by 6,50,000 and deprived her of all colonies. She lost 5% of her arable land, 12% of her live stocks and almost 10% of her manufacturing establishments.

## **4) Principles of Nationalism and Self-determination not Universally followed**

Though the principles of nationalism and self-determination were observed in case of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, these were ignored in case of Western Prussia where a large number of Germans were left, and also the free city of Danzig. The prohibition of union of Germany and Austria was also a violation of these principles.

## **5) Lack of Reciprocity**

The provisions of the treaty were unilaterally applied to Germany and the Allies were completely exempted from them. This particularly applied to disarmament, war crimes mandate system etc. Without reciprocity it was a treaty of force.

## **6) Breach of Faith**

The treaty contained a breach of faith in as much as it was not based on Wilson's Fourteen Points, on the basis of which Germany had surrendered.

## **7) The Treaty and Second World War**

The treaty contained the seeds of Second World War. The treatment meted out to Germany was very harsh and it was too much to expect that a great nation like Germany would submit to the terms of the treaty for all times to come. During the next 20 years, while some provisions of the treaty were allowed to lapse, certain other provisions were repudiated by Germany without evoking protest from the Allies and violated certain other provisions in the teeth of opposition. Thus, we find that in course of time the treaty of Versailles was completely shattered. This was possible because the treaty could satisfy neither the victors nor the vanquished. Further, the Allies never bothered to ensure strict observance of the treaty. All these encouraged Germany to throw the treaty to the winds as soon as she could do so. But the failure of the treaty to

establish permanent peace was not so much due to inherent defects in treaty. It was mainly due to the subsequent policy pursued by the Allied powers and Germany.

### **Post-Versailles Period (Conditions Leading to II World War)**

It is saddening to note that the Treaty of Versailles represented nothing more than armistice for twenty years (1919-1939). In his work *The Second World War-A Short History* Cyril Falls opines that the second world war was essentially a war of revenge perpetrated by Germany. The seeds of the Second World War had been sown in the Treaty of Versailles itself. Not only she was humiliated but also she was compelled to sign the treaty at the point of revenge. She lost her colonies and concessions abroad. Moreover, Germany was divided into two parts by the establishment of the Polish Corridor. Danzig, a German town, became a Free City. Her navy was thoroughly shattered and her army was reduced to an insignificant position. Besides her losing the Saar river valley containing the coal and steel resources Germany had been overburdened with a huge war indemnities and it became impossible for her to pay. No wonder, Germany had to repudiate the treaty. Moreover, the French occupation of the Ruhr Valley caused new tension in the minds of the Germans. As a result of this, new problems were created and it was impossible for the German statesmen to cope up with them. The democratic states of Western Europe did nothing by way of helping the Weimar Republic so as to strengthen her hold over the people. Germans, as a whole, demanded a modification of the Treaty of Versailles, but in vain as there was opposition from France which considered the peace settlements as the sole guarantee of security. France genuinely felt that if any concession had been given to Germany that would certainly weaken the very facade of the whole structure. Therefore, France bluntly refused the revision of the treaties which alone perhaps could have fulfilled the ambitions of the Germans. Taking advantage of this, the Nazi party in Germany seized power and its leader Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor in January, 1933.

The diplomacy of the Western Powers failed in their attempt to prevent aggression. Surprisingly, the late twenties had witnessed an increasing friendship between France and Germany which had resulted in the conclusion of the Locarno Pact in 1925. It appeared in the late twenties that the First World War had broken out to end all wars but in the late thirties it was proved otherwise in that the spirit of friendship did not survive. The leading politicians of Western Europe especially those of France and Britain began to adopt a policy of economic (and later territorial) appeasement towards the aggressive actions of Germany and Italy which were allowed to fulfil many of their territorial ambitions and the lack of actions on the part of the other powers of Europe only encouraged further aggression.

Many people in Western Europe were convinced by the thirties of the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles and felt that the German claims in Europe

were justified. And also it was felt that it was improper to fight against the Germans who were blaming an unjust treaty.

Japan's imperialism formed another cause of the war. Japan increased her ambitions by leaps and bounds during the First World War. She strengthened her army in 1931 and invaded Manchuria. The League of Nations appointed the Lytton Commission to enquire into the situation. The Commission condemned the Japanese action and as a result of this Japan left the League in February, 1933. The League could not prevent the aggression of Japan. It testified to the fact that the thirties had started with a blatant example of aggression unpunished and uncorrected.

Italy invaded Abyssinia in 1935 and 1936. On appeal by the Emperor of Ethiopia (or Abyssinia), the League condemned the Italian aggression. Though economic sanctions were imposed against Italy they became ineffective, as essential supplies were still allowed to enter the country. The failure of the League to deal with this problem was followed by an early example of western appeasement that showed no less disregard for the aggression against the Abyssinians.

The establishment of dictatorship in Europe formed another cause of the eruption of the Second World War. After his accession to power in 1933, Hitler was able to take advantage of the current views about the Versailles Treaty and the weakness of the League of Nations. Though he assured the world that he genuinely desired peace he was a wolf in a sheep's clothing. As a matter of fact, he had to reveal his real colour soon and he embarked upon a career of aggression and ultimately paved the way for the war. Similarly, Benito Mussolini who established his dictatorship in Italy in 1922 started boasting the revival of the old Roman Empire. It was with this motive that Mussolini invaded Abyssinia and annexed it. Moreover, the Italian soldiers extended their helping hand to General Franco in Spain and succeeded in their mission. Italy signed the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1939. Italy also signed a ten year pact with Germany according to which both countries were in agreement to consult each other in diplomatic affairs and co-operate in the field of war economy. They were in agreement to give military aid to each other in case the counterpart was involved in a war.

There had been ideological differences between dictatorship on the one hand and democracy on the other. Germany, Italy and Japan represented one kind of ideology and Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. represented the other pattern. The distinction between the two ideologies lay in their different attitudes towards the individual in the state. With regard to democracy, the individual would be regarded as the creator and beneficiary of all state activities. He would be free as long as his acts were not affecting the interests of other individuals. But, under the totalitarian regime the individual did not matter at all. He had to be one with the state and sacrifice anything and everything for the sake of the state. The democratic states were designated as the Haves and the Axis Powers were called the Have-nots. Japan, Germany and Italy were land

hungry and their appetite could be whetted in the event of their accumulating territorial gains.

The weakness of the democratic states and the sense of over-confidence in their strength among the Axis powers formed another reason for the eruption of the Second World War. In other words, both Great Britain and France began to drift further and further apart from each other. Great Britain followed the policy of Splendid Isolation (keeping aloof from European politics) and bluntly refused to accept any commitment for the preservation of peace. She took keen interest in her domestic affairs rather than in the foreign affairs of Europe. France, on the other hand, was afraid of Germany, taking into account the latter's numerical strength. France feared that at any time Germany would wreak vengeance upon France for the humiliations of 1919. It was under these circumstances that France asked for guarantees from Great Britain and the U.S.A. resulting in the conclusion of the Locarno Pact and the Kellogg- Briand Pact. In 1935, France entered into an agreement with the Soviet Union and made an agreement with Italy. The British policy of appeasement, in one sense, paved the way for war. The various concessions made to Hitler and Mussolini had given them the impression that Great Britain and France would never fight whatever might be the intensity of the provocation given to them. Infact, this encouraged them on the war path. Perhaps they were never under the impression that Great Britain would come to the rescue of Poland in case Germany attacked her.

In March 1935, Germany denounced the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles that restricted the size of her army and at the same time conscription was introduced. By the Anglo-German Naval Treaty signed in June 1935, Britain recognised Germany's right to build a navy equal to 35% of that of Britain. It is curious to note that by this treaty one of the major signatories (England) to the Versailles Treaty virtually acknowledged that parts of it needed to be changed. The rearmament of Germany in 1935 promoted the formation of alliances among European powers, notably the Stresa Front between Britain, France and Italy and a Franco-Russian Pact. Both pacts were designed as defensive alliances in the face of German militarism. The second abrogation of the terms of Versailles by Germany took place in March 1936 when Hitler ordered German troops to enter the demilitarised Rhineland. He took as his excuse the 1935 pact between France and Russia which Hitler claimed invalidated the Locarno Pact of 1925 to which Germany was a signatory. The Western Powers remained silent spectators doing nothing at all about it.

### The Loaded Peace (1936-'38)

The years 1936-38 had been described by Winston Churchill as the *loaded peace* before the final acts of Nazi aggression precipitated war. During this two-year period, warlike preparations were taking place on either side. The weakness of the League of Nations' as a peace-keeping force in the world was more apparent than what it was in the previous case. By 1937, the three major

dictatorships viz, Germany, Japan and Italy had left the League. It looked as if the League of Nations became obsolete. In October 1936 was made the agreement between Germany and Italy commonly called the Rome-Berlin Axis. In November 1937 an alliance was formed between Germany and Japan called the Anti-Comintern pact, an alliance aimed at containing international communism. In November 1937, Italy subscribed to the Anti-Comintern Pact and the three countries were thereby associated together. In May 1939 a pact was again reviewed between Italy and Germany and in September 1940, Italy, Germany and Japan signed the Tripartite Pact. This was known as Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Hitler tried to make friendly relations with Great Britain which, however, could not materialise. In the Spanish civil war that took place in 1936 both Hitler and Mussolini helped General Franco who seized power in Spain. This gave vast scope for the totalitarian powers to employ their armies in real warfare. Hitler also held the view that in the event of a war, France would be isolated being surrounded by totalitarian powers.

### **The Anschluss (Union)**

The years 1938 and 1939 were one of acute crises. The foremost one was German Anschluss (German Union) with Austria in March 1938. For a long time, the Germans wanted to unite Austria with Germany. Nazi influence in Austria had increased tremendously in the thirties and in February 1938 the Austrian Chancellor Von-Schuschnigg was asked by Hitler to appoint one Seyes-Inquart, leading Austrian Nazi as Minister of Interior and give greater freedom to Austrian Nazis. In early March, Von Schuschnigg announced that a plebiscite would take place on the issue of the possible union of Austria with Germany and Hitler was surprised at this move and fearing that sometimes the plebiscite would go against his whims and fancies, he cleverly insisted that the plebiscite should be postponed and forced the Austrian Chancellor to resign and the latter did so. To make matters worse, Seyes Inquart who was backed by Hitler became Austrian Chancellor and he invited the German troops to occupy Austria. It was under these trying circumstances that Austria was united with Germany by force on 13 March 1938. It had a salutary effect upon her immediate neighbour Czechoslovakia where there was much fear as Germany had encircled the entire western half of their country.

### **The Policy of Appeasement and Pacifism**

In the post-Versailles era, the statesmen of England and France considered that the dictators had real cause of grievance and they failed to understand the real mind of them. They wanted that the Germans should attack Russia, the citadel of communism. That was the main reason why Germany was allowed to rearm. The necessity of forming a grand alliance between Britain, France and Russia was overlooked till the volcano was out and engulfed the world. Though Chamberlain intended a grand design for ending European tensions everything went against him. He could be a silent spectator when Austria was annexed on 13 March 1938. Many

English people now accepted Churchill's warning to the House of Commons that Europe was confronted with a programme of aggression nicely calculated and timed, unfolding stage by stage. Chamberlain too believed that Hitler would strike again unless his grievances were met in advance. Therefore, the only scapegoat available was Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia.

Placed between Russia and Germany, Poland sought the security in building up military alliance with France in 1931. Poland also signed a Non-Aggression Pact with the U.S.S.R. Hitler also concluded a pact to dissociate her from the democracies. Poland looked on to the successive acts of aggression and seized a part of Czechoslovakia in October, 1938. When Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia came under German control, Poland's position became militarily unreliable. Germany presented to Poland in March 1939 a series of demands including transfer of Danzig and transit rights through the Polish Corridor. Great Britain militarily gave guarantee to Poland. It was followed by an Anglo-Polish accord to relieve the international tension. President Roosevelt appealed for peace. But, unfortunately, it gave Hitler an opportunity to defend his policy in a Reichstag speech in which he denounced Anglo-German Naval Pact and the non-aggression pact with Poland.

Hitler now prepared for an all-out assault on Poland. Germany concluded on May 22, 1939, a pact with Italy and on August 23 the German - Soviet non-aggression pact, a major bombshell into the Allied camp, was signed. The way now was open for war. But, Hitler took a last minute change of political manoeuvre to isolate Poland. He told the British Ambassador that if England allowed him free hand with regard to Poland he would guarantee the continuance of the British, even render assistance to do so. The British and government appealed for direct negotiations between the two governments but refused to be taken by Hitler's diplomacy. Attempts at negotiation failed due to the impossible conditions imposed by Germany. On 1 September, Hitler attacked Poland and started World War II. On 3 September Britain and France declared war against Germany.

Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons on 2 September, summarised the failings of the entire European people thus; 'this is a sad day for all of us and to none is it sadder than to me. Everything that I have worked, everything that I have hoped for, everything that I have believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins'. Within a short span of time the war was to develop and widen its horizons and by December 1941 almost the whole world was at war.

The course and results of the second world war can be briefly told. During the years 1939-42 Germany emerged victorious with the help of Russia. Germans invaded Poland from the west. Mussolini invaded France in 1940, and it fell miserably. After subduing France, Hitler turned towards England. Though in the Battle of Britain, Britain succeeded in 1940, the British had much to suffer as the years advanced. In the meantime, Hitler suspected that Stalin might stab

at his back and so he tore the non-aggression pact into pieces and on June 22, 1941 Hitler began the invasion of Russia. Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad were attacked. However, in January 1943 the Russians were in a position to defeat the Germans. Japan caused the U.S.A. to support the Allied forces by her attack on the Pearl Harbour. On June 5, 1944 Allied armies entered Rome. On June 6, 1944 Allied forces landed in Normandy in France, on September 11, 1944 Allied forces crossed German frontier and on January 8, 1945 the Germans withdrew. On May 1, 1945 Germany announced the death of Hitler and on May 2, 1945, Berlin fell. On August 6, 1945 an atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima killing 80,000 people together with much radiation sickness and long term genetic effects. On August 8, 1945, Russia declared war on Japan and next day a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. On August 14, Japan surrendered. The dropping of the atomic bombs was an event which horrified the whole world. But the second world war came to an end.

Out of the fires of war only the United States emerged with enhanced power, although the Soviet Union rapidly recovered from the wartime trials and devastation. France and Britain, although greatly weakened, continued to play a major role in international life. In China the Nationalists lost to the Communists. After several years of military occupation, Germany and Japan re-emerged as sovereign nations.

Since world war the European state system has become world-wide. The state system has been substantially enlarged in membership, especially by the emergence of new states in Asia and Africa. Today, middle and lesser powers have been playing an increasingly active and influential role. Another notable development, immediately after the war was the creation of the U.N.O. to promote world peace.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Write a note on the Paris peace settlement
2. Examine the reasons for the second world war.

## **Lesson : 6                    National Power and Its Constituents**

### **National Power**

Like sovereignty and nationalism, national power is a vital and inseparable feature of the system, it is an essential and inseparable element of world politics too. Indeed, national power determines the basis of international relations and assigns a key role to individual state to assert itself in the community of nations. According to Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, power means the control of man over the minds and actions of other men. Extended to international sphere it denotes the ability of a nation to influence behaviour of others in accordance with its own purpose and goals. In precise terms, the national power implies the power of a state in its various forms which it is eager to impose on others. The impact of a state on world politics depends to a large extent on the degree of its national power. Again, national power is the basis on which the individual states evolve their own conception of national interest. Thus, the strengthening of the basis of national power is the primary concern of the state. For this reason, it has been stated that the struggle for power is universal in time and space and is an undeniable fact of experience.

### **Constituents of National Power**

Different theorists have given different categorisation of the constituents of power. Carr classifies national power into three categories, (i) Military power (ii) Economic power (iii) Power over opinion. The national power, in the ultimate analysis, is military power because the power aspect of state manifests into war as a measure of last resort. Economic power which is considered to be a part of military power is not, however, confined to the art of warfare only: control of market, raw materials, credit, transport etc. are other forms of economic power. Power over opinion implies mobilisation of popular passions for the good of the country in the internal and external spheres. It is essential for both military and economic purposes.

Morgenthau divides constituents of national power into two groups: (i) Those elements which are relatively stable and (ii) those which are subject to constant changes. On the whole, he lists nine constituents of national power. They are: (i) geography (ii) natural resources (iii) industrial capacity (iv) military preparedness (v) population (vi) national character (vii) national morale (viii) the quality of diplomacy and (ix) the quality of government. The classification of power by Hartman is almost similar to that of Morgenthau. He speaks of six constituents of national power. They are: (i) The demographic element (e.g.. the population) (ii) the geographic element (iii) the economic element (natural resources, industrial capacity etc) (iv) the historical - sociological - psychological element (e.g. national character and morale) (v) the organisational - administrative element (quality

of the government) and (vi) the military element. Palmer and Perkins divided national power into seven component elements. They are: (i) geography (ii) natural resources (iii) population (iv) technology, (v) ideologies, (vi) morale and (vii) leadership.

Let us now examine each of the constituents of national power.

## **(1) Geography**

Prof. Morgenthau admits that the most stable factor upon which the power of a nation depends 'is obviously geography. The geographical location remains a fundamental factor of permanent importance which a state must take into account in the formulation of its foreign policy. A basic knowledge of political, economic and human geography is, therefore, essential to an understanding of the present day world. Various factors such as size, location, climate, shape, topography, boundaries etc. are to be taken into account in the attempt to ascertain the proper role of geography on national power.

### **(a) Size**

The land area of a nation is in itself an element of power; in fact, the large area of a nation contributed to its power in a number of ways. A large area can accommodate a large population and various natural resources. It may also bring certain military advantages to a nation's power. It helps nation to retreat without surrendering. The size of the Soviet Union, which extended over one seventh of the land area of the earth helped her to defeat the armies of Napoleon and Hitler in Russia. Similarly, due to the large area of China, Japan had to suffer defeat in her wars with China. So, the size of area has certainly some influence on power. Today, United States is regarded as the greatest power in the world because she has extremely large area.

### **b) Location**

Location is considered to be more important than size. It is said that the location of a state has a great effect upon the nations' participation in international affairs. It is a major determinant of whether a nation is a sea power or a land power. The explanation given for England's and Japan's achievements on the sea had been that they are island empires. Further, the location of Germany and Russia, one in the heart of Europe, the other in centre of the world possess a location relative to land mass and seas that enable them to be source of power provided the control is firm. A state may find its land turned into a battle ground because of its location. The location may also help a state to enjoy a long era of peace. It should, however, be remembered that mere location does not confer power. The weak nation located in a strategic spot may find this fact a curse leading not only to loss of power, but to a total loss of independence.

### c) Climate

Another geographic feature which exercises influence on national power is climate. The climate has a direct effect on the health and energy of a people. It is a fact to be reckoned with that almost all the major powers have occupied territories in the temperate zones. This is not, however, an unqualified statement. History provides evidence that prosperous civilizations flourished in tropical lands like Egypt, India and China. Climate is also one of the determinants of culture and of economy, along with natural resources, political organisation and religion.

### d) Topography

Like climate topography is also a major factor in power. The location of mountains, valleys and rivers may determine natural boundaries between nations and as such sets limits to their expansion. It may influence trade, commerce, administration and military operation. The location of mountain valleys, rivers and plains may render communication easy and convenient. quick communication should ensure cultural unity, effective political control, better economic development etc. Together with land, size and location, topography provides the geographical setting of a national state. It contributes significantly to the military and economic power of a nation.

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### e) Geopolitics

Geopolitics, as H. Hessler views it, is the science of relationship between space and politics which attempts to put geographical knowledge at the service of political leaders. It is more than politics; it springs from national aspirations, searches out facts and principles which can serve national ends. The science of geopolitics is indebted to a certain extent to Immanuel Kant who formulated a general theory of the influence of geographic factors on the power of a state. The science of geopolitics was introduced by Sir. Halford Mackinder. This science is an offspring of marriage of geographic and political concepts of a country. Mackinder's remarkable analysis of the interaction of geography and politics, past and present, introduced new concepts which had a great bearing on the policy formulation of states. It cannot be denied that the close relationship between politics and geography of a country helps us to understand certain aspects of national development in certain cases. Development of democracy in Great Britain and U.S.A. is due to their geographical isolation resulting in security from foreign invasion. The Middle East, which is rich in oils, is important in international politics to day because it lies at the junction of three continents.

Thus, the preeminence of geography as an element of national power is undoubtedly great. Geography has a predominant role in world politics too. The importance of geography has long been recognised and Napoleon went to the extent of saying that the foreign policy of a country is determined

by its geography. It is however expedient on our part not to over emphasise the role of geography. The policy-making authority of a state may take advantage of the geographical position, but it is delicate and dangerous to rely absolutely on geography for formulation of basic politics. The changed technique of warfare, innovation of biological weapons and other developments have relegated geography to a rather insignificant position.

## **(2) Natural Resources**

Natural resources are another significant constituent element of national power. It is often assumed that a nation whose territory is richly endowed with natural resources is capable of achieving the status of a great power. In order to analyse the elements of natural resources we shall divide these into two parts—raw materials and food.

### **a) Raw Materials**

The possession of rich raw materials contributes largely to the power of a nation. With the increasing mechanisation of warfare, national power has become more and more dependent upon the control of raw materials in peace and war. It is not by sheer accident that the United States is a super power. She has been made powerful because of direct possession of raw materials or, at least, an access to the sources of important raw materials. A state's military as well as political power is largely based on its industrial power. Industrial power required a vast variety of raw materials.

Thus, a nation cannot become a great power without having an unlimited supply of raw materials. Lack of oil which is an indispensable raw material was one of Hitler's greatest handicaps. The importance of oil is such that Clemenceau during world war I said, 'One drop of oil is worth one drop of blood of our soldiers'. So, we can fairly say that raw materials, chiefly minerals, are the most important factor of national power. Today, United States is the most powerful nation because she is self-sufficient in a variety of natural resources.

### **b) Food**

Food is the most elemental of these natural resources. A country which is self-sufficient in food is definitely in an advantageous position over a nation which is deficient in food production. India's comparative weakness and poor performances in international fields are largely due to her chronic food deficits'. She is required to divert her national energies from the primary objective in order to protect her millions from starvation. As Prof. Morgenthau says, India, regardless of the other assets of national power which are at its disposal, the permanent deficiencies in food compel it to act in its foreign policy from weakness rather than from strength. Self-sufficiency in food has likewise been a source of great strength to the U.S.A. and other countries because they are reasonably free from worry on that count.

### **3) Industrial Capacity**

Another factor that contributes to the power of a nation is the possession or control of resources to industrial use. Mere possession of resources does not add to the status of a nation. It depends largely on the ability of a nation to harness these resources in the most effective manner. India is definitely rich in resource, but as first rate power she is' not comparable to the U.S. because of her lagging far behind in industrial capacity. The technology of modern warfare and communications have made the overall development of heavy industries an indispensable element of national power.

### **4) Armed Establishment and Military Leadership**

One of the most obvious sources of power is expressed in armed establishments. States maintain their armed establishments even in peace time and expand them in times of war. The quality of military leadership also exerts a decisive influence upon national power. A nation's resources may be immense, but if it lacks a leader who excels in the strategy and tactics, that national power remains ineffective. Proper utilisation of the potential elements of national power therefore, depends to a large extent on die ability of leader ship. The quality of leadership influences national power both in times of war and peace. In a war which calls for total mobilisation of resources, organisation etc, final responsibility for mobilising the resources of the state falls on the leaders. During peace time diplomatic effectiveness also depends much on the genius of a leader. In a comprehensive sense, leadership is considered to be the essential prerequisite of national power.

### **5) Population**

The size of population has great relevance to the power of a state. As evident from the history of modern Europe, France was the most powerful nation in 1800 when she was the most populous. By the end of 1870 Germany surpassed France in population and soon she secured over France a military victory. The dominant position of the U.S.S.R. in Europe till her distintegration was attributed to her large population. It would, of course be , not correct to say that the larger the population of a country the greater is the power of that country. China, with the largest population in the world, is not the greatest power of the world, Similiarly, India with the second largest population in the world is not a major power. But the importance of population as an element of national power cannot be ignored.

The large population of a country can contribute to the power of a nation in a number of ways. As military personnel the population can be utilized as armed forces. In fact, modern armies still require a large number of men. All the modern instruments of warfare require men to operate, to service, to transport and so on. Moreover, there is a still great need for infantry. The Korean, Indo-China and Indo-Pak wars have proved that there is still a great need of foot soldiers.

As civilians, the large and thick population may make the task of military occupation very difficult for any potential conqueror.

As workers, the population of a nation can help a lot in determining the amount of national production. It might be argued that the machine age may not require more workers, but more and more workers are required to increase the nation's production by way of operating the machines. The goods that the people can produce can be given or sold to other nations as a reward for the desired end or they may be withheld as punishment.

As consumers, the population of a nation helps in determining the size of home market for a variety of goods. A large and good market may encourage the development of home industries. A large population can also provide a large market for producers in other nations. This can certainly increase a nation's power over others.

Finally, as a large population may bring confidence in its own people and instill in other nations a kind of fear which greatly helps a nation to extend influence over other nations.

## **6) National Morale and National Character**

Morale is a thing of the spirit. It consists of a particular state of mind.

According to Palmer and Perkins, Morale is a thing of the spirit made up of loyalty, courage, faith, the impulse for the preservation of personality and dignity, sentiments for the known fear and dislike for the unknown and self-interest. Thus, national morale is an ingredient of patriotism and nationalism. National character, on the other hand, signifies difference in intellectual, moral, physical and philosophical traits which give each an unmistakable distinctiveness and mark it apart from others. The relationship between morale and national character is not, however, always clear. The national character may be regarded as one of the major determinants of morale, although it is broader than morale.

National character is the basic ingredient of national power. The relative strength of a nation can only be assessed correctly when national character is taken into account. Both national character and national morale contribute to the powers of a nation in war as well as in peace time. During war the national morale becomes the deciding factor for victory or defeat of a nation; in peace time national morale provides the requisite stamina to withstand all hazards and make efforts for all round progress.

## **7) The Quality of Diplomacy**

Another important factor of national power is the quality of diplomacy. According to Prof. Morgenthau diplomacy is the brain of national power. He further holds Diplomacy of high quality will bring the ends and means of foreign policy into harmony with the available resources of national power.

It will tap the hidden sources of national strength and transform them fully and securely into political realities. For Prof. Morgenthau the quality of diplomacy is the most important of all the elements that contribute to the power of a nation.

Prof. Morgenthau's view, however, is an extreme view. The importance of classical diplomacy has decreased considerably during the late 20th century. Gone are the days when diplomats stationed abroad were virtually the only representatives of their nation with whom foreign governments dealt if they wished to discuss matters of importance. In fact, new factors such as the rapid increase in communications, increasing appreciation of the importance of public opinion and the practice of open diplomacy have greatly affected the character of diplomacy.

Although diplomacy has suffered a great setback, it does not mean that the importance of diplomacy has altogether vanished. Diplomats stationed abroad still promote and protect the interests of their countries, establish personal relations with other governments and utilize these contacts in a far-sighted way for the benefit of their countries. In short, we can say that although the importance of diplomacy has suffered during the 19th and 20th centuries high quality of diplomacy still performs an indispensable role for the power of a nation.

## **8) The Quality of Government**

Effectiveness of governmental organisation and administration within the state is another important element of power. For decades China was a weak power because, among other reasons, the Central Government lacked effective control over major portions of the country. Until De Gaulle took control in France in the year 1958, political power had for several decades been divided among a number of political parties. This not only brought crises to the cabinets but made it difficult for the French Government to pursue policies on an enduring basis. George F. Kennan held the view that if anything were to disrupt the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, that country might be changed overnight from one of the strongest to one of the weakest and the most pitiable of material societies. A similar statement might be made for Communist China also. As such, we may say that effectiveness of governmental organisations and administration within the state are very much essential for a nation to become powerful.

Whether democracy or dictatorship provides a power advantage is a question on which opinions differ. The arguments in favour of democratic government are that it provides its citizens with the greatest spiritual, political and scientific freedom. Public criticism and widespread participation in the decision-making process make it more probable that the decisions will be sound. The argument in favour of dictatorship is that it finds it easier to form a single, unified, specific policy, since disagreement within the government is suppressed. Fewer people have a voice in decision-making process. Both arguments are questionable. Sometimes democracies act with a greater speed than a dictator, and sometimes a dictator may act more wisely than a democracy.

## **Evaluation of National Power**

National power is always relative in character. The power of any nation must not be measured by its absolute qualities because the absolute has no meaning with regard to power. As such, the power of any nation is always to be measured in comparison with the power of other nations. Nations may have large population, rich natural resources, tremendous military strength with modern armies and the high morale of the people. But these factors do not give power to a nation because all of these may represent overwhelming might against one opponent and be quite inadequate against another. So we may fairly say that power of a nation is always to be judged in terms of the power of other nations.

It must be kept in mind that power is always subject to change. Absolute power of any nation may change due to decrease, or increase of its population, size of territory, military forces etc. These changes are likely to affect the relative power of a nation. So, it is wrong to assume that today's holder of vast power cannot fail to enjoy it in future. Let us take as example the case of Germany. Before world War II, Germany was one of the strongest powers in the world and it was believed that Nazi domination of Europe was established for ever. But, Germany was defeated in the world War II, and the Soviet Union emerged as the great power of the world and the Soviet Union once came to be regarded as the future master of Europe.

Some writers give too much importance to a single factor of power. But, in reality, no single factor is responsible for power. As a matter of fact, each element plays its part and each one affects the other. Thus, it is wrong to assume that a single factor alone is responsible for the power of a nation. India has a large population, larger than U.S.A. 's. Belgium is thoroughly industrial, and Switzerland has a first - class army, yet none of these are powers of the first rank.

To conclude, we may say that calculating the power of a nation is a difficult task. The elements of power are considered to play back and forth on one another to affect the set of elements mutually. So, the products of combinations of elements are made difficult to assess. Deficiencies in natural resources may be offset by the clever technologies. Leadership may be diminished by a particular ideology. All the elements are so intermixed that it becomes difficult to calculate the actual power potentiality of any nation. However, inspite of all the deficiencies in calculating the power of a nation, we can fairly say that the constituents of national power give us a good scale for calculating the power of any nation.

### **Model question for guidance**

What is national power? What are its chief constituents?

**Lesson-7**

**International Politics as a Struggle for Power :  
Political Power - Policy of Status Quo -  
Imperialism - Policy of Prestige**

**Political Power**

International politics like all Politics, is a struggle of power. Power is always the immediate aim of international politics. Statesmen and people may define their goals in terms of a religious, philosophic, economic or social ideal. They may hope that this idea will materialize through its own inner force, through divine intervention or through the natural development of human affairs. They may also try to further its realisation through non-political means, such as technical co-operation with other nations or international organizations. But whenever they strive to realize their goal by means of international politics, they do so by striving for power. Woodrow Wilson wanted to make the world safe for democracy; the Nazis wanted to open Eastern Europe to German colonization, to dominate Europe and to conquer the world. They all chose power to achieve these ends.

Two conclusions follow from this concept of international politics. First, not every action that a nation performs with respect to another nation is of a political nature. Many such activities are normally undertaken without any consideration of power. Many legal, economic, humanitarian and cultural activities are of this kind. Thus, a nation is not normally engaged in international politics when it exchanges goods and services with other nations when it co-operates with other nations in providing relief from natural catastrophies and when it promotes the distribution of cultural achievements throughout the world. Second, not all nations are at all times to the same extent involved in international politics. In the 16th and 17th centuries Spain was one of the main active participants in the struggle for power on the international scene, but today it plays only a marginal role in it. The same is true of such countries as Austria, Sweden and Switzerland. On the other hand, nations like the United States and China are today much more deeply involved in international politics than they were earlier.

When we speak of power, we mean man's control over the minds and actions of other men. But, by political power we refer to the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large.

However, political power must be distinguished from force. The threat of physical violence in the form of police action, imprisonment, capital punishment or war is an essential element of politics. When violence becomes an actuality it signifies the ablication of political power in favour of military

power. In international politics armed strength as a potentiality is the most important factor making for the political strength of a nation.

Political power is a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter through the influence which the former exerts over the latter's minds. That influence is derived from various sources. It may be exerted through orders, threats, persuasion, the authority or charisma of a man or of an office. The president of the United States exerts political power over the executive branch of the government so long as his orders are obeyed by the members of that branch. The leader of the party has political power so long as he is able to mould the actions of the members of the party according to his will. When we speak of the political power of the United States in Central America we have in mind the conformity of the actions of the Central American governments with the wishes of the government of the United States.

The political objectives of military preparations of any kind is to deter other nations from using military force by making it too risky for them to do. The political objective of war itself is not the conquest of territory and the annihilation of enemy armies, but a change in the mind of enemy which will make him yield to the will of the victor.

Therefore, whenever economic, financial, territorial or military policies are under discussion in international affairs it is necessary to distinguish policies that are undertaken for their own sake and policies that are the instruments of a political policy whose purpose is to control the policies of another nations. The export policy of Switzerland with regard to the United States falls into the first category. The economic policies of the Soviet Union with regard to the nations of Eastern Europe fell into the latter category. So do many economic policies of the United States in Latin America, Asia and Europe. When, however, the objectives of these policies serve to increase the power of the nation pursuing them with regard to other nations, these policies and their objectives must be judged primarily from the point of view of their contribution to national power.

The struggle for power on the international scene is a temporary phenomenon. It is a historical accident. It is bound to disappear if the peculiar historical conditions are eliminated. Thus, Jeremy Bentham believed that the competition for colonies was at the root of all international conflicts. Emancipate your colonies was his advice to the governments. In that case one could establish permanent harmony among nations. Adherents of free trade were convinced that the removal of trade barriers was the only condition for the establishment of permanent harmony among nations and might even lead to the disappearance of international politics altogether. For Marx and his followers, capitalism

is at the root of international discord and war. They maintain that international socialism will do away with the struggles for power on the international scene and will bring about permanent peace. During the 19th century the liberals everywhere shared the conviction that power politics and war were residues of an absolute system of government. With the victory of democracy and constitutional government over absolutism and autocracy international harmony and permanent peace would win over politics and war. In recent times, the conviction that the struggle for power can be eliminated from the international scene has been connected with the great attempts at organising the world bodies such as the League of Nations and the United Nations. The struggle for power is universal in time and space. It cannot be denied that throughout history time, regardless of social, economic and political conditions, states have met each other in contests for power. If the desire for power cannot be abolished everywhere in the world, those who might be freed from desire for power would simply fall victims to the power of others.

The essence of international politics is identical with its domestic counterpart. Both domestic and international politics are a struggle for power, modified only by the different conditions under which this struggle takes place in the domestic and in the international sphere. The tendency to dominate is an element of all human associations, from the family through fraternal and professional associations and local political organisations to the state. On the family level the typical conflict between the mother-in-law and her child's spouse is, in its essence, a struggle for power, the defence of an established power position against the attempt to establish a new one. Social clubs, faculties and business organisations are scenes of continuous struggles for power between groups that either want to keep what power they already have or seek to attain greater power. Competitive contests between business enterprises as well as labour disputes between employers and employees are frequently fought not only for economic advantages, but also to have influence over the other (ie. for power). Finally, the whole political life of a nation, from the local to the national level, is a continuous struggle for power. In periodic election in voting in legislative assemblies, in law suits before courts, in administrative decisions and executive measures, in all these activities men try to maintain or to establish their power over other men.

### **Policy of Status Quo**

Domestic and international politics are two different manifestations of the same phenomenon - the struggle for power whose manifestations differ in the two different spheres because different moral, political and social conditions prevail in each. Cultural uniformity, technological unification, external pressure and, above all, a hierarchic political organisation combine

to make the national societies. In consequence, the domestic political order is, for instance, more stable and less subject to violent change than is the international order.

All politics, domestic and international, reveal three basic patterns. A political policy seeks to keep power or increase power or to demonstrate power. A nation whose foreign policy tends toward keeping power and not toward changing the distribution of power in its favour pursues a policy of *status quo*. A nation whose foreign policy aims at acquiring more power than it actually has, pursues a policy of imperialism. A nation whose foreign policy seeks to demonstrate the power it has, either for the purpose of maintaining or increasing it, pursues a policy of prestige.

