INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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UNIT – I

Lesson 1.1 - Nature of International Relations

1. Nature and Scope of International Relations
2. Classical Approaches to the study of International Relations

1. Nature and Score of International Relations

Palmer and Perkins : "The study of IR is not a science with which we solve the problems of international life. It is an objective and systematic approach to those problems".

Stanley Hoffman : "IR is concerned with the factors and activities which affect the external policies and the power of the basic units into which the world is divided".

The modern age is an age of internationalsim in which the different members of the international community maintain regular contact with each other. In fact it is difficult to imagine that any state can live in isolation without maintaing some sort of relations with other nation states. The term 'International' was first used by Jeremy Benthan in the 18th Century. The term IR came to be applied to the offcial relations between the sovereign states.

Development of the study of International Relation

Though the study of IR has gained prominence only in the present country and it has developed as an independent discipline, but the principles and techqniues of the study can be traced back, though in a rudimentary form to the ancient period of human history. Countries like Egypt, China, Greece and India had developed some sort of code for the conduct of inter-state relations. These rules were morally binding on the states and were scrupulously observed.

According to Kemeth Thompson, such stages of development have been mainly four -

The First Stage which was up to the end of the I World War was dominated by the monopoly of diplomatic historians and IR was presented only in a descriptive and chromological manner. Hence

it was not useful in developing a general perspective or a theory of international relations.

The Second stage which started after the end of the I WW saw scholars in the field of international realtions empharize the study of current events and interpretation of the immediate significance of current developments and problems. But here too, emphasis was mor on the study of the present than on the past. Thus, no well conceived theoretical or methodolgical foundation could emerge.

The Third Stage developed simulatneously with the 2nd stage. Both these stages began after the Ist world war and continued to dominate throughout the inter war years and even afterwards. The approach adopted during the 3rd stage stressed upon the institutionalization of international relations through law and organisation. Attempts were made to identify goals and values towards which the international community should progess. This stage infused among the students of IR an element of emotional and visionary reformism but the gaps in this approach were revealed when we saw totalitarian dictorships engaged in aggression in diffenent parts of the world.

The Fourth stage, began after the end of the II World War. During this stage empshasis shifted from intervention law and organisation to forces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of states. The main concern of the scholars was now fourfold:

a. motivating factors of foreign policies everywhere.
b. motivating techniques of the conduct of foreign policies.
c. find modes of resolution of international confilicts
d. Creation of a new international order based on socio-economic justice.

Meaning / Interpretations of International Relations

For an understading of IR, we must first understand the conmotion (meaning) of the term 'politics'. Everything in politics, whether domestic or international, flows from the fact that people have needs and wants. The needs of various groups differ and groups indulge in certain actions and follow. Certain policies in order to satisfy the needs and wants of their members.

Thus, politics according to Quincy Wright is the art of influencing, manipulating or controlling major gouprs in order to fulfil the purpose of some against the opposition of others. Thus, there are 3 essentials of politics :

a. existence of groups
b. disagreement between groups
c. the efforts of some to influence or control the actions of others.

That is why Sheldeon Wolin describes politics as the process of our continuous efforts to establish such relations with others as could be most benficial to us.

Scholars have interpreted IR in 2 senses - narrow and broad :

In the **narrow sence**, it is confined to the study of 'official relations conducted by authorised' leaders of the state.

In the **broad sense**, IR includes all intercourse between states, all moverment of people, good and ideas across national frontiers.

The latter view has found wider favour with political scientists. Likewise Quincy Wright has said that it is not only the nations which IR seeks to regulate rather varied types of groups - nations, states, governments, people, regions, alliances, confederations, international organisations, even industrial organisations, cultural organisations, religious orgnisations must be dealt with in the study of international relations if the study is to be made realistic. According to James Rosenau, it is difficult to draw a line between international and national relations.

Nature of International Relations

- Politics in relationships between nations is international politics.
- IR is process of adjustment of relationships among nations in favour of a nation or group of nations by means of power.
- 3 things relevant to IR are - national interest, conflict and power.
- National interest is the objective - conflict is the condition- power is the mens of IR.
- IR is a set of those aspects of relations among independent political communities in which some element of conflict of interest is always present.

- IR does not only study conflict and it also does not mena that every nation is hostile towards the other. Nations whose interests are identitical or harmonous are likely to have some sort of co-operations and may use this basis in their struggle against the antagonists.
- IR includes both conflict and co-operation.
- IR is primarily a study of the process in which a nation tries to have an advantageous position by means of power.
- IR like all relations is continuing phenomenon, co-operation relations can become conflictual and vice-versa Eg. Smio-Indian relations.
- For a students of IR, it is the study of the control of conflict and establishment of co-operation.
- IR can also be described as an interaction of foreign policies. Many a times confilcts among nations arise due to incompatibility of the interest of nations and nations try to safegaurd their interests by trying to influce and control the behavius of ther nations. Thus, nationational interest is served through foreign policy and nations come into contact through their foreign policies.
- Feliks Gross, Russell Fifield hold the above view.
- Writers like Sondermann however challenge the above view and are of the opinion that understanding of foreign polices depends upon the understanding of historical experience, governmental structures, as well as social, policital, economical and cultural factors of each society.
- Norman Padelford and George Lincon define IR as the interaction of state polices within the changing patterns of power relationships.
- For Norman Palmeer and Howard Perkins the study of IR is essentially concerned with the state system.
- Robert Srausz - Hupe and Stefan Possony include in IR the interaction of citizens and the decisions of politically significant private groups.
- Morganthan, focusses his entire analysis of IR on political relations on the problems of peace.
- John Burton, conceives IR as a system of peaceful communication whereby states continuosly and in their own interest would like to avoid confict because the costs of conficts are too high.

- In more recent years, some other new perspectives have also been developed on the nature of IR.
- Robert Purnell treats IR as the aspects of politics concerned with disagreement, competition, rival claims and various outcomes arising from desire for changing the relations of states.
- Richard Rosecrana and Raymond Aron regard peace and was as the essence of IR.

International Relations and International Politics

Scholars have tended to ignore the distinction between IR and IP and treated them as identical for eg. Carr and Quicy Wright. However, some scholars believe that interantional relations is wider in scope and includes in in its study the totality of realtions of any people and group in the world society. They include within its purview all aspects of relations between countries and people, political or non-policital, peaceful or war like, legal or cultural, economic or geographic official or non-official.

On the other hand IP includes only those aspects of international relations in which conflict of purpose or interest is involved. According to Padelford and Lincoln the relationship between states is described as IP while IR comprises of contracts between individuals, business organizations, cultural institutions and political personalities of different countries.

Scope of International Relations

- The scope of IR has greatly expanded in modern times. Initially IR was concerned only with the study of diplomatic history. It concetrated on the study of contemparary foreign affairs with a view to draw centrain lessons. Later on emphasis began to be laid on the study of International law and IR began to be studied within the framework of international law.
- The field of the study of IR was further widened with the establishment of the league of Nations after the first World War and so the study of international organisations and institutions were also included within its preview.
- The scope of IR in the post World War II period further widened due to significant changes which took place - eg : emergence of USA and USSR as the 2 super powers; the entry of a large number of non-European states into the society of nations, the danger of

thermo-nuclear war; increaseing interdependence of states; rising expectations of the people of the underdeveloped.

- Greater emphsis began beign laid on the scientific study, of International relations which led to the development of new methodologies and introduction of new theories in international relations.
- Scholars began to study the military policies of the countries as well as the behavour of political leaders.
- More emphasis began to be laid on area studies.
- In the post world war II period the state ceased to be the sole factor in the study of international relatins and more importance began to be atttached to the individual and other corporate sectors.
- Today, the scope of international relations is very vast and extensive and embrances the study of diplomatic history, international politics, international organisation, adminstration, international law, area studies as well as the psychological study of the motives of the member states in their multual relations.
- Scholars are also trying to study the forces underlying the practices of the state and trying to build a comprehensive theory of international relationships.
- Today, scholars are making serious efforts to utilise the social science techqniues and establish verifiable propositions.

The Scope of international relations has been beautifully summed up by Frederick S. Dumm -

1. International relations may be looked upon as the actual relations that take place across national boundaries.
2. International relations as branch of learning, consists of both subject-matter and a set of techniques and methods of analysis for dealing with new questions.
3. International relations concerned with the questions arising in the relations between autonomous political groups in a world system in which power is not centred at one point.
4. As international relations mainly deals with questions arising out of social confilcts and adjustments, its approach is in a large part instrumental and normative in character.

5. Its aim is acquistion of knowledge not merely for the sake of knowledge, but knowledge for the purpose of moulding practical events in desired directions.
6. Like other social sciences International relations is motivated by the desire to improve a particular segment of social relations.
7. For a proper understanding of international relations knowledge of subjects like sociology, anthropology, psychology, social psychology and ethics is valuable.

Evaluation of na. and scope of International relations

- Despite enormous expansion in the nature and scope of International relations some writers still hold that as a subject of study it is "a poor relation of political science and history and is still far from being a well organised discipline.
- It lacks clear cut conceptual framework and systematic body of applicable theory.
- It is heavily dependent upon other better organised disciplines.
- Alfred Zimmern, believes that from the academic point of view, International relation is clearly not a subject in the ordinary sense of the word. It does not provide a single coherent body of teaching material. It is not a single subject but a bundle of subjects like law, economics, political science, geography and so on.
- Even modern scholars are not willing to treat international relations as an independent discipline. eg. a discipline implies some sort of unity of subject matter and unanimily regarding its scope, as well as a good degree of objectivity, which are lacking in internaional relations.
- No doubt, scholars are trying to search better and uniform foci, concept and method for international relations but still the subject is far from being an independent discipline.
- According to Organski, as a science of international relations is today in its infancy and writings on the subject are largely descriptive.
- Howeever, the discriptive - hsitorical approach of intenational relations has resulted in the collection of an immense amount of data and daily papers provide us more.
- Today new theories are providing the kind of theoretical framework which is necessary for ordering and interpreting the facts.

- We are on the verge of great discoveries and written the next few decaded the basic foundations of a new discipline.

Signifance of the study of International relations

- In the present day inter-dependent world the study of international relations has great significance. It enables us to understand the basic motives underlying the policies of various countries in the international sphere and the reasons which contribute to their ultimate success or failure.
- Its study also enables us to have an insight into the probs. facing the world and to face them boldly and confidently.
- It helps in making us understand that narrow nationalism is serious threat to humanity and world peace.
- It teaches us that conflict between nation are bound arise and if world peace is genuienly desired an objective outlook is necessary.
- IR also demonstrates that traditional national sovereignnity is outdated and a State has to operate within several constraints present in todays' international order - collective security and disarment are a clear indication of this change.
- Finally, study of IR has greatly contributed to the strengthening of a feeling among statews that they must conduct their relations peacefully and avoid the policy of confrontation and adopt the policy of co-operative and co-existance.

Approaches to the study of IR :

Scholars have adopted difference approaches for the study of IR, but before examining the approaches, it shall be desirable to understand the meaning of term "approach". The term 'approach' and 'method' are frequently treated as synomynous and so are the terms 'method' and 'technique'.

An approach consists of criteriea employed in selecting the problems or questions and the data of investigation.

A method is an epistemological assumption on which search for knowledge is based.

A technique denotes the operations and activities involved in the collection and interpretation of data.

An approach is closely related to theory and is transformed into a theory if and when its function extends beyond the selection of problems and data about the subject under study. As different scholars have adopted different criteria for selecting problems and data and adopted different standpoints, this was resulted in different approaches for the study of IR.

The various approaches for the study of IR have been divided by Hedley Bull into 2 categories (a) classical application (b) scientific application.

Classical Approach:

The classical approach is known as the traditional approach. This approach was in vogue till the middle of the present century, even though at present certain writers continue to subscribe to this approach. These writers mainly made descriptive analysis of IR. The approach was basically a nomrative, quantitative and value judgement approach. This approach mainly concerns itself with the historical dimensions and lays emphasis on diplomatic, historical and institutional studies. The two variants of the classical approach are (a) the realistic approach (b) the idealistic approach.

Realism v/s Idealism:

Realism and ideaslim are the 2 main competitors for recognition as the sound approach to the study of IR.

- Realism is a set of ideas which takes into account the implications of security and power factors. These ideas flow from the individuals being that the others are always trying to destroy him and hence he must be continuously ready to kill others in oder to protect himself.

Hans Morgenthan and George Kennan are among the leading realistis.

- Idealism is based on utopian approach which regards power politics as only an abnormal or passing phase of history. The idealist view brands realsim as a distortion and cynical corruption of the real meaning of history. Idealism is based on the idea of the evolutionary progress in society and is considered as the main source of inspiration behind the American and French revolutions.

Idealism presents a picture of the future international society based on an international system free of power politics, immorality and violence.

Its foundation can be traced to the 19th Benthamite rationalism :

- The crucial point on which political realism and political idealism are at cross purposes is the problem of power.
- The controversy between the 2 become very evident druing the period between the two world wars.
- It was considered that realism deals with national power as an end in itself and idealism was essentially internationalistic and promtes peace.
- The source of conflict between realism and idealism has been the lack of certainity on the part of the realists whether the pursuit of power is the end or the means.
- The difference between realism and idealism is mainly due to the fact that idealism is based upon the values that are philosphically sound, whereas realism starts with the primacy of power and later raises it to the status of a value in order to meet the objection that it is valueless.
- Quincy Wright says that the term 'realism' and 'idealism' are full of ambiguity and can only be used to distinguish between short-run and long-run policies. Realism represent short run national policies. The aim at the fulfilment of immediate necessities and idealism represent the long - run policies that aim at the objectives to be realised in the future.
- However, with the changing world scenario, the achievement of permanent peace may be regarded as an idealistic goal but it would be unrealistic to forget about it as a short-term policy.
- It is the realisation that the idealists can find a meeting ground with the realists.
- If peace is recognized as important both for the present and for the future, the realists must work for its achievement as vigorously as the idealists would.
- The divergence between the realists and the idealists can be minimized if the merit of both are recognized.
- Further the realists would have to acquire the virtue of the idealists and the idealists would have to borrow the wisdom of the realists. Such a synthesis between idealism and realism will make it possible for a scholar to have a balanced understanding of international politics and enable the statesman to choose policies that are neither a total aversion to values nor a complete disregard of reality.

The Realist TheorY (of Hans Morgenthau)

The philosophy of realism which prevailed almost throught out the 18th and 19th was revieved after the II World War. Hans Morgenthau was the chief emponent of this theory. Although there have been many others who have contributed to realism, it was Morgenthau who gave theoritical oritentation to realism. The realistic approach was transformed by him into a distinctive school of thought. Though not the only realsit author, he was the 1st to develop a realist model. Realism and Morgenthau are therefore treated as synonymous by many.

- According to Mogenthan the master key in IR is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.
- It focuses attention on the principle actors in IR i.e. the states.
- It is called the realist theory because it emphasizes upon the importance of national interest.
- Due to the importance given to power the theory is also called the power approach.
- Morgenthau defines power as "man's control over the minds and actions of other man".
- Other like Treitschke, Nietzche, Kanfam, Watkins, Lassell and David Easton have also spoken about the importance of power and authority.
- Morgenthau however was the one who did the most systematic work on IR from a 'power' point of view. Others have only carried forward the tradition established by Morganthau or have added interpretations.

Morgenthau in his Realist theory has laid emphasis on 6 principles:

1. Politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology.
2. He laid great emphasis on the concept of national interest which he define in terms of power. According to him politics cannot be understood in moral or religious but only on rational basis.
3. Interest is not fixed and is moulded by the environments.
4. Universal moral principles cannot be applied to State's action and thse must be modified according to the circumstances of time and place.

5. Morgenthan does not find any identity between moral aspiration of nations nad the normal laws which govern the universe and asserts that all political actors pursue their national interests.
6. Political sphere is as autonomous as the spheres of the economist, the laywer or the moralist. The politcal actor thinks in terms of interest, the economist in terms of utility and the lawyer in terms of the conformity of actions with moral principles.

The Realist Therapy is based on 3 basic assumptions :

1. The statesman desire to pursue their national interests.
2. The interest of every nation lies in the expansion of its influence - territorial, economic, political and culutral.
3. States use their power, also defined as influence, in the protection and furthermore of their interests.