The concept of *status quo* is derived from *status quo ante helium* a diplomatic term referring to the usual clauses in peace treaties which provide for the evacuation of territory by enemy troops and its restoration to the pre-war sovereignty. The policy of *status quo* aims at the maintenance or the distribution of power which exists at a particular moment in history. Particular moment in history which serves as point of reference for a policy of the *status quo* is frequently the end of war when the distribution of power has been codified in a treaty of peace. This is so because the main purpose of peace treaties is to formulate in legal terms the shift in power which victory and defeat in the preceding war have brought about and to insure the stability of the new distribution of power by means of legal stipulations. The distribution of powers as it existed at the end of the first world war found its legal expression in the peace treaties of 1919. It became the main purpose of the League of Nations to maintain peace by preserving the *status quo* of 1918 as it had been formulated in the peace treaties of 1919. Article 10 of the Covenant of the league obliged its members to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. It was recognised as one, of the purposes of the League. In the period between the two world wars the struggle for and against the *status quo* was in the main front either by defending or opposing the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and their guarantee in Article 10 of the Covenant of the League. The result was that nations opposed to the *status quo* established in 1919 severed their connections with the League of Nations. (Japan in 1932, Germany in 1933, Italy in 1937).

It is not only in peace treaties and international organisations that the policy of the *status quo* manifests itself. Nations desiring to maintain a certain distribution of power may use as their instrument special treaties such as the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy, signed at Locarno on October 16, 1925. It endeavoured to supplement the general guarantee of the territorial *status quo* of 1918 contained in Article 10 of the Covenant of the League.

Alliance treaties also have the functions of preserving the status quo in certain respects. The alliance treaties that France concluded with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, in the period between the two world wars, were intended to maintain the status quo, mainly in view of possible German attempts to change it. The alliances that the Soviet Union had concluded with the countries of Eastern Europe and those that the countries of Western Europe have concluded among themselves and with the United States, aimed at the maintenance of the status quo as it was established in these respective European regions by the distribution of power at the end of the Second World War.

The manifestation of the policy of status quo which has had the greater importance for the United States and has been the cornerstone of its foreign relations is the Monroe Doctrine. This unilateral declaration was made by President Monroe in his annual message to the Congress on December 2, 1923. The Doctrine lays down the two essential principles of any status quo policy. On the one hand, it stipulates respect, on the part of the United States for the existing distribution of power in the Western Hemisphere. On the other hand, it proclaims resistance, on the part of the United States, to any change of the existing distribution of power by any non-American nation.

We have said that the policy of the status quo aims at the maintenance of the distribution of power as it exists at a particular moment in history. This does not mean that the policy of the status quo is necessarily opposed to any change whatsoever. While it is not opposed to change as such, it is opposed to any change that would amount to a reversal of the power relations among two or more nations. For instance, reducing A from a first-rate to a second-rate power and raising B to the eminent position A formerly held. Minor adjustments in the distribution of power which leaves intact the relative power positions of the nations concerned, are fully compatible with a policy of the status quo. For instance, the purchase of the territory of Alaska by the United States from Russia, since, in view of the technology of communications and warfare at the time. The acquisition of this inaccessible territory by the United States did not affect, to any appreciable extent, the distribution of power between the United States and Russia.

## **Imperialism**

Imperialism, like many other terms ending in "ism", has been used in a number of ways. To historians it means any situation in which states build empires or acquire colonies. To patriots it means territorial ambition of annexing enemy states. Russians used it to condemn all policies of the western states and anti-communist nations.

Definition of Imperialism are numerous. Every writer has defined it from his own point of view. Charles A. Beard defines imperialism as an employment of the engines of the government's diplomacy to acquire

territories, protectorates and spheres of influence occupied usually by other races or peoples and to promote industrial, trade and investment opportunities. Hans Morgenthau defines it as an expansion of a state's power beyond its border. According to Prof. Schuman, imperialism is the imposition by force and violence of alien rule upon subject people despite all moralizing and pretensions to the contrary. In studying the above definitions we find that no two writers agree on the definition of Imperialism. However, a good working definition is given by Charles Hodges. According to him, Imperialism is a projection externally, directly or indirectly of the alien political, economic or cultural power of one nation into the internal life of another people..... it involves the imposition of control, open or covert, direct or indirect, of one people by another.

The main motives which led the imperialists towards their imperialistic goals can be divided under five headings namely, economic gain, psychological motive, humanitarian motive, national defence and surplus population.

### **1) Economic Gain**

One of the fundamental motives of imperialism is economic gain. This includes conquest for the sake of mainly three things, namely, raw materials, market for surplus goods and investment for surplus capital. Almost all the major industrial powers depend on imported raw materials because either it is cheaper to import than to produce or the domestic supply is not sufficient. Each big industrial nation produces more than what its own inhabitants can possibly consume. So, each has a surplus which must be sold in the foreign lands. Investment interests have often played a big role in the process of imperialism. Surplus capital which is created by the industrial expansion of the leading powers of the world suggests reinvestment for more and more profits. So, the surplus capital suggests two things i.e., either to reinvest this surplus capital at home in unprofitable enterprises or invest it in less advanced countries to get large amounts of profit. That is why before 1914 Britain and France invested huge amounts in foreign countries. Even today investment of surplus capital in backward countries is still on the increase.

A study of the economic motive of imperialism is incomplete unless we make a thorough study of the economic theories of imperialism. The economic theories of imperialism can be divided into three schools of thought, namely, Marxist, the Liberal and the Devil theory of imperialism.

According to Marxist theory of imperialism, all political phenomena are the outcome of economic motives which originate in capitalism. According to this theory, capitalism results in the overproduction of capital and commodities. The home market lacks enough purchasing power. Hence, attention is paid to foreign markets and this results in enslavement of more non-capitalist and even capitalist areas in order to transform them into markets for their

extra production and surplus capital. Kautsky believed that capitalistic states turned to imperialism more or less as a matter of choice. Lenin, on the other hand, asserted that capitalism led to imperialism. The liberal economics hold that if overproduction and less consumption gave rise to imperialistic expansion the responsibility rests within the capitalist system. If certain social and economic reforms such as higher wages, more equitable distribution, expansion of the home market, elimination of oversaving, increasing purchasing power are undertaken, the imperialistic expansion would be ended. For the advocates of Devil theory, imperialism is the result of conspiracy of big business magnates for the purpose of economic gains. The Nye Committee which was appointed by the American Senate to study the financial and industrial interests in the first world war made this point very clear. According to the report of the Nye Committee, since certain groups such as manufacturers of war materials and the like profit from war, they must be very interested in war. The profit-seekers plan to enrich themselves.

The economic theories can be criticised on three grounds. Firstly, the economic theories have wrongly asserted that wars were fought primarily for economic motives. History proves that except a few wars like the Boer war of 1899-1902 all others were waged primarily for some political objectives. Thus, the two world wars, the Indo-Pak war, and Vietnam war etc. were fought primarily for some political objectives. The economic theories and more particularly the Marxist theory wrongly held that capitalism was the basic cause of imperialism. History also does not confirm this view. The pre-capitalist period, i.e., sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, saw more colonial acquisition than the capitalist period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Devil theory, too, is not based on facts. The war profiteers were not active supporters of war. The capitalists knew that war brings with it destruction, havoc, and chaos, which no capitalist as an individual or as a group would like.

## **2) Psychological Motive**

Besides the economic urge, psychological motives played a great role in imperialism. In fact, the colonial possession is often considered as an addition to the national prestige of the imperialistic state. For centuries it was the boast of Englishmen in which they gloried saying the sun never set on the British Empire. So, the thirst for power and drive for conquest played a notable role in imperialism.

## **3) Humanitarian Motive**

Humanitarian motive which is styled by Kipling as The White Man's Burden suggests that the Whitemen are the superior races and it becomes their prime duty to uplift the inferior races. In fact, many members of civilized society sincerely believed in abolishing ignorance, slavery and

cannibalism from the backward people and to civilize them by imparting to them their own religion and civilization. Humanitarian motive is rightly called by P.T. Moon as aggressive altruism because it means using brutal force to impose on unwilling native peoples the blessings of French or German or British or American civilization.

#### **4) National Defence**

Many defenders of imperialism believe that imperialism also serves national defence by providing raw materials, lines of communication, essential markets and population from which troops could be drawn. In the 19th century, England utilised Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet as buffer states for defence of India against Russia. During the world war I Britain drew nearly 40,000 troops from India and France drew nearly 50,000 troops from her colonies.

#### **5) Surplus Population**

Imperialism is also desired as an outlet of surplus population. However, this is not a good remedy for over population and has not worked, in practice. Germany annexed many colonies from 1884 to 1954, but the number of Germans who settled in these colonies was very small. Japan also obtained many colonies such as Korea, Formosa and Manchuria, but the Japanese did not care to go to these colonies. In fact, imperialism was utter failure in providing homes for the surplus population.

### **Methods of Imperialism**

There are four methods or means of imperialism. They are: Military, Economic, Cultural and Religious.

#### **1) Military Imperialism**

Military imperialism seek conquest by means or direct military attack. Thus, the great conquerors such as Hitler, Napoleon, Mussolini and many others, often used this method of military conquest. But, war is a gamble and nothing can be said about its results. Nazi Germany waged war to achieve its imperialistic ends, but she lost it and even fell victim to other imperialistic powers.

#### **2) Economic Imperialism**

Economic imperialism is the most rational method of modern times. Economic imperialism is concerned with controlling the domestic or foreign policies of the underdeveloped nations by means of economic investment and economic assistance. Though the imperialistic nations do not conquer the territories of other nations, yet, they control the minds of those who control those territories. Thus, for example, many of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are very much dominated by the western powers due to economic causes. Thus, there has been a marked increase

in the foreign investment by the western powers in the developing countries including Latin America, Africa, Asia, Middle East and South East Asia.

### **3) Cultural Imperialism**

Cultural imperialism aims at the control of minds of men of other nations by impressing them with the superiority of its culture and unique political ideology. An example for this was seen in the way in which the communist party of Soviet Russia exerted a strong control over the communist parties of other nations.

### **4) Religious Imperialism**

Religious imperialism has played an important role in realising the imperialistic policies. Missionary organisations, in the past, were among the active group which promoted imperialism. British missionaries played an important part in promoting imperialism. The London Missionary Society was very much active in spreading British imperialism in Africa.

Imperialism which is called in the present usage colonialism has lost its earlier hold on India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and some parts of Africa, yet it is not a thing of the past.

### **Policy of Prestige**

The policy of prestige is the third manifestation of the struggle for power on the international scene. The prestige of the nation in international relations is considered as its reputation or power. Prestige is reputation that reflects one's position in society. According to Prof. Hans. J. Morgenthau the purpose of the policy of prestige is to impress other nations with the power one's own nation actually possesses or with the power it believes or wants the other nations to believe it possesses. According to Prof. V.V. Dyke, prestige is reputation that reflects and suggests authority or importance of ascendancy. To broaden the statement, Prof. Dyke further points out that it is reputation for distinctive success in meeting whatever tests are thought to be significant. It is in fact the reputation for an ability to achieve goals of challenging sort, for a will to achieve them, and for a future in which these qualities will be preserved, if not enhanced. Failure to meet these sort of challenges will mean loss of prestige. On the contrary, successful response to these challenges would reinforce prestige. A state with good prestige can be sure that others will not encroach upon its interests and it may get due respect on issues to which the prestige is relevant. Prestige, in fact, is the most important good that states pursue. This is, perhaps, the reason that states demonstrate what they have.

The instruments of the policy of prestige can be broken down under the following three headings: (i) Diplomatic ceremonial (ii) Display of military forces (iii) Propaganda.

**i) Diplomatic Ceremonial:** The first instrument of demonstrating one's power is through diplomatic ceremonies. The diplomats are the symbolic representatives of their country. They represent their government in ceremonial functions such as state dinners, receptions, happy and sad occasions. The respect shown to these diplomats is the respect shown to their countries. History is full of examples illustrating the importance given to them in international politics. At the Potsdam Conference which was held in the year 1945, the three great authorities of the world—Churchill, Stalin and Truman did not agree to the point as to who should first enter the conference. In this way these leaders symbolised the power of their respective nations. However, in the later stage it was decided that all should enter the conference room at one time through different doors.

**ii) Display of Military Force:** The demonstration of military force is another important instrument through which a nation can impress others with its power. The success achieved by the Americans and Russians in the space programmes enhanced their respective national prestige. Since 1945, the most awesome displays of power have been the tests of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. The most important form of demonstrating military force is through mobilization of army in the past and in the present by the great powers. It was clearly meant to show one's own military strength and one's own superiority over others.

**iii) Propaganda:** The third and the last instrument of the policy of prestige is propaganda. Throughout history statesmen have used the device of propaganda to impress other nations with the power which their own nation actually possesses. Due to revolution in communications, expansion of educational facilities and development in the scientific sphere, propaganda has become a major instrument of the policy of prestige. Now, nations are busy in their attempts to attract other nations to their way of life. Embassies contain certain Cultural Attaches who use lectures, pictures, posters etc. to glorify their country. The United States Information Service tells and sells America's story abroad. Similar is the case with the British Council which performs similar functions for Britain.

The policy of prestige has two main objectives: (a) prestige for its own sake; (b) prestige in support of a policy of status quo or imperialism. While nations seek prestige for its own sake, it is very rarely the main object of foreign policy. The individual members of the society are protected by the integrated domestic systems of social and international rules of conduct. But nations as members of international society, have to rely upon their own power. As such no nation is ready to take questions of prestige lightly. Another objective of the policy of prestige is the support of status quo or imperialism. The foreign policy of a nation is the result of its powerful position in relation to other nations at a certain moment of history and as it is likely to develop in the future.

In international politics the search for prestige is associated with the search for greatness and glory. The statesmen are always very much concerned with the prestige of their nations. Sometimes, a nation gives an exaggerated picture of its power. As such, it attempts to gain too much reputation for power which exceeds the power which the nation actually possesses. Here the policy of prestige is changed into the policy of belief. As a matter of fact, a wise foreign policy should not make any difference between prestige and actual power. As Prof. Morgenthau points out to demonstrate to the rest of the world the power one's own nation possesses, revealing neither too much nor too little, is the task of a wisely conceived policy of prestige.

### **Model question for guidance**

Explain the different manifestations of the struggle for power in the international scene.

**Lesson : 8**

## **The Balance of Power Nature, Growth and Devices Balance of Power**

**Balance of Power**

In international relations probably no concept has been so widely held as that of the Balance of Power. Indeed, it has been present whenever and wherever the multiple-state system has existed. The balance of power is considered to be a basic principle of international relations and it is sure to operate as long as the nation-state system remains the controlling pattern of world politics. The political relations of independent nations can best be explained by the theory of balance of power. Its pre-eminence is something inevitable because of its role in preserving and stabilising a society composed of sovereign states.

**Nature of the Balance of Power**

The concept of the balance of power is said to be in operation since the beginning of Greek city states. But this is somewhat doubtful. However, there is a broad agreement that balance of power was in operation by the 16th century. In fact, the period from the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th century, and in the 20th century, however, the mechanism is believed to have been functioning less effectively and satisfactorily than in the previous centuries.

The theory of balance of power is rarely stated with clarity and exactness. Writers differ about its nature and significance. Prof. A.F. Pollard opines that there are several thousand possible meanings of the phrase the balance of power. As a matter of fact, every writer has defined it in his own way. According to Prof. Morgenthau, whenever the term is used without qualification, it refers to an actual state of affairs in which power is distributed among several nations with approximate equality. Prof. Sydney B Fay speaks of balance of power as just equilibrium in power among the members of the family of nations as will prevent any or one of them from becoming sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon the others. According to Palmer and Perkins, the balance of power seeks to assume that through shifting alliances and countervailing pressures, no one power or combination of powers will be allowed to grow so strong as to threaten the security of the rest. To be precise, in a system where a number of sovereign states co-exist, each one strives to maximise its own power and thus maintain a balance. In other words, the various nations group themselves in such a way that no single nation or group of nations is allowed to be strong enough to swallow up the others. The powers of the opposing groups are

kept evenly balanced. Thus, in its pure form the balance of power means the maintenance of an equilibrium so that no state or states can be an aggressor.

Stated in general terms, the purpose of the balance of power is to establish or maintain such a distribution of power among states as will prevent anyone of them from imposing its will upon another by the threat or use of violence. Peace is also said to be the purpose of the balance of power. But peace cannot be the real purpose. It is an incidental result which the balancing process sometimes brings about. In fact, states sometimes deliberately resort to war for the purpose of establishing or preserving the balance.

The theory of balance of power is based on certain assumptions. Firstly, balance of power implies that states are determined to protect their vital interests by the means at their disposal, including war. The vital interests refer to such values as independence, territorial integrity, security, preservation of the domestic political or economic system etc. Secondly, it is assumed that the vital interest of the state may be threatened. The necessity of a system of balance of power is, therefore, obvious. Thirdly, a balance of power, it is assumed will deter an aggressive state from launching an attack on another or it will enable the victim to avoid a defeat, if at all an attack is made threatening its vital interests. Fourthly, the assumption is based on the fact that the relative power position of states can be measured with a significant degree of accuracy and this helps projection of proper policy for the future. Fifthly, it is assumed that statesmen can and will make foreign policy decisions on the basis of power consideration. If this were not possible, the deliberate balancing of power could not occur.

Palmer and Perkins discuss certain characteristics which are implicit in the balance of power theory. Firstly, a balance power denotes a position of equilibrium, but it may also refer to a position of disequilibrium which enables one or more to hold an enviable position. Secondly, in practice balance of power system has proved to be temporary and unstable. Thirdly the balance of power, according to Nicholas J. Spykman, is not a gift of the gods, but is achieved by the active intervention of man. States cannot afford to wait until it happens; if they wish to survive Spykman added, they must be willing to go to war to preserve a balance against the growing hegemonic power of the period. Thus, we are dealing with a diplomatic contrivance, not with a matter of historical causation. Fourthly, though it generally favours status quo by preserving and producing existing rights and interests, it signifies change and dynamism. Fifthly, it is difficult for a nation to tell when a balance of power had been achieved. War is considered to be the only real test for maintaining as well as distributing balance of power system. Sixthly the balance of power offers both an objective and subjective approach, objective to a historian to whom equality of power

is the basic element of the balance of power, subjective to a statesman who can think of a balance when his side is considered to be stronger than the other. Seventhly, the balance of power has not been primarily a device for preserving the peace. It should be recognised that the primary purpose of the balance of power is to maintain the independence of states and not to preserve peace. But, in the nuclear age the first objective cannot be achieved without the second. Eighthly, the balance of power theory is obviously unsuitable for the nuclear age. Small states are only spectators in the game of power. Ninthly, as a policy, the balance of power is suitable neither for democracies nor for dictatorship. A democracy is concerned with the power politics only in periods of crisis. A dictatorship, on the other hand, implies domination. The contents of both, therefore, make a theory of balance of power inoperative. Finally, many commentators insist that the balance of power is largely inoperative under present condition. It functioned well only when it was confined to the European state system. With the expansion of the state system, it is impossible for any nation or international organisation to play the role of balancer. A persistent question in contemporary international politics is whether a new balance of power may be in the making or whether the whole concept is outmoded. Certainly, new forces and patterns are developing.

### **Devices for maintaining the balance of power**

It is stated that balancing is a dynamic affair. It creates an equilibrium that is temporary and unreliable. Its operation requires great skill. Among the various devices that are used for maintaining the balance of power the following methods may be discussed with special emphasis:

#### **1) Alliances and Counter - Alliances**

These have been the most commonly employed devices of the balance of power system. According to Prof. Morgenthau Alliances are a necessary functions of the balance of power operating within a multiple system. A nation strives for winning and strengthening friendship with other nations in order to encounter the aggressive states. A nation will not, however, be interested in alliance if it is sure that it is strong enough to hold on its own.

According to Palmer and Perkins, alliances are often divided into two kinds, offensive and defensive. An offensive alliance seeks to upset the balance in favor of its members and a defensive alliance aims at restoring the balance in favor of the states which make up the alliance. It is again maintained that the greater the number of nations involved in the system of alliance, the greater is the chance that the balance of power will work in the satisfactory manner and the smaller the number of nations involved in alliance the more rigid and unworkable the balance is likely to become.

An alliance is concluded when there is a feeling of community of interests among the nations concerned. A common ideology is likely to be the basis of an alliance. The pure type of an ideological alliance is presented by the treaty of Holy Alliance of 1815 and the Atlantic Charter of 1941. Other conditions such as strategy, geography, cultural similarities, economic interdependence help nations to make stable alliances.

Counter-alliances are also formed to restore the balance of power when the same is threatened by other states who have entered into a system of alliance. European history is replete with instances of nations entering into alliance and counter alliance to preserve or upset the balance.

## **2) Compensations**

This common device usually entails the annexation or division of territory. In the 18th century Poland had to be partitioned in order to keep the balance of power of Prussia, Russia and Austro-Hungary. Territorial compensations have generally been made by strong powers at the expense of weaker ones. The division of the world into colonies and spheres of influence is justified on the ground of maintaining balance of power system undisturbed.

## **3) Armaments and Disarmaments**

All major powers place great emphasis on military preparedness and other means of national defense. This policy may lead to armaments race and intensified rivalries among the major powers. Armaments race between the East and the West or more particularly between the U.S.A. and the erstwhile U.S.S.R. had resulted in suspicion, tension and confusion throughout the world.

In theory, a more stable balance of power could be created by ending armaments race and by proportionate reduction of armaments by rival powers. Various kinds of disarmament have been proposed from time to time, but the results of all of these well-intentioned efforts have been disappointing. Disarmament is often discussed but never faithfully followed. It is often proposed as a propaganda designed to demonstrate one's own desire for peace and friendship and to reveal the bellicosity of the potential enemy. This proves the ineffectiveness of disarmament which, at least theoretically, could ensure a stable balance of power.

## **4) Intervention and Non-intervention**

These are commonly used devices for preserving balance. It is quite possible that the allies may shift their loyalty from one side to another. Under such circumstances it is quite usual for a big nation to regain a lost ally by intervening in its domestic affairs and establishing a friendly government there. This method is employed frequently by those nations who are in a position of balancers. Before the end of world war II, Britain

intervened in Greece to see that it did not fall into the hand of local communists. Russian intervention in the affairs of nations to which she has given military and economic aid are some of the instances by which the major power seeks to prevent a shift in the balance of power arrangement.

Non-intervention suggests a kind of policy usually followed by small states and above by those great powers which are satisfied with the political order and can follow peaceful methods to preserve the balance. Non-intervention also suggests neutrality.

### **5) Buffer States**

Another important method of maintaining and preserving the balance is buffer zones. A buffer is a weak nation, situated between two powerful rivals. Its major function is to keep the two powerful nations apart and thus minimize the chances of friction between them e.g. Poland had been a buffer between Russia and Germany. Belgium and Holland have been buffers between France and Germany before world war I, Switzerland was a buffer between Germany, Italy, France and Austria. Indeed, Buffer states, Palmer and Perkins rightly observed, are of great importance because of their cushioning effect between great -powers; they may be neutral or neutralised states, satellite states or dependent territories, or they may be actively associated with one or two or more aggregations of power in a relatively honorable role.

### **6) Divide and Rule**

A final method of the balance of power is divide and rule. England has pursued this policy with great success in many of her colonies. The British were charged with playing Hindus and Muslims in India against one another, thus facilitating British control over both. The policy of France 'with regard to Germany and the policy of Soviet Union with respect to the rest of Europe are some of the outstanding examples of this method.

It should be remembered that these six methods are the methods by which a nation can and does increase its power. But it is altogether a different question whether these methods really bring the desired balance of power. Whatever be the methods adopted by a nation to increase power and tilt the balance in its favour, the happiest position for it in the balancing process is that of the holder of the balance.

The balancer is a nation or group of nations that remain aloof from the rivalries of others. Its interests are best served if the international balance of power is maintained. Consequently, the balancer does not intervene so long as the power position is every balanced. If the balance is tilted in favour of a strong nation the balancer acts by joining the weaker side and bringing the scales back into balance. According to Prof. Moregenthau, the balancer is in a position of splendid isolation. It is isolated by its own choice because it refuses to enter into permanent ties with either side,

its support of or lack of support being the decisive factor in the struggle for power if clearly managed. It is able to extract the highest price from those whom it supports. Hence, its isolation is considered to be splendid. To be successful a balancer itself requires sufficient power, it should be slightly removed from the centre of controversy, and preferably, it should be an island. The role which England played for long as a balancer was due to the fact that she fulfilled all these requirements. The balancer remains aloof, derives its power from outside the balancer, and uses it only to maintain the balance. It is often said that the balance of power did not work well till recently because there was no balancer strong enough to the effect the distribution of power between the United States and Soviet Union.

### **The Balance of Power Today**

In order to assess the role of the balance of power in the present day world we must emphasise that for its effectiveness the balance of power is largely dependent on the circumstances of the time. The period from the 16th to the 18th centuries was considered to be the glorious period of the balance of power, but after the French Revolution, conditions became less favorable for the successful adjustment of a balance among nations. The impact of emerging forces like nationalism, industrialism, democracy, economic inter-dependence, international law and the techniques of warfare made the balance of power at once too simple and too difficult a policy. Some more factors have tended to undermine the balance of power approach. The main trends which stand in the way of an effective balance are discussed below.

#### **(a) Disappearance of Balancer and Alarming Bi-polarity**

In the absence of balancer the balance of power policies have tended to the polarisation of power. Great Britain which was traditionally considered an holde of the balance does not and indeed cannot play her earlier independent role. The hopes of those who thought that the U.N., would be able to act as a balancer among great powers have also been frustrated. The result had been that power was concentrated, to a dangerous extent, in two super powers the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and with the disintegration of the latter, the U.S. has now emerged as the mega super power. The reduction in the number of nations that are able to play a major role in international politics has had a deteriorating effect upon the operation of the balance of power.

#### **(b) Growing Importance of Ideology**

Ideology today is considered to have wide influence in determining the course of world events. Ideologies have cut across national boundaries-supplanting the ties of nationalism with those of a common ideology. The impact of ideology has definitely undermined the balance of power.

### **(c) Implications of Total War**

With the innovation of the new techniques of warfare, modern war has taken the shape of total war. The frightening implications of the total war naturally give rise to a policy of caution even among the most ruthless proponents of the balance of power because they know it well that they will entangle themselves in a world war and have the way for their own downfall.

### **(d) Disparity in Power**

Another tendency of our time is the increasing disparities in the power of states. Super-powers are becoming more and more powerful and the small states are becoming weaker. Reliance on super-powers on the part of small states has also made the balance of power approach totally ineffective.

But, all these arguments are not universally tenable. As to the balancer it may not be possible to find a balancer in the role of Great Britain and other powers, but the uncommitted emergent nations in Asia and Africa have the potentiality of a balancer. As Prof. Morgenthau says, the development of the world balance of power in the immediate future will largely depend upon the course the uncommitted nations will take. Quincy Wright moreover did not see in bipolarity a danger to balance of power. According to him, when bipolarity is reached, each of the centres of power fears attack by the others and this enables the balancing system to continue. Bipolarity itself is gradually tending to be obsolete. It is giving place to multipolar system in world politics. Again, ideology and balance of power can be reconciled with a fundamentally different type of inter-state relationship. It is, however, a fact that conditions under which the balance of power worked best have largely disappeared, and that is not well adapted to the international scene today. Many eminent authorities maintain that logically, if not actually, it is an obsolete concept. To quote Quincy Wright again, the balance of power as the structure of world politics is incompatible with democracy, with free enterprise with welfare economy, and with peace.

But, there are well-known authorities in the field who admit that the balance of power is still a basic element in international relations, it is preferable to the international anarchy which is prevailing at present. Some kind of balance of power is considered to be a reality not because it has any objective merit in modern conditions, but merely because political leaders and academic writers regard some balancing as basic to foreign policy formulation. It has therefore, rightly been asserted by Palmer and Perkins that the concept of the balance of power then is still a meaningful one although it has lost much of its validity; its contribution as a basic feature of nation state-system cannot be minimised.

### **Evaluation of the Balance of Power**

The balance of power is defended on the ground that it maintains the independence of small nations which would otherwise be threatened. Another

advantage' to this theory is that the balance of power is the only guarantee for peace. If power is equally divided among various nations, no one side can secure great preponderance to ensure success in any aggressive action. As such, the balance of power prevents aggression. Some scholars are of the opinion that the balance of power ensures peace by organising coalitions against any rising power. Thus, it prevents the hegemony and imperialism of any one state. There is no supreme international authority for enforcing international laws. The League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation have been the agencies by which the states are asked to obey the international laws, but there is no legal binding for the different states. Under such circumstances balance of power is the only force which can compel the states to obey the international laws. Oppenheimer has supported this view when he has written: Balance of power is an indispensable condition to the very existence of international law.

The theory of the balance of power has also its critics. Prof. Hans Morgenthau criticizes the balance of power because of its main weaknesses: its uncertainty, its unreality and its inadequacy.

In the traditional American view the balance of power is a big danger to be avoided. However, the theory of the balance of power can generally be criticized on the following grounds:

(1) The theory of the balance of power does not bring peace; On the contrary, it increases the chances of war. Many scholars are of the opinion that the balance of power tempts the states to commit aggression. A state maybe scared of waging War against the preponderant power, but may venture when the odds appear to be substantially even. Organski is of the opinion that equilibrium always increases the danger of war. In fact, the periods of balance of power have been periods of war, while the periods of known preponderance have been the period of peace. However, this view is not universally accepted. It is very doubtful that a preponderant power will exercise self restraint and preserve peace.

Many thinkers say that it is true that balance of power can postpone war. But they hold that it is not a solution for maintaining permanent peace. It may succeed in keeping the world divided into armed groups where no group attacks the other for the fear of being defeated. But, it cannot be a solution for permanent peace..

(ii) Another point that must be raised against the balance of power is that nations are not static units. They increase their power through military aggression, seizing territory and alliances. They can change their power from within by improving social organisation and by industrialising. So, the traditional mechanism of the balance of power is not the only cause responsible for the increase of power.

(iii) The theory of the balance of power can also be criticised on the ground that it wrongly assumes that nations are free to make or break alliances as and when they desire for the main consideration of power. As a matter of fact, this assumption of the balance of power may have been more true in pre-industrial or dynastic Europe. But, this assumption does not hold good either to the nineteenth century or to the present day world. Since industrialisation became widespread shifts of nation from one alliance to another have been very rare. Even wherever they have occurred, they have usually been preceded by far-reaching internal changes.

(iv) Furthermore, there is no such thing as a balancer and it has never existed. We cannot find even a single nation which is motivated primarily by a desire to maintain the balance.

In spite of all its shortcomings, the balance of power is still an important concept in international politics. As a matter of fact, the impact of new policies and new forces that shaped our contemporary world has prevented the balance from operating correctly. According to Prof. Morgenthau, the principles of the theory of the balance of power are correct, but the new conditions in the contemporary world politics have made it difficult for the balance to operate smoothly. To conclude, we may say that although the concept of the balance of power has lost much of its validity, its operation is still meaningful. It did something to preserve the independence of a nation and to prevent any nation from becoming most powerful.

### **Model question for guidance**

Discuss the concept of balance of power. What are the different techniques of balance of power?

**Lesson : 9**

**Collective Security : Meaning and Purpose**  
**Collective Security and Collective action**  
**Collective Security and Balance of Power**

**Collective Security**

The concept of collective security has been persistently advocated since World War II. It has figured prominently in the theoretical and ideological debate concerning the management of international relations. There has been recurrent movement toward and away from translation of the principle into a working system. The term collective security is one of the popular terms to-day in the west. But, it is used in vague and diverse ways.

**Meaning and Purpose of Collective Security**

Although it appears to be simple and almost self-explanatory, the concept of collective security is in reality a complex and elusive one. George Schwarzenberger, in his *Power Politics*, defines collective security as machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order. According to Prof. Charles P. Schleicher, collective security is an arrangement among states in which all promise, in the event of any member of the system engages in certain prohibited acts against another member, to come to the latter's assistance.

While traditional international law leaves the enforcement of its rules to the injured nation, collective security envisages the enforcement of the rules of international law by all the members of the community of nations, whether or not they have suffered injury in the particular case. As an ideal, Collective security is without flaws; it presents the ideal solution of the problem of law enforcement in a community of sovereign states. But, the two attempts to put the idea of collective security into practice namely Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, fall for short of the ideal.

If collective security is to operate as a device for the prevention of war three assumptions must be fulfilled. They are (1) the collective system must be able to muster enough strength against any potential aggressor that the latter would never dare to challenge the order defended by the collective system; (2) nations joining the system should have the same conception of security which they are supposed to defend; (3) and those nations must be willing to subordinate their conflicting political interests to the common good in terms of the collective defence of all the member states.

## **Collective Security and Collective Action**

There is no alternative to collective action for the achievement of security. The opposite of collective security is complete insecurity, declared Ernest A. Gross. Though collective security implies collective measures for dealing with threats to peace, not all collective action is collective security. Very few ventures in collective action are designed to carry as far as collective security. Where they do so, they are mostly limited by the vague and general nature of the commitments and by the unwillingness of the states concerned to take sufficiently vigorous action to deal with major crises. Collective action may be the limited collaboration of a few states on an adhoc basis. But, collective security implies far-reaching commitment and obligations on the part of the majority states by the world including all or at least most of the great powers. It is incompatible with neutrality and with balance of power policy. As Quincy Wright pointed out, the relations of the balance of power to collective security have been at the same time complementary and antagonistic.

Under normal circumstances, collective security and a balance of power policy are incompatible. For, the of object of collective security is to align all other states against an offending state, while balance of power, on the other hand, contemplates the maintenance of such an equilibrium of power that no state will dare undertake a resort to arms. The former proposes a world front against a possible aggressor, while the latter proposes two approximately equal and opposing fronts.

An effective collective security system should be strong enough to cope up with aggression from any power or combination of powers and it must be invoked as soon as aggression occurs. The states must be ready to join the collective action to put down any aggressive threat by any state against any other state anywhere. They must be willing to apply sanctions and, if necessary, even to war. Such a system must be far more than an alliance. It calls upon nations to go beyond aligning themselves with each other to meet the threats arising from common enemies and to adopt a policy of defence directed against aggression in general. The system must be open to those states which are willing to accept its obligations in good faith. It must not be directed against any specific power or group of powers. As Prof. Friedman explains, A successful system of collective security does not necessarily presuppose a complete abandonment of national independence or individuality, it does, however, require the submission of the individual national will to collective decisions..... and, in order to be effective, it requires the international control of military forces and vital weapons, which is certainly not possible without a severe restriction of national sovereignty. This explains why collective security is so generally subscribed to in principle and so universally ignored in practice.

## **Alliances and Collective Security**

It is often argued that regional arrangements for collective defence and for other purposes establish a collective security system. But, this is not true because, such arrangements are geographically too much limited, and more so because they are not sufficiently binding in nature and do not represent such an aggregation of military strength that they can deal with any other power or combination of powers. Among regional arrangements the North Atlantic Treaty Organization alone may possibly be such an aggregation of strength. But, the NATO will not provide real collective security unless its members voluntarily assume more binding obligations than they were willing to accept in the Treaty. The NATO's entire organizational and command structure has been curtailed due to non-cooperation among the members, especially the stand taken by France.

Regional arrangements, however, could conceivably be an important part of a broader collective system. This point was stressed by the Collective Measures Committee of the United Nations, established under the General Assembly's Uniting for Peace Resolution of November, 1950, in its first report to the Assembly. The report submitted in October 1951 stated that regional arrangements constitute an important aspect of the universal collective security system of the United Nations..... There should be a mutually supporting relationship between the activities of such arrangements or agencies and the collective measures taken by the United Nations. Thus, collective self-defence and regional arrangements or agencies may, within the limits of their constitutional status, provide effective forces and facilities in their respective area in order to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter in meeting aggression.

The exact relationship between regional arrangements and the United Nations has never been clarified. Presumably, the former are supplementary to the U.N. system and do not supplant it. But a U.N. resolution of January 12, 1962, suggested that many of the member-states of the U.N. viewed their obligations to regional arrangements as superior to those of the Charter.

## **Collective Security and Disarmament**

The relationship between collective security and disarmament has received little attention. They have mostly been treated as separate approaches to the problem of war and peace. But, by their very nature, they go hand in hand. Disarmament looks for the day when no nation will have armed forces or armaments which could pose a threat to a neighbour. In the collective security, people look to the day when nations will not rely on their own forces, but on the United Nations, for their security. States are assured that in case of attack they will be supported by others. As progress is made in disarmament, the task of building collective security becomes simpler and more feasible. If the arms race continues, the hopes and prospects for effective collective security becomes less

## **Collective Security and Balance of Power**

When nations are bound together in an international organisation or association and in which they really co-operate to preserve the peace, there will be no need for alliances, burdensome armaments, political manipulations and rivalries. The three outstanding examples of systems of collective security in modern times, have been the Concert of Europe, the League of Nations and the United Nations.

### **(i) The Concert of Europe**

The alliance system which emerged from the Congress of Vienna and extended and applied at a series of international conference in the years following 1815 was, in fact, called the Concert of Europe. The great powers were expected to co-operate harmoniously to prevent hostile grouping of powers. Hence, it was conceived to be a different and, perhaps, a higher plan than the balance of powers.

The Concert of Europe was a loose relationship among the European powers which came into being soon after the Napoleonic wars and lasted until world war 1. Thus, it was a controlling mechanism in Europe during one of the periods of the most successful operation of the balance of power. Within its broad framework the states of Europe played the power game according to traditional rules. The Concert helped to prevent major conflicts on the continent or in colonial areas where the interests of various European states appeared to be divergent. On the whole, it was most successful in dealing with the Balkan area. Although it did not prevent serious wars such as the Crimean war of 1854-56 and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 it did succeed for several decades, in localising wars in the Balkans and in resolving the conflicting interests of the great powers there without resort to war. With the rise of Germany, the growth of imperialistic rivalries and the division of Europe into two armed camps with opposing alliance, the Concert disintegrated into a melee of contending states. Instead of superseding the balance of power, it had been dependent upon a balance which for a time has made great power cooperation both desirable and possible.

### **(ii) ~~The League of Nations~~**

It was the hope of Woodrow Wilson and other founders of the League of Nations that the League would provide a system of international co-operation and collective security which would supplant the balance of power, nurturing in its place a true community of power. The League concept implied universality. Yet the United States and several smaller nations refused to join Germany and Soviet Russia went out. If the League's authority was challenged, enforcement machinery would be automatically invoked and members would abide by their obligations in the Covenant. Yet, even

in minor political disputes the League functioned unsatisfactorily. Several efforts to strengthen the League's collective security principle by regional security arrangements, notably in the Locarno Pact, proved to be no more than momentary stimulants.

With the coming of the worldwide depression after 1929, the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, and the succession of open challenges by the totalitarian aggressors, beginning with Japan's invasion of Manchuria 1931 the League's impotence and inadequacies became painfully evident. It had never supplanted the balance of power. It had become involved in a peculiarly unstable balance.

### **(iii) The United Nations**

The United Nations is a stronger organisations than the League of Nations in many respects. However, concessions to realities weakened it as an instrument of collective security. For example, the great powers were given a privileged status and through use of the veto in the Security Council they could paralyze almost any action that the U.N. might wish to take. Again, the Charter sanctioned and even encouraged steps for individual and collective self-defence outside the UN and it approved regional arrangements which couldbypass the UN. It would be difficult to determine whether regional arrangements and understandings such as the Rio Treaty of 1947, Organisation of American States, the Arab League, etc. tend to strengthen the United Nations system of collective security or to furnish current examples of the prevalance the balance of power.

The United Nations, like the League of Nations, was launched with high expectations on the part of many of its founders. The U.N., like the League is based on the sovereignty of the members of the nation - State system and does not operate in a vacuum. It is profoundly affected by contemporary international society and especially by the nature of great power relations. Since the relations are still based, in large measure, on balance of power considerations and since many aspects of the foreign policies of the great powers seem to operate outside the U.N. it is clear that the U.N. is involved in a balance of power situation.

### **Model question for guidance**

Bring out the relationship between Balance of Power and Collective Security.

**Lesson : 10****Role of Ideology in World Politics****International Ideologies**

In recent years ideological factors have assumed a significant importance as a guide to explaining the forces that regulate international politics. Ideology is considered to be the basic issue that divides nations and peoples. War is looked upon as the direct outcome of conflicting ideologies.

**Meaning of Ideology**

Richard Snyder and H. Hubert Wilson defined ideology as follows: An ideology is a cluster of ideas about life, society, or government which originate in most cases as consciously advocated or dogmatically asserted social, political or religious slogans or battle cries and with continuous usage and preaching gradually become the characteristic beliefs or dogmas of a particular group, party or nationality. A great variety of the moving ideas of our time as well as of the past are implied in the term ideology.

The term ideology according to Webster's New International Dictionary was first coined by Destutt de Tracy. Now, the word ideology is a common one in the vocabulary of international politics. As Palmer and Perkins opine: Although ideological factors have been a persistent element of social and political life throughout the centuries of history, they were seldom of decisive importance before the twentieth century. Indeed, ideological conflicts were a dominant feature of early times but the struggle of ideologies did not leave such a deep impact as in our own time. Certain features are prominent in ideological interpretation.

Firstly, ideological approach does not emphasise the role of an individual. It considers individuals more as an expression of forces greater than themselves. It recognises that it is ideas that matter, individual's role is limited to giving a concrete shape to the ideas. Secondly, every political system has its ideology, a system of ideas as to how the world is and how it ought to be. Ideology is not simply a statement of hopes. It is a genuine conviction which endures in the minds of the people. Thirdly, ideological interpretation may be pacific or warlike, fanatic or tolerant but in all cases they would see persons, groups or forces as instruments in the service of ideas. Fourthly, ideology helps to unify the nation and as a systematic statement of the nations aims the political ideology helps to justify the goals and actions of the state. Finally, ideology can provide assistance to a nation in influencing other nations by providing a programme that attracts people of other nations. In short, "a political ideology is exportable. The appeal of communism is universal. Its adherents are to be found throughout the world.

## **Ideological Movements**

Ideological movements in the past century, mostly centred around religious issues. Friedmann speaks about three ideological forces which have exercised deep and lasting influences in the shaping of modern international society. They are:

- (i) Christianity
- (ii) the liberal and enlightened humanitarianism of recent centuries, and
- (iii) the idea of a classless society.

### **Christianity**

In elucidating Friedmann's views it can be said that Christianity was primarily concerned with raising the spiritual level of life. It, however, stood for international collaboration on the basis of ethical values. The religious ideologies of the East-Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Islam also had their impacts in moulding the course of world events.

### **Humanitarianism**

The enlightened Humanitarianism accepts the Christian value of the fundamental equality of man, regardless of race and nationality. It postulates the peaceful organisation of international society. It has a positive aversion to war and considers it as both objectionable and irrational.

### **Marxism**

The most live philosophy till recently was communism. The purpose of communist creed is the establishment of a classless society. Such type of society, the Marxists consider, is unattainable without a struggle between capitalists and workers. The basic formulation of Marxism is materialistic interpretation of history which emphasises that the mode of production in material life determines the material and spiritual processes of life. The Marxists also are firmly convinced that the class-struggle is the nature of social life. The haves and have nots can never co-exist peacefully, it is a negation of their respective nature. They also believe in the inevitability of a social revolution. Marxism stipulates that the struggle between the exploiter and the exploited cannot continue for eternity. A time will come when the workers will organise themselves and launch an armed attack on the owning class. The revolution will be followed by an era of the dictatorship of proletariat. This period will mark the abolition of the private property and the social ownership of the means of production will be established. The level of productivity will be raised and the motive of profit maximisation will give way to the consideration of social needs. The dictatorship of the proletariat will have the way of socialist transformation of the society which ultimately will be replaced by a communistic order. The communistic society will be guided by the principle from each according to his ability,

to each according to his needs. As there will be no classes, a society based on the principle of communism can easily dispense with the state.

### **Flexibility of Marxism**

Marx and Engels regarded their teachings as not a dogma, but a guide to action. Lenin insisted repeatedly that the Marxist faith must not be converted *into an inflexible creed*. Stalin similarly denounced dogmatism and called for creative Marxism which adapted itself for the conditions of contemporary life. The validity of Marxism is more dominant in the goals and objectives it seeks to attain. It gives the toiling people an assurance to be always on the winning side. The communist ideology predicts the destruction of the existing politico-economic system and anticipates bringing the whole of human society under its aegis. The appeal of communism is evident on the degree of its acceptance by one third of the people of the globe till recently.

### **Fascism and Nazism**

These two ideologies dominated the global politics during the inter-war period. In fact, they were mainly responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. The Fascists glorified war and believed in the might of the big powers to rule the world. They considered themselves as the rulers of the world and took steps to conquer the world which resulted in the Second World War, perhaps, we can remember the insurmountable losses which the Second World War inflicted upon the mankind. Though these two ideologies made their exit with the death of Hitler and Mussolini, yet their impacts upon the nation, states still continue to hang around. One can attribute the authoritarian and dictatorial trends in many of the state systems to these ideologies.

### **Liberal Capitalism**

The ideology of liberal capitalism which stands for freedom, individual enterprise and democratic integration of society exerts considerable influence in the present day world and determines the conduct of some of the western powers.

### **Democratic Socialism**

In recent years, democratic socialism, as an ideology, is tending to exert tremendous influence in the minds of men. Its principles are being increasingly adopted as a norm of state-policy, particularly by the Afro-Asian countries. Democratic socialism seeks to implement the merits of socialism ensuring at the same time liberty of the individuals.

### **Ideology of Non-Violence**

The most powerful ideology which is emerging with a wide and sound base in the international horizon is the ideology of non-violence. At a time when the thermo-nuclear weapons have made man a captive of his own inventions, when violence is writ large all over the globe, the appeal of

Non-violence as a panacea of human ills has received universal recognition. Non-violence, it is said, has been preached and practiced in every country. Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and Islam carried the tradition of Ahimsa. A host of saints and philosophers like Lao-Tse, John Ruskin, Leo Tolstoy and others were the first believers of the theory of non-violence. But, it was Mahatma Gandhi who made the theory of non-violence a live philosophy of the world. Gandhiji's theory of non-violence was not based on ethical and abstract considerations; it was a lucid and scientific explanation of the facts of the real world. Non-violent movements have assumed new dimension in international politics. Both in internal and international platforms non-violence is being considered as an effective weapon. There is no denying the fact that the appeal of non-violence is on the increase.

### **Lapses of Ideological Approach**

The contradictions and limitations are also obvious in the ideological approach. It is stated that ideologies are essentially irrational. Their appeal is mostly emotional. Ideology has a tendency to be dogmatic. Fascists of Italy or Nazis of Germany adhered dogmatically to their sterile philosophy till their peril. There has appeared in recent years substantial crack in the communist ideology too. Russia and China were offering conflicting interpretations of communism. As a result, the monolithic character of communist ideology has eroded substantially and communism as an ideology stands discredited in Russia and East European countries today.

### **Mixture of Power and Ideology**

It is a fact of international life that neither power approach nor ideological approach can by itself explain the forces of world politics. Both have their limitations and lapses. The ideological and power interpretations are mostly linked. This makes the process of understanding international politics a complex and complicated task. Power is a form of influence, rather it is a coercive influence, but this influence is ineffective in most cases unless it is backed by some cohesive ideas. Ideology too has become linked to national power. As Palmer and Perkins observe, Just as power became the instrument of ambitious nationalism, it has now become the tool of ideologies. Without power of some kind, an ideology- even one which aspires to universalism - is a passive, harmless pattern of related ideas. The same authority points out that without Soviet power Communist ideology would be mostly impotent. The struggle for power is not the only motivating force. Though both power and ideology are relatively weak, still they have their relevance in world politics.

Finally, it is very important to remember that an intelligent study of international politics call for proper evaluation of the respective role of power and ideology.

### **Model question for guidance**

Explain the role of ideology in international politics.

**Lesson : 11****Concept of Nationalism and Rise of Nation States****Nationalism**

Of all the forces in international society nationalism is the most significant one. Nationalism is today one of the dominant forces in world affairs. Although the idea of nationalism is not new, the concept of modern nationalism is derived chiefly from ideas propagated by the French revolutionaries. After the French Revolution, for about two hundred years it acted as a source of inspiration to the peoples of different countries of the world. But, in different periods of history and in different parts of the world it has taken on various manifestations.

**Definition of Nationalism**

It is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory definition of nationalism. J.H. Hayes in his Essays on Nationalism defines it as a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two very old phenomena-nationality and patriotism. Charles P. Schlicher describes it as a modern phenomenon of consciousness, feeling or corporate sentiment among a group of people that is conducive to a process of identifying the fortune and destiny of the individual with that of a nation state desired or achieved. Nationalism is, thus, a combination of the spirit of nationality and the political institutionalization of that spirit into the national state.

Nationalism, again, is the emotion of nationhood. In the broadest term it denotes a people's sense of collective destiny through a common past and the vision of a common future. It gives each nation its own distinct personality different from all other nations of the world. It also helps in creating a state of mind amongst the individuals that inspires their loyalty to the nation-state. According to Crane Brinton, nationalism fosters a sense of belonging to an in-group. This sense of belonging to the nation is much greater than the same attitude an individual may feel towards any other groups of which he is a member.

**Roots of Nationalism**

There are certain factors which are responsible for the origin, growth and persistence of nationalism. These we may describe as the roots of nationalism. Hans Kohn says: Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness. Palmer and Perkins opine, while nationalism is ..... the strongest political force in the modern world, its roots are psychological and not political. We shall first discuss the psychological roots of nationalism after which we shall describe the physical factors that help in the growth of a nationalistic outlook.

## **Common Nationalist Traditions**

The identification of a people with a common and continuous national tradition and heritage helps in fostering a sense of oneness that is essential for the growth of nationalism. In a very real sense, the sharing of a common pride for the past glories, a common will to do things together in the present and the vision of a common future furnish the spiritual bounds that unite a nation.

Geography is undoubtedly an important factor that makes a nation, but nations exist much more in time than in space. The history of common triumphs and common heroes who symbolise the heroic past, especially of common miseries suffered jointly, evoke strong sentiments that serve to sustain the national soul.

## **Human Nature**

Man cannot live without food and shelter. These are his biological needs. Besides this, man has many other desires over and above those necessary for his physical existence. In him there is a tendency to develop group loyalties, love of his country, or patriotism. As such, these manifestations are necessary for nationalism. But they do not in themselves constitute it. Schleicher is right when he remarks. Nationalism is neither a biological nor a psychological necessity, but there are certain human characteristics which, under proper conditions, are conducive to, at least do not prevent, its development.

## **Social Instability and Insecurity**

Hans. J. Morgenthau emphasizes the importance of social disintegration and the consequent feeling of insecurity of the individual as the roots of modern nationalism. He argues that intensity of modern nationalism is directly proportional to social disintegration and personal insecurity. He says that social instability has become acute in the 20th century as a result of cyclical economic crises and other factors. Social instability has given rise to feelings of insecurity and frustration in the individuals that has found an emotional outlet in fixed and emotionally accentuated nationalistic identifications. An individual troubled by insecurity, discontent, frustration etc. from which he cannot escape seeks a vicarious satisfaction by identifying himself with his nation. Rise of extreme nationalism, which has become a bane of the 20th century, may be ascribed to this factor. Geography, race, economics, religion, common government etc., are physical factors that foster the sense of nationalism.

## **Geography**

A group of people inhabiting a territory feel attachment to their homeland. This sentiment about a common piece of territory promotes the development of nationalism. Besides, persons belonging to a group living in a territory

come in frequent contacts amongst themselves that develop a sense of oneness which is an essential ingredient of nationalism.

## **Race**

Race is another important factor that has contributed towards the development of nationalism. The anthropologists are of the opinion that owing to a continuous process of intermingling and intermixture of different races that is going on ever since the appearance of man, no national group is consisted of a single racial stock. Looked at from that angle racial origin cannot influence nationalism. But, certain distinct physical features, especially pigmentation of skin tend to constitute the basis for social groups which often lead to domination of one group over another.

Vigorous propaganda about racial superiority, sometimes by creating *racial myths*, helps in development of aggressive nationalism. The flourishing of Nazi creed in Germany is an example of this.

Thus, though no nation can claim to be composed of a pure race, false notion about racial origin has often helped in the growth of nationalism.

## **Language and Literature**

In producing and nurturing nationalism, language and literature have often taken an important part. Though a nation can develop without having a common language, it is certainly an important unifying factor. Hayes regards it as the most important factor in the making of a nation. Ramsay Muir maintains that there is indeed nothing that will so readily give unity to divergent races as the use of a common tongue, and in very many cases, unity of language and the community of ideas which it brings have proved the main binding force in a nation.

Though good literature and other media of art such as painting, music, etc. have universal appeal and often transcend national boundaries they have great power to increase social cohesion and sentimental national feelings. Nationalism in different countries in the modern period has very often begun with intellectual movements that are spread through characteristic literary or other artistic media. These ultimately pave the way for the awakening of national consciousness.

## **Religion**

Religion has a double relationship with nationalism. On the one hand, common religious beliefs have often aided in reinforcing feeling of national unity; on the other hand, along with other things it can also act as a transnational unifying force. Though their fluence of religion has been steadily diminishing, still even now its influence as a living force cannot be completely denied. The establishment of the nations of Isreal and Pakistan are glaring examples of this.

## **Economics**

In many ways economic factors play a great role in the development of nationalism. The growth and flourishing of nationalism can be attributed to the rise of middle class. It is the French bourgeoisie who, in order to protect their economic interests, led the French Revolution and that created the modern nationalism. The great surge of nationalism that is now sweeping through the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America originated largely as a protest against imperialistic economic exploitation.

A modern nation has, to a great extent, become an economic unit. A nation is tied together by the need of guarding and developing its economy against foreign competition. The realisation, that a strong national government only can protect the economic interests of its dominant section, has given economics a positive role in the development of nationalism.

An analysis of economic factors, however, reveals that it is the economic inequality and the economic exploitation of one class by another that has led to the rise of modern nation-states. When there will be no exploitation and no inequality the necessity of the nation-states will vanish. Then only a true world government will emerge. With that modern nationalism will be replaced by internationalism.

## **Common Government**

If the others factors are not antagonistic, the existence of a common government over a territory for a period helps in the development of nationalism. The creation of America's nationalism, for example, can be greatly attributed to this element. The Unionists won the civil war and a common government continued to rule the whole country that we find now the United States of America instead of a Union of Northern States and another of Southern States. A common government is an important factor in creating and sustaining nationalism.

The spirit of nationalism is thus nurtured by many elements which vary from time to time and from state to state. But as nationalism is essentially phenomena of consciousness, feeling or corporate sentiment, in moulding it psychological factors play a more vital role than physical factors.

## **The Evolution of Nationalism**

In the feudal age the people owed their loyalty primarily to local feudal lords. But after that, by conquest or by marriage alliance, large areas came under the rule of a ruling house. Still the loyalty was largely focused upon the ruler and not on the country. But with the beheading of the French king Louis XVI this symbol of unity was destroyed and modern nationalism made its appearance.

## **Liberating Nationalism**

Originally modern nationalism grew to full stature in revolutionary France from where it spread first to other countries of Europe and gradually

to the rest of the world. The nationalism propagated by the revolutionary France proved to be a great liberating force and was linked with political democracy. Throughout the 19th century it inspired the different national groups who strove to free themselves from foreign domination as well as from oppressive social, economic and government conditions. Thus, nationalism and liberalism were closely connected for a period. Its chief supporters were the middle classes whose power was growing with expanding industrialization of different countries.

### **Militant Nationalism**

By the end of the 19th century liberal nationalism gradually degenerated into militant nationalism. Rivalries among the powers for trade, for colonies, for industrial, military and naval supremacy, were growing resulting in the increasing of tension. Instead of allowing greater freedom to the individuals, the state began to assume more and more control in order to safeguard the national interest. The militant nationalism that pervaded different countries of Europe could not be kept restrained for long and at last it burst into the First World War.

Though the victorious powers in the World War I said that they were fighting to make the world safe for democracy and pledged that they would honour the nationalistic aspiration of all nations, it was found that they were not true to their words. And during the post- World War I period totalitarianism arose.

### **Totalitarian or integral Nationalism**

Liberal nationalism of the previous century became more militant and ultimately took the form of totalitarian nationalism. In order to make their statute powerful so that it could cope with external danger and could successfully meet the challenge of other nations, totalitarian nationalism demanded surrendering of individual rights to the rights and will of the state. Totalitarian nationalism is also called integral nationalism by Chaeles Maurras and the term was borrowed by others. In the words of C.J.H. Hayes, the watchword of integral nationalism is the exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity and the steady increase of national power - for a nation declines when it loses military might. During this period economic nationalism appeared which increased state control over the national economy. Thus, with the rise of totalitarian nationalism in all spheres of life the interest of the individual was subordinated to national interests. It also involved a policy of national selfishness and aggrandisement. In the words of Hayes again, integral nationalism appeals to the cruder and more exclusively emotional forms of patriotism. Its love of country turns readily into hatred of the alien, its desire for prosperity into competition for territory; and the duty of national service is interpreted as duty to maintain national unity by unquestioning assent to every decision of government. While the symptoms of integral nationalism was most prominent in the totalitarian States, it can be found in greater or smaller measures in almost all the countries of the modern world. Adoption of economic nationalism by many states after world war was largely responsible for the rise and growth

of integral nationalism. The rise of totalitarian states after 1919 also largely contributed to the growth of this type of nationalistic tendencies in other parts of the world as well.

### **New Nationalism in Europe**

In Europe where modern nationalism first made its appearance and where nationalism became extremely militant in the first half of the 20th century, a new phase in the cycle of nationalism began. The two world wars have cooled the ardour of many militant nationalists. The old rivalries and animosities have largely disappeared and in their place desire for international co-operation is growing. Increasing regional co-operation and establishment of supranational bodies in Europe may not be a passing affair and may indicate that nationalism is declining in Europe. The tendency, has given rise to the European Union consisting of about 25 states for achieving common political, economic and monetary goals under a common constitution.

### **New Nationalism in Non-Western World**

While ardour for nationalism has somewhat cooled in Europe, it is now sweeping newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. The nationalist revolution has given great inspiration to these countries who are now striving hard to be strong enough to compete with their former rulers on equal terms. The spirit of nationalism has greatly aided these countries to maintain varying degrees of social and political stability. Nationalism, however, is unable to solve many pressing problems of these newly independent countries.

### **Features of New Nationalism**

Owing to deficiency in public consensus, nationalism of many newly independent states are essentially weak. It is especially true of those nations which have few or no forgotten glories of the past that can foster a militant nationalist spirit. On the other hand, in the nations which have rich cultural and intellectual heritage and have at least an embryonic middle class, the spirit of nationalism is more developed. Many countries of Africa belong to the former class where weakness of national spirit stand in the way of constructive political development.

Another significant feature is that the newly independent countries cherish intense hatred against their past rulers. But, in framing their political and economic institutions, instead of depending on indigenous nationalism, they have often copied the political forms and institutions of their former rulers. Many of the Afro-Asian countries after attaining independence have turned to authoritarian rule. Thus, though nationalism gave these countries independence and national unity, it does not guarantee individual liberty or democratic principles there.

The new nationalism is extremely anti-imperialistic in outlook. The newly independent countries also stand solidly against any kind of racial supremacy and they are attempting to develop their economy quickly so that they may attain equality with the developed countries.

As membership of the United Nations is a symbol of prestige, of sovereignty and of equality, a characteristic of the new nationalism is the desire to achieve membership in the world body. Another interesting feature is a trend among a great number of Afro-Asian countries to pursue a policy of non-alignment in the East-West struggle. These nations are afraid that involvement in the power struggle might injure their independence.

## **Nationalism and Communism**

In the post-second war period communism has become a considerable force. Communism is an ideology that believes in internationalism. Classical Marxian theory preaches about the ultimate withering away of the state. So, as communism is antagonistic to nationalism, it may be expected that with the growth of communism nationalism will be weakened. But, it appears that instead of declining, nationalism has become a more powerful force. Even the communist countries are not free from its influence.

In this connection it should, however, be noted that nationalism is an anti-imperialist and progressive force in independent and under-developed countries. Until all the states become more or less equally developed, historical necessity of nationalism, as a force against exploitation of the weaker nations by the stronger, will remain.

## **Merits and Demerits of Nationalism**

### **Merits**

Nationalism has got the following good points:

- 1) It is pointed out that nationalism tends to promote unity among the members of the state. It is a strong feeling of personal identification with national territory. So, all these promote unity among the members of the state.
- 2) Nationalism often offers dynamic forces for cultural and economic creativity. Kohn observes that the nationalists see nationality as the source of all creative energy and economic well-being.
- 3) Nationalism contributes to the faith of subject nations struggling to throw off alien rule. Indian struggle for independence attests the truth of this statement.

### **Demerits**

Nationalism has got a negative side also. In the final chapter of his Essays on Nationalism entitled Nationalism: Curse or Blessing, Hayes asserts that nationalism has been a curse and nothing but a curse. Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet and philosopher held that nationalism was a great menace, because it calls for a strenuous effort after strength and efficiency and thereby drains man's energy from his higher nature where he is self-sacrificing and creative. Arnold Toynbee's ten volume work, A Study of History consists of many references to crimes committed in the name of the nation-state and of nationalism during the last three or four hundred years.

Other defects in nationalism can be discussed as follows:

- 1) Nationalism is responsible for the failure of attempts to organise the world for peace and human freedom, as indicated by the failure of the League of Nations.
- 2) It is an obstacle in the path of forming world government.
- 3) Nationalism also comes in the way of solving major international political, economic and social problems.
- 4) Many writers regard it as the chief force behind war.
- 5) Lord Acton holds that nationalism over-rides the rights and wishes of the inhabitants absorbing their divergent interests in a fictitious unity, sacrifices their several inclinations and duties to the higher claims of nationality and crushes all natural rights and all established liberties for the purpose of vindicating itself.

Whether nationalism is good or bad is a debatable point. But that with blessings and evils it is a living force in the current world is a fact. At the time of its origin it had been intimately related with liberty and democracy and still in many quarters of the world it is a liberating factor. But when nationalism turns too militant or totalitarian, it shatters human social values and may even be the cause of enormous destruction by generating total war.

### **Model question for guidance**

What is Nationalism? Discuss the roots and evolution of Nation-States.

**Lesson : 12**

# **Pacts and Alliances in the Post Second World War period - Contemporary trends**

**Pacts and Alliances****The New Regionalism**

The trend towards integration in the world is one of the most interesting recent developments in international relations. After World War II the necessity of world integration was felt in every corner of the world. As such, experiments in integration were made in Asia, Europe and at other places. Various pacts and alliances were concluded for this purpose. In this lesson we shall analyse the most important pacts and alliances. Some important factors are responsible for concluding pacts and alliances in the world. They are the following:

- i) It is felt that the future belongs to the nations who have got enormous nuclear weapons and spacecrafts. This factor is greatly responsible for concluding treaties and pacts in the world.
- ii) The desire of peace after world war II is considered to be the second factor which is responsible for concluding pacts and alliances in the modern world.
- iii) Thirdly, it is felt by some scholars that military and territorial extension of the communist world also helped towards regional groupings.
- iv) Lastly the realisation by various nations that the larger geographical units, with bigger market and more substantial financial power have a better chance in economic field, has also contributed towards the regional grouping in the modern world.

**The Organisation of American States (OAS)**

The idea of establishing an Inter-American system can be traced back to 1826 when Simon Bolivar called a conference of American states at Panama. From 1889-90 when the first Inter-American Conference was held in Washington, the U.S.A. became an active proponent of developing the thesis of a Western Hemisphere Community. Owing to the fear that the Colossus of the North would swallow the smaller states, co-operation at first remained primarily confined to the non-political field. Slowly but gradually a communal sense developed leading to the creation of a Permanent Secretariat (the Pan-American Union). The threat of the Second World War quickened the process and a considerable collaboration on political matters started.

In 1945 an Inter-American Conference on Problems of war and peace was held in Mexico that drew up plans for the elaboration and strengthening of regional arrangements. A second conference held at Bogota in 1948 laid the ground-work for the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty of 1947) and the adoption of the Charter of the Organisation of American States (OAS) and other important agreements by twenty one states.

### **The Rio Treaty**

The Rio Treaty drafted in Rio-de-Janero provided that an armed attack by any state against an American state shall be considered as an attack against all American states and thus inaugurated an era of a collective security system in the Western Hemisphere. The Rio pact was the first collective security pact based on Article 51 (right-of-defense) of the United Nations Charter. It furnished a pattern that was carefully studied in drafting the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949. The Rio Treaty referred to as The American Regional Community created a regional defense agreement for the entire Western Hemisphere. The security zone covered by the Rio Treaty runs from pole to pole around the American continent and Greenland.

The scope of the Rio Treaty was further elaborated in the Organic Pact or the Charter of the Organisation of American States adopted at Bogota Conference in 1948. It dealt with matters relating from peace and security to the promotion of economic and cultural development. For the first time it laid the foundation of successful regional arrangement in the area through considerable clarification, simplification and centralisation and by specifying the system's powers and scope of action.

Article I of the OAS charter specifically states that it is regional agency within the United Nations. The OAS is automatically open to all American states. In the breadth of its jurisdiction as well as in structure, the OAS closely resembles the UN.

The functions of the OAS are operated by five major organs. They are :

- (i) The Inter-American Conference;
- (ii) The Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers
- (iii) The Council;
- (iv) The Pan-American Union and
- (v) The Specialised Conference on Organisation.

The conference which resembles the General Assembly of the United Nations is the main deliberative body and supreme organ of the organisation and normally meets one in every five years. The OAS council consisting

of twenty one members, one from each state, corresponds to the Security Council of the UN and acts as the permanent executive body. It has extensive political coordinating and supervisory functions. But, all urgent problems of international and external security are considered by the Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers. For solving intra-hemispheric disputes provisions have been made for the use of various techniques of conciliation and mediation failing which diplomatic and economic sanctions may be taken. As a final measure, recommendation for the use of force to restore order can also be made. However no state may be compelled to contribute armed forces without voluntary consent.

In the event of an external aggression the states are obligated to consult OAS so that they may arrive at a common policy. But each state retains the right to do what it deems necessary in the circumstances to help the victim. Pan American Union acts as the secretariat of the OAS. Besides these bodies there are also the Inter-American Economic and the Social Council, the Cultural Council and the Council of Jurists. These specialised bodies have been developed haphazardly over a period of time.

A close survey of the functions of the OAS indicates that on the one side it strives to resolve dispute and on the other it attempts at political integration.

The interests of the smaller Latin American states and the U.S.A. in supporting the OAS, however, are not identical. The smaller states view it as a device for countering the supremacy of the U.S.A. They also expect massive U.S. economic and technical assistance through the organisation without giving any opportunity to the United States to intervene in their affairs. The United States, on the other hand, considers it as a vital regional alliance.

OAS is considered to be one of the most successful regional arrangements of the world. It alone has been able to provide internal security to a vast area to a considerable extent.

## **Regional Arrangements in Europe**

### **The European Communities**

Europe which had once been the main centre of world power had been declining for some time. The two World Wars, especially the Second World War, considerably accelerated the process. Confronted by the problems of her own economic and political weaknesses and disunity and menaced by a strong Soviet Union, Western Europe looked across the Atlantic for U.S. assistance. In order to recover her economic and political power by a combined effort, she began stumbling spasmodically toward integration.

### **The Benelux Union**

Benelux is a term derived from the names of three countries, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg which have combined to form a single

customs union and now operates as a unit on many international issues. Benelux represented the first official action of West European countries toward integration, and it has pointed the way to more extensive moves in the same direction. The customs union has been created, but the economic union which was to follow is still in the planning stage.

## **Organisation for European Economic Co-operation**

Immediately after the Second World War, the war ravaged western Europe was badly in need of assistance. To give relief to them so that the non-communist countries of Europe might recover from the shattering blow of the war, the U.S.A. gave them massive aid through the Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA) and Marshall Plan.

The sixteen European countries who were recipients of this aid formed a consultative body called the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) to assist in planning and co-ordinating the recovery effort. The OEEC was expected to create machinery for European economic co-operation and to facilitate consultation among countries concerned.

## **European Payments Union**

All European countries which participated in the Marshall Plan were members of the European Payments Union. Created in 1950 to facilitate the operations of OEEC, it is, in effect, a clearing house of which all the central banks of the participating countries are members and through which the countries were able to settle their accounts with one another.

## **The Community of the Six**

Six European countries - France, West Germany, Italy and the three Benelux countries who were commonly referred to as the Community of the Six formed among themselves three regional-organisation for better co-operation in several fronts.

## **European Coal and Steel Community**

After lengthy discussions among the representatives of the six countries, the Community was established by a treaty signed on April 18, 1951. The ECSC pools resources of member-states and exercises sovereignty of the six nations in all matters pertaining to coal and steel.

The Community which is Europe's first semi-federalised structure has four main organs (i) a Common Assembly possessing advisory power to be elected by the parliaments of member-states; (ii) a Council of Ministers representing different governments to decide upon policies (iii) an administrative High Authority and (iv) a Court of Justice to decide upon disputes and treaty violations.

The High Authority is a kind of board of directors consisting of nine members and enjoys considerable authority. It has the power to decide by majority vote the production quotas, price structures and marketing operations of coal and steel in these six countries. The members of the High Authority are named by the respective governments. But, after their appointment to the High Authority they no longer remain under the control of their respective governments, but become responsible only to the European Parliamentary Assembly, the successor to the Common Assembly.

ECSC created a six-nation market for the two basic industries of coal and steel. It enjoys considerable supranational power as the participating nations have surrendered by treaty a measure of sovereignty, though carefully restricted, both in purpose and use.

### **The European Economic Community**

The European Economic Community is concerned with the creation of general common market. European Economic Community was created by the Treaty of Rome and started to operate on January 1, 1958. It established free market for the almost 170 million citizens of the same six-nation bloc, also known as the Little Europe. It sought to pave the way for the creation of a uniform tariff system on imports from outside the region. There are provisions for the ultimate free movement of labour, capital as well as goods within Little Europe. In order to standardize social policies and social security purposes, a European social fund was to be created. Arrangements were made for the establishment of an European Investment Bank and a Development Fund that will help in the development of the less economically-developed areas within the Community.

The EEC is operated through the Council of Ministers and the same European Parliamentary Assembly that are formed to run the Coal and Steel Community. In fact, these two bodies are serving the ECSC, the EEC as well as Euratom.. The European Parliamentary Assembly serves as the over-all supervisory and controlling body for the three associations and the link with the governments of the member-states is maintained through a Council of Ministers. The EEC Commission with its seat at Brussels serves the function of the High Authority of the ECSC.

### **The European free Trade Association (EFTA)**

To counteract the serious economic problems of the other western European states that do not belong to the Community, seven other nations of western Europe namely, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom formed the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1959. This grouping which was known as the Seven or the Outer Seven signed an agreement in Stockholm and pledged to promote economic expansion, to ensure fair competition in trade, progressive removal of trade-barriers etc. Its formation resulted in the division of all the principal trading

states in the area into two competing camps. Unless the divergent views of the two groups could be reconciled their economic as well as political relations would probably be undermined. For obvious reasons Britain applied for admission to the European Economic Community popularly known as the Common Market, but, due to the French opposition, it could not become a member of the Common Market. The EEC has now 15 members, including Britain.

### **Euratom**

Like EEC, European Atomic Energy Commission or Euratom has also been created by the Rome Treaty to promote atomic energy development in the six-nation community. The organisation and control lines follow the pattern of the other two Communities. While actual reactor construction is left to individual members, Euratom seeks to develop joint research, establishes nuclear industries and a reservoir of nuclear technicians to serve its members. By supervising joint efforts among its members it maintains a measure of control of the atomic development in these countries. It also creates a common or free market for nuclear raw materials and equipment.

These European Communities are a revolutionary attempt at solving some sore political problems. They are fostering a sense of European unity. By drawing within its fold superior as well as inferior powers, it seeks to remove the fear of the lesser powers.

### **The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**

The realisation after the Second World War that Western Europe alone would not be able to meet any Soviet challenge and the belief that if a good portion of the world turned communist the United States would become considerably weaker prompted the formation of the NATO. On April 4, 1949 the United States, Canada and ten West-European States- Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom-signed a treaty in Washington that created the North Atlantic Community. The Organization was expanded later by the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in 1952 and West Germany in 1955.

NATO became the central element in the subsequent multilateral and bilateral alliances of the non-communist world. The United States is the strongest and the pivotal power in the system. Two factors, fear of Soviet imperialism and serious doubt that the UN would be inadequate to protect its members against Soviet expansion, were primarily responsible for the formation of NATO.

The treaty is founded upon the principle of collective security. According to Article 5 of the treaty, an armed attack against one or more of them (the signatories) in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all.

According to its terms, the signatories have expressed their full confidence in the United Nations charter. They have agreed to make peaceful settlements of all disputes amongst themselves for international peace, security and justice. They have also pledged to encourage economic collaboration among themselves and have agreed to resort to arms either individually or jointly against foreign aggression. They have also agreed to put up a joint resistance to foreign aggressors, until the Security Council would take necessary measures against the aggressors. They have also agreed to submit a report to the Security Council on all matters. In addition to it, they have agreed to extend their full help to the Security Council in its efforts to maintain international peace and security.

The organisation of NATO is headed, at the top, by NATO Council consisting of important ministers and permanent representatives from each of the member states. While the permanent representatives are in continuous session in Paris, the ministers meet occasionally. The military organisation of NATO includes the Military Committees composed of the Chiefs of Staff to the Standing Group, that advise the Council on Military matters, and the standing Group, consisting of the U.S.A. the UK and France which, as the executive agent of the Military Committee, is responsible for the strategic guidance of the NATO commands. The co-operational level of NATO consists of field Military commands. Three other important councils are connected with the NATO Council, They are: (i) the Financial and Economic Board (ii) the Defence Production Board and (iii) the Planning Board for Ocean Shipping.