The basic features of Morgenthan's theory are :

1. Political laws originiate in human nature and this theory is susceptible to theoretical inquiry.
2. The world is ceaselss struggle between good and evil, reason and passion, life and death, health and sickness, peace and war. This struggle often ends with the victory of the forces that are hostile to men.
3. The world is a world of opposing interests and of conflict among them.
4. Mans is constantly desiring power. This quest for power is an all permiting fact which is the essence of human existence.
5. Power has no limits and is a wholly irrational human impulse.
6. Possesion of power and its expansion are always necessary for the safeguard of the specific interest of the present and of the expected interest of the future.
7. Power as an aim of political action is primarily an end in itself, but it can also be a means to other ends.
8. Power is relevant to both national and international politics.
9. The State accounts for stability in domestic politics and instability in international politics.
10. The State in itself is incapable of keeping peace and order for it is dependent upon society, which manages conflicts peacefully by

over riding loyalties towards itself.

11. Every political action seeks to keep power, to increase it or to demonstrate it. Three different policies correspond to these 3 patterns : policy of status quo, policy of imperialism and policy of prestige.
12. Power is the reflection of national interest, which should be the sole guide of foreign policy.
13. National interest however, must be devoid of ehtics and morality.
14. On the international scence, a nations moral duty is to choose the lesser evil which compels it to pursue its national interest.
15. Morgenthan's theory distinguishes between moral sympathies and political interests.
16. Talking of attempts for bringing about peace, Morgenthan's divided them into 3 categories : (a) peace throughy limitation - disarmament, collective security, peaceful change, judicial settlements (b) peace through transformation - world state and creating a world community (c) peace through accomodation - diplomacy.
17. Morgentahan's however rejects efforts for peach through limitations and transformation as inadequate, he pins his hopes on peace through accommodation i.e. diplomacy.
18. Diplomacy performs 2 important functions : (a) directly it mitigates and minimises conflicts (b) Indirectly it contributes to the growth of a world community on the basis of which alone a world state is possible.
19. Diplomacy can perform its function properly by abiding 9 rules :
    (1) Diplomacy should be free from the crusading spirit.
    (2) Foreign policy objectives must be defined in terms of national interest.
    (3) Diplomacy should look at the political scence from the point of view of other nations also.
    (4) Nations should be ready to make compromises on non-vital issues.
    (5) Nations should care for the real advantage rather than for superficial advantages.
    (6) A nation should not adopt a position from which retreat is not possible without a loss of face.

(7) A nation should not allow a weak ally to make decisions for it.

(8) The government should be the leader of public opinion and not its servant.

(9) Armed forces shoulkd be subordinated to the political authority.

20. Beside diplomacy, peace can also be preserved by 2 other devides :

(a) Balance of power

(b) Normative limitation of international law, morality and world public opinion.

Evaualtion of Realistic Approach (RA) :

- Indeed, the RA adopted by Morgenthan's has some validity in the study of IR. His theory provides a guide to the study of one aspect of IR, that is conflict of interests, but not to the that of others. Thus, it is a partial application to IR.
- Even if Morgenthan's application is accepted as an application to study IR, it cannot be accepted as an application to study IR unless international politics is identified with IR.
- Morgenthan's said that his theory is based on his concept of human nature but his concept of human nature is unscientific because science consists of theories or hypothesis but Morgenthan's theory is based on no such hypothesis.
- Morgenthan's does not follow the normal pattern of theory building i.e. deduction of general principle but reverse the pattern.
- The theory is ambiguous and is inconsistent with reality. No universally accepted definition of power is offered.
- The theory wrongly assumes that all men and states seek their national interests in tenns of power. If it were so, there would be constant struggle going on between various states and there would be no systematic conduct of IR.
- The theory also assumes that power is the most important tool which nations pursue. If fact other considerations like wealth, cultural welfare, security, protection and promotion of ideology also grreatly influence the actions of the states.
- The theory is defective in so far as it treats the world as a static unit.
- Dyhe has severely criticised the Realistic Theory by saying that

the theory makes politics a game which could turn bloody and the outcome of which would be without moral significance.

- Morgenthan's conception that national interest carries its own morality holds good only during the stable periods when accomodation of national objecties is possible.
- The Realistic Theory is defective in so far as it assumes that there is hardly any relationship or activity which does not involve power. Morgenthan's does not suggest any criteria for the separation of the political activities from the non political activities.
- The theory is also defective because it regards the political sphere as autonomous.
- But, despite all these shortcomings it cannot be denied that the application has 3 distinctive advantages :
  (1) It is persuasive and is supported by historical experience.
  (2) It has given a jolt to scholars and compelled them to re-evaluate their own assumptions.
  (3) Even those scholars who challenge the bases of realism have tended implicity to rely on realist perspective, which is a great compliment to this application.

The Idealist Approach :

- The offer aspect of the classical approach is the Utopian or the Idealist Approach. It regards power politics as the passing phase of history and presents the picture of a future international society based on the notion of a reformed international system free from power politics, immorality and violence.
- This application aims at bringing about a better world with the help of education and international organisation.
- This application is quite old and found its faint echoes in the Declaration of the American War of Independence of 1776 nd the French Revolution of 1789.
- The most important writers in whose works this application found expression include Condorcet, Rousseau, Kant, Woodrow Wilson, etc.
- Condorcet in 1795, wrote a treatise which contained everything considered as the essential basis of idealism in IR.

- Condorect visualised a world free of war, inequalityu and tyranny marked by constant progress in human welfare brought about by the use of reason, education and science.
- Roussean's idealist views are reflected in his book 'Fragments on War'.
- Kant made a strong plea for the preservation of war among states and creation of conditions for perpetual peace.
- Probably the greatest advocate of the idealistic approach was President Wilson of USA who gave a concrete shape to his idealism through the text of the Treaty of Versailles. He made a strong plea for world peace and international organisation.
- The Idealists visualised a future full of ethics, morality and peace.
- On account of their optimism the idealists regard power struggle as nothing but a passing phase of history.
- The Idealist Approach proceeds with the assumption that the interests of various groups or nations are likely to be adjusted in the larger interest of mankind as a whole.

Evaluation :

- The difficulty with this application is that such a system could emerge only by following moral principles in mutual relation in place of power, which is not possible in practice.
- To bring such an order to totalitarian forces will have to be crushed by all means throught the use of democratic methods.
- The idealist system necessiates the establishment of the world. Government which does not seem to be possible.
- The main criticism against this theory is that it runs short of factual position. Nations do not behave as they are expected to. As a result realism in IR appears to be more near the truth.
- A rigid adherence to idealism is bound to result in frustration.
- Looking at the gloring defects of the idealist application a middle path has been adopted by a school of thought called Eclectisim.
- Eclectisim does not regard either the realist approach or the idealist approach as completely satisfactory. It offers a synthesis of the pessimsim of realists and the optisim of the idealists.
- Prof. Quincy Wright is of the the view that for a balance

understanding of realism and idealism both must be intermingled as neither application is wholly correct and both possess respective merits and demerits.

Carr has righly suggested the combination of the two.

Scientific or Modern Approaches : The Behavioural Approach

- The scientific or the behavioural approach for the study of IR become popluar after the II World War.
- It lay more emphasis on the methods of study rather than the subject matter.
- This approach is based on the simple proposition that IR like any other social acitvity involves people and hence it can be explained by analysing and explaining the behaviour of people as is reflected in their activities in the field of IR.
- It applied the scientific method and ignores the boundaries of orthodox disciplines.
- This approach is inter-disciplinary and draws frfom various social sciences.
- Its main purpose has been to create explanatory theories about international phenomena and to develop a general and predictive sc. of IR.
- The approach holds that every state exhibits a peciular approach to various world problems, which are influenced by the social and economic factors in operation in a particular state.

CRI : the chief defect of this approach is that it attaches too much important to national characters which are constantly changing.

B. The System Theory :

- It tries to analyse IR by combining the theoretical and practical factors.
- This theory is mainly connected with the names of Kaplan, McClellan, Raymond Aron, etc.
- Kaplan can however be credited by presenting the theory in a most comprehensive form.
- Kaplan says that International System is the most important system among all other systems and it has certain sub-systems and set of actors.

- International action is the action which takes place between international actors who are the elements of the international system.
- The international system can be regarded as a parameter for the national system of action.
- Kaplan gives 6 models of the international system :
  (1) The balance of power system
  (2) The loose bipolar system
  (3) The light bipolar system
  (4) The hierarchial system
  (5) The Universal System
  (6) The Unit Veto System

Critical Evaluation :

This theory has been subject to much criticism :

(a) Hoffman : The approach is a misstep in the right direction - the direction of systemic empirical analysis.

(b) Jackson - The approach creates systesms rather than help in understanding the social world.

(c) The approach does not discuss the forces and factors which determine the behaviour of states.

(d) It also ingnores the factors and conditions which lead nations to behave collectively.

C. The Decision Manking Approach

- This approach is very popular in the USA and is associated with the names of Snyder, Bruck, Sapin, Cohen, Robinson and Frankel.
- This approach emphasizes that the decisions are nothing but reactions to a given situation taking place in a certain setting.
- It aims at examining as to how and why a nation acts in a certain manner in the international sphere.
- This approach insists on collection of data from government organisation and other special agencies concerned with the management of foreign relations.
- For a proper understanding of the behaviour of the decision makers

it is desirable to analyse and understand the social world in which they operate.

- While probing their behaviour both the internal and external settings in which they operate must be taken into account.
- The internal setting includes : conditions and factors beyond the territorial boundaries, the decision of other states and nature of their society.
- Alexender and Juhette George, were great exponents of this theory and laid emphasis on the personality factor in the decision making process.
- By studying and analysing various aspects of the personality of the decision makers we can understand their impact in formulating their foreign policy.

Defects :

1. This approach is based on the principle of determination and fails to highlight the relative importance of the various factors in the formulation of a decision.
2. It lacks value judgement and is not able to distinguish between right and wrong decisions.
3. The theory is incomplete because it ignores factors like patterns politics, rules of international behaviour, balance of power, international law, etc. which influence IR.
4. The approach may be helpful in making an analysis of foreign policies, but cannot be useful in understanding the other international developments.

The Classicists - Behaviouralists Controversy :

In the 1960s controversy started between science and traditionalism. Until World World II the debate persisted between the idealists and realists. The debate between the scientific school and the classical school centered around the method of study of IR.

The classicists regarded the application of scientific method for IR as unwanted. The controversy began by an article written by Hedley Bull in 1966.

The Defence of the Scientific Theory :

The scientific theory has been defended by several scholars espicially by Kaplan. He made an attack on the traditionlists and argued how the scientific method was more helpful in the study of IR. The two schools are in a state of constant debate over the subject matter and the method of study. The scientists concentrate on the collection of all relevant facts and on the basis of these facts reach the conclusions as the facts speak.

At the moment the scholars are of the view that both the traditionalists and scientific methods can be used for fruitful study of IR. Those who stand for a compromise between the 2 divergent approaches are Micheal Hass and Robert North.

(B) Foreign Policy : Natue and Determinants

Foreign policy is a term that is often used and heard in the context of international relations, but what does it mean exactly? How is it made and implemented? What are its types and features? Why is it important and relevant for our lives and the future of humanity? In this blog, we will answer these questions and more, and provide you with a brief and clear overview of the concept and practice of foreign policy.

Meaning & Definitions- What is Foreign Policy?

Foreign policy is the set of goals, strategies, and actions that a state or a non-state actor pursues in its relations with other actors in the international system. Foreign policy reflects the interests, values, and preferences of the actor, and it guides its decisions and behaviors in the global arena. Foreign trade policy is a subtype of foreign policy that focuses on the regulation and promotion of the exchange of goods and services between the actor and other actors in the international system.

History of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy has a long and rich history, and it has evolved and changed over time, along with the development and transformation of the international system and the actors in it. The history of foreign policy can be traced back to the ancient times, when the first civilizations and empires emerged and interacted with each other, and when the first forms of foreign policy, such as alliances, treaties, and wars, were practiced.

Foreign policy also developed and diversified in the medieval and modern times, when the rise and fall of various states and empires, the emergence and spread of various religions and ideologies, and the discovery and colonization of various regions and continents, shaped and reshaped the international system and the actors in it.

The making of foreign policy has always involved careful consideration and calculation, as states and other actors seek to advance their interests and protect their security in a constantly changing environment. Principles of foreign policy, such as national sovereignty, non-interference, and self-defense, have also played a significant role in shaping the conduct of international relations.

Types of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is not monolithic or homogeneous, but rather diverse and complex, and it can be classified and analyzed in different ways. One common way is to divide it into two broad categories: hard and soft.

Hard foreign policy involves the use of force or threat of force, such as military intervention, economic sanctions, and nuclear deterrence, to achieve the goals and interests of the actor, and to coerce or compel other actors to comply or concede.

Soft foreign policy involves the use of attraction or persuasion, such as cultural exchange, humanitarian aid, and public diplomacy, to achieve the goals and interests of the actor, and to influence or convince other actors to cooperate or collaborate.

Features of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy has some distinctive features that make it different from other types of policies and practices. Some of these features are: –

Dynamic: Foreign policy is not static or fixed, but rather dynamic and flexible, and it can change and adapt to the changing circumstances and conditions in the international system and the actor's environment.

Complex: Foreign policy is not simple or straightforward, but rather complex and multifaceted, and it involves various actors, issues, and factors that interact and influence each other in the global arena.

Interdependent: Foreign policy is not isolated or independent, but

rather interdependent and interconnected, and it affects and is affected by the foreign policies of other actors in the international system.

Determinants of Foreign Policy

These are the various factors that influence the foreign policy choices of any state, such as geographical location, population, history, economic resources, ideology, efficiency of government, quality of diplomacy, crisis and immediate events, technological advancements, international law and institutions, etc. Determinants of Indian foreign policy on the other hand, are the various factors that influence India's foreign policy choices, such as geography, economy, polity, domestic environment, military capability, leadership, international environment, etc.

The foreign policy of a nation is formulated and implemented by its policy makers. In doing so they take into account the national interest of the nation, the internal and external environment, the national values, the foreign policy goals and decisions of other nations and the nature of international power structure.

1. Size of State Territory:

The size of a state is an important factor of its Foreign Policy. Size influences the psychological and operational environment within which the foreign policy-makers and public respond. It includes both human and non-human resources. Nations with large human and non-human resources always try to be big powers and they have better chances of becoming big powers in international relations.

Size has been a factor in the foreign policies of the U.S.A., Russia, China, India, Brazil, France and others. Large sized states, with few exceptions, always formulate and use an active Foreign Policy and through it these play an active role in international relations.

However, size alone is not an independent determinant of foreign policy. Resources and capabilities of the state are not always dependent upon size. The countries of the Middle East, even with small sizes but with the largest quantity of oil resources, have been playing quite an active role in international relations. Japan is relatively a small sized state and yet its role in international relations has been active and influential.

Israel, despite being a small sized state has been influencing the course

of politics among nations. Before 1945, Britain, with a small size, could play the role of a world power. Large size poses the problem of defense, security and maintenance of communications. In the absence of natural boundaries, the large size of a nation very often creates the problem of relations with neighboring states. Despite being the large sized states, Australian and Canadian foreign policies have not been very active. Russia is a large sized state but its role in contemporary international relations continues to be weak.

2. Geographical Factor:

Geography of a state is relatively the most permanent and stable factor of its foreign Policy. The topography of land, its fertility, climate and location are the major geographic factors which influence the Foreign Policy of a nation.

Suitable geographical factors can help and encourage the nation to adopt and pursue higher goals. The role played by English Channel in the development of Britain as a major naval power and consequently as an imperial power is well known. The influence of the Atlantic Ocean on the US Foreign Policy has been always there. Indian Foreign Policy now definitely bears the influence of the geographical location of India as the largest littoral state of the Indian Ocean.

The natural resources and the food production capacity of a nation is directly linked with its geography. These factors are also important factors in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. Adequate existence of vital natural resources minerals, food and energy resources have been helping factors of the US and Russian foreign policies.

Food shortage was a source of limitation on Indian Foreign Policy in the 1950s & 1960s. Consumer goods shortage have been hitting hard the foreign policy and relations of Russia. Large quantities of oil have made it possible for the West Asian and Gulf nations to adopt oil diplomacy as a means of their foreign policies.

Geography, as such is an important and permanent factor of foreign policy, yet it is not a deterministic factor. The revolutionary developments in communications and modern warfare, and the ability of nations to overcome geographical hindrances have tended to reduce the importance of geography.

3. Level and Nature of Economic Development:

One of the main reasons why the US Foreign Policy has been very often successful in securing its national objectives, particularly in relation to the poor and economically lowly placed states of the world is the high degree of its economic development. The developed countries of our times are highly industrialized and economically developed states. These can use foreign aid as a tool for securing their foreign policy goals.

The level of economic development also determines the scope of relations that a nation wishes to establish with other nations. The Foreign Policy of Japan in the contemporary times is directly and fundamentally related to its economic development. The military preparedness and military capability of a nation is again directly related to the factor of economic development and industrialization. Only industrially and economically developed nations can hope to become major and stable military powers.

Economic power constitutes a fundamental dimension of national power in contemporary times and at present; it can be used more effectively for securing foreign policy goals. The US economic power has been a major instrument of its foreign policy. Economic weakness of Russia has forced it to change its policy towards the U.S.A. and other countries. Steadily developing India economy has definitely given a boost to India's foreign relations. Thus, the level and nature of economic development, industrialization and modernization are important factors of foreign policy. The rise of India and China as economic power has shaped the foreign policy in not only Indo-Pacific regions but world as well.

4. Cultural and Historical Factors:

The cultural heritage and the history of a nation are again important and valuable factors of its Foreign Policy. The norms and traditions that characterize the life of the people of a state are highly influential factors of its foreign policy.

Strong cultural unity of the people is always a source of strength for them. It materially influences their ability to secure the objectives of national interest during the course of international bargaining. Historical experiences and cultural links further help them to analyze and assess the nature and scope of relations with other nations. Indeed, the weakness of the foreign policies of most of the Asian and African states has been

largely due to the presence of internal dissensions and conflicts among their peoples.

Bitter experiences with the policies of imperialism and colonialism have been a determining factor of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial contents of the foreign policies of most of the new sovereign states. History is an important factor in determining the relations among the neighboring nations. Foreign policy interactions between India and Pakistan are mostly the legacies of past history. The shadow of the history of 1962 still influences the course of Sino- Indian relations.

However, cultural values and links are always subject to perpetual changes and adjustments. Historical experiences too are forgotten in the face of national interest. The existence of conflict among the European nations, despite their cultural links and the development, and continuance of strong USJapanese friendship and relations bear ample proof that cultural and historical factors have to have combination with other factors before influencing the course of Foreign Policy.

India's strategic culture has been shaped by its history, philosophy and traditions. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, moral behaviour and Satyagraha was rooted in India's moral, ethical and philosophical traditions such as the Vedas, the Ramayana, Mahabharata as well as the teachings of Lord Buddha. Gandhiji's own experiences in South Africa contributed to his understanding that India's freedom was linked to that of other Asian and African colonies. In turn, Gandhiji's thinking influenced Jawaharlal Nehru. Therefore, it is not surprising that the defining characteristics of India's foreign policy in the first few decades after Independence were non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-racialism, non-violence, disarmament, and peacemaking.

5. Social Structure:

The structure and nature of the society for which the foreign policy operates is also an important element. The nature of social groups and the degree of conflict and harmony that characterize their mutual relations are determined by the social structure. A society characterized by strong internal conflict and strife acts as a source of weakness for the foreign policy.

A society of united, enlightened and disciplined people with a high degree of group harmony is always a source of strength. The

democratization of the process of policy-making in recent times has increased the importance of social structure as an element of foreign policy. The linkages between the domestic and international environments have tended to strengthen the role of this element.

6. Government Structure:

The organisation and structure of government i.e. the organisational agencies which handle the foreign policy-making and implementation is another important element of foreign policy. The shape of the foreign policy is also determined by the fact as to whether the government agencies handling it are democratically constituted or not.

Whether the authority relations are centralized or decision-making is free and open. The government officials also act as decision makers and this factor always influences the formulation of foreign policy. Foreign policy of a nation has to adapt to the environment. In a centralized and authoritarian system, the foreign policy can remain and often remains isolated from the domestic environment.

The nature of legislature-executive relations is also an influential factor in Foreign Policy decision-making. The harmony between the two, as is there in a parliamentary system, can be a source of strength and lack of harmony between the two can be a source of hindrance for the foreign policy makers. Similarly, the nature of party system, elections and electorate are other influential factors. The continuity in Indian Foreign Policy has been also due to the nature of government-making in India.

7. Internal Situation:

Like the external situational factors, sudden changes, disturbances or disorders that occur within the internal environment of a nation also influence the nature and course of foreign policy. The resignation of President Nixon over the issue of Watergate Scandal considerably limited the foreign policy of USA under President Ford.

The internal opposition to the military regime in Pakistan during 1947-89 was a determinant of Pakistani foreign policy. Similarly, the declaration of emergency in India in 1975 did materially affect the relations of India with other countries particularly the super powers. A change of government is always a source of change in the foreign policy of a state.

The rise of new leadership in China is now an important input of Chinese Foreign Policy. The rise of BJP led Government in India from 2014 acted as a source of some changes in relations with India's neighbors. The internal situation of Pakistan, a military dominated state trying to be a democratic political system has always been a factor of Pakistan's Foreign Policy.

8. Values, Talents, Experiences and Personalities of Leaders:

Since the Foreign Policy of a nation is made and implemented by leaders, statesmen and diplomats, naturally it bears an imprint of their values, talents, experiences and personalities. The ideas, orientations, likings, disliking, attitudes, knowledge, skill and the world-view of the national decision-makers are influential inputs of Foreign Policy. The differences among the leaders are also influential inputs of a foreign policy.

The Indian Foreign Policy till 1964 was often, and rightly so, described as Nehru's Foreign Policy. The support at home and the popularity that PM Nehru enjoyed acted as imputes of foreign policy. Pakistani Foreign Policy, under the influence of the ideas of General Musharraf, has undergone a big change. India's decision to develop nuclear weapons was definitely made under the influence of the ideas and the world- view of BJP leaders, who came to be power holders in 1998. The foreign policy of each nation is influenced by the personalities of its leaders. The change in leadership often produces a change in the foreign policy of a nation. The rise of strong leaders like Narendra Modi and Donald Trump has shaped the foreign policy of their nations in recent past.

However, this does not mean that this factor is an independent determinant of Foreign Policy. Leaders are always guided by the dictates and demands of national interest. Each leader is committed to the securing of national interests of the nation.

9. Political Accountability:

In the words of Rosenau, *"the degree to which public officials are accountable to the citizenry, either through elections, party competitions, legislative oversight, or other means, can have important consequences for the timing and contents of the plans that are made and the activates undertaken in foreign affairs."*

A political system which is both responsive to and responsible before the people, works in a different environment than the political system which is a closed system i.e., a system which is neither open nor accountable to the people. As such foreign policy of an open political system is more responsive to public opinion and public demands than the foreign policy of a closed political system. The difference between the foreign policies of democratic and totalitarian/authoritarian states is always largely due to his factor.

10. Ideology:

Foreign Policy is a set of principles and a strategic plan of action adopted by a nation to fulfill the goals of national interest. It has always an ideological content. For securing support for its goal as well as for criticizing the foreign policy goals of other nations, it needs and adopts an ideology or some ideological principles.

The ideology of communism remained an important factor of the foreign policies of communist nations during 1945-90. Anti- Communism and Pro-Liberal Democracy ideologies have always influenced the shape and course of foreign policies of non-communist Western nations. Ideological conflict remained determining factor in the cold war policies (1945-90) of both the super powers.

The drive in favor of democratization, decentralization and liberalization in the socialist states of Europe, the new states of Central Asia, Russia and Mongolia has given a new direction to international relations of post-1990 period. Similarly, ideological commitments have been a source of affinity in the foreign policies of Islamic nations.

11. Public Opinion:

Public Opinion, national as well as international is another important input of Foreign Policy. Decision-makers of each nation have to accept and give due place to the opinion of the people they represent as well as to the World Public Opinion. Undoubtedly, the decision-makers as leaders have to lead the public yet they also have to accommodate the demands of public opinion.

The American Senate's refusal to ratify the American membership of the League of Nations, and the opposition of Vietnam War by the Americans and other peoples, had a big impact on the Foreign Policy of the U.S.A.

The real strength behind the objectives of Disarmament, Arms Control and Nuclear Disarmament, Anti- colonialism, Anti-apartheid policies of various nations, has been the World Public Opinion. The rise of several peace and development movements in the World has decidedly acted as a check against foreign policies of war, aggression and destruction. No one is now prepared to talk and act as Hitler and Mussolini did in 1930s.

Hence, as the international world order undergoes significant changes, world and India's foreign policy continues to evolve. The other factors like technology, International power structure, alliances and international treaties and world organizations also play pivotal role in shaping the foreign policy of a country. All the determinants of foreign policy are inter-related and interdependent. They act together or in combination for influencing the making and implementation of a foreign policy. None of these factors can work in isolation and independently. All these determinants have to be analyzed together for understanding the nature and objective of Foreign Policy of each nation.

Factors Affecting Foreign Policy

These are the various elements that affect the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, such as the national interests and values of the state, the domestic politics and public opinion, the policies and behavior of other states, the international system and power structure, the role and influence of international organizations and non-state actors, etc.

Objectives of foreign policy

These are the goals and priorities that a state seeks to achieve through its interactions with other states and international actors. The objectives of foreign policy can vary depending on the particular interests and aspirations of the state.Objectives of foreign trade policy on the other hand are the specific goals and targets that a state sets for its foreign trade activities, such as exports, imports, and investments.

Importance of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is important and relevant for our lives and the future of humanity, as it affects and is affected by the various issues and topics that we face and deal with in the global arena, such as security, trade, human rights, development, and environmental protection. Foreign policy

also enables and facilitates the communication and cooperation between actors in the international system, and helps to prevent and resolve the conflicts and disputes that arise among them. Foreign policy also shapes and influences the world order and the global governance that we live in and aspire for.

(C) National Power : Meaning and Elements of NP

I. National Power (NP)

William Ebenstein : "In the field of IR …. national power is more than the sum total of population, raw materials and quantitative forces".

The position of the modern state depends upon its power, which is simple language implies how stronger or weak a particular status is and how much strength does it possess to promote and protect its national interests.

Hartmann says that power is important to every state big or small, and although states vary in the amount of power they can a mass or exert, they are always pre-occupied with power status.

Whatever the ultimate aim of IR, power is always the immediate aim. The statesman usually describe their goals in terms of religious, philosophic, economic or social ideals and may try to realise them through non-political means. But whatever they try to achieve by means of IR, they also do by resorting to power.

Meaning of NP :

In a layman's language it is easy to describe one nation as more powerful than the other but it is indeed difficult to specify as to what that power consists of.

The concept of power is quite complex and it is not easy to provide a commonly acceptable definition.

Prof. Morgenthan defines power as a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the former certain control over the actions of others through the influence which the former exerts over the bitter's minds.

Schwarzenberger says that power is the capacity to impose one's will on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance.

Schleicher says that power is the ability to exercise such control to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding or promising to reward them or by threatening to deprive them of something they value.

In the broad sense, power can be defined as the ability or capacity with control others and get them to do what one wants them to do and also to see that they do not do what one does not want them to do.

- Power plays the same role in IR as money plays in a market economy.
- Power occupies an important position not only also a means but also as an end.
- Power is both the capstone among the objectives which states pursue and the corner stone among the methods which they employ.
- Power is neither good nor even in itself. It is socially and morally neutral.
- It is often believed that wealth, resources, manpower and arms confer power on nations as they are important elements of power.
- A nation which possesses sources of strength and knows how to utilize its resources successfully to influence or control the behaviour of nations is a nation vested with power e.g. China and Germany.
- Mere possession of resources does not guarantee power, rather the resources must be used properly.
- **Lasswell & Kaplan** define power as participation in decisions. But this definition is not generally accepted as it does not accommodate the entire content of power.
- When a State tries to influence the behaviour of other States, it enters the realm of politics because politics is the struggle for power.
- The meaning of power in the context of IR is political power.
- Most nations seek power so that they can achieve their urgent national goals.

Elements of National Power :

It is difficult to measure the power of a State because it depends upon numerous elements and relative factors. Further the elements of NP are undergoing constant changes due to natural and technical developments. There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the factors which determine the powers of a State. However, most of them have accepted

the fall, factors of national power. The analysis of the various elements is mainly to appraise a student with the idea as to why different States differ in their power and why are they able to play different roles at the international level while some of the elements are tangible, others are intangible.

1. **Geography** : (i) It is the most stable factor upon which the power of a nation depends (ii) The geography of a country has a pre-determined role to play in shaping its foreign policy eg. India and her neighbours (iii) However, with the development of the modern means of communication and transport, the importance of geography location has ceased to be a determining factor (iv) The size of a country can also be a source of strength eg. USA (v) The shape of the territory of a country also has an impact on the State position. A compact (country) territory helps in internal communication as well as protection of frontiers (vi) The location of the State determines whether it develops naval power or land power eg. USA, UK and Japan (naval powers); Czechoslovakia, Nepal, Switzerland (land lock countries) (vii) The location of immediate neighbours also determines the position of States for eg. State located between 2 super powers are often forced to be neutral (viii) The climate of a country also plays an important role in its power. If it is very cold or very dry it will generally lead to spare population and meagre exploitation of resources (ix) The fertility of the soil also has a deep impact on the power position of a country eg. if rainfall is uncertain, droughts and famines will hamper development eg. Somalia. This will make the county overly dependent on other countries (x) The topography also influence power eg. the presence of natural barriers likes mountains, rivers act as a check on foreign invaders eg. Himalaya for India. Presence of good rivers will provide good transportation, hydroelectricity, development of industries, etc.
2. **Population** : (i) Possession of a large population is considered as a source of strength but as Palmer and Perkins point out it can also be a source of weakness (ii) The test is whether a State can utilize its human resource effectively for eg. for agriculture, industry, raising on army, etc (iii) the strength of a country however does not always come because of its number but rather the quality of its population (iv) If the country does not have sufficient capital and technical

know how, it large population can be a liability (v) Age composition of its people - if there are more children and elderly they can be a liability. (vi) The profession of the population also influences power for ex. individual population is stronger than an agricultural population (vii) The level of education of a country's population is also important.

3. **Natural resources** : (i) The national power of a State is determined on the basis of its industrial and military powers which can be developed only if a State possesses sufficient natural resources and raw materials (ii) Natural resources are a gift of nature and include the minerals, flora, fauna, fertility of the soil, etc. (iii) But mere presence of natural resources does not automatically create power. They have to be exploited and worked upon by man eg. abundance of coal and iron ore in Britain provided the base for the Industrial Revolution.
4. **Industrial Capacity** : (i) The industrial capacity of a State also determine its NP (ii) In the modern times no State can became a great power if it lacks in the field of industrialization eg. the predominant position of the USA is due to this. (iii) There is a direct relationship between industrialisation of its position in the interval sphere (iv) Rich natural resources of a country are useless unless exploited and put to industrial use.
5. **Technology :** (i) Technology not only affects the power base of a State but also exercises deep impact on determining the course of IR (ii) Technological development is generally in sphere industrial, communications and military (iii) Industrial technology adds to the power of the country by creating economic surplus (iv) Technological relieve a country from dependence on other countries for essential materials eg. USA (v) with the advancement in the field of communication people, ideas and goods are transported around the world with much ease (vi) Military advancement gives countries an advantageous position inventing new weapons (viii) Advancement in technology also influences a country's foreign policy.
6. **Organisation and Leadership** (i) The potential power of a State is realised or converted into actual power only three the medium of organisational resources, yet may not be able to play an effective role in IR due to lack of organisation and leadership (iii) for a

country to be a power it will need a good government and economic organisation (iv) good leadership does not only means political leaders but also civil servants, outstanding diplomats, able generals, labour leaders, wise spokesmen, etc.