To have a clear picture of the role of NATO it is imperative to note down its achievements as well as its defects. NATO has been severely criticised by certain persons. Some have openly pleaded that there is no need of such a military organisation. The Non-aligned movement has always pleaded that military alliances are dangerous for peace. One of the weaknesses of the NATO arises owing to the fact that member states "inform other member countries about decisions of national policy that have already been taken unilaterally, instead of consulting them fully before making decisions' This has been clearly revealed during the Suez Crisis of 1956, when the Anglo-French policies differed substantially from that of the U.S.A. The great difference of military power of the U.S.A. from that of members of the organisation also is not very congenial for undertaking co-ordinated military efforts.

In spite of these shortcomings, the practical cohesion of NATO so far has been quite remarkable. The co-ordination of the resources of its members in various levels helps to create a true regional arrangement among the North Atlantic Community. It is true that the dominating role of the United States in the organisation has been criticised by European fellow-members, but, at the same time, the fact is that United States has been shouldering

the bulk of the responsibility. NATO without the United States, could not guarantee the western bloc with proper armaments against the Soviet bloc. It can also be said that NATO has greatly helped in strengthening political, social and military collaboration and unity among its member-states instead of their mutual disputes and rivalries. Due to the strength of this organisation, Soviet Russia was not successful in extending her influence in Europe. The NATO Council has also paid much attention towards economic and political co-operation among member-states instead of increasing its military potentialities. Friedmann is of the opinion that a certain degree of co-ordination of the productive resources of NATO countries has been achieved.

The fear of the Soviet power was mainly responsible for the creation of the NATO. Differences between the member of NATO powers have come up at various questions. At the time of Anglo-French attack on Egypt and Suez Canal, differences between these two countries and America were there, and they agreed to stop their actions against Egypt only due to American pressurisation. On the question of Cyprus there were differences between Greece and Turkey. The Cyprus problem deepened because the U.K. and Turkey accepted the mediation of NATO's Secretary - General, but Greece declined it. France, one of the major partners of the organisation, appeared to be less interested now. She withdrew from the military integration envisaged by the NATO and asked the NATO commander to evacuate all military bases in France.

The NATO has failed in its mission because the joint security of Europe has never been achieved. It has also failed to put forward any integrated plan of development for the whole of Western Europe. Individual nation, states are still working for their selfish, narrow national interests. They take the cover of NATO whenever it is beneficial for them. But they ignore it as and when they do not find it profitable for their national interests. With the disintegration of the U.S.S.R the NATO has lost much of its erstwhile importance. Still it is significant to note that many former communist nations have now joined it.

### **South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO)**

Like NATO, the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) also was formed to facilitate collective defence arrangement of the area. It was created in September 1954 when eight states - the U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand, the U.K., France, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines - signed mutual defence arrangement. SEATO was aimed primarily against communism, but it also provided for the development of defence capacity, furthering of economic development, countering of subversive activities etc. Although termed as South East Asia Defence Treaty, only three states from this area participate in it. Some most important countries of the region, including India, remained outside it as they see in it attempt of the western imperialists to re-establish their stronghold.

This Treaty contains a Preamble and 11 Articles. The Preamble declares: "The parties to this Treaty, recognising the sovereign equality of all the parties, reiterating their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all the peoples and all governments, desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the Treaty area, desiring further to co-operate in their efforts of collective defense for the preservation of peace and security".

It was decided that the Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, but any party may cease to be a member after giving one year's notice of renunciation.

The SEATO has no permanent army. It established its headquarters at Bangkok. Its structure consisted of a Council, composed of representatives of all parties.

By creating SEATO, the U.S.A. attempted to close a large gap in the ring of alliances around the communist world. But, the attitude of Asian partners of the treaty clearly reveals that they have mostly joined the organisation in the hope of getting massive economic and arms aid from the U.S.A.

### **The Bagdad Pact or The CENTO**

The beginning of this pact was made on the 24th February 1955 when the Prime Ministers of Iraq and Turkey entered into a pact pledging themselves to co-operate for their security and defence. Article 5 of the pact throws membership open to states actively concerned with the security and peace in this region (Middle East) and, by virtue of it, Great Britain joined the pact on 24th April, 1955. Pakistan joined the Bagdad pact on 1st July, 1955 and Iran joined it on 3rd November, 1955. Thus, in all there are 5 members of the pact, i.e., Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, U.K. and Iraq.

In March 1959, Iraq withdrew from the Pact due to revolution in that country. This action resulted in a new name (C.E.N.T.O) and a new headquarters (Ankara) for the organisation.

The Bagdad pact was directed against Soviet aggression. The Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) made it possible for a certain amount of common planning in the northern tier. The members were anxious to build up their army and the United States of America was acting wisely in helping them. But, the CENTO did not, in fact, offer the means of defending the Middle East against a major Soviet attack by reason of the weakness of its members. Infact, Bagdad Pact had failed in its objective. Firstly, in the Middle East this Pact had not succeeded in forming any kind of military-bloc. It had also failed to check the infiltration of Russia as well as of the communists into the Middle East. Now it is defunct.

### **Warsaw Pact**

As the United States was busy after the Second World War in creating a system of alliances directed against the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R. also sought to strengthen itself by creating counter-alliances. She concluded a series of mutual defence and economic agreements with the communist countries of Europe.

In 1955, eight East European nations, viz., Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania and U.S.S.R. with an observer from Red China met in Moscow and concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. They decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the signatory states. The unified command of the armed forces of the eight countries was to have its headquarters in Moscow and was to be headed by I.S. Koniev, the Marshall of the Soviet Union. The defence ministers or other military leaders of the signatory countries were appointed Deputy Commanders in Chief and given command of the armed forces assigned to the unified armed forces by each respective signatory country. The question of the German Democratic Republic, in measures pertaining to the armed forces of the unified command was left to be considered later on.

According to the terms of the Warsaw Treaty, the signatory states had given an undertaking to settle their mutual disputes by peaceful means. They also agreed to resist the attacks of imperialist and capitalist states jointly. They also agreed to establish peace and security by jointly resisting any foreign attack upon any member.

For the purpose of consultation the Treaty provided for a political consultative committee consisting of all the signatories. The committee would have the right to set up any auxiliary organisation if necessary. The contracting parties also agreed to develop economic and cultural ties among themselves. It was decided that any other states, irrespective of their social, governmental regime agreeing to abide by the terms of the treaty, could become members of the Warsaw Pact.

On the pretext of this Pact, Soviet Russia succeeded in suppressing the rising against the communist government in Hungary in 1955. With the fall of communist regimes in the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern European countries the Warsaw Pact also disappeared.

## **The Arab League**

The most important regional arrangement in the Middle East is the Arab League comprising the following Arab states: Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Yeman. It was formed in 1945 with the blessing and active support of Great Britain. This pact consists of twenty articles. Its primary objective as set forth in the charter was "to strengthen the relationship between the participating states, to co-ordinate their political programmes in such a way as to effect real collaboration between them, to preserve their independence and sovereignty and to consider, in general, the affairs and interests of the Arab States".

Besides the strengthening of ties, the two overriding causes for the creation of the League were : (i) to present a united front against the return of Anglo-French colonising in the area; and (ii) to prevent the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Article 3 states that the League shall have a council consisting of representatives from each state. Each state shall have one vote. It also provides that the function of the League would be to realise the objects of the League, to give effect to agreements concluded between the states and to determine the methods of collaboration with the international organisation for preservation of security and regulation of economic and social relations. Article 4 provides for the formation of special committees. These committees would be responsible for framing the bases, extent and form of collaboration while shaping the draft agreements. These agreements would be laid before the council for consideration. Article 5 lays down the process of resolving disputes which would involve arbitration and mediation.

Article 10 provides that Cairo shall be the permanent seat of the Arab League. Arab League Council is to meet twice a year in ordinary sessions. Extraordinary sessions may be held if the necessity arises.

Article 12 provides that the League shall have a permanent Secretariat consisting of a Secretary General, Assistant Secretaries and an appropriate staff of officials. The Secretary-General would be appointed by a two-third majority. The Secretary-General would appoint other secretaries and officials in consultation with League Council. The council would establish an internal organisation to deal with the functions of Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General will prepare the budget and the share of each state and submit it to the council.

If a state wants to withdraw from the pact, it should give a year's notice. The council has the right to regard any state not fulfilling the provisions of the pact, as having ceased to belong to the League.

In order to promote common regulations for import and export and to establish common industrial and agricultural policy, an Arab common market was established in 1964. But it came into operation on January 1, 1965. However, Kuwait withdrew from this body in 1965.

The League has shown considerable unity. Its members collectively supported the withdrawal of British troops from Egyptian mainland. They have usually voted en bloc in the United Nations. When France attempted to resume control of Lebanon and Syria in 1945, the League pressed for submission of the dispute to the United Nations.

But politically, militarily and economically the Arab League is weak. The Arab League failed to prevent the creation of Israel. There are dynastic rivalries within the group. It has failed to become a positive force of peace and stability in the West Asia.

## **The British Commonwealth**

The British Commonwealth is a unique type of organisation and defies easy definition. The uniqueness of the Commonwealth, as a regional arrangement, appears from the fact that it originated not as an arrangement between

independent states but as an empire. When the bond of empire had to be dissolved, an attempt was made to create a new type of political association through the Commonwealth. It comprises of those independent states which once formed part of the British Empire, but had chosen to remain in organised association after attaining independence.

The structure of the Commonwealth is very loose. Its members are not at all bound together by formal treaties nor its membership confers any legal right or imposes any legal obligations. There is also no control of foreign or economic policy. So far the Commonwealth has been unable to evolve any common parliamentary or executive institution. The only connecting link between the Commonwealth countries is a symbolic one - the British Crown. Here also lies the paradox that some of the members of the Commonwealth are republic. So, whatever unity it has achieved as a regional arrangement, has been obtained without the imposition of institutional limitations on the sovereignty of its members.

The Commonwealth lacks political cohesion. Though some or all of the members occasionally sit together at fairly regular intervals to discuss political matters, owing to the lack of adequate machinery, their discussions do not lead to any agreed programme of actions. It has been noticed that amongst all the regional grouping in the United Nations, the Commonwealth presents the least united front. Owing to wide divergences of matters of foreign policy its members are unable to act in unison.

In improving the economic relations, however, the Commonwealth has been more successful. Technical assistance and economic aid are administered to the underdeveloped Commonwealth countries through the Colombo Plan.

Generally, the mobility of the population among the member-states has been fairly high. Citizens of one Commonwealth country usually enjoy special facility in other Commonwealth countries as regards the right to enter or leave regardless of nationality.

In spite of its many shortcomings as a regional association the Commonwealth, so far, has shown wonderful adaptability to circumstances. Until now Britain has been the leader of the Commonwealth. But, with the decline of her power, the problem of future leadership is gradually emerging. The question has been further complicated by racial strains and the issues of colonialism. On the resolution of these problems the survival of Commonwealth depends.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Critically estimate the activities of NATO, SEATO and CENTO.
2. Write short Notes on: (i) Rio Treaty (ii) Warsaw Pact (iii) Commonwealth of Nations (iv) European Economic Community and (v) Arab League.

**Lesson : 13****Regionalism: Organisation of African Unity (OAU)**

- Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)**
- Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**
- Association of the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)**
- South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC)**

**Regionalism**

Regionalism stands for the concept of organising states and dependent areas on a regional basis. The word region ordinarily means areas smaller than states. But the term region in international politics signifies an area comprising the territories of at least three or more states whose boundaries may or may not be continuous and may be scattered in the different parts of the globe.

**Importance of Regionalism**

These regional organisations or arrangements are formed with the purpose of discussing and if possible solving some or all of the following problems-economic, political, social, cultural and mutual defence. The regional arrangement pursues the goal of political order building which differentiates it from pure military alliance like the Triple Alliance.

The chief characteristics of regional organisations are three. They are: (i) their membership is limited; (ii) they have special objectives and (iii) they are designed to serve the interests of a group that is always less than the entire international community.

The idea of regionalism is flourishing as the nation-states are realising the growing necessity of pooling their resources for protection and survival in a divided world haunted by the fear of an atomic war. As universalism is still premature and too ambitious, the alternative is the creation of regional arrangements. Those who hope for a universal world order, however, see in regionalism an essential stepping stone to universalism. Even if a world government may not emerge in the near future, the regional arrangements can become the dominant pattern of international relations replacing the present nation-state system.

The basic cause of the formation of regional groupings is the awareness of the parties that they possess some identical interests which can be served by making some common arrangements among them. Geographical propinquity often fosters the development of common interests which suggests the utility or desirability of forming an international association or regional basis. In other instances, the presence of external threat common to some nations or the stimulation provided by identical aspirations or difficulties shared by them leads to their co-operation.

The arrangements are usually made to serve one or more of the following purposes: (i) to set up a mechanism for facilitating political or other consultations between different governments; (ii) to render possible carrying of multilateral diplomacy through periodic meetings or otherwise; (iii) to provide methods for encouraging and arranging peaceful settlement of disputes among member-states; (iv) to promote cultural and political relationship; (v) to establish better economic co-operation; and (vi) to provide for a mutual security system.

The strength of regional arrangements depends largely on the sharing of common objectives and the mutuality of interests of the parties. So long these objectives and mutual interest can be better served through mutual co-operation different states will continue to uphold the regional arrangement. Thus, the more highly developed the feeling of community among a group of nations derived from a consensus of purpose and values, the more well-knit will be the international association of that multinational community.

One state may participate in more than one regional group provided their ideologies are not mutually incompatible. Thus, the United States is connected with a number of such associations.

Those who support regionalism usually regard themselves as realists. They point out that problems which are of special concern to limited groups of states can be better tackled by regional associations than by international organisations as the sense of community will enable them to work together effectively. But extension of the area all over the world may lead to failure because nations remote from the area or having other objectives may use the problem as a power in furthering their own needs.

Regionalist thinkers are divided in their opinions as to how these associations should conduct their business. The federalist school pleads for the federal approach and emphasizes the necessity for participating states to surrender parts of their sovereignty to a supranational body. The association thus born will have greater political power and consequently greater effectiveness. A second school advocating functional method points out the need for economic, social and cultural co-operation as a pre-requisite to political integration. They argue that creation of special purpose organisations will make possible gradual transference of sovereignty from the old authority to the new which will lay the foundations of a more stable world system.

The functional method has certain advantages. It can be applied selectively and it possesses flexibility that enables it in trying out various modes of organisation and procedure.

Today, we find a considerable trend toward regionalism and regional arrangement. Indeed, it may indicate that the nation-state system which

has been dominant pattern of international politics for some four centuries is evolving towards a system in which regional grouping of states will be more important than the independent sovereign units. Numerous pacts and treaties were concluded in the world as a trend toward regionalism. The Charter of the United Nations also recognises it.

### **The United Nations and Regional Arrangements**

Regional arrangements have been given positive endorsement in the Charter of the United Nations.

At the San Francisco Conference the question of regional versus international organisations was debated at great length. According to an American expert who served on the committee on Regional Arrangements of the Third Commission at the San Francisco Conference, the approach of the various countries to the problem of regional arrangements may be said to have been conditioned in part by one or another of the following five views, all of which operated in favour of varying degrees of autonomy for regional or other limited arrangements within the general framework of the United Nations.

1. The desire of the American Republics to safeguard the inter-American system;
2. The similar feeling on the part of the states of the Arab League ..... that the status of that League be preserved.
3. The wish of the U.S.S.R. to exempt from any restrictive control under the Charter of the system of bilateral, mutual assistance pacts;
4. France's concern over possible renewal of German aggression, leading her to seek freedom of action against ex-enemy states without the necessity of awaiting prior action by the Security Council.
5. The general uneasiness of the small states over the powers granted to the Security Council in the light of Yalta voting formula.

In its final form the United Nations Charter devoted a entire Chapter (Chapter VIII, Articles 52-54) to the subject of regional arrangements. In addition Article 33 provided for resort to regional agencies and arrangements among the recommended procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes. As stated in Article 53, the authorization of the Security Council is not required before action is taken against an enemy state of World War II. An even more important exception is provided for in Article 57 which opens the way for a great variety of regional security arrangements outside the effective control of the United Nations.

Secretary-General Trygve Lie stated on February 11, 1948 that the regional arrangements could be a very useful element in building a United Nations system of collective security provided they recognize the supremacy of the Charter. This is an important point. Article 103 of the Charter states

it clearly that in the event of a conflict between the obligation of the members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement their obligations under the Charter shall prevail. Moreover, as Lie insisted in his memorandum of June 6, 1950 measures for collective self-defence and regional remedies of other kinds are at best interim measures, and cannot bring any reliable security from the prospect of war. In other words regional arrangements have constructive possibilities only if they are truly a part of a larger pattern centering on the United Nations.

It must be agreed that the trend towards regionalism is an acknowledged feature in international relationships. It has achieved a new meaning and new significance. It has provided closer co-operation of states.

However, the system of regional arrangements has certain difficulties. There is a problem of co-ordination. Hamilton Fish Armstrong stated in this respect that the overlappings in a security system based on regions are evidently as troublesome as the gaps. According to Palmer and Perkins, while problems of co-ordination are obviously great, such obligations should be complementary and not conflicting.

George Scelle believes that there is in this interlocking or interweaving of groupings a guarantee of peace... If a state belongs to many different systems it will be by that very fact restrained in its warlike inclinations by the very weight of each of the group to which it belongs and, on the other hand will help to neutralise the warlike inclination of its partners by the care which it will take to safeguard its own associations. Moreover, the experience and perspectives gained in many co-operative endeavors on the regional level should contribute greatly not only to the successful functioning of regional arrangements but also to the development of that international climate of opinion without which all efforts, at supra-national co-operation will be doomed to failure.

## **Organisation of African Unity (OAU)**

The OAU is one of the newest multipurpose regional organisations and is the largest in membership. The OAU emerged in 1963 as an amalgamation of several former subregional groupings of states in Africa. From its original membership of thirty it has grown to include more than forty states. All members are from Africa; since the Charter does not permit non-African states to join. Only independent and sovereign states are eligible, and admission is by simple majority of the members after notice is given by the applicant state of its intention to accede to the Charter.

The purposes of the OAU are the following; (i) to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states; (ii) to co-operate and co-ordinate efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; (iii) to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity; and independence of the African states; (iv) to eradicate all forms of

colonialism from Africa; and (v) to promote international co-operation with due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The basic principles of the organisation, in addition to those implicit in the purposes stated above, include (i) peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration; (ii) unreserved condemnation of political assassination and subversive activities; and (iii) affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

At the inception of OAU, Ghana also led an effort to establish a central political organisation with powers to formulate a common foreign policy, common planning for economic development, a common currency and a common defence system. These suggestions for the surrender of national sovereignty were unacceptable to most of the heads of states and governments that approved the charter. The Ghanaian proposal for organic political union was rejected in favour of a loose organisation with a limited functional approach to unity.

The supreme organ of the OAU is the annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The agenda for the supreme organ is prepared by the Council of Ministers which meets twice a year to supervise the general work of the organisation and which is also called into emergency session when crises so demand. The Council of Ministers is charged with the responsibility of implementing the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. A permanent General Secretariat carries on the continuous activities of the organisation and provides necessary support for the periodic meetings of the policy-determining organs. The General Secretariat is headed by an administrative secretary-general. Five functional specialised Commissions and a Commission of Mediation complete organisational structure of the OAU.

In numerous areas the OAU has worked closely with the United Nations, its attitudes and sanctions against the white-dominated regime in Rhodesia, the OAU organs had pressed for effective United Nations action. Realising their own lack of military and the economic capacity, the African states had agitated through the OAU, the General Assembly, and the Security Council for British measures and United Nations sanctions to bring down the Ian Smith government. Reciprocally, the Security Council in 1965, immediately after the unilateral declaration of independence by the white regime, specifically called on the OAU to assist in the implementation of its resolution on Rhodesia. Also in 1965, in the area of economic and social co-operation, the OAU and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa signed an agreement for mutual co-operation on a continuing basis to facilitate economic and social development in Africa.

The OAU, in its short life, has survived several crises that have threatened its disintegration. Although judging its permanent value may be premature, the OAU's modest accomplishment in political, economic and social matters seem sufficient to justify its past efforts and to predict its continued utility.

## **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance CMEA or COMECON**

Under Moscows' leadership COMECON was established in 1949 to promote and co-ordinate the planned development of the national economies of the East European states, to accelerate their economic and social progress, to encourage industrialisation in the less industrialised areas, to increase labour productivity and to promote the welfare of the people of the member states. The charter of COMECON was revised in 1959 and again in 1962 with provisions in the latter revision for the admission of non-European members. Active members included Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and U.S.S.R. Albania was officially listed as a member but had not participated since 1961. Since 1964 Yugoslavia has taken part in a limited number of activities. COMECON operated through a Council, an Executive Committee, a Committee for Co-operation in Planned Activity: a Committee for Scientific and Technological Co-operation, a Bureau for Integrated planning problems, about twenty standing commissions, and several Standing Conferences. The work was supported by a Secretariat Moscow with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, COMECON had its natural death.

One of the central activities of COMECON was the co-ordination of national economic plans and the exchange of information among members. While significant progress toward economic integration to the mutual advantage of all member states was accomplished through COMECON, the degree of integration was evidently much less than in the EEC.

## **Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**

The Organisation was founded in Iraq in 1960 with the following founder - members: Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. The principal aims are unifying, the petroleum policies of member countries and determining the best means of safeguarding their interests. individually and collectively; to devise ways and means of ensuring the stabilisation of price in international oil markets with a view to eliminating harmful and unnecessary fluctuations; and to secure a steady income for the producing countries, an efficient economic and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations, and a fair return on their capital to those investing in the petroleum industry.

Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Venezuela are its members. Membership is open to any other country having substantial net exports of crude petroleum which has fundamentally similar interests to those of member countries.

The Conference is the supreme authority of the Organisation responsible for the formulation of its general policy. It consists of representatives of member countries. It meets atleast twice a year. It approves the appointment of governors from each country and elects the chairman of the board of governors. It works on the unanimity principle.

The Board of Governors directs the management of the Organisation. It implements resolutions of the Conference. It draws up an annual budget, it consists of one Governor for each member country and meets at least twice a year. The Economic Commission which is a specialised body of OPEC is operating within the framework of the secretariat, with a view to assisting the Organisation in promoting stability in international oil prices at equitable level. It consists of a Board, national representatives and a commission staff. The Board meets at least twice a year.

The OPEC special fund was created at a special session in May 1976. The capital of the fund was initially U.S. \$ 800 million; it is a multilateral fund for loans and other assistance to developing countries.

The secretariat, headed by the Secretary General carries on the continuous activities of the Organisation. The staff of the secretariat assist the Secretary General in matters of protocol and implementation of the recommendations and decision of the conference calling for action by member countries.

### **Association of South East Asian, Nations (ASEAN)**

The Association of South East Asian Nations is a regional organisation formed by the governments of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand through the Bangkok Declaration which was signed by the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN countries on 8 August, 1967. Brunei joined in 1984.

The main objectives are to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development, to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in matters of common interest, to ensure the stability of the South East Asian regional organisations with similar aims, concern for economic co-operation and development, intensification of intra-ASEAN trade and trade between the region and the rest of the world; joint research and technological programmes; co-operation in transportation and communications; promotion of tourism and South - East Asian Studies including cultural, scientific, educational and administrative exchanges.

The highest authority in ASEAN are the Heads of Government of the member countries who meet as and when necessary to give directions to ASEAN. The highest policy-making body is the Meeting of Foreign Ministers, commonly known as The Annual Ministerial Meeting, which convenes in each of the ASEAN member countries on a rotational basis in the alphabetical order. The standing committee, comprising the Foreign Minister of the country hosting the ministerial meeting in that particular year and the accredited ambassadors of the other member countries carries out the work of the Association in between the Ministerial Meetings and handles the routine matters to ensure continuity and to make decisions which can not wait for the Ministerial Meetings and submit for the consideration of the Foreign Ministers all reports and recommendations of

the various ASEAN Committees. There are four specialised committees under the Standing Committees and five others under the ASEAN Economic Ministers that recommend and draw up programmes of ASEAN co-operation. Each ASEAN capital has an ASEAN national secretariat. The central secretariat for ASEAN is located in Jakarta, Indonesia, and is headed by the ASEAN Secretary General, a post that revolves among the member states in alphabetical order every 2 years. Bureau directors and other officers of the ASEAN secretariat remain in office for 3 years.

### **South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC)**

South Asian regional co-operation became a reality with the signing of the historic Charter creating a South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) at the first summit meeting of the seven countries in South Asia, namely, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, held in Dhaka on 7 and 8 December 1985. It heralded the emergence of South Asia comprising a fifth of the world's population as a regional entity for the first time within the international system.

*The major goals of SAARC are very emphatically and clearly stated in the Dhaka Declaration adopted at the first SAARC summit as will appear from the following excerpts:*

The Heads of state or Government reaffirmed that their fundamental goal was to accelerate the process of economic and social development in their respective countries through the optimum utilisation of their human and material resources so as to promote the welfare and prosperity of their peoples and to improve their quality of life. They were conscious that peace and security was an essential prerequisite for the realisation of the objective. The Heads of state acknowledged that the countries of South Asia, who constituted one-fifth of humanity, were faced with the formidable challenges posed by poverty, under development, low levels of production, unemployment and pressure of population compounded by exploitation of the past and other adverse legacies. They were conscious of their individual and regional strengths, their potential as a huge market their substantial human and natural resources and the importance of their economies. They were confident that with effective regional co-operation they could make optimum use of these capacities for the benefit of their peoples, accelerate the pace of their economic development and enhance their national and collective self-reliance. They were convinced that their countries, which had made important contributions to the enrichment of human civilisation, could together play their due role in international relations and influence decisions which affected them.

At the most fundamental level, the regional goals are the following, (i) problems of poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, which are shared by all the member countries of SAARC, (ii) acceleration of social and economic development with a view to improving the quality of life of the peoples of the region; (iii) achievement

of collective self-reliance with due regard to the national aspirations of the member countries; (iv) enhancement of the region' role in the global context; and (v) building regional structures to serve as basis for reducing conflict producing tensions and promoting amity and understanding. Though the goals of regional co-operation adopted by SAARC embrace specially selected areas of economic and cultural activities, there is a clear awareness of the mutually supporting roles of such co-operation and co-operation in the political field.

SAARC reflects the social and political realities of the region and seeks unity in diversity. SAARC does not include any matters of regional security. Besides, SAARC creates a new and complementary set of relations without intruding on the existing bilateral and multilateral relations to the member - states. Another important element in the concept of SAARC as a confidence building measure is that it is not to be viewed as a supra- national organisation. No state alone or in combination can impose a decision because unanimity and not consensus is the basis of all decisions. The sovereign equality of al] member-states in the decision-making process is, thus, fully assured.

Following the second SAARC summit held in Bangalore, India, in November 1986, the SAARC Secretariat was established in Kathmandu, Nepal, on 16 January 1987, thus making an important step forward in providing the SAARC structure with the much needed institutional base. With the prospect of the summit in Pakistan in 2004, the success of SAARC look bright, but wisdom and vision will be needed to sustain the spirit of SAARC in turning it into an instrument of growing and meaningful regional co-operation in serving the cause of peace, stability and progress in the South Asian region.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Explain the meaning and importance of Regionalism.
2. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Organisation of African Unity (OAU)
  - (b) Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
  - (c) South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC)

**Lesson : 14**

## **The Evolution of International Organisation - The League of Nations**

The Treaty of Versailles incorporated the provision for the formation of the League of Nations. The drafting of the League Covenant was entrusted to a committee of nineteen with President Woodrow Wilson as the chairman. The Covenant was not a separate pact between the nations which had been admitted to its membership. It is interesting to note that the Americans contributed to the principle and the British the legal framework of the Covenant. The Covenant included provisions for withdrawal of membership, unanimous voting in Assembly and Council and exclusion of domestic questions.

### **The League's aims were as follows:**

1. To promote international peace and co-operation
2. To accept declarations from the member nations that they would not resort to war.
3. To establish just and honorable relations among nations.
4. To accept international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments.
5. To maintain justice and scrupulous respect for treaty obligations.

The League Covenant had on the whole 26 Articles. Out of this, seven Articles provided for the structure, composition, power and functions of the Council and Assembly and called for a permanent Secretariat. Article 14 provided the rules for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. Article 8 stated that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety. Article 9 provided for a permanent commission to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 on the military, naval and air questions generally; 11 to 13, 15 and 17 laid down procedure for pacific settlement. Articles 10, 16 and 17 laid down principles for the establishment of collective security and provided for sanction against refractory states. Articles 18 to 21 were concerned with the registration, publication, revision and validity of treaties. Article 21 affirmed that nothing in the Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace. Article 22 provided for the establishment of the Mandatory System over underdeveloped territories, taken from the defeated nations, under the supervision of the Council with the assistance of a Permanent Commission. This apart, the League undertook social and humanitarian activities also. It was in this light that Article 23 affirmed that the members of the League

will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children. The international recognition given to the aspirations of labour was clearly expressed in the form of a Charter of Rights and just like the covenant, it was incorporated in the treaty of Versailles. As a matter of fact, the Labour Charter was the counterpart of the Covenant and it was intended to promote internal harmony within the nations. It is gratifying to note that for the first time in the history of labour, the assembled governments of the world placed on record this international recognition of the claims of labour to social justice.

Article 24 of the League Covenant provided for better economic relations and establishment of international bureaus under the League. Article 25 provided for the establishment of the International Red Cross. Article 26 arranged for the amendment of Covenant by unanimous ratification by the Council and a majority of the total members of the League.

### **Organisation and structure of the League**

The League consisted of 4 groups. The first group consisted of the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. The second group was composed by two organs namely, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of Justice. The third group consisted of Auxiliary Agencies such as Economic and Financial Agencies and the Permanent Mandates Commission. The fourth group consisted of certain specialised agencies such as the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

### **Membership and Withdrawal**

Article I affirmed that the original members of the League were the signatories named in the Annex to the Covenant and also the other states named in the Annex. Any fully self-governing state, dominion or colony could become a member of the League provided the state concerned was supported by two-third members of the Assembly. Any member could cease its membership after 2 years notice and it should have fulfilled all its international obligations. Article 16 provided that any member could be expelled from the League by unanimous vote (excepting the state concerned) of the Council. Except the United States of America, virtually all the other states were members of the League at one time or another. The Soviet Union was expelled in 1939 because of her aggression on Finland. The first Assembly of the League had 42 members and the number rose to 60 in 1934. Germany which became a member of the League in 1926 gave notice of withdrawal in 1933. The same year witnessed Japan threatening the League with the withdrawal notice. The Soviet Union joined the League, in 1934. In 1937, Italy withdrew from the League. By 1940, Great Britain and France were the only Great Powers retaining League membership. In April 1946, in the last meeting of the League out of 43 states that still retained membership, 34 only were represented.

### **Assembly**

The Assembly consisted of the representatives of the members of the League. Each member had the right to send 3 representatives but had only

one vote. The Assembly elected its own President usually from lesser powers. It also elected 8 Vice-Presidents.

Article 5 of the Covenant stated that Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

The Assembly may deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. But the sphere of action of the League had been nowhere defined. In practice, the Assembly formulated its opinions and made recommendations to its members even in matters assigned to the Council. The authority of the Assembly was so devised under the Covenant as to keep it a deliberative body. In certain matters the authority of the Assembly was concurrent with that of the Council. The Assembly opened its session with a debate on the state of the world. In this way the Assembly kept pace

The functions of the Assembly were many and varied. As a forum of world opinion it influenced indirectly the pacific settlement of disputes. It also formulated the basic administrative and the political policy of the League and supervised the League organs such as the Mandates Commission. It recommended legislation for the adoption of individual member states. The Assembly also could amend the Covenant by majority vote, but such amendments must be ratified by the Council by a unanimous vote.

## **The Council**

The Council of the League was designed to give a weighting to the influence of the Great Powers and originally was to consist of five permanent members such as Britain, the United States, (who finally did not join the League) France, Italy and Japan along with 4 non-permanent members elected by the Assembly for a short period. The Council was to meet at least three times a year. Till 1922, the Council had only 8 members because of the failure of U.S. to ratify the peace treaties, and her refusal to join the League. In 1922, the number of permanent members rose to six and that of the permanent members increased in 1926 to 5 when Germany joined the League. She was given a permanent seat in the Council. As America did not join the League, that seat went to Germany. In 1934, the U.S.S.R. joined the League, and was given a permanent seat in the Council. But by that time, Germany and Japan had withdrawn from the League. The term of the non-permanent members was fixed at 3 years. In 1939 only 3 members - U.K., U.S.S.R. and France - retained their seats. Unfortunately, even this number had reduced to 2, when the Soviet Union was expelled out of the League. In 1940 Britain and France became the only two permanent members who retained their membership till the last.

The Council acted virtually as an executive organ of the League. It is in this sense that the Council supervised the administration of the mandates. It was vested with the power of expelling a League member for violating the Covenant. It also had the right to call international conferences with a view to settling the problems. To put it in a nutshell, the Council performed not only the executive duty, but also undertook several responsibilities including administrative duties.

### **The Secretariat**

Article 6 of the League stated that The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary - General and such secretaries and staff as may be required. The staff was to be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Assembly. The Secretariat functioned at Geneva. Its internal organisation was divided into II sections such as mandates, disarmament, health, minorities, economic and financial questions. The Secretariat had the responsibility of executing the resolutions passed by the Council and the Assembly, and supplying various informations.

### **The Permanent Court of International Justice**

The Court, also known as the World Court was founded in 1921. It had II judges to begin with. The number of judges was raised to 15 in 1931. They were elected by the Assembly and the Council, voting independently. Election of judges in both the cases required an absolute majority. Their term of office was nine years. They were chosen from among eminent jurists in International Law.

The Court dealt with disputes among members of the League and states mentioned in the Annex of the Covenant. In deciding the cases, the International Court followed the procedure of regular tribunals. It applied international conventions accepted by contesting states in judging disputes. The Court earned the good reputation of being impartial.

### **The International Labour Organisation**

The International Labour Organisation was more closely connected with the organs of the League of Nations. Strictly speaking, all the members of the League were members of the I.L.O. though the I.L.O. was not a part of the League. As a matter of fact it was a creation of the Versailles Treaty. Article 23 of League Covenant had clearly stated that the members of the League would endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children. The demand for the creation of an international organisation was rendered necessary owing to the necessity of improving the condition of labour and saving them from the influence of Bolsheviks. Therefore the purpose of the I.L.O. was to ameliorate the condition of labour, to regulate hours of work, to arrange for prevention of disease, to provide adequate wages and so on. The International Labour Organisation had its headquarters at Geneva and acted as the Secretariat of the I.L.O. It was served by more than 300 employees. It worked under the Director, gathered and published information regarding labour and helped to prepare the agenda for the General Conferences.

## **Activities of the League**

### **1. The League and the Prevention of War**

When the League of Nations was established in 1920, its membership was 41. In 1921, it rose to 51, in 1932 it rose to 57 and in 1934 to 60. The USA did not become a member of the League. President Woodrow Wilson's proposal to join the League was not ratified by the American Senate. Thus, the U.S. abandoned her own brainchild.

Right from the beginning the League of Nations was very particular to see that it was not a mere cipher in international affairs. During the first years of its existence, it grew steadily as a result of its successful mediation in several international disputes. The services of the League in promoting international co-operation covered public health, humanitarian work, economic reconstruction, communications, etc. In 1921, the League secured the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Albania by a threat to impose economic sanction, under Article 16 of the Covenant. In 1923, it smoothly settled the problem between Italy and Greece, which would otherwise have led to a war. In the same year, the League helped Austria and Hungary to solve their economic problems.

### **2. The League at its Zenith**

The period between 1924 and 1930 has been adjudged the period of the greatest prestige and authority of the League. Previously members of the League were represented at Geneva by delegates who were not ministers responsible for the foreign policy of their respective nations. But right from 1924 it was made a precedent that only ministers of foreign affairs should attend the League's Assembly and Council. By 1929, the Assembly was attended by all Foreign Ministers of the European countries.

In 1925, the League dealt with a frontier dispute between Greece and Bulgaria, in which the former occupied part of the latter's territory. In the following year, Brazil and Spain gave notice of their withdrawal from the League owing to friction over the membership of the Council. However, Germany joined the League getting a permanent seat on the Council and her admission into the League heralded a new era in the history of mankind.