7. **National character and morale** (i) each nation has a distinct national character which is the product of history and social experience (ii) A strong national character of the people based on courage, mortality, discipline, patriotism adds to a country NP (iii) The morale of the people must be high if the State is to have power. Morale depends upon the people's willingness to make sacrifices, to subordinate their personal interests to the interest of the nation, having feelings of mutual respect, trust of understanding towards each other (iv) A country wrecked by internal dissensions will not be able to develop any morale.
8. **Military element** (i) The military strength of a country plays a leading role in determining its position in the international sphere (ii) The military strength of a country depends upon the quality and quantity of its armed forces (iii) A country with a large army is generally more powerful (iv) The nature of training morale of the army and military leadership also add to NP (v) A State with a number of military alliances feels stronger than a country with fewer or no alliance (vi) Also the quantity or quality or arms and ammunition adds to military power. But mere possession does not ensure it is stronger for eg. Pakistan inspite of having modern arms and weapons from USA could not win a single war against India.
9. **The Quantity of Diplomacy** (i) The quantity of diplomacy pursued by a State also determines its power (ii) This factor is the most unstable constituent of NP (iii) According to Morgenthan, diplomacy is the brain of NP, just like national morale is its soul (iv) The importance of diplomacy have however considerably declined according to critics due to the rapid development in the means of communication, the increasing importance of public opinion and the practice of open diplomacy (v) However, this stand by critics is not free from defects as diplomacy still continues to be an important tool of protecting interests of the States, developing contacts with other persons and promoting, furthering the NP of a State.
10. **Political Structure** (i) The government or the political structure of a country will have to play an effective role to make a State powerful

(ii) The government must choose the right objectives and methods of its foreign policy and creates a balance between resources and policy (iii) The government must be able to bring the different elements of NP into balance with each other.

11. **Ideological element** (i) The ideas which a government holds or supports about the socio-economic pattern go a long way in determining the extent of popular sympathy and support it gets both at home and abroad (ii) Ideas like socialism, democracy, liberalism, nationalism have an international appeal (iii) Ideology can be an effective instrument in bringing about unity among various States professing faith in similar ideologies and thus contribute to the enhancement of their power. For eg. the allied and axis powers during the I WW and II WW.
12. **Intelligence** (i) Intelligence here does not mean the mental ability of the political leaders but the activity designed to produce knowledge, a knowledge which contributes to the wisdom of governmental decisions concerning foreign affairs (ii) This knowledge is particularly important in times of was when advance knowledge of the time, place and strength of an enemy attack may contribute to victory (iii) Similarly, knowledge about the specific attack may contribute to victory (iii) Similarly, knowledge about the specific weakness of the enemy is also helpful (iv) However, knowledge is power in times of peace also and can help countries to negotiate with each other.

Evaluation of National Power :

- The task of evaluation of national power is quite difficult because so many tangible forces are involved in the measurement of a nations power.
- Firstly, the evaluation of any country's national power cannot be made in isolation and we have to keep the relative power position of the other State in mind.
- Secondly, national power is a very complex subject and it is difficult to determine the exact importance of various elements of power. In different States particular elements may be more important than the others.
- Thirdly, power is not static and can change over a period of time. These changes may take place either due to decrease in the size

of the territory, military forces, reduction in raw materials, fall in production due to a natural calamity, weakening of position due to break down with an alliance, etc. or even due to a change in power of another State.

- Fourthly, power is always relative in nature.
- Thus, we see that the task of evaluation of power is not so simple and miscalculations can prove disastrous. Underestimation of one's own power or overestimation of that of other leads to policies of peace and status quo while overestimation of one's own power and underestimation of that of others leads to policies of war.

Recent attempts at defining power :

There has been a tendency to define power by looking into the sources or elements of national power. Palmer and Perkins for instance argue that it is there the study of elements of power that the quantify of power can be determined.

Sports and Claude feel that power denotes military power. However, Morgenthan excludes the military aspect from his definition of power. By this former is meant the potential to be powerful and by the latter the effect of mobilization of the capability. Capability may be described as potential power and power as effective power. Thus, capability is transformed into power when it becomes the actual effort directed to the achievement of the desired effect. The dual relativity power has lead scholars to make fresh efforts in search of the definition of power. Such efforts have been made mostly by students of political behaviour.

- **Robert Darl** - "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do".
- **Harlod and Sprout** believe that the most definable aspect of power is the 'behavioural relationship'.
- **David Singer** believes that power is definable only in the context of action.
- **Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz** believe that power is rational, as opposed to possessive or substantive.

Methods of Use of Power (Similar to saam, daam, dand, bheda)

1. **Coercion by use of force**

2. **Persuasion by trying to persuade through discussion, dialogue**
3. **Rewards** : in terms of economic aid, loans, freeships
4. **Punishment** : threat of war or isolation
5. **Compensations** : promising to build infrastructure e.g. being used by China
6. **Partition** : divide the territory to lessen the power of a powerful rival.
7. **Divide and rule** : create frictions among the people of a strong adversary.
8. **War** : start hot confirmation
9. **Alliances** : forge partnerships with strong nations to isolate rivals.
10. **Intervention** : interfere in the internal affairs of a nation especially small States.
11. **Buffer states** : creates such States between you and your enemy State.

Limitations on National Power / Checks on National Power

- Nation always try to seek power, demonstrate power, use power and increase power, thus making struggle for power the key characteristics of IR.
- Every sovereign State has the right to use power to secure its national interest.
- However, unlimited use of power by States can lead to wars, anarchy and chaos. Thus, unlimited power could result in total destruction of human kind.
- Hence, the nations accept the need for controlling and regulating the behaviour of States.

This can be achieved with the help of several devices which act as limitations on National Power. They are :

(1) **Balance of Power :**

- This acts as both as power management and limitation of power
- Its underlying principle is that the power of several equally powerful major States can help to maintain a balance. No State will be allowed to become unduly powerful so as to endanger the balance.

- If one State tries to become overly powerful, another State or States collectively pool their powers to create a balance.

(2) **International Law :**

- International law is the body of rules that nations accept as binding upon them and which regulates their behaviour in an international world community.
- International Law contributes a legal framework for the orderly conduct of IR in terms of peace and war.
- International Law acts as a major check on the misuse of power by nations.
- It emunicates the do's and don'ts for the States.
- However, many a times errant States do not adhere to international law as it is not backed by force but majority of the States respect it.

(3) **International Mortality**

- Behaviour of States in the international environment is regulated through international morality.
- The International community accepts values such as peace, order, equality, mutual help, respect for life and liberty, etc.
- International morality is thus a generally accepted moral code of conduct and keeps irrational increase in national power of States under check.

(4) **World Public Opinion :**

- Democratisation and communications revolution have together made possible the rise of organised world public opinion. It has emerged as an important factor in IR.
- Emergence of strong global peace movements, demand for arms control and disarmament, preservation of the Earth's ecological balance , etc. demonstrate the existence of a strong world public opinion.
- Errant States have to bow down to this opinion and start thinking in the larger interest of the world.
- Fear of adverse world public opinion often forces a country to follow a particular policy in favour of humanity.

(5) **International Organisations :**

- Since 1945, the UNO has been functioning as a global organisation for all members of the international community.

- The UNO's Charter specifies certain objectives which its members are committed to and this acts as a check on misuse of power by these countries.

(6) **Collective Security :**

- Collective security is also a device of power management and acts as a check of power.
- The system of collective security is based on the principle that international peace and security is the common objective to be secured by all States collectively.
- Any State which violates or tries to violate the freedom or sovereignty of another State will be pressurised not to do so and will be met by the collective power of other States.
- In this way, collective security acts as a deterrent against misuse of power by any State.

(7) **Disarmament and arms control :**

- Since military power is a formidable dimension or element of national power, its unchecked development or misuse has to be checked through of a country and stopping it from irresponsibly using it.
- Arms control refers to control over arms race and disarmament refers to liquidation of the huge piles of arms. Both these are used today to limit the military power of States and thereby check their national power.

All the above factors act as limits or check on National Power and its misuse to threaten another country or to hold the world at ransom. However, although these are checks on errant behaviours of countries but sometimes extreme nationalism, crusading spirit of some countries and taking their independence and sovereignty rather seriously or a bit too far, makes them behave selfishly, putting the future of entire mankind at risk. However, most of the countries of the world behave responsibly and let these checks work on them especially in times when they overstep their boundaries.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Define International Relations (IR). How has the study of IR evolved over time, and what are its main areas of focus today?
2. Discuss the interdisciplinary nature of International Relations. How do other disciplines like history, economics, sociology, and political science contribute to the understanding of IR?
3. Examine the significance of state and non-state actors in the field of International Relations. How has the role of non-state actors evolved in recent decades?
4. What are the key theoretical approaches to studying International Relations? Compare and contrast realism and liberalism, in this context
5. Define national power and discuss its key elements. How do tangible and intangible factors contribute to a nation's power on the global stage?
6. Examine the role of economic strength in determining a country's national power. How does economic power interact with military and political power in international relations?
7. Examine the role of national interest in foreign policy formulation. How do countries prioritize their national interests in a complex and interconnected world?

UNIT – II

Lesson 2.1 - Cold War and Detente

(A) Cold War : Ideological or Power Political ? Causes of the collapse of the USSR

Was the Cold War primarily a clash of ideologies—liberal democracy versus Marxism-Leninism—or did it primarily stem from geopolitical power dynamics and material interests? A definitive answer to this query remains elusive, fostering ongoing schisms among Western analysts regarding the precise role of ideology in shaping the Cold War's origins.

One school of thought posits that ideological disparities held minimal significance, contending that both factions employed ideological rhetoric merely as a veneer for their substantive interests and intentions. This perspective aligns with Kenneth Waltz's neorealism theory, which downplays the role of ideology. Waltz, predominantly addressing two structural elements of international politics—the unequal distribution of capabilities and the anarchic nature of the international system—propounds that recurring foreign policy patterns naturally emanate from these features. Other realist perspectives, such as neoclassical realism, introduce domestic-level factors like perceptions of external threats or relative power. Nonetheless, they share with Waltz the conviction that the anarchic global system and the unequal distribution of capabilities significantly constrained, and at times determined, the foreign policy decisions of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

On the opposing side of the discourse, a number of scholars, presently including John Gaddis, posit that the origin of the conflict can be attributed to irreconcilable ideologies. They assert that the cessation of hostilities occurred only when the antagonistic/hostile edge of Soviet ideology diminished. These scholars reject the notion that, in the absence of conflicting ideologies, structural conditions alone would have been sufficient to ignite an intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. Some assessments focus solely on the narrow components of realism, such as material power, changes in its distribution, and external threats, are fundamentally incomplete and fail to elucidate the actual actions undertaken by the Soviet Union and the United States after 1947.

Similarly, some scholars contend that Marxist-Leninist ideology significantly influenced Soviet foreign policy, while liberal democratic values were inherent in U.S. objectives. The Cold War and the bipolar structure of postwar international politics emerged from an ideological conflict, suggesting that considerations of ideology overshadowed the superpowers' concerns about the balance of power.

The Cold War emerged primarily due to ideological disparities between communist and industrialized capitalist nations, where competition for technological and political supremacy was accompanied by nationalistic rhetoric, intensifying differences without resorting to open warfare. The genesis of this conflict can be traced back to the period preceding World War II, marked by American industrialism and nationalism, which dismissed any non-democratic government. The ideological divide and its correlation with the onset of the Cold War are evident in key events such as the Potsdam Conference, the Truman Doctrine, and the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These events fueled anti-communist sentiments in the United States and consistently reinforced the perception of democratic superiority throughout the Cold War era.

As World War II drew to a close, the three dominant global powers convened in Germany to discuss the post-war division of Europe following Germany's defeat. Representing the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States respectively, Stalin, Churchill, and Truman convened for the Potsdam Conference from July 17 to August 2, 1945, to determine the allocation of territories previously under German control.

During these deliberations, the United States and Great Britain became wary of Soviet intentions, particularly as the Soviet Union advocated for the reunification of previously German-occupied territories under unarmed governance. Truman and Churchill perceived this proposal as precarious, fearing that a united but weakened Germany would pave the way for the proliferation of communist regimes in Germany and Southeast Asia, ideologies antithetical to Western interests.

The apprehension towards communism outweighed the desire for a unified nation, which had been a goal throughout the war. In an attempt to assert a firm stance and prompt further negotiations with the Soviet Union, Truman informed Stalin that the United States had valid alternatives to cooperation.

The development of the atomic bomb, a weapon capable of catastrophic destruction, by the United States, marked a significant moment in history. When the United States disclosed this advancement to Joseph Stalin, intending to demonstrate Western power, Stalin countered by suggesting that the United States employ the weapon to assist the Soviets in the Pacific War.

This exchange underscores the desire of both communist and capitalist nations to assert superiority. However, the ideological disparities between them heightened tensions further, as the revelation spurred the Soviets to intensify efforts to develop similar technology. Following the conclusion of the Potsdam Conference, during which Germany was divided into three separate zones of control (Jacklin), Western nations harbored increasing distrust towards Soviet intentions. It became apparent to Stalin that Churchill and Truman harbored animosity towards him and his country due to their non-democratic ideologies and agenda.

Subsequently, the United States sought to distance itself from its entanglements with Soviet foreign affairs after the Potsdam Conference. The Truman Doctrine, announced on March 12, 1947, by President Harry S. Truman, pledged democratic assistance to countries facing threats from authoritarian regimes, particularly communist nations such as the Soviet Union.

The genesis of the Truman Doctrine stemmed primarily from Truman's rebuke of Great Britain for withdrawing support from Greece as it succumbed to influence from the Greek Communist Party. Communism emerged as a pressing concern for the United States, prompting political and military measures to contain its spread. The concept of containment swiftly gained traction across the United States, fostering a strong sense of nationalism against non-democratic governments. Consequently, the United States embarked on initiatives aimed at curtailing the influence of communism both domestically and abroad.

The Soviet Union perceived President Truman's "containment" speech as a direct threat to its government and populace, exacerbating the already heightened tensions stemming from the Potsdam Conference. From a Western perspective, the Cold War represented a sustained effort to bolster democratic governments with the aim of weakening communist regimes and preventing the spread of what President Eisenhower termed the "Domino Theory" - the fear that the fall of one communist regime,

such as in Vietnam, would lead to a chain reaction of communist takeovers. However, the Soviet Union remained resolute in resisting Western dominance, spurred on by initiatives like the Truman Doctrine, and persisted in advancing its scientific research into atomic weaponry. These ongoing efforts fueled a sense of unease within the United States government, contributing to what became known as the "Second Red Scare," characterized by heightened military security measures in Western Europe and Southeast Asia.

Western efforts to counter communism reached their apex with the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on April 4, 1949. NATO served as a collective security alliance against the Soviet Union. Its significance in anti-communist rhetoric lay in being the first peacetime military alliance the United States had entered, underscoring the belief that ideological disparities were the primary impetus for full engagement in the Cold War. As communist influence expanded, particularly in countries like Czechoslovakia and Italy, NATO enforced containment policies and the concept of an "Iron Curtain," a term coined by Winston Churchill to symbolize the ideological divide separating Europe the fear of communist expansion, both in Europe and across the Pacific and North Atlantic, was so profound that direct militarization efforts were organized to forestall such developments.

Conversely, communist nations did not regard capitalist regimes as inherently superior. The Soviet Union, for instance, continued its technological advancements toward atomic weaponry, achieving success on August 29, 1949. Ideological disparities, such as those between communism and capitalist democracy, were the primary catalysts for the Cold War's origins. Western powers were alarmed by the divergence in governmental systems, granting legitimacy only to governments aligned with democratic ideals.

The Potsdam Conference, the Truman Doctrine, and the formation of NATO all underscored the fear of communism and the desire to develop atomic weaponry, overshadowing economic and social considerations. While economic reconstruction and disagreements over the reconstruction of war-torn countries were indeed contentious issues, they ultimately revolved around questions of territorial claims and the establishment of governments. As communism spread to different regions of Europe and Asia, tensions escalated, and the Cold War evolved into a conflict driven by political and social discord.