The League was successful in solving a number of disputes between nations, all of them involving possible danger of war. In 1924, the Council of the League appointed a Neutral Boundary Commission to recommend a frontier line between Turkey and Iran in terms of the Treaty of Lausanne. While the commission was busy trying to make a frontier line, the Kurds in Turkey, a hardy race of mountaineers, revolted against the Turkish government. But the revolt was suppressed by that government.

The situation getting out of control, the Council of the League sent out a second Commission in early 1925 to report on these disturbances.

As the report was unfavorable to her, Turkey withdrew her representative from the Council and the issue was referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The verdict of the Court was that in terms of Lausanne Treaty, the votes of the parties concerned (Turkey and Iran) were not necessary to make the decision of the Council effective. As such a new frontier line was made and Turkey accepted it with some hesitation.

The frontier dispute between Greece and Bulgaria was solved in 1925 at The League's insistence. So also the tension between Lithuania and Poland was eased by a Council resolution in 1927. Thus, the League was able to iron out the differences between nations by methods of conciliation. During the period of its power and prestige, the League solely depended upon its moral authority.

### **The Period of Decline**

The first decade of the League's activities successfully came to a close with the signing of the Pact of Paris (1928) and the formation of a European Federal Union (1930). In the next decade (1931-1936), however, the League suffered a series of reverses which culminated in its complete eclipse. The reign of international law was brought to a close. From a dream of universal peace men suddenly started awakening to the crude realities of naked aggression. Within a short span of time, the political landscape of Europe was transformed and a fresh chapter opened up in history with the violation of the Versailles Treaty. The international good faith gave way to strident ambition and brute force. Two such problems arose to test the very survival of the League. They were the Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931 and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. After those events, faith in the League of Nations virtually expired.

### **Causes of the League's failure**

The League of Nations proved to be a failure for a variety of reasons. First of all, it was never a universal organization. Therefore, it was limited in effectiveness. The absence of the U.S.A. was another reason. Although President Woodrow Wilson was its chief architect, America could not join because of the Senate refusal. In a world organisation like the League, substantial achievements could be made only when all the great powers participate.

The League eventually failed because it lacked coercive power to make its decisions binding on all countries. There was no powerful means at its disposal by which recalcitrant states could be brought to heel. Majority of the states were unwilling to give enough jurisdiction over their affairs. Consequently, the League could not become a really effective body.

The democratic sentiments of the day, especially in Britain and France, had no confidence in the revolutionary principles of collective security.

May be they were prisoners of a weak and unrealistic public opinion at home: The principle of collective security should itself be questioned. The theory was that all member-states should combine together to punish any aggressor. But it was not to be in practice. In the ordinary course of international affairs certain states come together on the basis of common interests. But this pattern of solidarity and enmity in the international system is constantly changing. But what would happen if a member-state had to join with other members with whom it may not be in good terms in proposing sanctions on a state with which it happened to be on good terms?

The profound truth in the dictum, the safety of one is the safety of all, came to be demonstrated by the course of events that followed the collapse of the League. Everyone could predict the collapse of the League which had shattered the illusions of those who built their hopes of universal peace upon the rock of collective security. The history of the League only shows, that the moral progress of our age has lagged far behind its mechanical progress.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Under what circumstances was the League of Nations founded? Discuss its aims and achievements.
2. Account for the failure of the League.

**Lesson : 15****The United Nations Organisation****Origin of the United Nations**

When the Second World War was still raging, Britain and her allies started discussions on a successor institution to the League of Nations. In an atmosphere of international insecurity the peace lovers of the world were searching for a new organisation which, in their opinion, would light the candle of hope in the minds of the millions and millions of people who were tossing asunder in the putrid and problematic waters of international crises. They were sincerely aiming at a new world order which would give them a ray of hope for the emancipation and amelioration of the teeming masses who were in a depressed condition and for them peace would be a panacea for their welfare and well-being. It was with this motive in mind that President Roosevelt (U.S.A) and Prime Minister Winston Churchill (England) held a series of meetings from 9 to 12 August 1941. They drew up an Anglo-American declaration of principles concerning the conduct of the war and their hopes for future. After the joining of Russia it was endorsed and was published on 15th September 1941. They gave up the seizure of territory and other forms of aggrandizement and stated that they respected the right of other peoples to choose their own form of government. They expected that the peace which might end the Second World War should provide not only freedom from fear caused by war but also freedom from fear that crippled the world with heavy armaments bills. This formed the basis for the famous Atlantic Charter of August 1941. In January 1942 the twenty six nations fighting against Axis Powers signed a declaration by which their governments subscribed to the Atlantic Charter and pledged themselves to continue the fighting until the Axis Powers were defeated. In 1944, a four-power meeting was held at Dumbarton Oakes, Washington, from August to October. It was at the Dumbarton Oakes Conference that the four major powers- the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and Nationalist China -agreed to set up the United Nations as a body similar to the League of Nations with some modifications. It was agreed that the five major powers (France being added now) should act as the controlling or management committee of the U.N. which was to be termed as the Security Council. These five states would be permanent members of the Security Council and would be aided in their task by six other states elected for a two-year term by the General Assembly. At the Yalta conference the three great powers were in good agreement to the effect that the permanent members of the Security Council should be enabled to protect their interests by voting individually against a resolution. Therefore, one vote could veto a resolution on important matters even if the necessary affirmative vote of seven members could be achieved by the voting together of the other permanent and non- permanent members of the Security Council.

The Charter of the United Nations was signed by 51 nations at San Francisco on 26th June, 1945. There the principles of national sovereignty and of great power unanimity were included in the Charter. Along with the Big Three, China and France were also made permanent members of the Security Council. On all important decisions veto power was given to these five permanent members and it was incorporated in Article 27 of the Charter. Temporary hurdles arose over innumerable issues like the admission of Argentina and Poland into the United Nations Organisation, the Great Power veto etc. Fortunately, a compromise was found and many changes were accepted and the Charter was ready for signature. On October 24, 1945 the U.N.O. was formally declared into being. The name United Nations was fixed upon to stress the continuity of the war-time alliance. The headquarters of the United Nations was established at New York.

### **The aims, purposes and principles of the United Nations**

*The United Nations Charter contains 111 Articles and a Preamble. The Preamble is the guiding spirit of the United Nations. The Preamble proclaims the intension of the U.N. to save succeeding generations from the scourge of War: it asserts the value of fundamental human rights; it expresses the determination of the U.N. to establish conditions under which justice and respect for international obligations can be maintained. It aims at the promotion of social progress and better standard of life. It also agrees to abandon the use of the armed forces except for common purposes. The striking feature of the United Nations' Preamble is that it begins with the words We the peoples, like that of the Indian and American constitutions, whereas the Covenant of the League of Nations began with the phrase. The High Contracting Parties.*

The purposes and principles of the United Nations are clearly laid down in chapter I of the Charter. The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security; and to enforce collective measures against a country which threatens or breaches world peace.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of equal rights and self-determination;
3. To achieve international co-operation to solve international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
4. To be a centre for harmonising the action of nations to attain these common ends.

The basic principles of the U.N.O. are incorporated in Article 2 of the Charter. Member-nations agreed to carry out the obligations with particular emphasis on peace. The basic principles of the U.N. are:

1. The U.N. is based on sovereign equality of all the members.
2. All the members shall fulfil in good faith to carry out the obligations which are assumed in the Charter.
3. All the members are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means without endangering peace, security and justice.
4. In their relations they shall refrain from threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the U.N.O.
5. They are to assist the U.N.O. in its actions taken according to the Charter and not to assist any state which is facing U.N. action.
6. The U.N.O. shall not intervene in the domestic jurisdiction of any state. However, the principle would not apply when the Security Council takes enforcement measures to deal with the possible threat to world peace or aggressive acts.
7. For the purpose of international peace non-members were also required to conform to these principles, as far as possible.

The U.N. Charter also acknowledged the right of the member-countries to conclude regional alliances to maintain peace and security. The members were given the right to take steps for self-defence, both collectively and individually.

## **Membership**

The fifty-one countries, which signed the Charter in 1945, became the members of the United Nations. The Membership has reached 187 in 2004. The membership is open to all peace-loving countries which are ready to fulfill the obligations of the Charter. New applicants for membership are admitted by two-thirds majority of votes of the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. Again, a member country may be expelled or may be suspended by two-thirds majority of votes of the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council for persistent violation of the principles of the Charter. An expelled member cannot re-enter. The Charter has not mentioned about withdrawal.

Article 7 of the Charter describes the principal organs of the United Nations. There are six principal organs in the U.N. They are:

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

## 1. The General Assembly

The General Assembly consists of representatives of all the members of the U.N. The member countries can send 5 representatives each but each member has only one vote. To decide the important issues two-thirds majority vote is required in the General Assembly. The General Assembly elects its President and Vice-President for each session. It meets regularly once in a year. The session begins in September and lasts for about three months. Special session may be convened by the Secretary General of the United Nations on requisition of the Security Council and also if a majority of General Assembly members want it. There are 7 committees which perform the functions of the General Assembly. They are:

1. The Political and Security Committee
2. Economic and Financial Committee
3. Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee
4. Trusteeship Committee
5. Administrative and Budgetary Committee
6. Legal Committee
7. Special Political Committee

Each committee's sessions are held separately; all member countries can attend the meeting.

### Functions and Powers

1. The General Assembly considers any question which is within the scope of the Charter, related to the functions and powers of other committees of the U.N.O. except where the Security Council has intervened.
2. It can study a matter and make recommendations to the member-states or to the Security Council or to both on any matter.
3. It receives and considers the Annual and Special reports from the other organs of the U.N.O. It approves the budget and decides the share of expenses to be borne by each member. It also considers the budgetary arrangements with Specialised Agencies.
4. It supervises the Trusteeship Council.
5. It elects the members of the other organs of the U.N.O. For instance:
  - (i) It elects ten non-permanent members of the Security Council.
  - (ii) It elects 18 members to the Economic and Social Council.
  - (iii) It elects the members of the Trusteeship Council.
  - (iv) The General Assembly and the Security Council jointly elect 15 Judges to the International Court of Justice voting independently.

6. On the recommendation of the Security Council, it appoints the Secretary-General.
7. The General Assembly has certain powers with regard to the amendment of the U.N. Charter. There are two ways of taking decisions by the General Assembly.
  - (i) By a simple majority of members present and voting.
  - (ii) By two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. To elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, to admit or expel a member of the U.N.O. and on such other important matters two-thirds majority is essential. For ordinary matters a simple majority will do.

## **Estimate**

The General Assembly is both a legal and political authority. From the beginning itself it has been playing a vital role. It is a world forum and it is the largest organ of the U.N.O. It can discuss matters which are within the scope of the Charter. Though the enforcement measures are sole by the concern of the Security Council, The uniting for peace resolution of 1950 has broadened the powers of the General Assembly. The Communist intervention in Korea, the Suez crisis of 1956, the Soviet intervention in Hungary, the Lebanese crisis of 1958 and the Congo crisis in 1960 were effectively handled by the General Assembly. The political role of the General Assembly has expanded far beyond the expectations as a result of the virtual impotency of the Security Council due to the Great Power differences since 1950. Thus the General Assembly has become a back drop of the Security Council.

## **2. The Security Council**

The Security Council has the primary responsibility of maintaining world peace and security. The Security Council is the executive body of the U.N. This body originally consisted of 11 members of the U.N.O. In 1965, the membership of the Council was enlarged to Fifteen. Out of this fifteen, five are permanent members. The five permanent members are: The United States of America, Russia, the United Kingdom, France and China. The other 10 members are elected for a two year term by two-thirds majority of the General Assembly. Representation is given on the basis of zonal arrangements (Afro-Asia- 5, Eastern Europe-1, Latin America-2, Western Europe and other nations-2). The retired members are not eligible for immediate re-election.

## **Voting Procedure**

(1) Every member of the Security Council has one vote (2) Decisions of the Council on procedural questions are made by an affirmative vote

of nine members (3) For decisions on all other matters (substantial matters) affirmative vote of 9 members must include the concurring vote of all permanent members. However, the abstention by a permanent member is not considered as a veto, when the enforcement measures are considered against that permanent member (4) A negative vote cast on substantial matters by a permanent member is known as veto (5) Double veto: When there is a difference of opinion regarding whether a matter is procedural or substantial, then that matter will be considered as a substantial one. That is, a permanent member's negative vote against procedural matter would not affect the outcome, if it has received the affirmative vote of members, whereas the negative vote of 5 permanent members on the substantial matter would be considered as a veto.

## **Powers and Functions**

The primary function of the Security Council is to maintain international peace and security.

The Security Council can call upon the parties to settle their disputes through negotiation, mediation, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or any other peaceful means of their choice.

It may investigate any dispute or situation which, in its opinion, may lead to international friction.

It may recommend methods of adjustments at any stage of a dispute referred to it or it may recommend the terms of settlement.

It can ask its members to take enforcement measures. It includes:

- (i) a complete or partial interruption of economic relations.
- (ii) complete communication boycott, and
- (iii) severance of diplomatic relations.

If the above methods are not fruitful, it can also use its force to prevent an aggression or to punish the aggressors. It includes action by air, sea or land forces and demonstrations. The U.N. Charter has indicated some organisational members to take proper action on these matters. The General Assembly can request the member countries through the Security Council to contribute and make available to it the army, ammunition and right of passage and things which are necessary to maintain international peace and security. For this purpose every member country has to make special arrangements with the U.N.O.

There is a Military Staff Committee in the Security Council which looks after the affairs connected with the standing army of the U.N.O. the enforcement measures and other things connected with defence. It consists of the Chiefs of Staff of the Permanent Members of the Security Council or their representatives.

The Charter did not prevent its members from taking actions either individually or collectively for self-defence. But that matter should be immediately reported to the Security Council.

### **Amending Power**

An amendment to the Charter shall be made only on the approval of the Security Council. To amend the Charter an affirmative vote of 9 members including the concurrent vote of the permanent members is essential.

The Security Council elects Judges to the International Court of Justice. It may ask the advice of the Court on any legal question.

The Security Council functions continuously unlike the General Assembly and its head office is at New York.

### ***Estimate***

The Security Council has not been able to play the expected role. The reason is obvious. The Great Power unanimity in the war-time collaborations failed to click in the post-second world war period. The post-war period witnessed a confrontation among the Super Power. Under these circumstances the Security Council with five permanent members and each with an individual veto has virtually become ineffective. As a result of these Great power differences. General Assembly has assumed greater role; of late the Security Council is assuming importance.

### **3. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)**

The United Nations Organisation tries to secure world co-operation and to build a world of great prosperity, stability and justice through this Council. Besides, it also co-ordinates the functions of specialised agencies. It functions with the help of the regional economic commissions. Originally it consisted of 18 members and rose to 27 in 1965. Its strength was further raised to 54. Its members are elected by two-thirds majority of the General Assembly. Every year 18 members are elected for a three year term. Each member of the Council has one vote and all the decisions are made by a majority of the members present and voting. The Council elects its President and Vice-President. It meets twice a year and special sessions may be convened, if necessary. Most of its functions are carried out through various regional economic commissions and a number of functional commissions.

### **Committees and Commissions**

There are 11 specialised agencies and functional agencies which are fully organised and affiliated to the Economic and Social Council. Some of the important agencies are: International Labour Organisation (ILO, Geneva), Universal Postal Union (UPU, Berne), International Monetary Fund (IMF, Washington), World Health Organisation (WHO, Geneva), International Civil Aviation Organisation

(ICAO, Montreal), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, Paris). International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, Washington). Economic Commissions of Europe, Asia, Far-East, Latin America and Africa are some important Regional Economic Commissions. Some of the main functional commissions are the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF, New York), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA, Vienna) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, New York). Besides there are more than 100 non-governmental organisations like International Chamber of Commerce, World Federation of Trade Unions, International Organisation of Employees etc.

## **Powers and Functions**

The Economic and Social Council is responsible for promoting higher standard of living, full employment, conditions of economic and social progress and development.

It may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to economic, social, cultural, educational, health and other matters. On the basis of its enquiries it can make recommendations to the General Assembly, Specialised Agencies and to the members of the U.N. to carry out certain measures.

It can also recommend to promote human rights, to maintain individual rights and fundamental freedoms for all human beings.

It may convene international conferences to discuss the matters falling within its competence. It can also prepare a draft convention and can submit it to the General Assembly.

It furnishes information to the Security Council and ably assists the latter in carrying out its tasks.

It co-ordinates the work of the specialised agencies. It obtains reports from these agencies and communicates its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

## **Estimate**

Though there are a variety of agencies of complex nature, yet their proposals are advisory in character. The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts-war front and economic front. Victory on both sides is essential to maintain world peace. Before entering into an open conflict, various other methods like economic sanctions are imposed on the aggressor. Again, for a permanent peace, every country must have economic prosperity. This Economic Council was established to achieve the U.N. aims of promoting higher standard of living, full employment, economic aid to developing countries, respect for and observance of human rights and such other things. The ECOSOC is functioning upto the expectations of the U.N. Charter. Its functional agencies like UNICEF and W.H.O are of immense value to millions of people around the world.

## **4. Trusteeship Council**

In the post-second world war period the colonial liberation movement gained momentum. As a result, more than 75% of the colonies were liberated. The remaining non-liberated areas were expected to be liberated in the near future. The U.N. treated these areas under two systems.

1. The Trusteeship System and
2. The non-self governing areas.

The Trusteeship System owes its origin to the Mandatory System of the League of Nations. But the former is given a broader liberal basis in the U.N. The Trusteeship System is operated by a council called Trusteeship Council. The Council works to promote the political, economic, social, educational advancement of the inhabitants of these Trust territories towards self government or independence. The Trusteeship Council consists of representatives of member-states of all the administering powers together with all non-administering members of the Big Five plus members elected by the General Assembly. The General Assembly elects as many members as are needed to make the number of the Trusteeship and non-trusteeship states equal. The members are elected for a 3 year term. Each member of the Council has one vote and decisions are made by a simple majority of the members present and voting. It elects its President and follows its own rules and regulations. It meets twice in a year. In 1945, the Trusteeship Council was responsible for eleven territories. Later, these territories became independent, except the Trust territory of the Pacific Islands. Apart from this a declaration also has been made in the Charter regarding non-self governing territories. The governing countries are required to report to the Secretary General regarding the progress of the governed not only in economic, social and educational fields but also about their progress towards self government. But when a territory attains self government then the supervisors need not report to the Secretary General. Much to the dislike of the members of the U.N. South Africa till 1991 refused to submit South West Africa, which it received as a mandate from the League, to U.N. supervision.

### **Powers and Functions**

The Trusteeship Council functions under the authority of the General Assembly and assists it to carry out its functions with regard to Trusteeship areas. The Assembly reviews the work of the Trusteeship Council. The powers of the Council are threefold: (1) It has the right to submit questionnaire and receive reports from the administering powers. (2) It has the right to receive petitions from the Trusts and to examine them. The governing countries also may be called by this Council for consultations. (3) It has the right to visit the Trust territories periodically and after consulting the administering authorities, the time of visit shall be fixed.

## **Estimate**

The Trusteeship Council has been highly successful and its right of supervision has considerably increased. It has been making the best use of its opportunities. Out of the eleven territories ten have obtained independence. Most of the non self-governing territories were given self government. The U.N. has entrusted the Trusteeship Council with greater authority in its right of supervision. Under this new set up, the Trusteeship Council can request the United Nations for permission to look after the territories. So the Trusteeship Council has become more powerful and it operates successfully.

## **5. International Court of Justice**

### **Aims**

The previous four organs of the U.N.O. consist of states whereas the International Court of Justice consists of individuals. It is the principal judicial wing of the U.N.O. It is a court of law and deals with the legal disputes, of the self-governing states. It does not deal with political disputes. It is a separate organ and it has its own Charter. All members of the U.N. are ipso facto parties to the statute of the court. Even a non-member of the U.N.O. can appeal to this court provided the General Assembly agrees upon the recommendations of the Security Council. The permanent seat of the court is in the Hague (the Netherlands). But it can sit anywhere, if it deems fit and desirable. The U.N.O. meets the expenditure of the court. All hearings are held in public and very rarely private hearings are held. The verdict of the court is final; and only a revision can be made if the parties to the dispute have any materialistic views to support their claim. This revision has to be made within 10 years. If the votes of the judges are equal in deciding a matter then the President has a casting vote.

### **Organisation of the Court**

There are 15 Judges in the International Court of Justice and one-third of them retire once in three years. They are reputed jurists of different nationalities. They are elected for 9 years by an absolute majority of both the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. Separate elections take place for other vacancies on account of resignation, death, etc. No two judges should be from the same nation. They are eligible for immediate reelection. The court remains permanently in session except during judicial vacations. The quorum of the court is 9.

### **Jurisdiction and competence**

Only the states which are parties to the statute can bring a case before the International Court of Justice. If the non-members of the court want to bring a case to the International Court of Justice, then they must get the approval of the Security Council.

The jurisdiction of the court extends to all cases which the parties refer to it, to all matters provided for in the Charter of the U.N. and to treaties and conventions in force. The judgment will be in accordance with International Law, which includes international conventions and customs, the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations and judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists. No appeal can be made against the verdict of the court. Before coming to the court, the states are required to undertake a declaration that they would abide by the decisions made by the International Court of Justice. The Security Council can enforce the court's decisions. It also can ask for advisory opinion on certain issues. It is the court which fixes the amount of compensation to be paid to the affected while doing their duty as ordered by the U.N.O.

## **Estimate**

The court has settled many disputes. The Suez Canal dispute, and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company dispute are some of the important disputes which the International Court of Justice has settled amicably. Despite its acknowledged merits, the International Court is less impressive than its predecessor the Permanent Court of the League. Some disabilities are due to the provisions in the Charter. Though the decision of the court is binding in certain matters, yet most states have accepted it with reservation. Even though its duty is to decide the legal issues, it has been much involved in what are essentially political quarrels. If this continues to run in this fashion, then it might run the risk of appearing merely as the judicial instrument of the General Assembly.

## **6. The Secretariat**

The Secretariat is the executive wing of the U.N.O. Much of the day-to-day work of the U.N. is done by the Secretariat. It is an International Civil Service drawn from many countries. Its headquarters is in New York and a branch office is in the former seat of the League of Nations at Geneva. More than 75% of the total staff normally work at the United Nations headquarters in New York.

The Secretary-General heads the Secretariat. He is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. His term of office is 5 years. The other staff are appointed by the Secretary-General according to the rules laid down by the General Assembly. While appointing the staff, the Secretary-General has to pay due regard to a wide geographical basis. Since the service assumes security of tenure it attracts talents from different regions of the world. The staff of the Secretariat also enjoy diplomatic immunities and privileges. There are more-than eight thousand employees in the Secretariat and they work under the Secretary-General. The Secretary General makes an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organisation. He acts as the Secretary in all meetings of the General Assembly,

Security Council, Economic and Social Council and Trusteeship Council. He can bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which, in his opinion, may threaten the international peace and security. He can also initiate a proposal and can suggest to the world body to follow a definite line of policy.

The Secretariat is organised on functional basis. There are eight major departments in the Secretariat. They are:

1. Security Council Affairs
2. Economic Affairs
3. Social Affairs
4. Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self Governing Territories
5. Public Information
6. Conference and General Services
7. Administrative and Financial Service, and
8. Legal Department.

## **Functions**

The Secretariat performs a variety of functions. It carries out the task of international administration.

It arranges for aid and services through the meetings of the organs and agencies of the United Nations.

It prepares the agenda and collects background materials for meetings.

As executive agent, it provides secretariat service like keeping the minutes of the earlier meetings etc., for the other organs of the U.N.O. except the International Court of Justice.

It conducts research and publishes reports on many issues. The Secretary-General reviews the reports, plans and programmes sent to him. The Secretariat conducts world economic surveys and reports economic and social development of various nations. It supplies essential details for the other organs of the U.N. to make their policies.

It also performs information services for the U.N. by receiving and supplying informations from and to the governments. It can also analyse the validity of all legal actions.

## **Estimate**

The office of the Secretary-General is a prestigious one. The Secretary General through his annual report can create opinion in favour of peace. The responsibility of advancing the principles of the U.N. rests on him to a certain extent. The Secretariat is the organ which, more than any other,

transforms the U.N. from a series of periodic meetings of the Assembly and councils into a permanent and cohesive organisation. Except the International Court of Justice the Secretariat is the most Super-National Institution of the organs of the United Nations. Effective functioning of the United Nations would be impossible without the regular services of the Secretariat. One of the reasons for the enhancement of the role of Secretary-General may be attributed to the able leadership of Dag Hammarskjold during his tenure. The importance of the office of the Secretary-General has increased beyond the expectations of the framers of the U.N. Charter. In general, the expectations of the Charter in relation to the Secretariat have stood the test of time.

### **Specialised Agencies**

There are 11 specialised agencies in the United Nations through which many of the tasks of the U.N. are being carried out. These organisations are the outcome of the functional approach especially in the economic and social fields. They try to improve the socio-economic conditions of the developing countries and to foster international interest without any political considerations. These specialised agencies' functions are being co-ordinated by the Economic and Social Council. All the specialised agencies have the same structural pattern. They all have a secretariat, a deliberative body and the executive body. Decisions are taken by a majority of votes. The UNESCO, WHO, UPU and FAO are some of the specialised agencies of the United Nations.

### **The U.N.O. as Peace-maker**

The United Nations Organisation was established mainly to maintain international peace and security and this is the principal aim of the Charter of the U.N. Though it could not settle many disputes it has definitely relieved tensions in many crucial situations. It has been acting as a mediator and thereby prevented major wars.

In 1947, fighting began in Indonesia between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia. The U.N. negotiated a truce between these two countries. When the Netherlands resumed war, the U.N. arranged a second truce. A conference was held at the Hague with U.N. as the mediator and ultimately Indonesia got its independence in 1949.

The U.N. intervened in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War over Palestine and helped to complete an armistice between these two countries.

When North Korea invaded South Korea, the U.N. troops were sent to punish the aggressor. As a result, the U.N. troops drove back the North Korean forces and a truce was signed by both the U.N. and North Korea.

The U.N. negotiated the Israeli-Egypt ceasefire agreement when the Franco-British forces attacked Egypt over the Suez canal dispute. The Franco-British forces moved out of that area as a result of the negotiations and the U.N. troops kept order there.

In 1950, the U.N. negotiated with Belgium over the Congo crisis and amicable settlement was reached. It sent its troops to restore order and thus it established peace in the Congo.

The U.N. peace-keeping forces played a vital role in relieving tension in Cyprus when war broke-out between Greece and Turkey. It took control of the Cyprus island and arrived at an acceptable settlement.

During the Indo-Pak War of 1965, the U.N. arranged for a ceasefire and sent its representatives to enforce it.

The United Nations was striving hard to liberate some of the African countries like Namibia. Many resolutions had been passed by the U.N. to end the apartheid policy of South Africa.

A Disarmament Commission was set up under the U.N.O. to achieve peace through disarmament. This commission was the prime factor behind the Test Ban Treaty of 1963. The U.K., U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and many other countries signed this treaty. This agreement prevents the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere and under-water as well.

The U.N. has taken care of the Trust territories and non-self-governing territories. It has helped most of them to attain freedom.

The International Atomic Energy Agency, one of specialised agencies of the U.N., controls the atomic energy resources and tried to use it for peaceful purposes.

Thus, the U.N. has acted in many parts of the world to halt fighting or to effect a peaceful settlement. Sometimes it has been through direct action, liberal use of force, plebiscite, supervisions, mediation, etc. At other times, the recommendations of the U.N. bodies like Security Council and General Assembly have influenced to relieve tension in many regions. Thus the United Nations has a moral weightage since it is a world forum. The United Nations has been striving hard to promote the international peace and security.

## **The United Nations and the League**

The United Nations is, in a sense, a revival of the League. The United Nations and the League were set up as associations of sovereign states with only limited powers. Both were designed to maintain peace rather than to make it and more emphasis is given to accommodation rather than correction. The Security Council General Assembly and Secretariat bear a strong resemblance to the Council, Assembly and Secretariat of the League. The Trusteeship System is nothing but an improved version of the Mandatory System of the League. The International Court of Justice and International Labour Organisations and other such specialised agencies are merely the contribution of the organs of the League. But there are major points of differences between these two forums.

The U.N. was given a separate footing. The Covenant of the League was a part of the peace treaties of Versailles whereas the makers of the U.N. did not commit the same mistake.

In composition, powers and functions, the U.N. is one step ahead of the League system. Under the League the small powers acquired more importance than the major powers in course of time. But in the United Nations Organisation no such development can take place since the number of the permanent seats is fixed. Again, the great powers are given privileges within the Security Council. To take collective action all the member countries must agree upon the proposal under the League set up. But under the U.N. all the five Great Powers' unanimity is essential apart from the acceptance of the majority of the member countries. Comparatively speaking, the United Nations has been definitely more successful than the League in pursuing its objectives.

### **Estimation of the United Nations**

A study of the activities of the U.N. indicates that it has great achievement to its credit. Yet, it must be noted that it has not served well as one expect, the war time collaboration on which the U.N. was founded withering away in the post-Second World War period. So it could not score a striking success. The U.N. behaved just as an observer during the Vietnam war. It could not bring permanent settlement in the Arab- Israel conflict over Palestine. The inherent weakness of the U.N. is clearly manifest in these actions of the U.N. Again, the United Nations might have used its forces against North Korea, Congo and elsewhere. But the policy of war to end a war is not a sound policy.

It would be unfair to reject U.N. as a failure. Though it has failed to provide a definite settlement to the disputes brought before it, it has definitely relieved tension on many occasions. Palmer and Perkins quote two points in defence of the U.N.'s record of limited success in dealing with political disputes. Few international disputes are really settled but they may be compromised, postponed or otherwise prevented from leading to serious international crisis and with the passage of time may lose much of their explosive character. Secondly, the U.N. encourages the parties to a dispute to resort to negotiation, mediation and other peaceful means. The U.N. acts as an intermediary. When all other procedures for peaceful settlement have been exhausted, then the Security Council is requested to invoke the more stringent provisions of the Charter.

Here it should be noted that the Security Council cannot act unless there is great power unanimity. Today the U.N. mostly depends upon the co-operation of the Super-powers for its success. As the League was utilised by the Franco-British power to appease the Fascist aggression the U.N. was earlier utilised by both the Great Powers to check the influence of each other. After the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. has come to play a dominating role in the U.N.O. Some critics have pointed out the greater authority of the Security Council than the General Assembly has

virtually led to the failure of the U.N. activities in the recent times. Apart from this, the Atomic Energy control also poses a vital problem in our times. Unless an authority to control the atomic power is found out, insecurity and danger will be ever present in the world. It would be unfair to blame the U.N. for its failures. Palmer and Perkins have put: The roots of these failures lie deeply embedded in nationalism, sovereignty and nation-state psychology and also in the perversities of the human race.

The U.N. is an important world forum. It has not only survived but also won acceptance and approval on an amazingly wide scale. It is also time to review the U.N. as a whole and also to revise the Charter, if necessary, to suit the changed circumstances. The United Nations' objective of maintaining world peace could be furthered only if the disparity between the various countries narrowed down, if a total disarmament is achieved, above all if all the people in the world have faith in peaceful co-existence. The need for reforms in the various organs of the U.N. has long been felt and discussed.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Explain the organisational structure of the U.N.
2. Analyse the successes and failures of the U.N. as peace-maker.
3. Compare the working of United Nations with that of the League of Nations.

**LESSON: 16****International Law – Nature and content- Limitations****International Law**

In an epoch of contending states, with the great aspirants for seeking power to crush their rivals, consideration of international law as limitation of national power will appear to be very essential. Its importance in the present context of world affairs is quite obvious; just as men could not live together in a society in the absence of laws or rules for the regulation of their actions, states could not have mutual intercourse without international rules to regulate their conduct. In the absence of these rules chaos would prevail and only the brute force would matter. In fact international law is the most important factor to preserve order and to prevent the abuse of power in the international area.

**The Nature and Content of International Law****Definition**

Different writers on the subject have given widely differing definitions of international law. Oppenheim defines it as a body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding the civilised states in their intercourse with each other. Professor Fenwick describes it as primarily the body of rules accepted by the general community of nations as defining their rights and the means of procedure by which those rights may be protected or violation of them redressed. It is generally agreed that international law consists of the body of the legal rules that actually govern the formal relations between states and other entities which possess international legal personality. Previously it was regarded as dealing only with the states and not with the individuals and Oppenheim in describing it, wrote that it is a law for the intercourse between the states, not a law for individuals. This conception however is changing and some modern experts on the subject are of the opinion that it concerns to a very limited degree private persons as well especially in their relations with states.

However, traditional international law is regarded with great suspicion in communist countries and with significant reservations in the developing nations of Asia and Africa. The communists tend to regard traditional international law as an instrument of the capitalist imperialist west designed to preserve the status quo and their approach to it was highly secretive and coloured by their Marxist-Leninist orientation. They gave great weight to certain traditional principles notably sovereignty, non-intervention, territorial inviolability and equality of states. They emphasized such so-called new principles as non-aggression, self-determination, peaceful coexistence in general, complete disarmament in particular. Modern international law asserted by Tunkin

in 1962, is anti-colonial in its direction. The official position of the Chinese communists toward international law is still in the process of formulation. In general like the Soviet leaders they follow the Marxist-Leninist approach with perhaps even more emphasis on the struggle between systems and on the political rather than the legal approach to foreign affairs.

The developing nations of Asia and Africa, like the communist countries, want to be sure that the international law does not become an instrument for the preservation of the status quo which may stand in the way of measures to promote de-colonization, self-determination, human rights and the social use of natural resources. They are inclined to give more emphasis to the progressive development of international law. Unlike the Communists they have a positive view toward international law. In most instances they are inclined to accept or at least to abide by its traditional norms. Most of them are quite ready to join international organisations, become parties to multilateral conventions and treaty arrangements and they have a deep appreciation of importance of international law. There is a discontent with the traditional international law among the developing nations. The new states place great stress on the concept of self-determination which they advance vigorously in their anti-colonial crusades and in their efforts to assert their economic and social independence. The developing nations have a desire to incorporate these principles in the international law. But these principles have been regarded in west the as political rather than legal.

The subject matters of international law can be divided into three broad categories. These are: (i) the law of statehood (ii) the law of peaceful international intercourse and (iii) the law of war.

Since the primary components of the international community are states, an important function of the international law is to deal with the legal personality of the state and to define duties, rights and privileges. Recognition of the statehood and government, and the issue of nationality and citizenship fall within its purview.

The law of peaceful international intercourse can be subdivided into three broad categories. These are: (i) the law of diplomacy (ii) the law of treaties and (iii) the law of the pacific settlements of international disputes. The powers and privileges of the various categories of diplomatic agents have been settled by international conventions. Interpretation, termination and the tests of validity of treaties are important subject matters of international law. The pacific settlement of international disputes which includes techniques like mediation, arbitration, judicial settlement etc., fall in the third subdivision.

The law of war includes rules for the legal concepts of conduct of warfare, belligerency and neutrality. The distinction between combatants and non-combatants, prohibition of certain types of weapons, treatment

of prisoners of war, rules regarding land and sea warfare, rights and duties of belligerents and neutrals etc, are the third subject matter of international law.

## **The Origin and Development of International Law**

International law has grown out of the necessity of maintaining communications between governments. It has been evolved out of treaties, agreements and other written or unwritten international conventions and usages. Thus the modern law of nations has its origin in antiquity and in medieval and modern time. It has come into existence through an evolutionary process and is still developing. It has four chief roots.

A major source of international law is international custom. This includes all the customary practices of international intercourse that have been followed for long periods of time because of convenience and other advantages. And if no state rejects them in course of time it attains the status of general rule. As only those practices that are not strongly opposed by any state are incorporated into international law this part of international law is usually obeyed.

Another significant source of international law is treaties and agreements. Since very ancient times, treaties that had been expressly recognised by the contesting nations played an important part in evolving rules. The treaties become a source of international law only when they are law-making and ratified by the states. The law-making treaties are generally multilateral treaties. These multilateral treaties can be described as international legislation.

The third major source of international law is the judicial decisions of courts. In the twentieth century, great development of international tribunals have taken place. Judicial institutions like Permanent Court of International Justice under the League of Nations and the International Court of Justice under United Nations system have contributed substantially in this matter.

Reason and authority are the fourth chief source of international law. All laws are stated in the form of general principles and in applying these general principles to a particular case, these have to be decided by a process of reason and logic. The works of scholars greatly helped in its development.

As there is no universally acknowledged code on its content, often differences arise regarding the interpretations of rules, principles and custom, which are usually resolved through diplomacy, and in few other instances, by the use of force.

Owing to the absence of any institution that may secure its compliance and punish disobedience, international law cannot be enforced like municipal law. In the time of crisis, its enforcement depends largely on the support of the powerful nations who often use it for the furtherance of their self-interest. The attempts made by the United Nations in this matter so far have not met with much success.