Cause of Collapse of Ussr

On December 31, 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics abruptly ceased to exist, catching its citizens, leaders, and global observer's completely off guard. Remarkably, the swift series of events leading to its collapse in the final six years seemed unexpected to many. Even as late as the mid-1980s, when the deficiencies of the Soviet system compared to the capitalist world were becoming increasingly evident, there were few predictions of the state's imminent demise. It was only after the rapid collapse of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989 that serious doubts about the future of the Soviet Union emerged. The abandonment of the socialist system and the subsequent disintegration of the Union prompted a widespread effort to comprehend and make sense of its collapse, raising a host of specific and general questions.

For political scientists, the collapse of the Soviet Union carried profound implications for theories concerning empire, totalitarianism, central economic planning, multinational states, and international politics. Similarly, historians were challenged to construct a coherent, causal narrative explaining the final chapter of Soviet history. Beyond academia, the failure of what was often hailed as the "greatest socialist experiment" had significant repercussions for the political culture of the left, often leaving adherents disoriented. Importantly, the citizens and leaders of the successor states of the USSR found themselves thrust into a new reality, grappling with the legacy and history of their 70-year Soviet heritage. Consequently, interpretations of the Soviet collapse have proliferated and continue to evolve in a politically charged yet intellectually stimulating atmosphere.

The collapse of the Soviet Union was influenced by a combination of systemic and immediate factors, with both the economic and political spheres experiencing significant pressures in the decade preceding the collapse. Economic stagnation, particularly from 1981 to 1989, was exacerbated by high defense spending, which posed a considerable burden for policymakers. Some argue that by the early 1980s, the constraints of the domestic economy made continued Soviet expansionism unfeasible, making retrenchment a natural option due to the high cost of maintaining the status quo.

The absence of private ownership within the Soviet administrative-command system made it impossible to determine the true value of goods,

leading to inherent weaknesses. Although market forces were disregarded in favor of administrative control, weakening coercion by governmental policy shifts hampered the economy's functioning. These weaknesses were compounded by external pressures such as the decline in global oil prices, a key Soviet export, and the necessity to increase foreign borrowing.

Politically, repression was a central characteristic of the Soviet system, but it became less effective over time in managing dissent. Throughout the 1980s, political and ethnic violence within the Soviet empire escalated, indicating unstable control and the need for greater focus on domestic governance. However, by the time a shift in policy was recognized as necessary, it was too late to prevent the collapse.

However, by the time the necessity for such a policy shift was acknowledged, poor governance plagued both Russia and the regions, and government control across the Soviet empire grew increasingly fragile. As the failing economic structure and weakening government grappled with the mounting challenges of the 1980s, the system ultimately collapsed. Simultaneously, the evolving leadership within the Soviet Union served as a significant proximate source of instability. Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power ushered in numerous reforms to the USSR's domestic and foreign policies, most notably "perestroika" (reconstruction) and "glasnost" (greater openness). Gorbachev's advocacy for a less interventionist and militaristic foreign policy approach was also notable. His emphasis on greater self-determination for the Eastern Bloc, the belief in mutual security in a nuclear-armed world, and the idea of the US and Soviet Union addressing security issues as partners rather than adversaries marked a significant departure from past approaches. This shift increasingly favored the pursuit of political and diplomatic solutions over military ones for regional and global security challenges.

However, the impetus for change was not solely top-down. Domestic pressures often prompted these policies and were further reinforced by them, creating a feedback loop of magnified effects. As independence movements within the regions of the USSR continued to gain momentum, the Soviet leadership found itself increasingly constrained by the desires and demands of the republics.

Historical Background: The Soviet Union in 1985

In 1985, the Soviet Union stood at a critical juncture, boasting social, political, and economic achievements alongside significant challenges. Since its establishment in the early 1920s, the Soviet Union had experienced continuous economic growth, interrupted only by the upheaval of World War II. The society enjoyed gradual improvements in living standards, benefitting from its socialist system and abundant resources as the largest and most diverse state in the world.

Following World War II, the Soviet Union emerged as a formidable military and political force, serving as the leader of the socialist bloc and a key counterbalance to American hegemony. Notable accomplishments included universal access to free education and healthcare, coupled with a remarkable zero percent unemployment rate. The nation garnered global recognition for its scientific and cultural achievements, from pioneering space exploration to excelling in fields like ballet, chess, and hockey. Moreover, the Soviet Union maintained a reputation for economic equality, with minimal income disparity evident in both nominal and real terms.

However, the country grappled with several internal challenges. Rampant corruption and nepotism undermined social stability, economic progress, and public confidence in the ruling elite. Economic growth rates stagnated, particularly in critical sectors such as agriculture, leading to shortages of consumer goods and declining material living standards. A significant portion of the GDP was absorbed by an exorbitant military budget, hindering investment in essential sectors.

Political disillusionment and apathy among the populace were widespread, with waning support for Marxist-Leninist ideologies such as class struggle. The costly and protracted war in Afghanistan further fueled resentment among the population, highlighting the disconnect between the government and the governed. The leadership, characterized by corruption and conservatism, was increasingly detached from contemporary realities. Many leading party members were elderly, infirm, and out of touch with the aspirations of the populace.

In 1985, amidst the deaths of his three predecessors in quick succession, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the position of General Secretary of the Communist Party (CPSU) at the age of fifty-four. This marked a pivotal moment in Soviet history, as Gorbachev's ideas and policies represented a

stark departure from the entrenched norms of previous regimes, heralding significant changes for the nation.

Amidst the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, Gorbachev refrained from intervention, signaling a departure from the Brezhnev Doctrine and underscoring the USSR's waning influence and terminal decline on the international stage. **Gorbachev's Reform Initiatives:**

- Initially, Mikhail Gorbachev's reform efforts aimed at optimizing the existing system rather than fundamentally altering it. For instance, his anti-alcohol campaign, though unsuccessful, sought to address social issues within the framework of the existing Soviet structure.
- However, by the time of the 27th Party Congress in 1986, Gorbachev began openly criticizing the stagnation and negative trends of the Brezhnev era, signaling a shift towards a policy of acceleration, particularly in economic matters.
- Concurrently, Gorbachev initiated a leadership shake-up, appointing young, reform-minded individuals to key positions, a trend that persisted throughout his tenure.

The major factors that triggered the dissolution of USSR

Chernobyl Disaster and System Degradation:

The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant disaster on April 26, 1986, marked a significant turning point in the history of the Soviet Union. It occurred during Mikhail Gorbachev's tenure as General Secretary of the Communist Party, amidst his reform efforts through policies like glasnost and perestroika. Glasnost aimed to foster greater transparency in government communication, while perestroika sought to reform the Soviet economy and political system. However, the Chernobyl disaster exposed the government's contradictory actions and highlighted the risks inherent in its operations, undermining the prospects of these reforms.

The Chernobyl incident contradicted the principles of glasnost by revealing that the government had withheld critical information from the public, a practice consistent with past Soviet tendencies. Despite Gorbachev's push for openness, the government chose to conceal the extent of the disaster and downplay its severity, even as radiation spread across international borders. The delayed and inadequate response further

eroded public trust in the government and undermined the credibility of glasnost as a genuine commitment to transparency.

Similarly, the economic repercussions of the Chernobyl disaster posed a significant obstacle to perestroika's goals of restructuring the Soviet economy. The financial burdens resulting from compensation, healthcare costs, and environmental remediation strained an already fragile economy. The diversion of resources towards addressing the aftermath of Chernobyl hampered efforts to implement economic reforms and modernize outdated systems. Ultimately, the disaster exacerbated existing economic weaknesses and undermined the viability of perestroika as a pathway to economic revitalization.

Moreover, the Chernobyl disaster revealed the government's prioritization of economic interests over public safety, reflecting the concept of a risk society as described by Ulrich Beck. Despite promises of reform and improvement, the authorities' decision to proceed with the construction and operation of the nuclear power plant without adequate safety measures exemplified their willingness to prioritize economic gains over the welfare of citizens. This revelation exposed the underlying contradictions within the Soviet system and contributed to a loss of faith in the government's ability to enact meaningful change.

In conclusion, the Chernobyl disaster not only thwarted the implementation of glasnost and perestroika but also exposed the government's self-serving motives and disregard for public safety. By revealing the inherent risks associated with Soviet governance and economic policies, Chernobyl played a pivotal role in precipitating the collapse of the Soviet Union.

- The Chernobyl nuclear disaster in April 1986 underscored systemic flaws within the Soviet Union, revealing technological backwardness, environmental negligence, and a lack of political accountability.
- This catastrophic event highlighted the urgent need for substantial change and reform, as the shortcomings of the Soviet system became increasingly apparent.

The Afghanistan war and the Soviet collapse

Major wars have a profound impact on domestic politics by instigating lasting social changes and reshuffling political power among different

groups. Existing literature extensively discusses how major wars can both bolster and weaken states. Surprisingly, current explanations for the collapse of the Soviet Union tend to overlook the significance of the Afghanistan war.

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan began in December 1979. At that time, it seemed inconceivable that the Soviet empire could crumble, let alone disintegrate within a decade. Initially envisioned as a limited intervention, the Afghanistan war escalated into a decade-long conflict involving nearly one million Soviet soldiers. Tens of thousands of Soviet troops were killed or injured during this prolonged conflict.

By the end of 1986, the Afghanistan war had left a significant mark on Soviet domestic politics. Anti-militarist sentiments surged particularly in the non-Russian Soviet republics, where the conflict became a rallying point for opposition against Moscow's authority. The decision to withdraw from Afghanistan underscored the military's vulnerability and indicated Soviet military weakness. By 1988, the war had prompted Soviet leaders to reassess the effectiveness of using military force to maintain unity in the crumbling country.

Furthermore, the Afghanistan war tarnished the reputation of the Soviet army. As the institution that held together the diverse Soviet Republics, its defeat in Afghanistan had profound implications for the Soviet Union's stability. Rampant corruption, looting, and pillaging by Soviet soldiers eroded the army's moral standing. Ethnic divisions within the army were exacerbated as non-Russian troops, particularly those from Asian regions, showed reluctance to engage in combat, deserted, and even rebelled. Instances of drug abuse were on the rise, and some soldiers resorted to selling equipment to Mujaheddin fighters in exchange for drugs, food, and other goods.

The notion that the Afghanistan war played a pivotal role in the collapse of the Soviet Union aligns with theories emphasizing major wars as significant factors in the downfall of empires. Major wars between great powers often reshape domestic politics by weakening established factions and empowering previously marginalized groups. As these less powerful groups assert themselves, the domestic socio-political balance is disrupted, sometimes leading irreversibly to the collapse of empires. However, in a world where great powers possess nuclear weapons, the possibility of major wars involving direct and widespread clashes may be limited. In

such a context, it becomes necessary to redefine major wars based on their implications for domestic politics rather than the characteristics of the participating actors or the scale of the conflict.

While the Afghanistan war may not fit the traditional definition of a major war involving direct confrontation between great powers, it had significant repercussions for Soviet domestic politics. Therefore, we view the Afghanistan war's contribution to the collapse of the Soviet Union as an overlooked case rather than an exception to theories highlighting the role of major wars in empire demise.

Undoubtedly, systemic factors played a crucial role in the decay, though not the collapse, of the Soviet system. Speculatively, a robust Soviet economy might have mitigated the impact of the Afghanistan war on Soviet politics. A strong economy could have satisfied the material needs of non-Russian minorities, reducing their grievances and making them less susceptible to harsh living conditions. Consequently, the regime might have relied less on the military and security forces to suppress dissent, thereby minimizing the repercussions of the Soviet army's failures in Afghanistan on regime stability.

Shift towards Liberalization:

- Frustrated by the limited results of acceleration, the Gorbachev leadership advocated for a move towards liberalization, both in the economic and political spheres, with the aim of revitalizing the country and fostering a more participatory and humane governance system.
- This new direction was encapsulated in the doctrines of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness), which aimed to promote transparency, accountability, and public engagement.

Political Democratization and Economic Liberalization:

- In June 1987, the first local multi-candidate elections were introduced, marking a significant step towards increasing political participation and democracy, albeit at the grassroots level.
- Simultaneously, the socialist economy began to undergo liberalization through decentralization and the formation of cooperative enterprises. However, these reforms often clashed with the existing system of state planning, price controls, and subsidies, leading to mounting economic challenges.

Growing Instability and Nationalist Tensions:

- As democratization progressed, organized dissent and opposition emerged, challenging Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy and the authority of the Communist Party and the central government.
- Ethnic tensions escalated, particularly evident in regions like the Armenian-dominated enclave in the Azerbaijan SSR, leading to riots and later civil unrest.
- Economic deterioration and political instability fueled nationalist sentiments, resulting in political infighting between republics, autonomous regions, and the central government.

International Weakness and Collapse:

- Amidst the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, Gorbachev refrained from intervention, signaling a departure from the Brezhnev Doctrine and underscoring the USSR's waning influence and terminal decline on the international stage.

In 1990, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) began to disintegrate, with Lithuania leading the charge by declaring independence in March. Despite a majority of people still supporting the preservation of the Union, there was a growing demand for sovereignty and decentralization. Generally, the populace desired a loose confederation of republics where certain limited powers would be voluntarily delegated to the Union.

Amidst these tumultuous changes, which were either spurred on or mishandled by the Gorbachev leadership, "conservative" Party members, including leaders of the Army and KGB, seized what they perceived as the final opportunity to maintain the Soviet Union as it stood. On August 19, 1991, they formed an unconstitutional Emergency Committee, placing Gorbachev under house arrest and declaring martial law.

However, their lack of effective planning became quickly apparent as they failed to garner popular support or endorsement from state bureaucracies, leading to the collapse of the coup within three days. The coup significantly contributed to widespread discontent with both the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, which reached unprecedented levels by the end of the year.

This discontent paved the way for the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia to dissolve the Union through a semi-legal measure known as

the Belavezha Accords. In its place, they established a loose Confederation of Independent States, which, although still existing to this day, largely retains a ceremonial function. This historic transition took place on December 31, 1991, marking the official end of the Soviet Union.

Consequences of the Collapse on the International System

The aftermath of the collapse was both immediate and far-reaching. The demise of the Soviet system dealt a significant blow to Marxist-Leninist ideology, leading to a crisis of legitimacy among the socialist intelligentsia and individuals raised under communist rule. With communist oppression lifted, religion experienced a resurgence in influence, particularly in Eastern states and Russia, sparking conflicts between religious groups vying for power and political factions seeking to exploit religion for their agendas. This upheaval also hindered the development of civil society in Eastern Europe, which, unlike its Western counterparts, lacked a unifying cause once the communist state dissolved. Consequently, civil society organizations formed in the post-communist era fragmented without a common enemy.

Economically, the collapse produced winners and losers. Although Western states benefited from a reduction in defense spending, the anticipated "peace dividend" did not always materialize as expected. Meanwhile, Western nations, primarily the US, faced pressure to provide aid to Russia and its former satellites, though the assistance fell short of expectations. Despite large-scale aid programs, recipients still grappled with severe economic challenges and depression as they embarked on extensive reconstruction efforts.

(B) Detente: Factors and Forces

Détente - A term meaning the reduction of tensions between states. It is often used to refer to the superpower diplomacy that took place between the inauguration of Richard Nixon as the American president in1969 and the Senate's refusal to ratify SALT II in 1980.

The period of Detente during the Cold War marked a significant shift in the dynamics between the United States, the Soviet Union, and their respective allies. It was a time characterized by a relaxation of tensions, diplomatic dialogues, and efforts towards arms control. However, the factors and forces that influenced Detente were complex and multifaceted,

shaped by political, economic, and social dynamics both within and beyond the two superpowers. In this chapter, we explore the key factors and forces that contributed to the emergence and evolution of Detente.

Between 1962 and 1979, the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union experienced significant fluctuations, characterized by periods of intense confrontation and moments of détente. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 marked one of the most dangerous confrontations between the superpowers, heightening Cold War tensions to unprecedented levels. However, a decade later, the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT) in Moscow signaled a shift towards détente, symbolizing a brief period of relaxation and cooperation in Soviet-American relations.

During the height of détente in the early 1970s, summit meetings between US and Soviet leaders, such as President Richard Nixon's visit to Moscow in May 1972, appeared to herald a new era of international relations. The normalization of relations between the two superpowers, coupled with agreements on nuclear arms control, fostered optimism for improved bilateral cooperation and stability on the global stage.

However, the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979 served as a significant setback to the détente process. The Carter administration in the United States responded with measures that effectively ended the period of détente, including the suspension of the ratification of SALT II and a return to confrontational rhetoric in Soviet-American relations. By the early 1980s, the relaxation of tensions gave way to renewed hostilities, leading some observers to characterize the period as a new Cold War.

The rise and fall of détente can be attributed to a complex interplay of factors. While the Cuban Missile Crisis contributed to a sense of nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, subsequent arms control agreements were seen as pragmatic responses to the escalating arms race. Additionally, internal dynamics within both superpowers, such as centrifugal tendencies and the Sino-Soviet split, created new diplomatic opportunities and pressures for détente.

However, the failure of détente can also be attributed to its inherent shortcomings, particularly in addressing conflicts in the Third World. Increasingly, Moscow and Washington clashed over issues in regions such as the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Africa, highlighting divergent

geopolitical interests that strained the détente process. Additionally, the lack of a domestic consensus in support of détente further undermined its sustainability, ultimately leading to its demise. While détente had some lasting effects in Europe, where it was a more multilateral and comprehensive construct, its broader legacy was one of unfulfilled promises and missed opportunities for lasting peace and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In any analysis of détente, it's crucial to differentiate between the bilateral Soviet-American détente and the multilateral East-West détente in Europe. These two forms of détente differed significantly in terms of actors involved and the nature of the issues addressed.

European détente primarily focused on regional issues within the European context, such as the relationship between East and West Germany, and the interaction between Eastern and Western Europe. This process resulted in a series of comprehensive agreements spanning various areas, including security, economics, culture, and human rights. The culmination of this European détente was the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which involved 35 countries, including the United States, Canada, and the Soviet Union. The Helsinki Accords represented the beginning of a broader all-European process that extended beyond the Cold War era, establishing norms and frameworks for cooperation and conflict resolution. In contrast, superpower détente, particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union, centered around bilateral agreements and summit meetings. While discussions between the superpowers encompassed global issues, the agreements reached primarily addressed narrow bilateral concerns and did not involve third parties. However, both the US and the USSR were engaged in various regional conflicts worldwide, leading to disagreements and conflicts over their perceived interests. Regional conflicts, such as those in Angola or Afghanistan, inevitably strained the détente process as each party pursued its own strategic objectives.

Ironically, the onset of superpower détente itself was marked by a crisis on the Cold War periphery—the Cuban Missile Crisis. While détente initially appeared promising, Cuba later played a significant role in undermining détente, reflecting the complex and fragile nature of superpower relations. Overall, while European détente resulted in comprehensive agreements and laid the groundwork for long-term cooperation, superpower détente was characterized by narrower bilateral agreements and remained susceptible to disruptions caused by regional conflicts and geopolitical rivalries.

The Cuban missile Crisis

Before the late 1950s, Cuba was an unlikely setting for a major superpower confrontation. Historically, Cuba had been effectively under the control of the United States since the Spanish-American War of the late nineteenth century, functioning as a de facto protectorate. This semi-colonial status, coupled with extreme economic and social disparities, fueled growing anti-American sentiment among Cubans. The dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, who had ruled Cuba since the 1930s, symbolized foreign domination and inequality to many Cubans.

In January 1959, the revolutionary forces led by Fidel Castro succeeded in overthrowing Batista's regime. However, Castro recognized that the success of his new government hinged on the tolerance of the United States. Given the historical context, particularly the American involvement in the overthrow of a leftist government in Guatemala in 1954, Castro was apprehensive about potential US intervention in Cuba. This anxiety prompted Castro to turn to the Soviet Union for support, particularly as tensions with the United States escalated.

In response to Castro's alignment with the Soviet Union, the new Kennedy administration authorized the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. Although the invasion failed, it further strained US-Cuban relations and pushed Castro closer to seeking Soviet military assistance.

The most perilous moment of the Cold War emerged in October 1962 when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev offered to deploy nuclear missiles in Cuba. Castro accepted the offer, and by the summer of 1962, Soviet ships were clandestinely delivering missiles and other materials to Cuba. The crisis reached a critical juncture when American U-2 spy planes discovered the construction of Soviet missile sites in Cuba in mid-October 1962. Faced with the prospect of Soviet nuclear missiles stationed just 160 kilometers from the American mainland, President Kennedy's administration deemed decisive action necessary.

Kennedy formed the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExCom) to assess the situation. After considering various options, including military invasion and aerial attacks, the Kennedy administration opted for a naval blockade of Cuba to prevent further Soviet shipments. On October 22, 1962, President Kennedy addressed the nation in a televised speech, announcing the discovery of Soviet missiles in Cuba and the imposition of a naval blockade. He demanded the removal

of the missiles and emphasized the gravity of the situation to the American public and the world.

The Cuban Missile Crisis, while ultimately defused through diplomatic negotiations, underscored the potential for catastrophic nuclear conflict between the superpowers and highlighted the delicate balance of power in the Cold War era. In the tense days following the discovery of Soviet missiles in Cuba, the United States and the Soviet Union appeared to be on the brink of a nuclear war. The Kennedy administration escalated its response by taking the case to the United Nations and preparing for air strikes and a massive invasion of Cuba. In preparation for a potential conflict, the Castro government mobilized hundreds of thousands of Cubans to repel an American invasion, while Soviet forces on the island, armed with nuclear-tipped missiles, were placed on full alert.

The crisis triggered widespread panic, both in the United States and the Soviet Union. In the U.S., a wave of panic buying swept across the country as citizens prepared for a possible nuclear holocaust. In the Soviet Union, although information about the crisis was limited, there were reports of panic among the public. Meanwhile, in Western Europe, America's NATO allies braced for the implications of a potential nuclear war, particularly the risk of escalation to Berlin and other European cities. As tensions escalated, negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union became increasingly urgent. On October 26, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev offered to withdraw the Soviet missiles from Cuba in exchange for a guarantee from the United States not to invade the island. However, Khrushchev unexpectedly added another demand: the removal of American missiles from Turkey.

Amidst the growing tension, an American U-2 spy plane was shot down over Cuba on October 27, further heightening the crisis. However, behind the scenes, negotiations continued. On the same day, Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General and President Kennedy's brother, struck a secret deal with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin. The agreement stipulated the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba in exchange for the subsequent removal of American missiles from Turkey, a move that would be kept confidential.

On October 28, Khrushchev publicly announced the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba. Under close American surveillance, Soviet ships transported the missiles back to the Soviet Union. The resolution

of the Cuban Missile Crisis averted the imminent threat of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. The crisis served as a stark reminder of the dangers of nuclear brinkmanship and the importance of diplomatic negotiations in managing international conflicts.

Major Themes during Detente

1. **Nuclear Arms Race and Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD):**

   The ever-looming specter of nuclear war played a central role in shaping the Detente era. Both the United States and the Soviet Union had amassed vast nuclear arsenals by the 1960s, leading to a precarious balance of power known as Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). The realization that a nuclear conflict would result in catastrophic consequences for both sides prompted a mutual desire to pursue arms control agreements, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

2. **Economic Realities and the Burden of Military Spending:**

   The economic strains caused by the arms race exerted pressure on both superpowers. The immense cost of maintaining large military establishments and developing advanced weapon systems drained resources that could have been allocated to domestic needs. This economic burden was particularly evident in the Soviet Union, where the arms race exacerbated existing economic inefficiencies and contributed to stagnation. Recognizing the need to alleviate these pressures, both sides sought to explore avenues for cooperation and reduce military expenditures through arms control negotiations.

3. **Leadership Changes and Shifts in Foreign Policy Priorities:**

   Transitions in leadership within the United States and the Soviet Union played a significant role in shaping the trajectory of Detente. The rise of leaders such as Richard Nixon in the U.S. and Leonid Brezhnev in the Soviet Union brought about shifts in foreign policy priorities and a willingness to engage in dialogue. Nixon's doctrine of Realpolitik emphasized pragmatic approaches to international relations, while Brezhnev's emphasis on "peaceful coexistence" laid the groundwork for diplomatic initiatives aimed at reducing tensions.

4. **Global Conflicts and Proxy Wars:**

   Despite efforts towards Detente, conflicts and proxy wars continued to simmer in various regions of the world. The Vietnam War, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan served as flashpoints that tested the limits of Detente. These conflicts highlighted the complexities of managing global affairs amidst superpower competition and ideological rivalries. While Detente sought to mitigate direct confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the persistence of proxy conflicts underscored the challenges of achieving lasting peace.

5. **Public Opinion and Grassroots Movements:**

   Public opinion and grassroots movements exerted influence on policymakers and contributed to the momentum behind Detente. The anti-war movement in the United States, fueled by opposition to the Vietnam War and concerns about nuclear proliferation, pressured the government to pursue avenues for peace and arms control. Similarly, dissent within the Soviet Union, albeit more constrained, signaled a growing desire for détente among segments of the population. The convergence of public sentiment and diplomatic initiatives created a conducive environment for détente to take root.

6. **Cultural Exchanges and People-to-People Diplomacy:**

   Cultural exchanges and people-to-people diplomacy played a subtle yet significant role in fostering understanding and goodwill between the United States and the Soviet Union. Initiatives such as the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, which saw American and Soviet spacecraft docking in space, symbolized cooperation and transcended political differences. Similarly, cultural exchanges in the realms of arts, sports, and academia provided avenues for interaction and mutual appreciation, contributing to the thaw in Cold War tensions.

7. **Geopolitical Realities and Strategic Calculations:**

   Geopolitical realities and strategic calculations influenced the contours of Detente. Both superpowers recognized the need to manage their global interests while avoiding direct military confrontation. Strategic considerations in regions such as Europe, where the potential for escalation was high, necessitated a delicate

balancing act between cooperation and competition. The Helsinki Accords of 1975, which addressed security, human rights, and territorial integrity in Europe, reflected a pragmatic approach to managing geopolitical complexities within the framework of Detente.

Conclusion:

Detente during the Cold War represented a pivotal chapter in international relations, marked by a nuanced interplay of factors and forces. Nuclear deterrence, economic imperatives, leadership dynamics, global conflicts, public sentiment, cultural exchanges, and geopolitical realities all converged to shape the trajectory of Detente. While it brought about moments of cooperation and dialogue, Detente also faced challenges and limitations inherent to the Cold War context. Nevertheless, its legacy endures as a testament to the possibilities of diplomacy in mitigating tensions and fostering peace amidst ideological rivalries.

(C) Globalization : Arguments For & Against

Understanding Globalization:

Globalization refers to the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of economies, societies, and cultures across national borders. It encompasses various dimensions, including the flow of goods, services, capital, information, and people, facilitated by advances in technology, communication, and transportation. In the realm of international economic politics, globalization has profound implications, reshaping power dynamics, altering trade patterns, and influencing policy decisions.

Globalization encompasses various definitions and perspectives, ranging from an idea to a trend, reflecting the diverse interpretations of this phenomenon. Scholars have identified at least five broad definitions of globalization:

1. **Globalization as internationalization:** This perspective considers globalization as an adjective describing cross-border relations between countries. It signifies the growth in international exchange and interdependence, potentially leading to a globalized economy where distinct national economies are integrated into a broader system through international processes and transactions.

2. **Globalization as liberalization:** Here, globalization refers to the process of removing government-imposed restrictions on movements between countries, aiming to create an open and borderless world economy. Advocates for the abolition of regulatory trade barriers and capital controls often associate this with globalization.
3. **Globalization as universalization:** In this context, globalization involves the worldwide spread of various objects and experiences to people in all corners of the earth. This includes the dissemination of technologies like computing and television to global audiences.
4. **Globalization as westernization or modernization:** This interpretation views globalization as the spread of social structures associated with modernity, such as capitalism, rationalism, and industrialism, often in a form influenced by American culture. This process is perceived to erode pre-existing cultures and local self-determination.
5. **Globalization as deterritorialization:** In this view, globalization entails a reconfiguration of geography, where social space is no longer solely defined by territorial boundaries. Instead, worldwide social relations intensify, linking distant localities in ways that shape local events and vice versa.

These definitions highlight the multifaceted nature of globalization, reflecting its complex and far-reaching impacts on societies and economies worldwide.

The Rise of Globalization and the Liberal Order during Cold War

After World War II (1939–1945), both the United States and the Soviet Union encountered internal challenges necessitating a transition from nation-centric development to globalization. In the US, the 1960s witnessed the rise of a countercultural protest movement, which garnered widespread support, reflecting a societal shift. Concurrently, the Soviet Union experienced intense political struggles among different factions within the Communist Party during the post-Stalin era, alongside economic downturns. Bretton Woods emerged as a response to the economic and political challenges presented by the Second World War. Against the backdrop of the global conflict, representatives from 44 nations convened in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in June and July 1944 to devise a framework for the postwar international order. The lessons learned from

the economic turmoil of the 1930s were at the forefront of policymakers' minds. During the Great Depression, both capitalist and socialist powers had adopted protectionist trade policies, leading to the formation of rival trade blocs and hindering the flow of trade and capital.

The United States played a central role in driving economic integration through its leadership in the post-war era. As the world's largest economy and the issuer of the dominant reserve currency under the Bretton Woods system, the US exerted significant influence over the global economy.

Firstly, the US promoted free trade and investment by championing multilateral trade agreements such as GATT. Through initiatives like the Marshall Plan, the US provided financial assistance to war-torn countries in Europe, conditional on their adoption of market-oriented policies and trade liberalization. This helped to rebuild shattered economies and lay the foundation for the economic integration of Western Europe. Secondly, the US leveraged its economic and political power to shape the activities of international financial institutions like the IMF and the World Bank. These institutions played a crucial role in providing financial assistance to countries facing balance of payments crises and supporting development projects in emerging markets.

Thirdly, the US dollar emerged as the world's primary reserve currency, providing a common medium of exchange for international transactions and facilitating the expansion of global trade and finance. The dollar's convertibility to gold at a fixed rate under Bretton Woods provided stability and confidence in the international monetary system, further promoting economic integration.

Delegates at Bretton Woods emphasized the imperative to avoid a recurrence of these damaging policies, including mercantilism and competitive currency devaluations. Instead, they advocated for multilateralism and the facilitation of international trade. At the same time, they recognized the importance of allowing governments the flexibility to pursue domestic policies without being unduly burdened by the need to address balance of payments deficits. The concept of the "welfare state" was emerging as governments increasingly took on responsibility for the economic well-being of their citizens, and delegates aimed to safeguard this trend.

Given the perceived shortcomings of the gold exchange standard, which had prevailed since the late nineteenth century and linked national currencies to gold reserves, delegates considered its reinstatement politically unfeasible. Instead, they sought to establish a new monetary system that could better accommodate the needs of the postwar world.

Under the leadership of John Maynard Keynes and Harry Dexter White, the delegations crafted a compromise between British and U.S. interests that accommodated both international and domestic priorities. At the core of this new system was the establishment of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF was tasked with managing balance of payments issues by implementing a regime of fixed exchange rates anchored to the U.S. dollar, with minor fluctuations permitted within a one percent range. Instead of imposing deflationary measures and austerity to address deficits, the IMF offered loans to governments to cover their debts. These loans came with a repayment period of three to five years, enabling states to engage in deficit spending and provide social services to their populations.

Each country was assigned a quota to contribute to the IMF, with a requirement to provide one-quarter of this quota in gold and the remaining three-quarters in its own currency. Additionally, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, later known as the World Bank, was tasked with aiding in the reconstruction of Europe's war-torn economies. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), established in 1947, introduced the Most Favored Nation (MFN) principle, which aimed to liberalize international trade. Meanwhile, the U.S. dollar, serving as the primary reserve currency, remained convertible into gold at a fixed rate of $35 per ounce, thereby expanding the pool of reserve assets. This fixed exchange rate regime anchored to gold provided stability and confidence to the international monetary system, while also underscoring American dominance in global economics.

The IMF granted member countries the authority to limit the convertibility of their currencies until they had sufficiently recovered from the war, and it was not until late December 1958 that all major European currencies achieved full convertibility. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Western world enjoyed an unprecedented period of prosperity. Despite the devastation wrought by World War II on the economies of East Asia and Western Europe, recovery occurred at a remarkable pace. Japan, freed from substantial military expenditures, focused on domestic economic development and achieved remarkable growth, with its gross national

production (GNP) increasing by over 10 percent annually from the mid-1950s to the 1960s. The country thrived on an export-oriented economy, particularly through its exports to the United States. From $11 billion in 1950, Japan's GNP surged to $320 billion by 1973, marking a thirteen-fold increase.