## **International Legislation**

The acknowledged source of international law came to be custom and treaties. Custom is not always easy to ascertain, for it involves deciding when a practice has become a custom and has achieved something like general acceptance. Consequently it is not a satisfactory basis for making law. It is therefore upon treaties that the making of new international law rested, and that method too has been unsatisfactory. Historically treaties have usually been bilateral with reservation, interpretation and termination. Recently the states have turned away from conventional treaties for the making of international law and instead have tended to use what is known as international legislation.

If international legislation were true legislation, states would automatically be bound by the enactments of a properly constituted international legislative body just as individuals within a state are bound by laws to which they have not given their express assent. But no international body has ever been set up with a status comparable to that of national legislatures. On the contrary states almost invariably regard agreements arrived at by treaty or conference as valid and binding only when they have been expressively ratified in accordance with the respective constitutional processes of the signatory states.

International legislation does not imply a specific procedure. A state may reach an agreement by any one of a number of means or combination of means. Whatever device is used to reach an understanding, however, that understanding must be ratified by each individual state in order to be binding on that state. While international legislation closely resembles the conventional multilateral treaty process there are certain important differences. It seeks to assert rule of law rather than to compromise differences. It is commonly open to accession by all interested states. Now states are feeling a stronger moral obligation to accept the international legislation in good faith.

The Congress of Vienna of 1815 may be taken to have inaugurated the process of international legislation. The Paris Conferences of 1856 and the Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907 produced more international legislation. In its first dozen years the League passed more international legislation than what had been issued from all sources during the entire century before World War 1. The subjects were almost as broad as human interest. They included communications and transit; slavery; pacific settlement of disputes; the traffic in opium, women and children; arms and obscene publications; counterfeiting; uniformity of bills of exchange and labour. While the international legislative process was by no means perfected, considerable improvement certainly took place during the lifetime of the League. Professor Hudson found different names for the understandings reached between states since the founding of the League.

These were as follows: act, agreement, convention, covenant, declaration, final act, general act, pact, plan, protocol, regulation, rule, scheme, statute, and treaty. It is significant that he included them all in the monumental collection to which he gave the name International Legislation.

Within the United Nations the legislation procedure operates in the following fashion. The General Assembly directs one of the commissions or agencies to prepare a draft statute on a particular subject. A committee of the agency does the work. The agency approves a report of the committee for submission to the General Assembly. The General Assembly may approve the draft statute or it may send it back to the agency for revision. If approved the statute is sent to member-states for ratification.

### **The Limitations and Possibilities of International Law**

The limitations of international law suggest the chief inadequacies of international law. These limitations consist of the following: (1) the incompleteness of the legislative function (2) various limitations in the judicial function (3) the lack of effective enforcement (4) limitations on the scope of functions of international law and (5) wide-spread misunderstanding of the nature and purpose of the law.

### **The Legislative Function**

Since international law is decentralised in character, the question naturally arises as to how rules of international law are formulated. There are two main agencies by which these rules are made. These are customs and treaties.

Customary rules of international law have played the most significant part in building up the present system of international law. However, customary law is often difficult to prove. Generally states do not agree among themselves as to the existence of customary law and it is often difficult to prove that a particular rule has been accepted by the community of nations. The rule must be proved by the presentation of evidence.

Because of the shortcomings of the customary rules of international law, states in recent times have turned to formulate new rules of international law through treaties. Treaties may be divided into two groups; law-making treaties and treaty contracts. Law-making treaties lay down general rules binding on the states. Treaty contracts deal with a special matter between the contracting states. Only law-making treaties are concerned with the development of international law and not the treaty-concerned which merely bind two or more states for some special object. The important examples of law-making treaties are the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) Treaty of Paris (1815), Treaty of Versailles (1919), Declaration of Paris (1856), The Geneva Convention (1888), the two Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Covenant of the League of Nations (1920). The Charter of United Nations (1945),

etc. An International treaty, however, creates international law only for those states which are party to it. It will not bind states which are not parties.

It is argued that it is very difficult to interpret international legal documents. In the international field rules of international law are generally vague and ambiguous. The subjects of law have the supreme power not only to enact the rule for themselves, but also to interpret and give concrete meaning to these rules. As such the subjects of law exploit every ambiguity and technicality to their own national interests. This has been true under the League and U.N.O. Another weakness in the legislative function of international law. is that it is not certain as to whether rules of international law are binding upon its subjects. In the domestic society such a question could hardly arise.

An individual in domestic society is liable before the law of the state for its violation. In fact, the uncertain character of the rules of international law shakes the very foundation of international law.

## **The Judicial Function**

The problem of judicial function is more complex. The limitations on international law may arise from the following conditions:

### **(i) The Nature of International Judicial Machinery**

International law is enforced by national courts. Thus an individual injured in a foreign state may seek redress in the local courts. The local courts will apply local law enacted to meet the international law requirement of justice to aliens. If the injured person feels that he has been denied justice he may appeal to his own government. His government in turn may resort to negotiation or as a last recourse, even to non-amicable pressures. Until the founding of the Permanent Court of International Justice as a part of the League of Nations system, international adjudication was always performed by a specially chosen individual or body with a new court for each dispute. The Permanent Court of International Justice and its successor under the United Nations, the International Court of Justice have provided an established court. The International Court of Justice is not the highest in the hierarchy of courts. So there is no necessary uniformity of law in these matters on which the International Court has spoken and in which its decisions have been accepted. Further more the International Court of Justice is not bound by the doctrine of *state decisis* (i.e., the obligation to follow precedents). National courts are free to ignore each other's rulings on international law and even the decisions of the International Court of Justice itself.

### **(ii) The Lack of Compulsory Jurisdiction**

International law does not require any state to submit its disputes to an international tribunal against its will.

### **(iii) The Ambiguity of the Law**

The ambiguity of law is due to the vague and general terms in which international agreements are frequently expressed. The ambiguity of the

law arises in part from the lack of judicial hierarchy and from the doubtful character of this rule of *state decisis*. It arises in part from uncertainty about the customary law. Moreover, there is no repeal process for international law.

#### **(iv) Subjects as Judges**

Another serious defect in the judicial function has been that the subjects of international law have also been its judges. By this we mean that individual states (the principal subjects) possess the right to interpret the law which they are under obligation to enforce. Being in the position of both subject and judge, they are able to exploit every ambiguity to their own advantage.

#### **(v) The Limitation of Justiciable Disputes**

So long as states are not subject to compulsory jurisdiction, it is clear that they have the right to distinguish between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes. The first is made up of those for which rules of law exist and the second of those for which there is no applicable law. The distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes is unknown to domestic law.

#### **The executive function**

The limitations of the executive function are more obvious than those of the legislative or judicial. International society has no central organ for the enforcement of international law. This absence of an executive function in international law means that each nation is free to take any action as it thinks fit to enforce its own rights. However, this does not mean that international law has no sanction. Actually most of the rules are for the observance of legal norms. These may be classified as habit, self-interest and collective security.

Those principles which have been habitually observed since long are most likely to be observed in future. The immunities and inviolability of foreign diplomats have been generally observed by all nations for more than 2500 years and are almost never wilfully violated at the present time. Consideration of self-interest as a sanction of international law is also important. A state will respect its obligation under a commercial treaty because it expects great benefits from the execution of the treaty. Collective security is perhaps an ideal solution to the problems of law-enforcement in a community of sovereign nations. It is a system by which all nations take collective action against any aggressor which endangers the security of any nation. Provisions regarding collective security have been provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Charter of the United Nations.

#### **Conclusion**

From what we have said above it is clear that though international law does not cover all the aspects of international relations it plays a substantial role in controlling international politics. It plays a great part in establishing norms of conduct for the guidance of such relationships. International

law which is evolved out of long established custom, co-operatively formulated legislation etc., largely governs international behaviour and brings a greater measure of order and regularity into the conduct of relationships. Thus both during peacetime and war, it lays down an elaborate code of conduct for the states, and their mutual interrelationship. The rights and duties of states, the conduct of diplomacy, the negotiation, rectification and enforcement of all treaties etc, which are the essential fabrics of international relations during peace time, are regulated by the law of nations. Trade and commerce amongst different states can be carried on smoothly only with its assistance.

International law not only helps in bringing and maintaining order in the mutual intercourse amongst the states. It also facilitates peaceful settlement of disputes. In settling differences of opinion regarding rights, the law provides a framework through which they may be resolved without taking recourse to force. Mediation and arbitration are two accepted methods in international law for the settlement of international disputes. The aid of the International Court of Justice may also be sought in this matter.

Though international law cannot generally be enforced because of the absence of a universal police force, public opinion helps to a large extent in its observance. Now the United Nations, which has been gradually emerging as an effective world organisation in maintaining international law is also substantially helping in enforcing world opinions.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Discuss the nature and scope of International Law.
2. Trace the origin and growth of International Law. What are its limitations?

**Lesson : 17****Diplomacy - Functions of a Diplomat  
Kinds of Diplomacy**

The term diplomacy has a variety of meanings. Harold Nicholson, in his *Diplomacy*, says that five ideas can be referred to it. Morgenthau is of the opinion that diplomacy is the formation and execution of foreign policy at all levels, the highest as well as the subordinates. This is rather too general a definition. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word diplomacy denotes the management of international relations by negotiations, the methods by which these relations are adjusted and managed. In short diplomacy is the art of negotiations. It serves as the medium through which official conduct occurs between governments, and includes the exchange of views, the communication of decisions, the discovery of disagreement and the reaching of agreement.

**Evolution of Diplomacy**

The word diplomacy is derived from the Greek verb *Diploun* which means to fold. The Roman Empire issued folded way-bills and metal passports. After that the official documents dealing with privileges or some arrangements with foreign tribes or communities were described by the term *Diploma*. There were trained personnel to index, decipher and preserve the documents. Their work came to be known as diplomatic business. Due to these reasons, the term has for a long time been connected with the preservation of archives and the study of international organisations.

It was in the period of ancient Greek City-States that organised diplomacy came into existence. Thucydides has given extensive information about diplomatic procedures in the West. The Romans also had an important role in the growth of diplomacy, by developing International law.

The art of diplomacy had its mature status quite earlier in the East. The writers in India wrote about diplomacy and diplomatic subjects in the early 400 B.C. and a masterpiece was written on Diplomacy by Kautilya. The Eastern and Western world accepted the rule of safe conduct and protection of diplomats.

The princely Italian city states contributed much to the organized or professional diplomacy. The Machiavellian outlook gave a dubious reputation to Italian diplomacy. The diplomatic machinery was strengthened due to the stabilisation of the nation-State system after the peace of Westphalia in 1648. The stabilisation and standardisation by the great French Kings of the diplomatic machinery and the constitutional restraints on the states and established standards in external relations helped in the development of diplomacy. According to Harold Nicholson the rules of the game remain to this day the best manual for diplomatic methods ever-written.

According to Francis De Calliers, diplomacy became a highly personal affair in the 17th and 18th centuries due to the power of the monarchs of different countries. The diplomats were said to be personal representatives of one monarch to another thereby furthering the personal and dynastic interest of their masters. Because of the Industrial, American and French Revolutions, a new and dominant class came into existence and so the diplomats not only represented the interest of the monarchs but also of the nations. This change of political machinery led the functions of diplomacy to have new forms. After 1850, the influence of monarchies disappeared when the focus of power was shifted from court to the cabinet slowly. The Congress of Vienna (1815) and Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) standardised the rules of diplomacy thereby making them less formal.

### **New Developments of Diplomacy in the 20th Century**

According to Harold Nicholson there were significant developments in diplomacy during 20th century. They were (1) a growing sense of community of nations (2) an increasing importance of public opinion and (3) the rapid increase of communications.

The necessity and functions of diplomacy have increased by the first factor in recent days. The aristocratic traditions of diplomacy disappeared owing to the growing realisation of the significance of public opinion and it served as a transition between the old diplomacy and the new. Because of the increased speed of the communication system the diplomats have been reduced to the status of mere message carriers. Now, policy makers, like the heads of states communicate and shape the policy with their counterparts in other countries. This leads to the overlapping of diplomacy with policy-making.

Before we discuss about diplomats and their functions, it is necessary to understand the difference between foreign policy and diplomacy. Diplomacy is deemed to be a method by which the foreign policy of a nation is carried out. But it does not mean that diplomacy is concerned with foreign policy. Its task is to transmit the policy, take efforts to explain it, and make negotiations with regard to agreements that embody and secure it in times of war and peace. Thus it serves as a medium of adjustment and reconciles differences through communications in an intelligent and tactful manner between governments. It must be remembered that diplomacy is chiefly concerned with negotiations but it does not mean that it does not have a vital role during war time because it plays a different role, perhaps, an expanded role, during the times of war.

### **Diplomats**

Diplomats are the eyes and ears of their governments in other countries representing the interests of their nations. In the beginning, diplomats were from aristocratic society. Now that is not the case. They are from any class and they are recruited through competitive examinations in many countries. They enjoy certain privileges and immunities including extra-territorial rights. These persons remain inviolate even if wars go on. They are given this

special status because of the fact that the Heads of the States are represented by them.

## **Functions of Diplomats**

According to Sir Henry Wotton an ambassador is an honest man sent abroad for the good of his country. The primary duties of a diplomat at present are put into four categories.

1. Representation
2. Negotiation
3. The gathering and reporting of information
4. Counselling

### **1. Representation**

Representation means that a diplomat represents his country at official, ceremonial, private or informal occasions in order to convey diplomatic messages and act as spokesman of his country. He also meets all the important persons at all levels through widespread social contact and gathers information thereby developing a good understanding between the two countries. He also arranges official meetings for his own government. The image of his government is developed by his actions in a foreign country.

### **2. Negotiation**

It is part and parcel of a diplomat's functions. Commercial and tariff arrangements are made by the diplomats by engaging in diplomatic bargaining. This is possible to the satisfaction and benefit of the country only through well-planned negotiation by the diplomats. So they play a vital role in the field of negotiation with foreign countries on important issues.

### **3. The Gathering and Reporting of Information**

Strictly speaking the diplomats conduct a survey by being a participant and non-participant observer thereby analysing the data which they gather. They submit reports on important political, social and economic issues and other developments of importance in the country to which they are assigned. The policies of government are framed on the consideration of the information supplied by the diplomats.

### **4. Counselling**

Besides the above said functions the task of protecting and safe-guarding the interest of the people in the host country lies on the shoulder of diplomats.

According to Sir Harold Nicholson, to be an ideal diplomat seven qualities are required. There are: truthfulness, calmness, patience, good temper, modesty while negotiating, accuracy in reporting and loyalty to his government.

## **Decreasing Importance of Diplomats**

Now-a-days if the primary function of a diplomat is carried on a personal basis, it is so because of the increasing communication and transportation facilities. Various sources have come into existence to gather new information in place of the diplomat. Together with this, great scholars, analysts, research departments and new agencies plunge into the studies of foreign governments, their economic activities and politics. Since the heads of states and the foreign departments meet off and on, it also causes decrease in the importance of diplomats and their role.

## **Different Kinds of Diplomacy**

### **Democratic or open Diplomacy**

The use of this concept came into existence in the earlier part of the 20th century. Democratic or open diplomacy means that diplomacy is carried on openly by the popular representatives. It is different from the secret diplomacy which was earlier conducted secretly by the aristocrats.

Open diplomacy was enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson. According to Wilson, open diplomacy means open covenants of peace, openly arrived at after which there shall be no private international understanding of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in public view. The new open diplomacy was welcomed enthusiastically because the mistakes of diplomats were mainly responsible for the first world war. In order to avoid the mistakes of the diplomats in future a provision was included in the covenant of the League of Nations which read as follows: Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of League shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

The secret agreements made before and during the first world war caused much suffering and difficulties to the common man. For example, the Franco-Russian Alliance and the Triple Alliance led to the war and caused much suffering to the people. The Paris Peace Conference met the problems caused by secret pledges made by Japan and Italy. Moreover secret diplomacy often creates suspicion among the Big Powers as well as in the minds of small powers. In some cases rumors of secret diplomacy may possibly create misunderstandings by poisoning the international atmosphere.

### **Defects of Open or Democratic diplomacy**

It has also demerits. The democratic diplomacy is not carried out by the monarch or a particular governing class but it is carried out by a whole nation i.e. the representatives of the country. But the common representatives may not be in a position to understand fully the diplomatic tactics. Nor are they in a position to grasp the idea of foreign affairs or their own national interests or of other countries.

It also suffers from the dangers of making delays and imprecision. Since a democratic government has to take time in order to mobilize public opinion it hampers speedy negotiation because the people have to give their consent to which the policies the governments want to pursue. So it is a time consuming process. Another defect is that the diplomats appeal to the minds of the people with pleasing words simply in order to achieve their aims. So this makes the diplomats' statements mere jugglery of words. It is said that diplomacy mainly deals with the science of negotiation and compromise. Since the negotiations by the diplomats are produced with openness the diplomat is thus made helpless in such a way that he is not in a position to give concessions that he wants or is willing to make in the interest of agreement. If for some reason or other the diplomat gives in a point or openly accepts what he finds as justice, on the other side he will be severely criticized by his opponents. Unless the compromising aspects of diplomacy are understood clearly, the defect of open diplomacy cannot be overcome because of the nationalist frenzy of the people.

So far we have discussed the demerits of the open and secret diplomacy. Generally speaking open diplomacy has more advantages than the secret diplomacy; open diplomacy makes the people of the country understand the commitments of their governments to other governments. President Wilson asserts that open covenants of peace openly arrived at, may remedy all the maladies of international relations. But it is only partly true because, when the negotiation is carried out, the process is observed and critically watched by the people in the country. The diplomat also desires to get more than what he can expect to get. But in the process of negotiations if it is found that the agreement is arrived at by keeping many of his demands unfulfilled, the people, due to the ignorance of the diplomatic process, will blame him for his action. So in open diplomacy a flexible approach is not possible. Realising this fact Mr. Wilson conducted negotiations secretly, but he declared open the agreements arrived at. This method of negotiation that is conducted secretly first and announced openly later helps to remove the demerits to a certain extent of both secret and open diplomacy.

### **Personal Diplomacy**

Usually, in the past the heads of states and Prime Ministers or their Foreign Ministers rarely took part in diplomatic processes. Though it was infrequent event due to limited communication facilities in the past, it has become a common phenomenon in recent years. During the Second World War the top leaders of the Allied Powers-Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill met several times and arrived at decisions about the future of the world. They also participated in meetings conducted by U.N.O. after the war to decide up on important matters. This led to negotiations between Moscow and Washington.

## **Merits of Personal Diplomacy**

This helps to solve many problems, which are all of international importance, very quickly, since heads of states alone can take decisions and make real concessions. This also gives way for frank, easy and free conversations on complicated matters which in turn requires resources beyond the realm of the most competent and qualified diplomats.

## **Defects of Personal Diplomacy**

Since the top men of the states are always busy they do not have adequate time to have discussions on all important issues. So it leads to quick and hasty decisions. Further, when the negotiation is going on, the attention of the whole world is diverted towards this and pressure is exerted on the participants. Hence there is every possibility for bad moves. Another defect is that if a decision is taken by the topmost people that is taken once and for all and it cannot be altered very easily. But the decisions of the professional diplomats can be very easily changed by the heads of the states. It is also possible to take decision against the interest of nation by the top men due to their lack of expert knowledge. So it is not advisable to allow the top men to participate and take important decisions in the international negotiations.

## **Diplomacy by Conference**

Diplomacy by conference is a method by which periodical meetings and conferences are conducted at the international level. It has now become widespread at present. This method of conducting diplomacy came into existence with the creation of the League of Nations after the first world war. It now gets strengthened after the second world war by the effort made by the U.N.O. and other organisations like NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Pact etc. Nearly ten thousand such conferences are conducted every year at present in many parts of the world. It is believed that democratisation of international politics, improvement in the communication system, universally agreed procedural formula etc., have helped in its rapid growth. This has brought out an adjustment of diplomatic machinery. Though the diplomacy by conference is a form of open diplomacy, it has also included private discussions on delicate matters.

## **Defects of Diplomacy by Conference**

It is used as a device for propaganda purposes by interested parties. The small powers are often brought into the camps of the big powers. This also paves the way for groupism at the international level.

## **Merits of Diplomacy by Conference**

It enjoys all the merits of open diplomacy. In diplomacy by conference lies the best hope for the prevention of war. The success of the prevention by conference depends on elasticity of procedure, small numbers, informality

of mutual acquaintance and if possible friendship among the principals, proper perspective between secrecy in deliberation and publicity in results, reliable secretaries and interpreters.

## **Importance of Diplomacy**

Diplomacy is a process by which adjustments are made in the international relations. It also helps to solve the problems that exist in international relations. Moreover it serves as a tool of compromise between hostile countries. It chiefly serves as an alternative device to achieve and also to realise, the national and international interest peacefully. According to Organski, diplomacy is the cheapest way of exercising power in international politics.

## **Decline of Diplomacy**

Diplomacy no longer plays the spectacular role that it once performed. Its decline set in with the end of the First World War. In the twenties, a few outstanding diplomats were still able to make important contributions to the foreign policies of the countries. In the thirties the part played by the diplomats in shaping foreign policy became smaller and the decline of diplomacy as a technique of conducting foreign affairs became more patent. Since the end of World War II, diplomacy has lost its vitality and its functions have withered away. There are five 'factors which have contributed to the decline of diplomacy. They are: (1) development of communications (2) depreciation of diplomacy (3) diplomacy by parliamentary procedures (4) the untraditional approach of super powers to the issues of international politics and, (5) the nature of contemporary world politics.

### **1) Development of Communications**

It is the most obvious factor. For diplomacy has arisen partly due to the absence of speedy communications in a period when the governments of new territorial states maintained continuous political relations with each other. Therefore, diplomacy owes its decline in part to the development of speedy and regular communications. Today important negotiations are carried on, not by diplomatic representatives, but by special delegates who may be the foreign ministers themselves, or high officials of the foreign offices. These leaders can always keep in touch with their respective governments through radio and telephone, and can return to their capitals on a moment's notice.

### **2) Depreciation of Diplomacy**

The growing conviction that diplomatic services ought to be parted with because they not only contribute nothing to the cause of peace, but actually endanger it, is another factor responsible for the decline of diplomacy.

The emergence of diplomacy as an institution coincides with the rise of the nation state, and hence, with the appearance of international relations

in the modern sense. The contemporary emergence of diplomacy and the modern state is, however, more than a mere coincidence. If there is to be intercourse at all among sovereign nations with the aim of creating and maintaining international order and peace, that intercourse must be carried on by permanent agents. The opposition to and depreciation of diplomacy is then but a peculiar manifestation of hostility to the modern state system and the kind of international politics it has produced.

The diplomat has been held morally in low esteem throughout modern history. The diplomat's reputation of deviousness and dishonesty is well known. The modern version of that depreciation of diplomacy attaches special importance to one particular aspect of the diplomatic technique, namely secrecy. During and after the First World War, many people believed that the secret machination of diplomats shared a great deal of responsibility of that war and that international negotiations carried on openly under the public vigilance could not but promote peace.

President Woodrow Wilson brought out this new philosophy of international affairs in the first of his famous Fourteen Points. The first point reads: "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view".

### **3) Diplomacy by Parliamentary Procedures**

In view of this new philosophy statesmen of the world began to depart from the established pattern of the diplomacy after the First World War. They created the League of Nations and later the United Nations as a new type of diplomatic intercourse - diplomacy by parliamentary procedure. The delegates of different governments discuss the international problems in public debate.

Though this method had earlier been employed by special conferences such as the Hague Peace Conferences, it was in the League of Nations that it was employed for the first time as an over-all method of dealing with international problems. Its use by that organisation, however, was apparent rather than real. Its Assembly and Council discussed matters about which agreements had been secretly reached. The United Nations, on the contrary, has taken seriously the parliamentary methods of transacting the business. It has developed new methods of what Morgenthau calls "United Nations Diplomacy".

### **4) Untraditional Approach of Super Powers**

When there was a need for an active American foreign policy in the late 1930's there was no effective foreign service. America condemned power politics and secret diplomacy and followed the tradition of big stick. It was Franklin D. Roosevelt who kept America's foreign policy in tune with

American interests for twelve years. After him, however, there was no man or group of men capable of creating and operating the machinery of traditional diplomacy. The small group of able public servants who knew well about foreign policy could not rely upon the public support for the national and intricate processes of foreign policy.

The Soviet Union failed to develop adequate instruments of diplomacy for quite different reasons. The Bolshevick Revolution destroyed the Russian diplomatic service. Those diplomats who were retained in office after the Revolution and the new diplomats of talent had little opportunity to prove themselves.

Further, official Russian policy considers diplomatic relations, only as a temporary experiment, not as the normal and permanent way of carrying on relations with capitalistic countries.

## **5) The Nature of Contemporary World Politics**

The two super powers faced each other in inflexible opposition. They could retreat without giving up what they considered vital to them. They could not advance without risking war. Given the nature of the power relations between the United States and the Soviet Union Diplomacy had no scope. Under such moral and political conditions It is not the sensitive, flexible, and versatile mind of the diplomat, but the rigid, relentless and one-track mind of the crusader that guide the destiny of nations. The crusading mind knows nothing of compromises and persuasion. It knows only of victory and defeat.

### **Diplomacy and Foreign Policy**

Diplomacy and foreign policy are closely related to each other. While foreign policy represents the substance of relations with other countries, diplomacy provides the personnel and the machinery for the implementation of the foreign policy. In the words of Sir Victor Wellesley, Diplomacy is not foreign policy but the agency giving effect to it. Both are complementary to each other since the one cannot act without the co-operation of the other. Diplomacy has no separate existence from foreign policy, but the two together form one executive policy- foreign policy determining the strategy and diplomacy the tactics.

Diplomacy is not an end, but a means. It seeks, by the use of reason, conciliation and exchange of interests, to prevent major conflicts arising between sovereign states. It is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war. Diplomacy does not cease to operate with the outbreak of war. It only assumes different forms.

Thus foreign policy and diplomacy have great impact on each other. A weak diplomacy shall certainly ruin a sound foreign policy and a strong and effective diplomacy shall definitely cover lapses of foreign policy.

## **Drawbacks of Diplomacy**

If international peace and order are to be preserved, the sovereign nations must try to persuade, negotiate, and exert pressure upon each other. That is, they must rely upon diplomatic procedures. On the contrary, it tends to aggravate rather than mitigate international conflicts. The purpose for peace appears to be dimmed rather than brightened. Three drawbacks of modern diplomacy are responsible for this state of affairs according to Morgenthau. They are its publicity, its majority votes, and its fragmentation of international issues.

### **The Vice of Publicity**

The problem of secret diplomacy is confusing because of the failure to distinguish between 'open covenants' and 'covenants openly arrived at' between publicity for the results of diplomatic negotiation and publicity for the diplomatic negotiations themselves. As per democratic principles, the results of diplomatic negotiations are to be disclosed in order to ensure democratic control of foreign policy. Yet publicity for negotiations themselves is not required by democracy.

Publicity of negotiations impairs the bargaining positions of the parties in any further negotiations in which they might be engaged with other parties. Moreover the social status, prestige and power of the parties will suffer damages if publicity attends these negotiations, uncovering their weaknesses and unmasking their pretences.

As the whole world witnesses public international negotiations, the governments have to negotiate under the watchful eyes of their own peoples, including the opposition. A government which wants to continue in power or retain the respect of its people cannot afford to give up publicity part of what it had declared at the beginning to be just and necessary, to retreat from the initial position, and to concede at least the partial justice of the other side's claims. In the words of Morgenthau, heroes, not horsetraders, are the idols of public opinion.

In traditional diplomacy, measured words and formalized phrases committed the speaker to nothing or to just as much as he was willing to make good. They are the perfect instrument of the cautious, moderate, conciliatory mediator. Public diplomacy, on the other hand, can have nothing but contempt for such an instrument, which is thought of as belonging to a bygone age of aristocratic snobbery and moral indifference. The public diplomats speak to the world rather than to each other. Their aim is not to persuade each other that they could find common ground for agreement but to persuade the world that they are always right and the other side is always wrong.

### **The Vice of Majority Decision**

The evil wrought by the public conduct of diplomacy is compounded by the attempt to decide issues by majority vote. This method of conducting

the business of diplomacy has made one direct contribution to the peaceful settlement of any problem. It has helped the majority to vote down the minority. For example, the Soviet bloc was repeatedly voted down on the Korean issue. Yet the voting strength demonstrated the enhanced political strength of one side, though the voting contributed nothing to solve the Korean issue. That issue was settled on the battle field and in diplomatic negotiations between East and West, not in the chamber of the General Assembly.

When a powerful minority in a deliberative international agency is outvoted often, little contribution is made to the preservation of peace. For the minority cannot accept the decision of the majority and the majority cannot enforce its decision short of war. Thus when parliamentary procedures are adopted at the international level, they leave things as they are; they leave problems unsolved and issues unsettled. Sometimes these procedures poison the international atmosphere and aggravate the conflicts that carry the seeds of war. Neither the majority nor the minority needs to use self-restraint or be aware of its responsibility to the international organisation or to humanity, since what either side does for or against cannot influence the course of events.

### **The Vice of Fragmentation**

The decision by majority vote implies another vice, namely, the fragmentation of international issues. By its very nature, the majority vote is concerned with an isolated case. The facts of life to be dealt with by the majority decision are artificially separated from the facts that precede, accompany, and follow them and are transformed into a 'legal case' or a 'political issue' to be disposed of as such by the majority decision.

Unlike the national level, the international scene has no system of integrating factors. Consequently, it is inadequate to take up one case or issue after the other and try to dispose of them by a succession of majority votes.

These three essential vices of contemporary diplomacy are aggravated by the misuse of modern communications. The conquest of time and space by modern technology has inevitably reduced the importance of diplomatic representation. Contemporary diplomacy is characterised by the confusion of functions between the foreign office and diplomatic representation. The tendency has grown for the men responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs to assume the role of rowing ambassadors hurrying from one conference to another. There is nobody who faces the overall problem of international politics and sees all the particular issues in phases and manifestations of the whole. Instead, each specialist in the foreign office deals with the particular problems of his specially, and the fragmentation of the conduct of foreign affairs is powerfully supported by the lack of overall direction of foreign affairs.

## **Conclusion**

Diplomacy has both successes and failures in its record. It has failed sometimes because nobody wanted it to succeed. When nations have used it for the purpose of preventing war, they have often succeeded. Diplomacy is the best means of preserving peace in a society of sovereign nations. But under the conditions of contemporary world politics and of contemporary war, it is not sufficient. It is only when nations surrender the modern means of destruction to a higher authority that international peace can be made secure. In the words of Hans J. Morgenthau, "Diplomacy can make peace more secure than it is today, and the world state can make peace more secure than it would be if nations were to abide by the rules of diplomacy".

## **Model questions for guidance**

1. Define diplomacy. What are the functions of diplomat?
2. Account for the decline of diplomacy after the First World War.
3. Discuss the vices of modern diplomacy.

**Lesson: 18****Oil Diplomacy**

The Middle East is the meeting ground of three continents, Asia, Europe and Africa. It has the Suez Canal that provides the shortest water-way between Europe and Asia. It is also the centre of Islamic culture. Further, it has many of the greatest oil producing countries of the world. All these explain the geographical importance and the strategic significance of the area.

When the Ottoman Empire disintegrated, the role of friendly philosopher was taken over by the British government. Germany, Austria, France and Russia also gained privileges from the Turkish and Persian Empires. These powers exercised considerable influence and control in the Middle East because they were granting loans to the countries of the region. Since the end of the First World War, the Middle Eastern politics have been conditioned by Arab nationalism, Western imperialism and Zionism.

**Discovery of Oil**

When the world-wide depression hit the pilgrimage traffic, and thereby, the principal source of income for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, it was worried. Soon, however, an unexpected opening came in the form of Oil royalties. Twitchell who had come to Yemen for prospecting for oil and minerals, was invited to Saudi Arabia; he was favourably impressed. The Standard Oil Company of California was awarded a concession to explore oil. The Company paid 30,000 gold sovereigns as advance and promised a royalty of four gold shillings per ton and the contract would be for sixty years.

Though in the early years of the formation of the Company not much was gained, the complexion changed in 1938 when with deepening of some wells at Dhehran, large quantity of oil was discovered. Rapid commercialisation became possible and pipelines were constructed, and it was thought that Saudi Arabia would be an important oil producing country in course of time. Her output of 12,000 barrels per day itself was considered good at that time. The war did not help much prospecting in other area. Unexpectedly deposits of gold were discovered between Mecca and Medina. From 1934 onwards Saudi Arabian Mining Company owned by American Smelting and Refining Company, the American Cyanamid Corporation etc., was reaping the benefits of gold-mining too. From the depression of the "late twenties at the end of the thirties the income of Ibn Saud exceeded hundreds of thousands of dollars from gold alone".

After the Second World War things moved even more fast. The government had to depend upon the expansion of oil production for increasing its revenues. In 1944, Arabian American Oil Company-ARAMCO-in which a major responsibility was vested began to expand the activities which was possible by additional

capital obtained through giant oil- companies Standard Oil of New Jersey and Secony-Vacuum and other sources. Huge expenditure was incurred in laying down pipe lines and developing Ras Tanura Ghawar, Adquiq and Khurays as the major oil fields. The growth can be gauged from the fact that while daily production had been in the range of 15,000 barrels in 1943, it rose to 1,65,000 in 1946, and 5,00,000-barrels in 1950.

The revenue accruing to the government from royalties exceeds the wildest imagination of Ibn Saud when he signed for greater pilgrim traffic to augment his income in 1920's. The astonishing feature is that revenues from oil royalties in 1972 reaching 21 billion dollars accounted for 64% gross domestic product 90% of the government's budget revenue and more than 90% of the country's foreign exchange receipts.

### **Other Arabian States**

Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Yemen were the other important independent states in Arabia besides Aden and the Federation of Saudi Arabia. These states Nationalism came into limelight with the discovery of oil and the inevitable formation of companies with the help of Western powers. From obscurity these states emerged to play a new role in the world affairs on account of the importance of oil. The pattern of development was almost along parallel line of development in Saudi Arabia. No wonder there had to be co-operation among these powers though Western powers would do all their bet to create ill-will and the advent of Cold War would estrange the workable relations of goodwill prevailing among these states.

### **Bahrain**

The earliest vocations of the people in this small kingdom were "pearl fishing, smuggling, slave trade and the breeding of white donkeys", but from 1930 onwards the situation changed. From the control of Iran the state had become a British dependency in 1820 itself. The transformation in economic life came in the form of setting up of refineries and exporting of oil in large quantities from 1934 onwards. Al Khalifah family had been ruling the kingdom; the house was noted for its liberal outlook and took efforts to modernise and liberalise Bahrain in all possible respects.

### **Kuwait**

The Saud tried to seize this small kingdom north of Bahrain but the British protection, it had been enjoying enabled Kuwait to repel the move. When oil was struck in 1932, world oil companies competed with each other to seek agreements. The Kuwait Oil Company got the rights for the entire 58,000 sq. miles of the state. But though the initial advancement was discouraging, from 1955 onwards giant strides were made in production and exporting oil. The Sheikh began to get royalty to the tune of 25 million dollars and this sum went on increasing. In 1966 the reserves were estimated at 68 billion barrels and one year later at 75 billion barrels. The Sheik Sir Abdullah ruling over a population of less than

five lakhs still thought it prudent to save enough for the future and wisely invested half of his royalties in foreign securities. Modernisation could be now undertaken on a huge scale. Unfettered by financial difficulties, schools, hospitals, roads all sprang up and economic life received good stimulus.

### **Other States**

This was the general pattern in other Arabian states like Oman, Qatar, and Yemen. However, the common feature in all these places were the changes brought by the sudden wealth. This did not mean that everything could be achieved through wealth. The attitude of people towards European values was not uniform and there were people who opposed modern trends. The big powers also contributed their might towards dissensions among these small states though these were not altogether successful.

### **Middle East Oil and the World**

From less than 6% of world production in 1938 the present production and reserve oil have reached astonishing proportions in that not less than 65% of the total reserves of the world lie in the Middle East. The security and welfare of the West depends upon the flow of Middle East oil. The great bulk is delivered to Western Europe, and without the power and heat derived from that oil, the free countries of Europe would suffer incalculable losses. In this changed set up, one must view the rise in prices and consequent impact of such rise in world economies.

### **The Oil Diplomacy**

The Middle East became the hunting ground of the great powers of the world because of its wealth-oil resources. Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia have oil potentials of 61/2 billion, 5 billion and 5 billion barrels respectively. In 1912, the Anglo-Persian oil company was established. The Anglo-Dutch Shell also was there.