Similarly, Western European nations swiftly regained their prewar levels of industrial production by 1947 and 1948, with assistance from American aid through the Marshall Plan, which accelerated economic growth. While the Marshall Plan did not solely rescue Europe, it did provide crucial capital to stimulate economic activity and investment in the welfare state. Industrial production in West Germany and Italy tripled between 1949 and 1963, with France closely following suit. The establishment of the European Economic Community in 1958 further liberalized trade within Western Europe, creating a substantial internal market that boosted production.

Between the end of World War II and 1973, the combined gross domestic product (GDP) of all nations nearly tripled, reflecting impressive growth in the world economy. However, the Bretton Woods system lacked a mechanism to address chronic imbalances. The stability of fixed exchange rates depended on increasing liquidity, which allowed the United States to export its debts but ultimately eroded confidence in the system. As Gavin observes, the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system began almost as soon as it started functioning effectively in late 1958.

Two structural issues plagued the Bretton Woods system. Firstly, the United States consistently ran deficits in its balance of payments. The U.S. economy shifted towards a service-oriented model, with services accounting for 30 percent of national output in 1950, increasing to 42 percent by 1971. This shift, coupled with consumer demand, led to a rise in imports, including raw materials such as energy, iron ore, copper, natural rubber, tin, and nickel, which the U.S. increasingly sourced from the global market. Consequently, the United States recorded its first trade deficit since 1893 in 1971.

In the 1960s, President Lyndon B. Johnson escalated two wars: one in Vietnam against communism and the other at home against poverty. Military expenses in Southeast Asia surged following the Americanization of the conflict. While the cost of the war totaled $100 million during the fiscal year 1965, Johnson's subsequent requests in August 1965 and January

1966 amounted to $14 billion. Johnson, fearing the economic burden of the Vietnam War and the Great Society on American taxpayers, opted against raising taxes. Some allies, including West Germany and Japan, agreed to hold dollars as a reserve asset in exchange for their security provided by the U.S. military umbrella. However, France was less receptive to this arrangement.

Paris objected to the dominant role of the United States in the global economy and European international affairs, advocating instead for a return to the gold exchange standard. French President Charles de Gaulle articulated this concern at a press conference in February 1965, criticizing the U.S. practice of paying its liabilities in dollars, which it could issue at will, rather than in gold, which holds intrinsic value earned through labor. This sentiment gained momentum as U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War intensified, with critics accusing Washington of financing its military endeavors at the expense of European nations.

The Beginnings of Decline

The Bretton Woods system faced increasing strain during the 1960s due to a combination of economic imbalances and political pressures. One key factor was the growing US trade deficit, fueled by military spending on the Vietnam War and domestic social programs. As the US dollar became overvalued relative to gold, pressure mounted on other countries to devalue their currencies or implement protectionist measures to maintain competitiveness.

Simultaneously, European countries began to question the dominance of the US dollar in international trade and sought greater monetary autonomy. The creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the establishment of the European Currency Unit (ECU) signaled a shift towards regional monetary integration, challenging the supremacy of the US dollar as the world's primary reserve currency.

Nixon Shock and the End of Bretton Woods

The final blow to the Bretton Woods system came on August 15, 1971, when US President Richard Nixon announced a series of measures collectively known as the "Nixon Shock." These measures included the suspension of the dollar's convertibility to gold and the imposition of a 10% surcharge on imports, effectively ending the fixed exchange rate regime established at Bretton Woods.

The decision to abandon the gold standard was driven by domestic economic concerns, as Nixon sought to address inflation and unemployment ahead of the 1972 presidential election. However, it had profound implications for the international monetary system, leading to a period of uncertainty and volatility in currency markets.

Geopolitical Context

The collapse of Bretton Woods occurred against a backdrop of significant geopolitical shifts and challenges. The Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union exerted considerable influence on international relations, shaping economic policies and alliances. Furthermore, the decolonization process in the post-war period led to the emergence of newly independent nations seeking to assert their sovereignty and pursue their own economic agendas. These countries often found themselves caught in the crossfire of Cold War politics, with superpowers competing for influence and resources.

In this context, the demise of Bretton Woods reflected broader shifts in global power dynamics and the erosion of US hegemony. The United States' unilateral decision to abandon the gold standard undermined confidence in the stability of the international monetary system and highlighted the limitations of American leadership.

Smithsonian Agreement

The Smithsonian Agreement, reached in December 1971, stands as a pivotal moment in the history of international finance. As the Bretton Woods system collapsed earlier that year, the world faced a dire need for a new framework to stabilize exchange rates and restore confidence in the global financial system. The Smithsonian Agreement emerged as a response to these challenges, offering a temporary solution while paving the way for greater integration through globalization.

Key Provisions of the Smithsonian Agreement

Amidst the turmoil, finance ministers and central bank governors from the Group of Ten (G10) major industrialized nations convened at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., to negotiate a new agreement. The resulting Smithsonian Agreement introduced a system of floating exchange rates, allowing currencies to fluctuate within predetermined bands against the US dollar.

Under the agreement, participating countries committed to revalue or devalue their currencies relative to the dollar to correct imbalances in their external accounts. Additionally, member states agreed to intervene in currency markets to stabilize exchange rates within the established bands, thereby preventing excessive volatility and speculative attacks.

Impact on the Global Financial System

The Smithsonian Agreement played a crucial role in stabilizing the global financial system and restoring confidence among market participants. By adopting a flexible exchange rate regime, countries were able to adjust their currencies in response to changing economic conditions, mitigating the need for frequent devaluations or revaluations.

Moreover, the agreement fostered greater coordination and cooperation among nations, as evidenced by the concerted efforts to intervene in currency markets to maintain exchange rate stability. This collaborative approach helped to prevent disruptive currency crises and promote smoother functioning of the international monetary system.

Integration through Globalization

The Smithsonian Agreement also contributed to the process of globalization by facilitating greater integration of economies worldwide. Floating exchange rates provided businesses with greater flexibility in conducting international trade and investment, reducing the impact of exchange rate fluctuations on cross-border transactions.

Furthermore, the agreement encouraged the liberalization of capital flows and the expansion of financial markets, enabling greater access to global capital and investment opportunities. As currencies floated freely, financial institutions and investors could allocate capital more efficiently across borders, fostering economic growth and development.

By the 1980s, a significant global trend emerged as even developing countries began adopting market-based policies akin to those championed by advanced nations. This shift towards market-oriented economic policies gained momentum, particularly following the collapse of communism in 1989, which extended the reach of liberal economic principles to Central and Eastern European countries. Additionally, China's gradual transition towards market-oriented reforms in the late 1970s and early 1980s opened up vast opportunities for participation in world markets across Asia.

Economically, this period witnessed a remarkable surge in global trade volume, coinciding with profound changes in the organization of economic production. With trade barriers being dismantled and technological advancements greatly facilitating transportation and communication, companies could strategically distribute various stages of production across different regions to capitalize on the lowest factor costs. This phenomenon, known as global production networks, allowed companies to optimize the sale of finished goods in the most lucrative markets while minimizing production costs.

Globalization, fundamentally, denotes the process of globalizing, wherein certain phenomena or entities acquire a global character. It encompasses the unification of people worldwide into a cohesive society, functioning collectively. This multifaceted process results from a convergence of economic, technological, sociocultural, and political dynamics. The term "globalization" has only gained widespread usage in the past three decades, with academic commentators acknowledging its novelty as recently as the 1970s.

Economic globalization, a prominent facet of globalization, refers to the integration of national economies into the global economy through various channels such as trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, and technological diffusion. Given its broad implications, globalization has emerged as a subject of paramount importance in the realms of social and political sciences, prompting intensive scholarly exploration. Scholars strive to comprehensively understand the multifaceted impacts of globalization from diverse perspectives.

One area of discourse pertains to the impact of globalization on international relations. Despite the distinctiveness of individual societies, they remain interconnected and interdependent. Throughout history, societies have interacted with one another in diverse manners, giving rise to various forms of relations. Consequently, the framework of international relations has evolved in accordance with these interactions and proportions. Against this backdrop, the debate surrounding globalization prompts a pertinent question: How have international relations been transformed in light of globalization's impacts?

In addressing this query, scholars and analysts offer varied viewpoints and analyses, seeking to elucidate the nature and extent of changes within the realm of international relations engendered by globalization.

By exploring this intersection between globalization and international relations, researchers aim to discern the complexities of contemporary global dynamics and the evolving nature of interstate interactions in a globalized world.

Globalization has become a defining feature of the contemporary world, transforming the landscape of international economic politics. This chapter explores the concept of globalization within this context, examining both the arguments for and against its implications on the global economy and political dynamics. This increasing integration of global production, coupled with the exponential growth in international trade, became integral to what we now term as "globalization." Essentially, globalization encompasses not only the expansion of trade but also the geographical dispersion of production activities, creating a highly interconnected and interdependent global economy. This interconnectedness enabled companies to tap into diverse markets, leverage comparative advantages, and enhance efficiency through specialization and division of labor on a global scale.

During the Cold War, communism struggled to compete with capitalism primarily due to inefficiencies inherent in centrally planned economies compared to market-driven economies. Communism's centralized control over production and distribution led to resource misallocation, lack of innovation, and inefficiency in meeting consumer demands. In contrast, capitalism's decentralized market mechanisms, including price signals and competition, facilitated efficient allocation of resources, innovation, and economic growth. Additionally, capitalism's emphasis on private property rights, entrepreneurship, and profit incentives provided greater individual freedom and incentive for productivity, leading to higher standards of living and economic prosperity. These structural advantages of capitalism over communism contributed to its eventual triumph in the Cold War.

The collapse of global communism and the triumph of the liberal market economy system marked a transformative period in global history, culminating in the end of the Cold War. This monumental shift reshaped the geopolitical landscape, ushering in a new era characterized by the ascendancy of liberal democratic principles and market-oriented economic policies.

Several key factors contributed to the collapse of global communism and the subsequent victory of the liberal market economy system:

1. **Economic Stagnation under Communism**: One of the primary factors that led to the collapse of global communism was the inherent inefficiencies and economic stagnation associated with centrally planned economies. The rigid command economies of communist states proved incapable of generating sustained economic growth, leading to widespread shortages, declining living standards, and mounting dissatisfaction among the populace. Countries like the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies struggled to compete with the dynamic and innovative market economies of the West.
2. **Technological and Economic Advancements in the West**: The liberal market economy system, characterized by free-market principles, private ownership, and entrepreneurship, proved to be far more dynamic and adaptable than its communist counterparts. Western capitalist economies experienced significant technological advancements and economic growth during the latter half of the 20th century, driven by innovation, competition, and investment in research and development. These advancements fueled prosperity and raised living standards, contrasting sharply with the stagnation experienced in communist states.
3. **Ideological and Political Transformation**: The collapse of global communism was also influenced by ideological and political factors. The inherent contradictions and failures of communist ideology became increasingly apparent, undermining the legitimacy of communist regimes both domestically and internationally. Simultaneously, movements advocating for political liberalization, human rights, and democratic governance gained momentum, challenging the authoritarian rule of communist governments. The rise of dissident movements and the desire for political freedoms played a significant role in weakening the grip of communist regimes.
4. **Globalization and Information Revolution**: The forces of globalization and the information revolution played a crucial role in undermining the isolationist tendencies of communist states. Increased interconnectedness through trade, communication, and cultural exchange exposed citizens of communist countries to alternative ideologies and lifestyles, eroding the monopoly of state-controlled propaganda. The spread of information and ideas facilitated by advancements in technology contributed to the growing demands for political reform and democratization.

Complex Interdependence, Globalization and Global Governance

Robert Keohane's theory of institutionalism, rooted in the concepts of interdependence and international institutions, reflects a nuanced understanding of the complexities of the modern world order. Keohane emphasizes the role of states as the primary actors in the international system, while acknowledging the increasing influence of non-state actors such as NGOs, IGOs, and Transnational Corporate Networks. This multiplicity of actors contributes to what Keohane describes as "a complex geography" of international relations, characterized by diverse networks of interdependence extending across multiple continents and encompassing various dimensions such as economic, military, environmental, social, and cultural.

Central to Keohane's analysis is the concept of globalism, which he defines as the interconnectedness and interdependence among actors on a global scale. While globalism fosters cooperation and mutual benefits, it can also lead to conflicts and disputes, particularly in a world characterized by high levels of complexity and interconnectivity. In response to the challenges posed by global interdependence, Keohane advocates for governance mechanisms—both formal and informal—that guide and restrain the collective activities of actors in the international arena. Governance, as conceptualized by Keohane, involves the establishment of processes and institutions aimed at managing and regulating global interdependence, thereby mitigating conflicts and promoting cooperation among states and non-state actors.

Keohane makes two significant distinctions within his framework. Firstly, he differentiates between globalism and "universality," arguing that while global interdependence exists across various domains, it does not necessarily imply the existence of a fully integrated world market or universal governance structures. Secondly, he draws a distinction between governance and "global government," emphasizing the importance of preserving the sovereignty of nation-states as the fundamental form of political organization. Keohane asserts that any regulatory efforts must be consistent with the maintenance of nation-states as the primary actors in international relations.

In summary, Keohane's theory of institutionalism offers valuable insights into the complexities of contemporary international relations, highlighting the role of interdependence, international institutions, and

governance mechanisms in shaping the global order. By recognizing the influence of both states and non-state actors, Keohane provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the dynamics of global politics and the challenges of managing interdependence in an increasingly interconnected world.

Arguments For Globalization:

- Economic Growth and Efficiency: Proponents argue that globalization promotes economic growth and efficiency by facilitating the efficient allocation of resources and fostering competition. Increased trade, investment, and specialization allow countries to capitalize on their comparative advantages, leading to higher productivity and living standards. Example: The integration of China into the global economy since the late 20th century has fueled its remarkable economic growth. By embracing globalization through trade liberalization and attracting foreign investment, China has become a manufacturing powerhouse and lifted millions out of poverty.
- Consumer Benefits:

  Globalization offers consumers access to a wider range of goods and services at competitive prices. The proliferation of multinational corporations and global supply chains enables consumers to enjoy greater choice, quality, and affordability in the marketplace.

  Example: The advent of e-commerce platforms such as Amazon and Alibaba have revolutionized global retail, offering consumers worldwide access to a vast array of products at competitive prices. This has democratized consumption and expanded consumer choices beyond geographical boundaries.

- Technological Innovation: Globalization drives technological innovation and knowledge diffusion, as firms compete and collaborate on a global scale. The cross-border flow of technology, ideas, and expertise fuels productivity gains and spurs advancements in fields such as information technology, biotechnology, and renewable energy. Example: Silicon Valley in the United States serves as a prime example of how globalization fosters technological innovation. The concentration of tech firms, venture capital, and talent from around the world has fueled the development of

groundbreaking technologies such as smartphones, social media, and artificial intelligence.

Example: Silicon Valley in the United States serves as a prime example of how globalization fosters technological innovation. The concentration of tech firms, venture capital, and talent from around the world has fueled the development of groundbreaking technologies such as smartphones, social media, and artificial intelligence.

- Poverty Reduction: Advocates argue that globalization has contributed to poverty reduction by creating employment opportunities, stimulating investment, and promoting economic development in emerging markets. Foreign direct investment (FDI) and international aid programs have helped alleviate poverty by fostering economic growth and infrastructure development in developing countries.

  Example: The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have leveraged globalization to combat poverty and improve living standards in developing countries. Initiatives such as microfinance programs and global health campaigns have made significant strides in reducing poverty and addressing socio-economic disparities.

Arguments Against Globalization:

- Growing Inequality: Critics contend that globalization exacerbates income inequality within and between countries. While some segments of society benefit from globalization, others face job displacement, wage stagnation, and precarious working conditions. The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of multinational corporations and global elites can exacerbate social disparities and undermine democratic governance.

  Example: The rise of income inequality within advanced economies like the United States has been attributed to globalization. The outsourcing of manufacturing jobs to low-wage countries and the automation of industries have disproportionately benefited capital owners and skilled workers, while leaving behind blue-collar workers and marginalized communities.