France and the U.S.A. also entered the scene. The American government was unhappy over the exclusive rights enjoyed by Britain in Palestine and Iraq. She resented the San Remo oil agreement of 1920 between Britain and France, which gave France 25 percent share of oil resources in Mesopotamia. The U.S. advocated open door policy. But the U.S. did not allow open door policy in the South Eastern oil regions where the U.S. had secured advantages. In 1925, American Oil interests were granted 25 percent of the Turkish Petroleum Company. The British, American, French, Dutch and other oil companies entered into various agreements with the Chiefs in the region, agreeing to pay huge royalties on the oil extracted and exported. They extended loans and other benefits to the Chiefs. This money was invariably utilized not for welfare measures but for military and defence improvement. The people of these countries were very much dissatisfied with the western

exploitation of their resources. They also resented the Russian influence. In Iran, for whom oil was the main export and formed the basis for her economy, the Anglo-Iranian oil company was considered as a state within state. No one, who was opposed to the company could succeed in political life there. Such was the power and hold of the company and the Shah of Iran was against the interests of the people of Iran. In 1951, the oil industry of Iran was nationalised. The British attempts to renew the agreement of 1933 were thwarted. In May 1951, Britain, after admitting the principle of nationalisation of oil, started negotiations. But the talks broke down. The refinery at Abandan was closed down when Iran threatened the British employees of the company with severe action for sabotage. The British government took the matter to the International Court of Justice. Iran maintained that it was an internal matter and that the Court had no jurisdiction. In spite of the U.S. support to the British interests no progress was made.

It was in 1973 that the oil weapon dealt a shocking blow to the world economy... When Egypt and Syria launched a large scale attack on Israel in October, 1973, in order to avenge their defeat and consequent loss of territory in the six-day war of October, 1967, the Israelis were taken by surprise. Soon Israel managed to halt the Arab advances and regain the initiative. A temporary truce was then called at the instance of America and Russia. At this stage, having realised their difficulty in obtaining to the Organisation of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) their control of over two thirds of oil production, they decided to pursue the issue by other means. The Saudi Arabian representative in the OPEC, announced the organisation's decision to cut back progressively their oil production at the rate of five percent each month, commencing from November 1973. They also put an embargo on the supply of Arab petroleum crude to the U.S., Holland, and Japan which supported or extended sympathy to Israel in the later Arab-Israeli flare-up. The loss of Arab Oil created the worst energy crisis in Holland and Japan. Japan was forced to abandon its pro-Israeli policy in spite of strong pressure from the U.S. lobbies against such a course of action. Holland was helped out by its European Community allies. The U.S.A. was forced to ration the use of petroleum products.

The OPEC did not stop with cuts in production of crude oil. It also decided to hike the oil prices, amidst strong protests from all over the world. The Arab oil monopolists further stated that the price rise was only temporary and that there would be quarterly review of prices. Simultaneously, Iran initiated action to sell its crude in open auction to the highest bidder. The developing nations have been the worst-hit by the oil crisis generated by the Arab states with an entirely different objective. It has totally upset the economy of the poor nations of the Third World.

There was another price hike of oil in 1977. The 13 member OPEC opted for a 2-tier sales system. Eleven of them declared a price rise by 10 percent

from January 1977, followed by another 5 percent rise from July 1977. But Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E decided upon single price rise of 5 percent from 1st January, 1977. Ever since there had been periodic rise in the price of oil. The OPEC countries claim that they push up the oil prices so that cautious use of the same may be adopted and that energy may be conserved for quite sometime. It is obvious that they went to earn more and more of 'petro-dollars' at the cost of the rest of the world.

Of the major powers of the world, Russia and China are not only self sufficient in their oil requirements, but they also have appreciable surpluses for export. Russia is exporting oil to East European countries and China to Japan. China has already increased the price of its crude to make it par with the price of the Arab oil. Russia has also done likewise. Thus, they earn substantial additional revenues and use them to increase the might of their defence.

### **Economic Consequences**

As Friedman observes in *International Labour Review* (Vol. I No. 1. Jan. '75) The oil diplomacy through concerted cutbacks in production, large price increases and embargoes on supplies to certain groups of countries began to have far-reaching economic consequences throughout the world. So long as these powers realized their responsibility towards world economic situation and of their own accord remained content with what ever they got by way of royalties no major changes would come about. However, even as Western economic policies were designed to suit their own needs rather than exhibiting concern for the whole mankind nothing can stand in the way of unilateral increase of prices by the oil powers particularly when there is no other source of income for them. These powers have the right to feel that their poor development in.. the past were unduly taken advantage of by the great powers in wresting oil concession and the situation should now be reversed. As sovereign states, they would be entitled to determine their economic policies to the greater advantage of their own nations.

The significance of oil can be realized that on this depends major energy consumption requirements of not only a large number of European states but also the process of economic growth and development of underdeveloped countries as well. Modern technological process becomes attainable only when energy is available and oil is the key to technological capabilities and future.

It is interesting to observe that with a view to repel Soviet influence in these areas during the fifties and sixties, the U.S.A. and other Western powers increased military potentials of these countries with the most sophisticated equipment far beyond the requirement of their defence needs. These weapons are now undoubtedly a big deterrent towards any possible force contemplated against small states themselves by the big powers This is a paradoxical situation but these powers would not and possibly could not resort to military pressure to contain the ambitions-legitimate or extortionist, depending upon the individual view point of the oil-producing Arab countries.

The recent evolution of the world oil commodities and price situation serves as perhaps the most vivid reminder of the interdependence that exists among the nations of the world. Production and trade relationships intricately link the economic and consumption needs of the industrialised rich, the oil rich, the planned socialist, the developing and the under- developed and underfed poor countries of the globe.

## **Conclusion**

Not only the advanced countries rely upon the oil consumption for stabilizing their economic growth rate but the other nations in varying ascending steps of the ladder towards economic prosperity depend upon the supply of oil. The trend of international diplomacy has turned from military to economic aspects of co-operation or conflicts. Whether the great powers would allow small Arab states to dictate terms to them every now and then is a serious matter. Towards the purpose of cutting down to size these Arab states, no wonder they would try to devise all sorts of methods. However, ruscser would not definitely allow a situation whereby the interests would be exclusively judged by U.S. and her allies. The balance of power based on military might seems to wither under the new economic pressure and the world would have to watch carefully over the future development and overtones of super-powers in this area. Iraq invaded Kuwait for the sake of oil and a big war involving superpowers ensued. Finally Iraq was defeated. But the tension continues.

## **Model question for guidance**

Trace briefly the impact of Arab Nations and their oil in the world situation.

**Lesson : 19****Non-Alignment : Meaning - Bases - Nature and Growth - Role of NAM in Contemporary World**

Non-alignment is one of those phenomena of international politics which have arisen after the World War II. It represents an important force in shaping the nature of international relations. For about two-thirds of the world states have accepted this policy. The geographical area occupied by them covers more than 50 percent of the earth's surface. About half of the world population live in these countries. Non-alignment has thus acquired such a position that it necessitates a dispassionate study of its varied aspects in perspective.

**Meaning**

The term non-alignment has different meanings to different people. It is generally referred to as neutrality or neutralism by the western writers. Some leaders of non-aligned states have also accepted the term neutralism. It was George Liska who used the term non-alignment for the first time in a scientific sense. Thereafter scholars came to accept the term.

George Schwarzenberger deals with six concepts which are often regarded as synonymous with non-alignment. They are isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralization, unilateralism and non-involvement. Isolationism means remaining aloof from international affairs. Non-commitment stands for detachment from other powers in a triangular relationship. Neutrality refers to the political and legal status of a country not at war with either of the two belligerents. This concept had its origin during the Middle Ages. To begin with, it meant complex abstention from any act partially in favour of one or the other belligerent. In the modern sense, however, neutrality is a collective system such as the one under the U.N.O. which allows discrimination against the aggressor. Neutralization is different from neutrality because a neutral state is free to give up its status of neutrality and assume that of a belligerent. But a neutralized state is permanently neutral and cannot give up its neutralized status. It cannot resort to war without breach of its treaty obligations. Switzerland is an example of a neutralized state. Austria's neutrality has been guaranteed from 1955 by the world powers. Unilateralism is identified with policies of calculated risks such as the destruction of nuclear weapons irrespective of whether other nations do the same or not. Non-involvement signifies the attitude of tolerant detachment from the tensions between the world powers.

Schwarzenberger believes that non-alignment differs in its meaning from the meanings of the other six related concepts. According to him, non-alignment is a policy of keeping out of alliances.

One of the fundamental aspects of non-alignment is its antipathy to the system of military alliance. Anti-military alliance is a policy which is a fact of international history and not a post-1945 development. It existed even before the Second World War. George Liska holds that traditionally there have been two kinds of anti-alliance attitudes. First, the anti-alliance policy may rule out alliance with a particular country or countries, but without approving of or condemning the policies of alliance generally. Thus after 1871, France refused to enter into an alliance with Germany unless the latter returned the conquered provinces. But France was not against the institution of military alliances in general. She was only against entering into an alliance at a particular time and with a particular state and not against the abstention from all types of alliances and with all countries. Though the U.S.A. and England had earlier adopted the policy of splendid isolation, they were not opposed to alliances among other countries. Such countries may enter into alliance when circumstances warrant it. Thus there is no permanent opposition to alliances as such.

The emergence of new states after World War II and the adoption of non-alignment by them has added a third dimension to the anti-alliance policy. These states are opposed to all alliances including those among other states. They hold that competition for enlistment of allies is a cause for tension. Alliances are concluded in anticipation of a trial of strength so that nations may acquire greater bargaining power. Alliances are based on common antagonism rather than co-operation. War seems to be the only alternative to disintegration of alliances and to isolation. The new aspect of anti-alliance policy, however, holds that in the absence of alliances, all nations would be isolated and thus more easily amenable to international law.

### **Bases of non-alignment**

Anti-alliance attitude is the main basis of non-alignment. The military alliances are prejudicial to world peace and are an important feature of cold war. Hence non-participation in cold war naturally required disassociation from military pacts with either the United States or the Soviet Union. Thus opposition to military alliances is rather a negative basis of non-alignment.

There are positive bases of non-alignment too. One such positive basis is ideological, which underlines the faith that non-aligned states do not accept the economic, political and social systems of either bloc in their totality. The non-aligned nations desire to shape their economy and polity in accordance with their own way of life. They also think it necessary to keep themselves free to adopt any good thing from any country so that a healthy all-round development could be achieved. Several newly independent countries would not like to join a block having as its members the countries from whose colonial domination they have just attained freedom.

Non-alignment has an economic basis too. As most of the non-aligned nations have been underdeveloped, they thought that their foreign policy should be directed towards achieving the goal of economic development. Two essentials are required for the attainment of this goal. They are the capital and technical skills. To obtain them from whatever sources it was better for these nations to remain non-aligned. For they could have the best of both the blocs. Joining one or the other block would have not only meant less economic aid but would also entail a risk of being used by the power blocs as an instrument of political blackmail for cold war purposes. The leaders of non-aligned nations hoped that they would be able to secure aid from countries of both the power blocs and to improve their trade with them by opting to the policy of non-alignment. However, the economic basis of non-alignment is that no foreign aid should be accepted if it is accompanied by strings. Jawaharlal Nehru declared several times in unequivocal terms that India would not accept foreign aid if there were political strings attached to it and if its acceptance involved any change in our basic policy. India has so long adhered to the principle of non-alignment. In 1965 for example, the year of Indo-Pak conflict, the U.S.A. pressurised India into accepting Pakistan's stand on Kashmir with an implied threat that if India did not agree to do so, it would cut aid to India and might even stop food supplies to India. But Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri declared that India would prefer austerity in food consumption, until she became self sufficient rather than agree to yield to any kind of pressure on Kashmir.

A close study of the bases of non-alignment shows that there are two fundamental components in them, one negative and the other positive. The negative component is disassociation from alliances, especially from military blocs and the positive component is the independence of foreign policy. These two are then the corner stones of non-alignment.

Two important questions are now raised regarding the bases of non alignment They are: Has non-alignment changed in character, and, if so, what are the changes? Has it achieved its objective? Both of them centre around the current and future relevance of non-alignment in world politics. If its relevance to-day is upheld, it is obviously implied that non-alignment has been able to achieve its objective by changing its character according to changing circumstances of international society. On the other hand, if one does not see any relevance for non-alignment, it naturally means that one regards non-alignment as having achieved nothing. Therefore the questions of the current relevance and the future of non-alignment are also concerned with the changed meaning and the present function of the policy in international politics.

It is often argued that since non-alignment was born and brought up in the context of cold war, it should now be given up in view of the end of cold war. Such a contention is not valid, for cold war has not ended,

and non-alignment has a useful function to perform even in a world free from cold war tensions. It is doubtful if the world has reached the end of cold war era so long as problems like disarmament remain unsolved.

### **New Trends in Non-Alignment**

The emergence of new dimensions of cold war is not confined to the traditional power blocs, dominated by the Soviet Union and U.S.A. The cold war has emerged in other groups of nations as well. The Arab world, for example, is torn between two points of view about Arab policy and attitude towards the question of Palestine. Egypt stands alienated from the rest of the Arab world because of its policy of rapprochement with Israel.

Thus, at present, international politics is characterised by new forms of cold war; if non-alignment began as a reaction to intra-bloc cold war; today it has to face inter-bloc cold war also. It can sustain its significance as an international doctrine if it can serve effectively as a reaction to intra-bloc cold war also. The world may come to have not only alignment. But this extension of non-alignment is not concerned with the essential condition of non-alignment namely, disassociation from military alliances which is not possible in the case of countries which are members of military alliances like NATO.

Non-alignment has to-day reached a stage of development where even a formal disassociation from military alliances is not absolutely necessary for a country to be called non-aligned. Most of the non-aligned nations have been recipients of military aid from the two power blocs. It is argued that acceptance of foreign aid, either military or economic, does not necessarily imply a surrender of non-alignment unless it impairs the independence of foreign policy of the receiving country. There are some countries which have allowed foreign military bases on their territory and yet remain non-aligned. The five point criterion adopted to extend invitations for participation in the conferences of Heads of States or Governments of Non-aligned countries held at Belgrade in 1961 was as follows: 1) The country should be following an independent foreign policy based on non-Alignment and peaceful co-existence; 2) it should support movements for freedom from colonialism; 3) it should not be a party to any cold war military pact with any of the two super powers designed to serve as a means in the east-west struggle; and 4) It should not have a bilateral military pact with any of the two super powers defined to serve as a means in the east-west struggle; 5) it should not permit military bases on its territory. Its application however, was quite liberal. Saudi-Arabia and Morocco, which permitted military bases to the United States, were among the participants. Similarly, the requirement of not being a member of a bilateral military pact was not strictly applied in the case of these countries as membership of a pact was involuntary or forced as a condition of the grant of independence to themselves.

The Second Conference of Non-Aligned countries was held at Cairo in 1964. The participants were of five categories; a) twenty five countries which had participated in the Belgrade Conference b) all those countries which subscribed to the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, c) All Arab countries which had participated in the Arab Summit of January, 1964; d) Malawi, Lasc, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela, Austria, Finland and Sweden; e) Zambia, Guyana, (if their independence was proclaimed before the start of the Conference in October), and the Provisional Government of Angola.

The Lusaka and the Algiers Conferences adopted more or less the same criteria. More countries were added to the list of non aligned nations. The inclusion of a number of Latin American countries, which are members of the Rio Treaty indicates a vital stage in the conceptual growth of non-alignment. It was obviously based on the recognition of the growing feeling that the Rio Treaty, though a military alliance, should not be taken as an instrument of cold war. Thus the scope of non-alignment defined by the Belgrade Conference, was extended by the Cairo and Lusaka conferences. The sole touchstone of non-alignment has then become the independence in foreign policy.

If the independence of foreign policy alone constitutes its essence, non-alignment can be looked upon as an attribute of sovereignty, for no state can be considered sovereign if it does not pursue an independent foreign policy. Seen in the historical perspective, independent foreign policy as an element of the traditional concept of sovereignty has performed a function different from the one performed by the new attribute of sovereignty namely non-alignment. The difference lies in the fact that independent countries, other than the non-aligned, have used their independence of foreign policy in their own national interest, while the use of non-alignment has extended to the service of international peace. There has been a conscious attempt on the part of most of the new states to adopt non-alignment as a basis of their sovereignty. With their political instability and economic dependence upon great powers it would have otherwise been a misnomer to call these states independent.

While non-alignment has served the principle of sovereignty, it has also led to its diminution in another way. The omnipotent character of the exercise of sovereignty in foreign relation has been curbed in the sense that war does not enjoy that sanctity as an instrument of national policy as it did earlier. This limitation on sovereignty is mainly due to the development in science and technology. But by its assertion of the need for international peace, non-alignment seeks to make this limitation an essential principle of sovereignty. Non-alignment insists on the one hand that nations should pursue an independent foreign policy and on the other that the independence of foreign policy should be used in the service of international peace. Therefore

non-alignment has imparted to sovereignty a new purpose which is much wider than the old purpose of serving the national interest. The theory of non-alignment is based on the contention that national interest will be taken care of by itself in a peaceful international order.

It is the failure to recognise the significance of non-alignment as a technique of peaceful settlement of international dispute that has led scholars like George Swerzenberger to label non-alignment as a self-centred policy and Hans Morganthau and Reinhold Niebuhr to view it as only an ideology. They assume that non-alignment is only a means of getting aid from countries of both the power blocs. But non-alignment is something more than that.

The relationship between non-alignment and disarmament and international organisation is quite obvious because it is through them that non-alignment seeks to contribute to the cause of world peace. Non-alignment supports all activities that aim at the relaxation of international tension and it encourages all institutions which work for peaceful resolution of conflicts. Therefore, support for disarmament and faith in the United Nations are as important to non-alignment as independence of foreign policy. Nehru often pointed out that in an actual war non-aligned countries will have no option but to join it on the side which they jointly or individually consider as just. The prevention of a third world war is not only the objective of non-alignment but the very condition of its survival. Thus any plans including those for banning nuclear weapons are logically a concern of non-alignment. It tries to strengthen peace efforts by creating favourable conditions for their success. Non-alignment is the natural accompaniment of all those countries, which support peace and disarmament. It can attain stability as an international doctrine only if it can be useful in the resolution of world issues. Non-alignment has so far succeeded in averting the danger of a third world war.

Non-alignment has to-day assumed the form of a movement whose characteristics are more demanding, more radical and more militant. Several factors are responsible for this. First of all the number of countries adopting non-alignment greatly increased since the Belgrade Conference in 1961. Secondly the non-aligned countries now think in terms of their potential to play a vital role in world affairs. Thirdly, the common problem of under development has unified all the member-countries.

Some of the non-aligned states want the movement to play more active role towards the following objectives. 1) they should challenge the developed nations and compel them to share their wealth and resources with the non-aligned countries; 2) they should get a proper share in the management of the various international issues which at present are being monopolised by the super powers; 3) there should be some formal structure of the non-aligned movement and 4) there should be economic co-operation among

the countries of the third world so that the non-aligned nations may be able to achieve the above objectives and to reduce their present economic dependence upon the super powers. It would however, be wrong to presume that there is a complete unity among all the non-aligned nations on the above points.

The non-aligned nations, while welcoming detente, assert that universal peace and security cannot be ensured without extending the scope of detente to cover all parts of the world. They point out that peace is indivisible and that it cannot be ensured merely by changing the area of confrontation from one place to another. Detente would be meaningless unless it took into consideration the need for peace and harmony in all parts of the world. In solving the major problems of the world like disarmament and arms control, the non aligned nations want themselves to be taken into confidence by the super powers.

The new trends emerging in the foreign policy behaviour of non-aligned nations after the Algiers conference of 1973 reflect both a revival of and a departure from the original concept of non-alignment as it developed during the height of the cold war. In the 1950s, these nations were keen to keep away from the cold war rivalries so that they could protect their freedom and achieve economic development. Their anxiety was to prevent the extension of the cold war confrontation or the influence of the super powers to their areas. The hostile relationship between the super powers was unfavourable to the non-aligned countries because of the unlimited competition between them for acquiring unlimited influence in the world. The present detente between them aims at a limited confluence. But both the competition and detente have been pursued at the cost of non-aligned countries. The present concept of non-alignment is a revival of its older form in the sense that it is opposed to the super powers trying to exploit the non-aligned countries directly or indirectly. But it also marks a departure from the past concern as it now admits of the possibility of a non-aligned country having a special relationship with the super powers in such a way, that it does not involve a serious compromise with the independence of its foreign policy. This aspect assumes even more serious proportions in view of the insistence of the non-aligned nations that they should have equal share in the management of world affairs and in the shaping of a new world order.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Describe the bases of non-alignment
2. What are the new trends in the non-alignment? How have they influenced the modification of the basic concepts of the movement?

**Lesson : 20****Cold War : Origin, Nature  
Issues and Effects**

The term Cold War was loosely used to describe the power struggle, with its political, diplomatic and ideological conflicts and military threats that arose after 1945 between the Communist and Western democratic capitalist nations.' The history of the Cold War was virtually the whole history of international politics since 1945. The Cold War was fought by propaganda, diplomacy, economic competition and localised military action but not all-out war.

**The Origin of the Cold War**

The origin of the Cold War can be traced from the closing years of World War II. The unconditional surrender demanded of Germany and Japan clearly must leave a power vacuum around the periphery of the Soviet Union and there was no agreement, nor even a basis for agreement among the prospective victors as to how it should be filled. An earnest effort was made at Yalta (February 1945) to frame a world system under which both the Soviet Union and the Western Powers could live in peace. It was a failure. The supposed agreements on the future of Germany and Eastern Europe, on the organisation of the United Nations, and on the ending of the war in the Far East were differently interpreted by the two sides. These supposed agreements were to lead to much discrimination and many allegations of bad faith; but they supplied no workable solution for the huge problems raised by the political and moral chaos to which the War had then reduced the international society.

At the Yalta Conference, the Soviet and Western statesmen were committed to mutually irreconcilable concepts of international order. In general terms, the West wished and believed it possible to re-establish an international system essentially, with some modification like that which Hitler had destroyed in 1939. This implied the restoration of Eastern European states and other liberated areas-wrecked as they were by the savagery, blood-shed and embittered factionalism of the occupation years under governments of their own choosing. It implied that the vast areas surrounding the Soviet Union from China to the Balkans would remain substantially under Western tutelage. The Soviet Union would be accepted as a great communist state in its own right but its dynamic potentialities would be restrained under a general system of law, supervised by a Western-dominated United Nations.

The Soviet statesmen, on the other hand, had no intention of restoring the pre-war power structure. Brought up in a school in which the seizure of power by fair means or foul, was the essence of practical politics, they were inclined to regard the Western concepts of law and popular government as either naive or hypocritical. They had no faith in a United Nations that they could not dominate.

They had no interest in or respect for free elections as a determinant of basic power issues. They, on the other hand, intended to re-shape the pre-war power system in terms more favourable both to Communism and to the U.S.S.R. They intended to regain the frontiers lost after World War I and to protect themselves against a repetition of the horrors and devastations of the Nazi onslaught. Beyond their frontier they insisted on establishing friendly governments to be firmly under Soviet control that they could not again serve as avenues for western capitalistic attack. And they intended to secure for U.S.S.R. an authoritarian voice in an international society from which it had been largely excluded since the Bolshevik Revolution.

Between these clashing political and power interests, clothed on the two sides in wholly incompatible ideologies, war of some kind was unavoidable. Earlier it was widely believed in the West that only the U.S. monopoly of bombs prevented the Soviet Army from overrunning the whole of Western Europe. However that may be, the Soviet Union possessed weapons not only immune to atomic bombs but considerably more effective as practical instruments of power. The Leninist vision of world proletarian revolution was hardly any longer a goal of Soviet policy, but it remained its most powerful weapon. In France and Italy, there were large indigenous Communist parties and they presented a real threat of a Russian conquest of Western Europe, by at least quasi-constitutional means. In Central Europe on the other hand, the Communist parties were small; but as the Soviet armies rolled on to their victory in Berlin, the local Communists were installed in power.

In Poland, representing first major Soviet victory, the Cold War came to be seen as typical to all the rest. The history is as complicated as it was tragic. The Russians in Poland established their own creation the *Lubin Committee*, in power. The West forced to recognise it reluctantly in July 1945, could not avert the complete Communist take over which soon followed. The Russians had their armies on the ground and West did not. With greater or lesser rapidity the process of bringing the Central European states first under the Communist domination and then under full Communist control continued, with the West incapable of halting it.

The fears and tensions that engendered in the West by these take-over became more acute. In February 1946, Stalin said that a peaceful international order was impossible under the present capitalist development of the World economy and called for a massive programme of industrial re-construction and expansion. Men in the West took it as a declaration of World War III. In the following month, Winston Churchill made his celebrated pronouncement that from the Baltic to the Adriatic an *Iron curtain* was descending across Europe; behind it, the very small Communist parties were being raised to power far beyond their numbers; everywhere police government prevailed and there was no true democracy. He summoned non-Communist world to resist in the name of freedom. The Russians denounced him as an anti-Soviet war-monger. This could be considered as start of the Cold War.

## **Cold war in Germany**

It was in Germany that the cold war took a rigid form, as a major battle for the resources, for the military potential and ultimately for the allegiance of the defeated Germans. Under its stresses the four-power control system set up after the armistice rapidly became unworkable. The first serious issue arose over Soviet demands for reparation deliveries from the western occupation zones; and when the Western Powers in 1946 simply suspended further reparation deliveries it indicated a divergence of interests too deep to make a genuinely joint control any longer possible. The Russians re-established a Communist party in East Germany. The Americans and the British merged the economies of their areas into Bizonia the foundation of what ultimately became the West German Republic. Each of the great power blocs was committed to the reunification of Germany but only on its own terms.

As the Russian Communist absorption of Eastern Europe continued toward completion, as the Soviet pressure in Germany intensified and as Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War was a probability, Western fears and tension mounted. The U.S. President felt that the time had come to call a halt. In March 1947, President Truman announced in the Truman Doctrine that; it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outsider pressure. It was clearly the beginning of the policy of Containment. According to this point the expansionist and aggressive tendencies of the Soviet Union could be contained by whatever means available until such a time as inevitable growth and change within Russia might render those tendencies less perilous to the free institutions of the West. By this time the phrase Cold War became generally current in the West, expressing the sense of a bitter conflict, though one still waged without the clash of armies.

The aid offered by the U.S. to Greece and Turkey in March 1947, was followed in June 1947 by the proposal of the Marshall Plan for economic rehabilitation of Western Europe. This was offered by Secretary of State of the United States, George C. Marshall. The Marshall Plan, officially the European Recovery Programme aided most non-Communist nations of Europe. Russia condemned the Marshall Plan as a scheme of American capitalists to gain economic and political control over Europe and announced that she would exert every effort to defeat the plan. The Russian satellites were forbidden to participate in Marshall Plan aid. The Marshall Plan was to prove amazingly successful. It was also to force the issue in Europe and precipitate the greatest single crisis of the cold war.

The West pressed forward its plans for reforming the shattered West German currency and ultimately establishing West-Germany as an independent state. The Soviet Union still intent on securing the whole of Germany for Communism and unable to withstand the import of a reformed West German currency on the East German economy set itself to defeat both ends.

The Soviet Union could do little to block the plans of the Western Allies for the rehabilitation of West Germany. But Berlin, still nominally undivided under the four-power control, was deep within the Communist East Germany, at once a threat to the Soviet system and a hostage in its hands. The Russians used every device to put the Berlin Communists in command of the city's administration, while they began tentatively to interrupt the city's economic ties with the West and the access of the Western powers to their sectors in West Berlin.

### **Berlin Blockade**

When the West announced in June 1948 that it would extend the new West German currency to Berlin, the Russians responded by cutting off all road and rail traffic into the Western sectors of the city. The object was to establish the position that Berlin as a whole was a part of East Germany and to force the Western Powers out of the city; and thus to seize the traditional German capital for Communism. The West might have abandoned the struggle but the uncompromising attitude of the non-Communist Berliners themselves, together with the unexpected success of the airlift that sustained the Western sectors during the blockade, averted what would have been disastrous defeat for Western powers and prestige. The compelled political and propaganda battle that ensued, as well as the effectiveness of the airlift, made it apparent that neither side could win the city except by an open war which neither side wanted. In May 1949, an agreement among the four occupying powers (the U.S., U.K., France and USSR) raised the Berlin Blockade and counter-blockade, settled the currency question and in effect divided Berlin as Germany had already been divided into Eastern and Western sectors.

### **Expansion of the Cold War (1949 - 63) - Korean War**

Joseph Stalin let it known an account of his motives in instigating or at least authorising the Korean War. Speculation has suggested various possibilities. Checked in central Europe, he may merely have seen an opportunity to pick up easy countervailing victory in the Far East. It is not impossible that the North Koreans may have forced Moscow's hand by instigating the War on their own account and that Russia's refusal to disavow these was dictated more by the necessity for maintaining the Soviet power position (and forestalling the rising power of the Chinese under Mao Tse Tung) than by any desire to attack the West. The motivations may well have had more to do with the complicated politics of Asia than with the cold war itself. To the West it did not seem so. The assault on South Korea was at once assumed to indicate a general onslaught upon the free world.

The U.S. military appropriations were abruptly quadrupled, but most of the money went to the defence of Europe rather than to Korea. NATO was converted into a full military alliance with a common command under the wartime supreme commander Dwight D. Eisenhower. Meanwhile President Truman, throwing what troops were available into Korea, obtained from the UN Security Council a vote authorising a multi-national police action under U.S. command for

the rescue of South Korea. It escaped a Soviet veto only because the Russians were at the time boycotting the Council in protest against the exclusion of Communist China from the U.N.

After an initially desperate defence, military position was restored by the beginning of October 1950, the resort to war had cleared South Korea upto the original boundary along the 38th parallel. The decision of the United States government endorsed by the U.N General Assembly to press on and recover North Korea from the now defeated Communists was dictated less by military than by cold war considerations. But the results were lamentable. Unknown to the American U.N. Command, China had passed some hundreds and thousands of its troops into North Korea. These Chinese troops, by the middle of November 1950 struck in a devastating attack which could not be stemmed until all of North Korea and a large fraction of the South had been lost. President Truman's reaction was suggestive. Because this new act of aggression in Korea, he declared, is only part of a world wide pattern of danger to all the free nations of the world, it is more necessary than ever before to increase, at a very rapid rate, the combined military strength of the nations.

While the hot war dragged on for another two years in Korea absorbing much of the Western attention, the cold war was continuing in other parts of the globe where it was beyond the control by atomic threats or massive troop formation.

In December 1950 at the height of the debacle in Korea, the American U.N. policy had openly renounced the re-unification of the country as a military objective. While there could be no thought of appeasement or of rewarding aggression anywhere, the West was prepared to negotiate a truce on the original frontier, leaving unification to be attained later by peaceful means. By March 1951 the U.S. and the U.N. armies, after hard fighting, were back substantially on the 38th parallel. Two heavy Communist offensive thereafter were successfully repelled; the war had been fought demonstrably in a draw. As a result of a Soviet initiative the U.N. command asked for armistice discussions. The Chinese and North Koreans agreed to discussions, but it was not until two years later that they at last agreed to an armistice.

The last two years of the Korean War were a baffling and exasperating experience for the American commands and policy makers. They were accustomed to thinking of cold war as the substitute for a hot war which by ordinary standards should have ended the matter. Yet, the fighting dragged out not for normal military objectives but for political and cold war objectives to which the bloodshed was merely ancillary. While the war continued in the rocky hills, the Chinese used the international negotiations in the Panmunjorn truce to secure political and propaganda victories to tire out the West to extort concessions damaging the Western prestige and power positions. The seemingly pointless battles in which the Chinese and U.N. troops alike

continued to die were of significance only as they might contribute to breaking the resultant political and propagandist deadlocks. It was a form of cold war which the West found it difficult to deal with.

In January 1952, Truman was succeeded in the Presidency by Dwight D. Eisenhower, committed to ending the Korean War. On July 27, 1953, the Korean armistice was at last signed. The end of the Korean War is shrouded in the obscurity surrounding its beginning. The death of Stalin (1953) forced drastic reappraisals of all Communist policy and the Chinese may have doubted whether they could continue to rely on Soviet support. They may have been moved by the threat privately conveyed by the Eisenhower administration through Indian and other channels, that if the force at Panmunjorn were not ended, it would carry the War into China with atomic weapons. The War, as it was, put no light drain on China's human and economic resources. Whatever their reasons, they in effect surrendered on the major propaganda issue (over the disposition of the prisoners of war); and while it was possible to convert the resulting armistice into a peace, the fighting ended. The position was stabilised along the 38th parallel frontier; and so it remained.

In Germany, the cold war was revived in the summer of 1961 when Khrushchev tried to force a final division of the country by threatening to conclude a separate peace with East Germany. This would have unilaterally destroyed the legal basis for the position of the Allies in West Berlin and that forced the West to recognise and deal directly with the East Germans and made partition absolute. When the West refused to yield its right with West Berlin, the answer was the construction of Berlin Wall in August 1961. President Kennedy mobilised reserve divisions in the United States, but less as an actual war measure than as a sign of determination. The Russians did not insist; the West retained its position in West Berlin, but East Berlin with the rest of East Germany was totally sealed off. The cold war went out but it seemed that it was waged increasingly by diplomatic and political methods rather than by naked military confrontation.

## **Military Alliances**

The Western democracies suspected Russians more in the Black Sea area. The deep aversion of the U.S. towards the Communists led to the formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). It was created with a three-fold purpose of acting as a deterrent on the Soviet Union by providing Europe with an umbrella of security and enabling the democracies to go ahead with their programme of economic and military development.. It was intended to forge unity between the U.S.A. and her allies in Europe and to create an organization with the common purpose of defence. Similarly when Eisenhower became President in 1952, he found the situation in South East Asia turbulent. In September 1951, the U.S.A., U.K., France, Australia, Newzeland, Thailand, Pakistan and Philippines had signed the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO). It stressed the fact that an armed attack against one country would be resisted by all.

## **Effects of cold war**

1. The rivalry between the two super-powers has produced endless friction. The emergence of Red China as a third super-power has added fuel to fire.
2. The dream of creating one world has vanished into thin air, shattering the hopes of the peace-lovers.
3. The United Nations has become the first casualty of the cold war. It has been reduced to a simple forum of world opinion.
4. It has resulted in competition for armaments between the super-powers.
5. The diversion of world's economic resources for armament production has retarded the economic well-being of underdeveloped countries.

## **Conclusion**

Had the cold war been a mistake? Each side had exaggerated the wickedness of the other. It is certain that the West was not the paragon of freedom nor were the Communist States a workers' paradise. But their conflicts are going on ceaselessly. Therefore, the most appropriate conclusion would be that there is no conclusion for the cold war. In political activity. Professor Michael Oakeshott wrote, men sail boundless bottomless sea where there is neither harbour for shelter nor floor for anchorage, neither starting place nor appointed destination.

In the twenty years of its duration, the cold war has been the largest single factor in international relations. Several spectacular clashes such as the Berlin Blockade in 1948, the Korean Conflict in 1950, or the Cuban missile Crisis in 1962, brought the world to the brink of a general war; but, even during the great tensions restraint prevailed on both sides and the conflict remained limited. Although ideologically divided, the two super powers had shared the dangers of the Chinese challenge.

Even if the cold war and the bipolarity has been gradually decreasing no doubt international society will be faced with the problem of nuclear weapons. It involves colossal expenditure on the development and improvement of weapons and danger of a nuclear war through escalation or accident. Therefore the problem of controlling nuclear weapons might easily survive the gradual dwindling of other problems of the cold war.

## **Model question for guidance**

Trace the history of Cold War in Europe between 1945 and 1950 with special reference to divided Germany.

**Lesson : 21****Disarmament: Meaning -  
Major Disarmament Efforts -  
Problems of Disarmament**

The two world wars and the potentialities of nuclear warfare have made the establishment of international order and the preservation of international peace the main concern of the world today. War has always been abhorred as a scourge. Earlier writers have pleaded against war. But practical attempts to solve the problems of international order and peace have been largely undertaken in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Of these attempts, the Holy Alliances, the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907, the League of Nations, and the United Nations are the outstanding examples. According to Morgenthau, these organizations and conferences, together with the less important endeavours to shape a peaceful world were made possible by four factors, namely, spiritual, moral, intellectual, and political which started to converge at the beginning of the nineteenth century and culminated in the theory and practice of international affairs prevalent in the period between the two world wars. The spiritual factor had been there from the time of the early Christians and later the Holy Roman Empire.

The moral root of these attempts is to be found in the increase in the humaneness and civilized character of human relations, which the last centuries have witnessed in the west. The philosophy of the enlightenment and the political theory of liberalism postulated respect for human life and the promotion of human welfare. The great political and social reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were inspired by these postulates. Extension of rule of law, peace, and order to the international sphere was then the great humanitarian task that the modern age had to solve.

The intellectual factor is connected with the rise of the commercial classes to social and then to political importance. The commercial and scientific spirit which grew in them treated war and international anarchy as irrational disturbances of the calculable operations of the market. As the French philosopher Diderot pointed out, A war in the midst of different trading nations is a fire disadvantageous to all. It is a process which threatens the fortunes of a great merchant and makes his debtors turn pale. According to Kant, The commercial spirit cannot coexist with war. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, many were convinced that war was obsolete and that it could be banished from the earth with relative ease by a concerted rational effort of humanity.

It was, however, the cataclysm of the Napoleonic wars that demonstrated the need for supplementing the theoretical quest for the solution of the problem of international order and peace with practical measures. The importance of the Napoleonic wars in this respect is two-fold. First they destroyed the balance

of power and threatened to replace it with a universal empire. This factor passed with the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The second element is nationalism. It was evoked by the French Revolution and carried by the Napoleonic conquest throughout Europe, challenging the principle of dynastic legitimacy.

The convergence of these four factors at the beginning of the nineteenth century and their dynamic release into the political area provided the intellectual and moral energy for the sustenance of the search for alternatives to war and international anarchy. This search has actually been carried on through three different media: (1) politics (2) transformation of international politics by eliminating its destructive and anarchical tendencies altogether, and (3) accommodation of divergent interests by depriving the destructive and anarchical tendencies of international politics of their national objectives. Of these attempts, the most persistent has been that of disarmament.

### **Meaning of Disarmament**

Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armaments race. It is believed that by doing so, one can do away with the effects of international struggle for power, namely international anarchy and war. Distinctions must be made, however, between disarmament and arms control; between general and local disarmament and between quantitative and qualitative disarmament. While disarmament is the reduction or elimination of armament, arms control is concerned with regulating the armaments race for the purpose of creating a measure of military stability. General disarmament refers to a kind of disarmament in which all the nations concerned participate. The local disarmament aims at an overall reduction of armament of most or all types. This was the goal of most nations represented at the World Disarmament Conference of 1932. Qualitative disarmament envisages the reduction or abolition of only certain special types of armaments such as atomic weapons.

### **Major Disarmament efforts**

Attempts towards disarmament have mostly ended in failure. There have been a few successes too.

There were a few steps towards local disarmament in the eighteenth century. The first practical step in favour of disarmament is a measure of general pacification that coincided with the beginning of that period of international relations in which statesmen have dedicated their efforts to the establishment of international peace and order. In 1816, the Czar of Russia proposed to the British government the simultaneous reduction of the armed forces of every kind. The British monarch, in response, suggested the convening of an international conference where the military representatives of all powers should determine the respective strength of the armies of each power. This proposal was not seriously considered by any of the governments.

The only successful disarmament provisions of the nineteenth century are found in the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, concerning the frontier

between the United States and Canada. It limited the naval forces on the Great Lakes to three vessels of equal tonnage and the armaments for each nation.

In 1831, the French government proposed an international conference on disarmament. These proposals were favourably received by the great powers but nothing more was heard of them. Similar fate befell on the proposal Napoleon III had made in 1863, 1867, and 1869 for a general reduction of armaments. In 1870, immediately, before the outbreak of Franco-Prussian War, Britain, on the instigation of France, approached Prussia on the question of the reduction of armaments, but without success.

The first Hague Peace Conference of 1899 had as one of its main purpose the limitation of armaments and of military budgets. It was attended by the representatives of twenty-eight nations, among them were found all the major powers. The deliberations of the conference resulted in two resolutions with regard to disarmaments. The committee in which this issue was discussed was of the opinion, that the restriction of military charges, which are at present a heavy burden in the world, is extremely desirable for the interest of mankind. The full conference expressed that the governments taking into consideration the proposals made at the conference may examine the possibility of an agreement as to limitation of armed forces of land and sea, and of war budgets.

The Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907, attended by 44 nations, confirmed the resolution adopted by the conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure: as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the governments should resume the serious examination of this question.

The Treaty of Versailles took another step towards disarmament by stipulating a drastic limitation of German armaments in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations. Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations declared that the maintenance of Peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common actions of international obligations. The Council of the League was to formulate plans for such reduction. In 1925 the Council established a Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference. Its tentative conclusions were submitted to the World Disarmament Conference, convened at Genevaao Germany withdrew from the conference in October 1933. The last meeting of that general commission of the conference was held in 1934. The Conference was an unmitigated failure as it was unable to reach formal agreements of any kind.

The outstanding example of a venture in disarmament is the Washington Treaty of 1922 for the limitation of Naval Armaments. The Treaty established approximate equality in capital ships between the United States, the British Empire, Japan, France and Italy. Consequently, the British Empire, the U.S.A. and Japan scrapped about 40 percent of their strength in capital ships. The

Washington Conference, however, failed to produce agreement with regard to any naval craft other than capital ships such as cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

The efforts at general disarmament taken by the League of Nations, were interrupted by the Second World War. The United Nations, however, took up the matter. According to Article II of its Charter, The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both. The Security Council is responsible for formulating plans for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

In pursuance of these provisions, the General Assembly created in 1945, an Atomic Energy Commission to make specific proposals for the control of atomic energy to the extent, necessary to issue its use only for peaceful purposes, for the elimination from national armament of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction. With regard to the conventional armaments, the General Assembly passed on December 14, 1946, a resolution of Principles Governing the General Regulation and Reduction of Armaments. The resolution called upon the Security Council to consider promptly the practical means necessary to that effect. Consequently, the Security Council passed a resolution on February 13, 1947, establishing a commission for conventional armaments. The commission's purpose was the preparation of Proposals (a) for a general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces and (b) for practical and effective safeguards in connection with the general regulation and reduction of armaments.

Neither of the two commissions succeeded in reaching agreements of any kind on the substantive problems before them. Thus the General Assembly, by a resolution combined the work of the two commissions and established a new Disarmament Commission, composed of the members of the Security Council and Canada. Unable to reach agreement, it was replaced by a subcommittee composed of China, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. In pursuance of a General Assembly resolution of November 8, 1953, calling for negotiations by the powers principally involved, this subcommittee submitted in August 1957, a draft for disarmament agreement. The draft was opposed by Soviet Union. However the General Assembly accepted the draft. The U.S.S.R. refused to participate in any further negotiations of the Disarmament Commission or its subcommittee and called for a Disarmament Commission composed of all the members of the U.N.O. The U.N. expanded the membership of the Commission to 25. The new Commission remained inoperative, and hence from the beginning of 1958, disarmament negotiations were carried on outside the U.N. by several countries including the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. In 1959 these countries established a new disarmament commission outside the U.N. and arranged

a conference in March 1960. The Soviet bloc withdrew from the conference in June. In March 1962, a general disarmament conference with a membership of 18 nations was convened under the auspices of the U.N. It was boycotted from the outset by France and they met periodically without achieving any results. In 1969 the membership was increased to twenty-six in order to ensure better geographical and political distribution.

### **Moscow Test Ban Treaty**

The protracted post-war disarmament negotiations produced a limited agreement in 1963, between the U.S.A., Britain and the U.S.S.R. These nations signed a Treaty in Moscow, on August 5, 1963 which sought to prohibit nuclear testings in some specified environments. Hence it has come to be known as the Test Ban Treaty. India was among the first countries to sign the treaty.

The Test Ban Treaty is a very short document containing only five articles. In the Preamble to the Treaty the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the U-K. which are described by the Treaty as the *Original parties* have proclaimed as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Each of the parties to the Treaty undertakes to prohibit, to prevent and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion at any place under its jurisdiction or control. Nuclear tests are prohibited in the environments of atmosphere including outer space, underwater, territorial waters, and the high seas. Explosions underground are permissible only if they do not cause radioactive debris that spread outside the territorial-limits of a state. Article III of the treaty provides that any state can become party to it. The treaty is of unlimited duration. But any contracting party may withdraw from it if one decides that extraordinary events-related to the subject matter of the Treaty have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. The Test Ban Treaty was hailed as the first step toward lasting peace and disarmament, and as a breakthrough and as the dawn of a new era in international relations. It represents a significant advance in bringing some order to the field of disarmament negotiations. It is unwise, however, to overestimate the Treaty. For it does not settle all the problems relating to nuclear tests, like the means of delivery of nuclear weapons, the perfection of anti-missile and conventional armaments. It does not ban explosion underground nor does it prohibit the production of nuclear weapons. There is no provision in the treaty for any machinery to ensure the successful accomplishment of the agreed objectives of the Treaty.

### **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**

In the year 1965, the United States advocated a programme for nuclear non-proliferation. In 1965 the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union submitted separate draft treaties, which were modified by themselves in 1966. In November 1966, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution, sponsored by a large number of nations including both the super powers, appealing to all states to take necessary steps to facilitate and achieve the conclusion of a Non-proliferation Treaty.

### **(iii) Disarmament and reduction of armaments**

It is only in very few instances that these issues were solved and agreements reached on the ratio and allocation of armaments. What was the effect of these agreements on the quality and quantity of armaments of the nations concerned?

By virtue of the Washington Treaty of 1922, the American, British and Japanese strength in capital ships was reduced by about 40 percent. To that extent the Treaty provided for a general reduction of armaments. However, two factors must be noted. First the reduction was to be only temporary. The Treaty stipulated that the five signatories could in 1931 start to build replacements. In 1931 therefore, the period of reduction of armaments with regard to capital ships came to an end and was replaced by a period of regulated competition for armaments.

Second, because of the rapid development of technology the kind of capital ships in use during the First World War tended to become obsolete. Many experts felt that the battleship as such had become outmoded and that the failure of naval power lay in the absence of light and speedy vessels with firepower. If it is assumed that such considerations had weight with the signatories of the Washington Treaty the reduction in battleship strength would then appear as recognition of the decline of the battleship as a weapon. As if to support that assumption there was an armaments race among the signatories in all vessels not covered by the Treaty. Those were the vessels most important for the kind of naval war then contemplated.

Whatever may be its effects, the Washington Treaty actually limited certain naval armaments. The same cannot be said of the London Treaty of 1930. The main achievement of the London Treaty was agreement among the United States, Great Britain and Japan with regard to the tonnage of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. Though it proposed to provide for the limitations of the naval strength of the respective nations, actually it provided for the rearmament of the U.S.A. and Japan within the limits established by the maximum strength of the British navy in these categories of vessels.

The London Treaty gave parity to the United States and Great Britain with Japan trailing at about two-thirds of the maximum. By doing so, however, the Treaty simply recognized the legitimacy of naval supremacy of Great Britain, and perpetuated this supremacy for all practical purpose.

### **(iv) Does disarmament mean peace?**

Disarmament has been realized only under extraordinary conditions. Even when it seemed to have been realized, more often than not disarmament meant increase in armaments rather than reduction. What is the bearing of disarmament upon the issues of international order and peace?

The modern philosophy of disarmament proceeds from the assumption that men fight because they have arms, says Morgenthau. It logically follows that if men would give up all arms, fighting would become impossible. The real position,

however, is the reverse of the assumption made by the advocates of disarmament. Men do not fight because they have arms. They have arms because they deem it necessary to fight. Even if their arms are taken away they will either fight with their bare fist or get themselves new arms to fight. What makes for warfare conditions in the minds of men. So long as men want to dominate each other and to take away each other's possessions, and so long as they fear and hate each other, they will try to satisfy their desire. If only a strong authority could direct the manifestations of these distresses and emotions into non-violent channels, men will seek only nonviolent instruments for the achievements of their ends. Such an authority cannot exist in a society of sovereign nations.

Reduction in quantity of weapons actually or potentially available at any particular time could have no influence upon incidence for war; it could conceivably affect its conduct. Nations limited in the quantity of arms and men, would concentrate all their energies upon the improvement of the quality of such arms and men as they possess. They would also search for new weapons that might compensate them for the loss in quantity and assure them an advantage over their competitors.

The elimination of certain types of weapons altogether would have a bearing upon the technology of warfare and, through it, upon the conduct of hostilities. But it cannot be assumed that it could influence the frequency of war or do away with war altogether. Prohibition of particular weapons has generally not been effective in war.

While disarmament could not by itself abolish war, it could lessen the political tensions that might easily lead to war. More particularly the unregulated armaments race may lead to so intolerable a situation that all or some parties to the race will prefer its termination by whatever means, even at the risk of war to its indefinite continuation.

Disarmament is an indispensable step in a general settlement of international conflicts. Competition for armaments reflects competition for power. So long as nations advance contradictory claims in the contest for power, they are forced by the very logic of the power contest to advance contradictory claims for armaments. Therefore, a mutually satisfactory settlement of the power contest is a precondition for disarmament. The Nations can then reduce and limit their armaments. Disarmament in turn, will contribute greatly to the general pacification. It contributes to the improvement of the political situation by lessening political tensions and by creating confidence in the purpose of the respective nations. This contribution of disarmament can help to establish international order and the preservation of international peace.

### **Model questions for guidance**

1. Narrate the major steps toward disarmament. How far have they been successful?
2. Discuss the problems of disarmament.

**Lesson : 22**

## **Arms Race : Nature and reasons - Arms trade and its consequences - Nuclear Issues**

**Arms Race: Nature and reasons**

Each year the world spends a truly enormous sum of money on armaments. Despite the best efforts of the statesmen in various disarmament and arms control conferences, the arms production still remains uncontrolled. According to a rough estimate, the world spends over Rs. 1000 crores a day on armaments. According to a report in 1975, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. possessed 11000 and 4000 nuclear warheads respectively. This figure was estimated to rise further to 14000 and 8000 respectively in the 1980's. Besides the Soviet Union was possessing approximately 2000 ICBMs and long range bombers and the Americans little over 2000 in the late seventies. While a fraction of these numbers are sufficient to destroy the entire world, it pains to note that the defence expenditure continues to be very high all over the world. For several years now, world military expenditure has exceeded 200 billion dollars annually compared with 65 billion in 1948 and less than 10 billion in 1900. All these figures confirm the view that there is no end for the arms race. More and more countries are coming forward to join this deadly arms race. In the 60's, only five countries - U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., Canada and Sweden - were engaged in weapon production in large quantity. Now the number has steadily increased to 30 in which nearly half-a-million scientists and engineers are employed for improving the existing weapons and developing new ones.

High level of military expenditure indicates the rise in the weaponry-both in terms of quantity and quality-and thereby contributes to an arms race. A war or a major threat to a nation's security will usually produce a rapid increase in that nation's military expenditure. Unfortunately the same thing happens in the adversary country. Only a strong popular reaction or demands for an effective international disarmament agreement could bring about a reversal, which are indeed rare and far in between. In the absence of such mechanisms, arms race continues unabated, resulting in major war. That has been the trend we are witnessing in the history of nations, especially during the twentieth century. Both the World Wars were preceded by its tense arms races and a rapid increase in world military expenditure. During the entire cold war period, both the super powers, in the absence of meaningful dialogues adopted arms race as a technique to maintain the power balance between them, which of course, had ended in creating a balance of terror. The two major alliances had consistently accounted for nearly 75% of the total defence spending. But over the last few years, an alarming trend is being witnessed in the rate of increase in military expenditure among the developing countries, which is more true of the Middle East.

There are two fundamental reasons for the arms race. They are: (1) Rapid technological changes and (2) domestic bureaucratic and economic factors.

### **Technological factors**

An arms race is mainly run for maintaining the superiority of the quality of the weapons which are at the disposal of a country. Sophistication in weapon involves a distinct pattern of interaction. When a country is engaged in this act, naturally the adversaries react. But normally they do not just react, but overreact since they have no precise method to measure their power requirements in terms of their national security. This uncertainty compels them to prefer too much rather than too little. This action-reaction pattern virtually leads to an arms race. There exists always a tendency in this type of interaction to remain a step ahead all the time which invites arms race. But once the technological sophistication advances, instead of trying to match the level of one another, the countries attempt to exploit their technological skills to a maximum extent, thereby they jump a few steps at once. Such a technological process takes into account the lead times or the time limit by which a new weapon is likely to be introduced in the adversary's weaponry so as to design programmes to offset the advantage that would accrue to the adversary after a time limit, by producing the same weapon within that time frame. The success of each such successive weapon programme boosts the morale and confidence of the defence establishments, which automatically leads to the continuous development of the new weapon systems. Hence arms race becomes unstoppable.

### **Domestic Bureaucratic and Economic factors**

The two world wars and the cold war created large military establishments all over the world, especially in the both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Once having got established, they have come on to their own, with attendant bureaucratic clouts. The military establishments, operating as a unified bureaucracy, exerts pressure to press for its share in the budget, if possible to increase it and resist any decline. They want to remain active and fully employed even during peace times. Many of the politicians decide to vote for the production of a particular weapon system, not entirely on its merits, but also taking into account the factors like level of employment in their electoral district. Besides, such a mass weapon production also adds upto the profit of the establishment when they successfully negotiate for arms trade with other countries. Thus the bureaucratic and economic pressures do contribute to sustain the level of military expenditure and if possible to increase it further.

### **Arms race in the third world**

While the countries that have technological expertise design and conduct weapon programmes to meet their perceived threats to security the developing ones choose to acquire more sophisticated and latest weapons, by diverting their precarious resources, meant for their developmental programmes. Arms

race has become very extensive of late and proceeded on a global scale. The third world countries, for a change, begin with import and then move on to the licensed production of certain select weapons, with an ultimate aim to develop such weapons, indigenously. Every new weapon introduced in a region is responded by an equally matching weapon by the adversaries, which does not seem to be ending at all. The developed industrial countries are also taking advantage of the existing instability and tensions among the third world countries and make their partners in the arms race by introducing the concept of military aid. Thus, arms race assumes the noted action-reaction pattern at all levels, which is sustained and promoted for various political and economic reasons.

### **Arms trade and its consequences**

The most dangerous aspect of arms race is the growing international arms trade, especially those relating to nuclear technology. During the last two decades, the two super powers and the Other industrialised countries have supplied many sophisticated weapons to the Third World. The four main arms producing countries the U.S.A., Russia the U.K. and France - dominate the trade in weapons and together they account for 80-90% of the arms transfers to the third world. The alarming nature of this trade could be judged from the fact that, the Third World orders shot up to 2300 million dollars in 1976 from a mere 240 million dollars in 1972. It was estimated that, the volume of world arms trade during 1971 was 24 billion dollars. Over the past few years even countries like India, South Africa and Brazil have also emerged as arms exporters, perhaps, on a limited scale and at lower levels.

The exporting countries supply weapons for different reasons. While some have political and military reasons (Russia, USA), some others have purely economic reasons (U.K. and France). The super powers, during the cold war period commenced the arms supply as a leverage to win supports and concessions and followed a denial policy to those who failed to follow their line. While one super power denied sophisticated weaponry to a country, the other seized the opportunity to enhance her arms trade. At times, in order to sustain their arms trade, the super powers do not hesitate to introduce tensions in new areas and widen the tension, wherever it already exists. They create strategies and perceptions in selected areas according to a pattern that suits their interests. The arms industry in those countries are reaping enormous profits which, they want to maintain at any cost. The instruments of economic and military aid are introduced as and then to create a virtual dependency on a particular power for sophisticated weapons.

Arms supply to third world countries, more often than not, upsets the local power balance and instils insecurity in the neighbouring states in the region, compelling them to seek matching arms from the same or rival sources. Inevitably, this contributes to arms race at the secondary and territory levels

which leads to the diversion of resources meant for developmental needs. The Third World countries still besieged with domestic turmoils as well as security fears, have become an easy prey to the designs and strategies of the super powers and other developed arms suppliers. It must be noted that, nearly all of the armed conflicts that have taken place since World War II have been in third world and the weapons used have come from the industrialised countries. The supply of weapons has by no means prevented the conflicts as it was presumed. On the contrary, it had been the reason for atleast some of those conflicts. Arms trade, thus, has become an instrument to intervention and a major cause of insecurity in the developing world. One of the major goals of arms supply is to gain access to and influence over the decision-making centres of the recipients, only to manipulate them to suit to their advantage. Unless such indiscriminate arms trade is stopped, world peace would continue to remain a distant dream.

### **Nuclear Issues**

Growth in energy use has been rapid since World War II, especially in the developed nations. This growth has been accompanied by a decrease in the use of coal and a major increase in the use of oil and gas. In the immediate post-Second World War period, the price of oil was so low that none attempted to look into alternative sources of energy. However, during the next two decades the consumption of oil significantly increased due to the expansion of domestic energy spending in the developing countries. Besides, the wasteful practices in energy use in the developed countries also required increased oil imports.

The fact that the oil resources, though very large, cannot last indefinitely and that if the demands continue undiminished, then it would lead to serious economic and political difficulties began to surface in many capitals. The oil embargo of 1973 brought this situation strongly to the fore and five-fold increase in oil price which became a real strain on oil importing countries. At the same time there have been large increases in the cost of coal and gas. Hence the need for new energy sources led to the desire for harnessing the nuclear energy. Even from the early 1960's the leading industrialised nations were already venturing into the nuclear energy. But during the early 1970's demands increased for the nuclear power plants from the third world countries. As a consequence civilian nuclear technology began to spread in many parts of the world. The nuclear technology has a military potential too and the distance between them is not too long for a determined nation.

There were five countries in the world that possessed nuclear weapons U.S.A., Russia, China, U.K. and France. Besides, there were a few countries, that have the technology for building nuclear bombs, though they do not seem to possess them at present. Many more countries are also continuously

taking efforts to secure the nuclear technology as a part of their long range energy programme which would further increase the number of countries that would have access to nuclear weapon technology. Once the nuclear proliferation becomes unmanageable, then the chances for a nuclear war - if not by design atleast by accident-would significantly increase. With the successful testing of an atom bomb, india also has joined the club with the disintegration of the USSR, many of the erst while soviet republics now possess atom bombs.

The nuclear paradox, that is the two different sides of the nuclear issue, namely the civilian and the military aspects still remains unsolved. While the nations that export the nuclear technology are demanding adequate assurances from and adherence to the Non-proliferation Treaty (1968), by the non-nuclear nations the latter see such controls as an infringement upon their sovereignty and as a measure of colonialism. This situation has been thus creating tensions in the relationship between the nuclear nations and non-nuclear countries that do not subscribe to the NPT. On the one hand, the nuclear haves are attempting to prevent the nuclear weapon proliferation beyond the existing five, but on the other, they themselves are actively engaged in a nuclear race. Moreover they are spending billions and billions of dollars every year to stockpile the nuclear weapons which would definitely go waste, as none of them can use the nuclear weapons in the contemporary world. For, in a nuclear war, there would be no winners. Such war, no doubt, would lead to the extinction of the entire human race. So, for the very survival of humanity, it is more than essential to prevent the nuclear weapon proliferation. AT the same time, it is equally important to make available the nuclear technology for all to meet their energy requirements. It is only with this aim, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was created in 1946. But the subsequent cold war politics created apprehensions about its functioning among a few, but important, developing nations. Unless all the nations in the world, including the nuclear weapon countries, agree to forego the nuclear weapons, it is no real safety to the humanity.

### **The Partial test Ban Treaty (PTBT)**

Ever since the use of Atomic Bomb in 1945, the nations of the world have been making efforts to control the nuclear arms race. The years from 1945 - 63 proved fruitless as all the efforts made in this direction were frustrated. The first success in this regard was achieved in August 1963 when U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty also known as the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in outer and under water.

The treaty was made open to all other states. In the preamble to the treaty, the signatory states proclaimed their aim as 'the speediest achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with objectives of the United Nations which put an end to the arms race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons'.

## **The main provisions of the treaty were as follows :**

The parties to the treaty undertook to prohibit to prevent and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosions or any other nuclear explosions at any place under its jurisdiction. Each of the party also undertook to refrain from causing, encouraging or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other explosions any where. The treaty did not ban the underground explosions, the partial Test Ban treaty actually came into force on 10th October 1963.

The treaty was received with great enthusiasm by the states and a large number of them immediately signed the treaty in the hope that this would pave the way for further agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and may ultimately lead to disarmament. In the subsequent years also more states signed the treaty and by 1 January 1987., the number of signatory states had risen to 116. Nehru described the PTBT as an important land mark in the history of international relations.

## **Peaceful Nuclear Explosions (PNES)**

The idea of using nuclear explosion for constructive purposes originated almost at the same time when the first test of nuclear weapons was made. In 1949, following an atom bomb explosion by Soviet Union, the Soviet Foreign Minister indicated the intention of his country to use the Nuclear explosions for moving mountains and excavating canals and roads. However, his idea was not taken seriously by the world. The idea of peaceful uses of nuclear explosions received a further impetus in 1953 when President Eisenhower of USA in the course of his address to the United Nations proposed 'Atoms for peace' plan. Between the years 1955 and 1971 four conferences were held at Geneva in 1955, 1958, 1964 and 1971 on the Peaceful uses of Atomic Energy. In these conferences the main theme of discussion was potential of nuclear power and its possible uses for peaceful purposes. The Soviet representative claimed in the United Nations on 10th November 1949 that Soviet Union was using atomic energy for razing mountains, irrigating deserts, cutting through jungles and the Tundras.

The idea of peaceful nuclear explosions received a new direction following the launching of Plowshare programme (a programme for civil uses of nuclear explosives) by United States of 1957 and the conduct of first underground nuclear test in September 1957. However, the Plowshare programme was not well received by the people.

At the international level the idea of peaceful nuclear explosions was for the first time brought up at the second conference on peaceful uses of Atomic Energy in 1958. At the conference the American Scientists Outlined a number of potential peaceful uses of nuclear explosions. The idea was further developed at the next conferences held in 1964 and 1971. The important resolution of these conferences emphasised the need of continuous efforts for the development of technology, the demonstration of its capabilities and the recognition of its applicability to the solution of major problems of human welfare.

## **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)**

When it was found that PTBT and NPT did not achieve the goal the need for a more comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty was felt. Though serious efforts were on towards this from 1991 onwards, it was on 16th December 1993 the UN passed a resolution supporting the multilateral negotiation of a CTBT. On September 10, 1996 it adopted the CTBT and opened it for signature. India voted against it. Even though the USA was the first to sign it the US senate did not ratify it. In 1998 India and Pakistan tested nuclear devices. On 15th September, 2000 Indian Prime Minister reaffirmed India's unilateral suspension of nuclear tests.

The treaty prohibits any nuclear explosion whether for weapons or peaceful purposes. The treaty establishes an organisation to ensure implementation which includes a conference of states parties, an executive council and technical secretariat. The CTBTO assists the UN in its efforts at arms inspection etc.

### **Model question for guidance**

Examine the causes for arms race. How far the arms trade contributes to arms race?

**Lesson 23**

## **HUMAN RIGHTS and The DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAWS AND ITS LEGISLATION**

Several international instruments which have been adopted by the international community, since the inception of the United Nations, obligate governments to promote and protect human rights. The objectives of the human rights can be achieved through international peace and security, arms control and disarmament and equitable management of world resources. It is gratifying to note that there is growing recognition of this basic objective. Certainly, most instruments contain a set of rights and freedoms which they seek to protect. In 1859, Henry Durant, a Swiss businessman, moved by the sad conditions of soldiers dying for want of medical help put down his ideas in a book titled "A memory of solferino", which met with good response in Switzerland and Europe. These ideas were :

1. To create national societies in each country during peacetime capable of helping wounded soldiers during wartime, thereby providing additional support to military medical corps. These societies later became National Red Cross Societies.
2. To establish a neutral organization, the international committee for relief of wounded soldiers, to give assistance in times of armed conflicts. The committee which was set up in 1863 subsequently became the international committee of the Red Cross.
3. To persuade the Swiss government to convene a diplomatic conference for creating an international convention regarding treatment of the wounded. Accordingly, in 1864, the government of Switzerland convened a Diplomatic Conference attended by 16 countries and adopted a Convention for the Amelioration of the condition of the wounded in Armies in the field". This was the beginning of international humanitarian laws.

The International Humanitarian Laws was developed into two parts:

1. The Hague Law
2. The Geneva Law

The Hague Law governs the conduct of hostilities, the permissible means and methods of war. The Geneva Law is embodied in four conventions of 1949 and two additional protocols of 1977.

### **Classification:**

The Geneva Convention is mainly concerned about the victims of war. It has further classified into four conventions:

1. Geneva Convention I
2. Geneva Convention II
3. Geneva Convention III
4. Geneva Convention IV

In the free world the concept of human rights has emerged as a live and vibrant issue. The thought of human rights is accepted as an ideology. The process of human rights took definite shape gradually in the past and some important resolutions and decisions such as 'Magna Carta' in England, Petition of Rights and the US Declaration of Independence 1776, followed by the Bill of Rights embodied in the U.S Constitution in 1791, as also the French Declaration of the Rights of man were the remarkable achievements. With the horrors and impact of two world wars, offending the conscience of man, the representatives of the assembled nations, at San Francisco on June 26, 1945 adopted the United Nations Charter *which inter alia is the declaration of faiths* "in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small." Soon thereafter, on December 10, 1948 U.N organization adopted the Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Man. This Universal Declaration was the first positive manifestation of Internationalization of human rights values.

Then followed the European Convention of Human Rights signed in November 1950 and brought into force in 1953. This convention created bodies such as the European Commission and European Court of Human Rights established in 1959. In the same year, 1959, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed The adoption of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil Political Rights, the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination. These Conventions, Covenants and Declarations constitute and act also as a friend, philosopher and guide on human rights to all concerned all over the world. Basically human rights Covenants; principles, standards etc are collectively known as human rights laws. The aim of these human right laws are to guarantee, the Civil, Political, Cultural, Economic and Social Rights and freedoms of the individual and to develop and keep these rights the due place in society. Most of the human rights laws have been adopted and given due place in the national constitution, laws and operating procedures in many countries. Many states regard human rights as falling within domestic jurisdiction, and not a matter to be tackled by international law. Apart from this, human rights can be enforceable by municipal courts of the countries. So, it is necessary for all the police personnel including the army to know about humanitarian laws and do not abuse and violate deliberately these rights.

Human rights is a subject of contemporary international law and the efforts to regulate human rights at international level only gained momentum after World War II. The signing of the United Nations marked the formal realization that human rights is a matter for international concern. One of the purposes

for which the United Nations was founded was “ to achieve international cooperation.. . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex; language and religion.” Thus, the United Nations is trying to keep the mandate that are enshrined in various conventions, covenants etc. The general feeling is that these conventions, covenants and declarations are on paper and human rights violations a ground reality. It has not been an easy task to reconcile the high ideals behind the human rights movement with ground realities. With the increased commitment of the United Nations to maintain peace in various parts of the world, peacekeeping operations have been done. Peace cannot be achieved at the cost of human rights. The U.N Secretary General has underscored the linkage between peace and human rights, saying that the mandate of U.N peace keeping operations in recent years have reflected that the restoration of peace was an essential pre-requisite to secure human rights.

Today there is a need to know about the human rights conventions, covenants. Declarations principles, standards etc. For security personnel and police, knowledge of International humanitarian law which is known as “laws of wars” and various conventions, covenants, declarations is a must to enable them to perform their duties in compliance with international standards.

In assumed conflicts the International humanitarian laws known as laws of war is applicable and there is an international enforcement mechanism for implementing these laws. The Hague laws and Geneva Laws are known as International Humanitarian Laws. The Hague laws govern the conduct of hostilities, the permissible means and methods of war whereas the Geneva Laws are more concerned with the victims of war. India is also one of the signatories to these laws.

## **Human Rights Commission**

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the, U.N. adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Economic and Social Council of the U.N. selects the members of the Commission on Human Rights according to regional and geographic distribution. This Commission has the task of holding vigil over human rights violation anywhere in the world. The monitoring is done by six Human Rights Treaty Bodies. In India also, the protection of Human Rights Act in 1993 created the National Human Rights Commission. Similar Commissions have been created at state level in many of the Indian states also.

While it is envisaged that these commissions shall be independent authorities, it has not been fully realized in practice. It lacks manpower to enquire into very many cases of human rights violations some of which may be malicious and politically motivated. For enquiring into the cases they depend upon governmental machinery.

Apart from the delay it causes, where they find violations. their findings only lead to further legal and judicial process at the end of which there may or may not be convictions; still there has been an awakening of late, among masses and an awareness on the part of governments of the right of the people at all

levels, of all denominations, in all stages to be treated with human dignity. The main areas of concern are bonded child labour, illegal detentions, Political Killings, arbitrary arrests, religious violence, communal hostility, socially and economically disadvantaged sections, women and religious minorities and anti-error legislation.

However the framers of the Indian Constitution in their wisdom have provided for safety in almost all of these areas without creating an independent watchdog agency. The fundamental rights provide for quick and enforceable remedies in the case of violations of individual rights. The Directive Principles enable the Union and the states' address the problem of restoring human dignity and redressal of grievances among sections where such violations are prone. Ultimately the best guarantee of human rights is the human person and the person's vigil. We, therefore, fall back upon philosophers like Plato, Burke, Mill and Gandhiji who taught us the value of discipline courage and education.

### **Model question**

Write an essay on human rights.

**Lesson 24****LIBERALISATION - GLOBALISATION  
PRIVATISATION - EMERGING TRENDS**

Liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation are concepts which have greatly affected world politics, economics and international relations. These concepts gained ascendancy towards the end of the 20th century. The disintegration of the soviet union assured the strength of liberalised capitalist ideology and helped it to become more and more acceptable and fast spreading. The growth of science and technology and the progress and spread of computerised information technology helped this process. Even in communist states the sway of collectivist ideology gave way to the quest of private enterprise and foreign investments in many areas of economic and industrial development. On the basis of the concept of world market it has become necessary for all the states to appreciate the need for achieving national progress by resorting to independent, equal competition with reference to healthy rules of the game. It is evident that no single state can determine its own economy independently of the economy of other states. The interdependent nature of international economic factors had given rise to cut throat competitions and the tendency to consider a subject or foreign peoples as mere herds or markets. Considerations of political gain and political intervention which had seriously effected individual or private economic liberty and initiatives, and the economic dominance enjoyed by a few states were all subject to serious reappraisal. The developing countries of the third world also helped to bring about this change. Gradually people became aware that the welfare of any country was dependent upon its own effort at achieving economic strength. This becomes possible only through increased quality production and commerce which could be facilitated by removing unnecessary political controls and by encouraging liberal, privatised, global economic trend. Such an awareness helped to spread the developed western liberal economy even among the developing states of Asia and Africa.

In india during the prime ministership of Mr. Narasimha Rao, Dr. Manmohan Singh who was the finance minister introduced liberalization. The subsequent governments are also following the same policies to strengthen the country's economy. Even China and Russia are deviating from their communist ideology in favour of liberalised economy. Even small states such as Taiwan and Korea have attained a notable place in the world market. The basis for globalisation has been laid and furthered by force like the world Bank and the GATT Agreement.

**Environment :**

Environment is important for all living creatures. They become extinct or suffer very much when their environment is endangered. Many of human

activities, especially his short-sighted and selfish economic pursuits, definitely affect his environment leading to the fear that the doomsday is not far off. To remove this fear or atleast to mitigate its evils world bodies such as the UNO have taken up many measures. Now countries are warned to abide by certain set standards and control pollution. Pollution control measures form an important aspect of all international treaties and conferences. Those who violate are threatened with sanctions.

The depletion in ozone zone, poisonous gas leak, deforestation, pollution and depletion of water sources, the unsafe disposal of wastes, the use of drugs, the leak of atomic radiation and chemicals, the spread of dangerous germs, unhealthy living conditions, poverty, the use of dangerous chemicals in agriculture and food, the uncontrolled utilisation of natural resources and fuels and hundreds of such factors are posing a threat to man's life on this planet. This awareness has led to a feeling of responsibility on the part of individual groups and countries.

### **Terrorism :**

Whether economy has become global or not terrorism has become global and it tries to keep the people of the world in a grip of fear. Once it was easy to control or eliminate the sporadic terrorism when the individual, the group or the country could be identified as responsible. But today it has become very difficult to trace the infiltration, the expertise, the hidden resources and agenda of global terrorists who operate for selfish gains. They pose as the champions of a particular country, race or religion and indulge in violence of all kinds. All countries of the world today are united in their efforts to combat this terrible evil.

### **Democratic Expansion :**

The African and Asian colonies which attained independence and other countries which liberated themselves fully from foreign dominance at the end of the second world war adopted democratic form of government, some actually and others atleast in name. Even communist countries styled themselves as democracies. The changes in world politics after the disintegration of the soviet union, the growing opposition to dictatorship in any form anywhere, the liberalised economy, the fear of isolation, the eagerness to develop like other nations, the spread of information technology and many other such causes have made the democratic way of life the most acceptable one all over the world. Many international organisations, agreements and conferences by their emphasis on human rights, have helped this process of democratic expansion.

### **Model Question for guidance :**

Write short notes on

1. Terrorism
2. Environment
3. Contemporary Global Economy