- Labor Exploitation: Globalization has been associated with the

exploitation of labor in developing countries, where lax regulations and weak enforcement mechanisms allow for substandard working conditions, low wages, and labor rights abuses. Sweatshops, child labor, and forced labor are prevalent in sectors such as manufacturing, agriculture, and textiles, raising ethical concerns about the human cost of globalization.

Example: The garment industry in Bangladesh exemplifies the darker side of globalization, with reports of sweatshop conditions, low wages, and worker exploitation. The Rana Plaza factory collapse in 2013, which claimed over 1,100 lives, highlighted the human cost of profit-driven globalization and inadequate labor standards.

- Environmental Degradation: The pursuit of economic growth and profit maximization in a globalized world has led to environmental degradation and resource depletion. Rapid industrialization, deforestation, pollution, and carbon emissions contribute to climate change and ecological crises, with profound consequences for biodiversity, ecosystems, and public health.

  Example: The rapid industrialization and urbanization in China have come at a significant environmental cost. Air and water pollution, deforestation, and habitat destruction have led to ecological crises, impacting public health and exacerbating environmental challenges such as climate change and loss of biodiversity.

- Financial Instability: Globalization has heightened financial interconnectedness and vulnerability to systemic risks, as demonstrated by the 2008 global financial crisis. The integration of financial markets, speculative trading practices, and deregulatory policies have increased the likelihood of contagion and financial crises, posing challenges for economic stability and regulatory oversight.

  Example: The 2008 global financial crisis, triggered by the collapse of the subprime mortgage market in the United States, exposed the vulnerabilities of a highly interconnected global financial system. Risky financial products, speculative trading practices, and inadequate regulatory oversight contributed to a contagion effect that spread across borders, causing widespread economic turmoil and recession.

The concept of globalization evokes both enthusiasm and apprehension in the realm of international economic politics. While proponents highlight its potential to promote economic growth, efficiency, and poverty reduction, critics raise concerns about its impact on inequality, labor rights, environmental sustainability, and financial stability. As globalization continues to shape the dynamics of the global economy and political landscape, policymakers grapple with the imperative to harness its benefits while addressing its challenges and mitigating its adverse consequences.

Self-Assessment Questions:

1. Discuss whether the Cold War was more ideological or power-political in nature. Support your answer with examples from both superpowers' strategies.
2. Examine the key factors that led to the collapse of the USSR. What role did economic and political weaknesses play?
3. Analyze the concept of détente during the Cold War. How did it affect relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1970s?
4. Assess the impact of the Cold War on third-world countries. How did the superpowers' competition manifest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America?
5. Compare and contrast the foreign policies of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War period. How did their approaches to global influence differ?
6. Critically evaluate the arguments for and against globalization as a post-Cold War phenomenon. What are the major challenges globalization poses for nation-states?
7. To what extent did nuclear deterrence shape the course of the Cold War? Discuss with reference to specific events such as the Cuban Missile Crisis.

UNIT – III

Lesson 3.1 - International Relations Since 1991

A) Unipolar World Order

The concept of great powers in international relations pertains to states that possess significant size in terms of population and territory, abundant resources, robust economic capabilities, formidable military strength, as well as political stability and competence. These attributes, often referred to as power capabilities, enable great powers to exert influence across economic, military, political, and social domains on a global scale. The configuration of power capabilities within the international system determines the number of great powers present and, consequently, the system's polarity. If multiple great powers exist, the system is termed multi-polar; if only two great powers dominate, it is bipolar; and if one great power stands alone, it is unipolar.

Following World War II, the multi-polar system characterized by the pursuit of a balance of power among great powers shifted towards bipolarity. The bipolar world was defined by the dominance of two opposing great powers, the United States (US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), each wielding considerable economic, military, and cultural influence over their respective allies. This equilibrium between the US and the USSR, marked by distinct spheres of influence, fostered stability for over four decades, resulting in peace between the two great powers and limited conflicts elsewhere. However, with the collapse of the USSR and the conclusion of the Cold War, the US emerged as the sole great power in a new unipolar international system.

The clear hierarchical distribution of power in the unipolar world facilitated unchallenged US dominance for a significant period, contributing to a peaceful and stable global order. This stability, coupled with the preceding bipolar balance of power ensured by Mutual Assured Destruction, has led to what some scholars describe as "the longest period without war among any of the major powers". Nonetheless, the recent ascent of new powers such as the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) raises the prospect of a return to a multi-polar international system.

This chapter will explore whether a shift back to multi-polarity and the resurgence of great power rivalry will result in a more or less stable world. It will first assess the feasibility and likelihood of such a multi-polar scenario in the future global landscape, arguing that the decline of US unipolarity and the rise of other powers could diminish US dominance, paving the way for a multi-polar system. Secondly, it will examine historical precedents to determine if multi-polar worlds tend towards stability or instability. While multi-polarity has at times fostered stability, it has also led to conflict and instability, with many multi-polar configurations resulting in war-prone and unbalanced international systems. Building on these insights, the essay will then analyze the implications for global security in a future multi-polar order. It will contend that multi-polarity could usher in a less stable world characterized by great power rivalries, exacerbated by the availability of nuclear weapons, which could empower even middle and small powers, as well as non-state actors, to pose significant threats to global security and peace.

The essay will also delve into the current state of US unipolarity, which emerged following the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR. In a unipolar system, the hegemonic power enjoys unparalleled influence over the international community, shaping global affairs to a considerable extent. The US, as the sole superpower, has been able to assert its will on the world stage, at times bypassing international norms and institutions, as evidenced by its unilateral actions, such as the 2003 invasion of Iraq. This unbalanced preponderance has been reinforced by factors such as geographical security and unparalleled military capabilities, with the US accounting for a significant portion of global military expenditure (SIPRI).

In summary, the chapter will critically analyze the prospects of a return to multi-polarity, considering its historical implications, potential consequences for global security, and the current dynamics of US unipolarity.

Defining Unipolarity

The concept of polarity in the international system is used to describe the distribution of power capabilities across states. Polarity is a descriptive term that illustrates the structure of the system through a portrayal of the concentration of hard power capabilities in the system. The three main variations in polarity are unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarity. However, it is important to recognize that even within each type of polarity

there exists variation. For example, John Mearsheimer has distinguished between balanced multipolarity and unbalanced multipolarity, which depend on the degree to which power capabilities vary among multiple great powers. Polarity is a system-level concept that relates to the distribution of power, real or perceived, in the international system. Unilateralism and multilateralism are choices about the policies that states adopt within a given international system.

Playing a leading role in each domain. However, Joseph Nye also sees unipolarity as the predominant feature of the current international order, with the US exerting significant influence across all levels of power.

Unilateralism, involves the pursuit of policies by a single state without seeking approval or cooperation from other states or international institutions. Unilateralists argue that the concentration of power in a unipolar system grants the dominant state the capability to act decisively in pursuit of its interests, without being constrained by the preferences or interests of other actors. They view unilateral action as necessary for maintaining stability and advancing global security, as it allows the dominant state to address threats and challenges swiftly and effectively.

In contrast, multilateralism involves the pursuit of policies through cooperation and coordination with other states and international organizations. Proponents of multilateralism argue that collective action and consensus-building are essential for addressing complex global issues, such as climate change, terrorism, and nuclear proliferation. They emphasize the importance of international norms, institutions, and mechanisms for resolving disputes and managing conflicts peacefully.

The debate between unilateralism and multilateralism reflects differing perspectives on the nature of power and the best approach to managing international affairs. Unipolar unilateralists believe in the efficacy of unilateral action by a dominant state, while multilateralists advocate for cooperation and collective decision-making to address global challenges. Ultimately, the choice between unilateralism and multilateralism depends on the prevailing distribution of power in the international system and the perceived effectiveness of each approach in achieving desired outcomes.

The dominance of the United States in the global distribution of capabilities represents a significant feature of the contemporary international system. Unlike the return to multipolarity that some anticipated after the end of the Cold War, the United States emerged as the

sole superpower, unparalleled in its material capabilities across military, economic, technological, and geographical dimensions. This unipolarity is unprecedented in the modern era, with no other great power enjoying such comprehensive advantages.

Various factors have contributed to the consolidation of American primacy. The collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire, slower economic growth in Japan and Western Europe during the 1990s, and the United States' substantial military expenditure have all reinforced this disparity in power. Consequently, while historical eras often featured multipolar or bipolar distributions of power among major states, the United States has risen from the 1990s as an unrivaled global power, establishing a unipolar state.

The extraordinary imbalance resulting from this unipolarity has sparked global debate and prompted governments, including that of the United States, to grapple with its implications. Questions arise regarding the nature of domination in a unipolar distribution and how it affects the dynamics of world politics. Does unipolarity tilt the balance in favor of force over consent, and does it diminish the role of rules and institutions in international affairs? Furthermore, how can a unipolar state effectively translate its formidable capabilities into meaningful political influence on the global stage?

These questions underscore the complexities and challenges associated with navigating a unipolar international system. While American primacy brings opportunities for leadership and influence, it also raises concerns about the potential for unilateralism and the erosion of multilateral norms and institutions. Understanding the dynamics of unipolarity and its implications for global governance is crucial for policymakers seeking to navigate and shape the future of international relations.

The debate over unipolarity encompasses classic questions of international relations theory, touching on various key concepts and theories that have long been central to understanding global politics.

Balance of power theory, for example, predicts that states will respond to concentrated power by seeking to counterbalance it. Some observers are puzzled by the apparent absence of a balancing response to American unipolar power, while others argue that balancing behavior is indeed occurring in various forms.

Power transition theory focuses on the specific conflicts that arise between rising and declining hegemonic states. The abrupt shift in the distribution of capabilities following the end of the Cold War and the rise of China afterward raise questions about the nature of conflict between dominant and challenger states as they navigate their trajectories of rise and decline.

Furthermore, the concept of unipolarity prompts scholars to revisit questions about the structure and dynamics of different types of polar systems, including their durability and propensity for conflict. This parallels debates from the Cold War era regarding the impact of polarity on the stability and war proneness of the international system.

Additionally, discussions surrounding threat perception, the influence of regime characteristics on foreign policy, the provision of collective goods by dominant states, and the efficacy of translating power capabilities into effective influence are all relevant to the debate over unipolarity. These debates reflect broader inquiries into how states operate within the context of unipolarity and the implications for global order and stability.

Post-Cold War Unipolarity?

The collapse of the Soviet Union marked a profound shift in global power dynamics, leading to the emergence of the United States as the sole superpower and the onset of a "unipolar moment." This shift prompted the Pentagon to draft a grand strategy aimed at preserving unipolarity by preventing the rise of a global rival. However, this strategy faced controversy and criticism, both domestically and internationally, with many arguing that efforts to maintain unipolarity were unrealistic and potentially dangerous. As a result, officials retreated from the idea of openly pursuing primacy, instead emphasizing the United States' role as a leader or indispensable nation.

The rise and subsequent abandonment of a formal strategy to preserve primacy reflects widespread concerns about the stability and risks associated with unipolarity. Neorealists, in particular, view unipolarity as inherently unstable, as any concentration of power is seen as threatening to other states and likely to provoke actions aimed at restoring a balance of power. While scholars often discuss unipolarity, their attention tends to focus on its potential demise rather than its sustainability.

Some scholars acknowledge the potential for a large concentration of power to promote peace, but they express skepticism about the durability of U.S. preeminence in the international system. They argue that American dominance is fragile and vulnerable to being undermined by the actions of other states. Consequently, many analysts contend that unipolarity is merely an illusion or a temporary phase that is giving way to multipolarity. Some even suggest that the system is not truly unipolar but rather "uni-multipolar," as coined by Samuel Huntington.

While scholars of international relations hold diverse perspectives on various aspects of post-Cold War world politics, there is a growing consensus around the idea that unipolarity is inherently unstable. This belief has shaped the ongoing debate about the nature of global politics since the end of the Cold War. Despite significant shifts in the distribution of power, scholars continue to grapple with questions about why cooperation persists and why traditional balance-of-power dynamics have not reemerged in full force.

While there is a general consensus among scholars that the post-Cold War international system is characterized by unipolarity, dissenting views exist regarding the nature and extent of U.S. dominance. Samuel Huntington proposed the concept of "uni-multipolarity," suggesting that while the United States holds global power projection capabilities, there are also major powers capable of regional influence. Kenneth Waltz initially argued for a continuation of bipolarity in an altered state but later acknowledged the shift to unipolarity following the demise of the Soviet Union.

John Mearsheimer presents a critique of the notion of U.S. dominance, arguing that achieving global hegemony is inherently constrained by geographical factors such as the "stopping power of water." While the United States demonstrates regional hegemony, Mearsheimer questions the feasibility of global hegemony due to these physical limitations. However, advancements in technology may mitigate these constraints, potentially enabling global hegemony based on conventional military capabilities.

Others contend that American hegemony is limited to military affairs and does not extend to economic matters, where power is more evenly distributed among multiple actors such as the European Union and Japan. They argue that the United States relies on cooperation from other economic powers to achieve its objectives, particularly in areas

like international trade and antitrust policies. However, this perspective assumes that the United States will continue to prioritize multilateral trade frameworks, and a shift towards bilateral or regional strategies could alter this dynamic.

In assessing the nature of polarity in economic affairs, it is crucial to consider relative economic capabilities. The United States' GDP in 1999 was nearly equivalent to the combined GDPs of Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Russia, China, and India. Additionally, the United States' share of world product in 1997 was approximately 21 percent, albeit declining slightly since 1970. Comparatively, China, Japan, Germany, and other major economies held smaller shares.

When examining world trade, the picture becomes more complex, particularly regarding the role of the European Union (EU). If the EU is considered as a single entity, it emerges as the hegemon, accounting for around 35–37 percent of world trade, surpassing the United States. However, some argue that individual EU member states should be treated separately, in which case the United States emerges as the dominant economic power, with a significant share of world trade compared to other nations.

Overall, while there are differing perspectives on the characterization of economic polarity, the evidence suggests a form of unipolarity, with either the United States or the EU exerting significant influence in the global economy. Those advocating for a multipolar view typically do not consider the EU as a singular actor on par with nation-states. Therefore, whether viewed through the lens of individual nation-states or regional blocs, the economic landscape leans towards unipolarity, with the United States or the EU as the dominant power.

of how effectively the United States manages its power and addresses the concerns of other states. By adopting policies aimed at reassuring and engaging potential challengers, the United States can prolong its dominance in the international system.

Some analysts, like Samuel Huntington, argue that unipolarity will be short-lived, giving way to a uni-multipolar system within a couple of decades. They suggest that uneven growth rates among states allow others to catch up with the United States, leading to pressure on eligible states like Germany and Japan to increase their capabilities to avoid exploitation by the hegemon. However, evidence supporting this prediction remains limited.

On the contrary, proponents of a longer-lasting unipolarity, believe that the unipolar moment could endure for several decades, barring a significant economic decline in the United States or the emergence of a strong European Union as a state. Realists focusing on threats also argue that the duration of unipolarity hinges on the United States' ability to manage its power effectively and mitigate the concerns of other states

US Hegemony

The United States has played a complex role in the development of international relations, particularly regarding its stance on multilateralism and its own sovereignty. While the US has actively supported various multilateral initiatives and global organizations like the World Trade Organization, it has also faced criticism for its selective engagement and withdrawal from agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Accord, and the International Court of Justice. This perceived inconsistency has led to accusations of double standards, as the US advocates for constraints on other nations while resisting similar constraints on its own sovereignty.

Furthermore, the Iraq War under the George W. Bush administration marked a significant turning point in global affairs. Initially intended to showcase US military superiority and achieve strategic objectives in Iraq, the war ultimately resulted in widespread chaos in the Middle East. The failure to achieve clear objectives and the emergence of groups like ISIS highlighted perceived weaknesses in US power projection and effectiveness. This perception of weakness provided opportunities for anti-American forces and contributed to increased international instability. As a consequence of these developments, there has been a reevaluation of established international institutions and norms. The inability of the US to achieve its goals in Iraq raised doubts about the efficacy of existing international structures and the role of dominant powers within them. This has led to a broader challenge to the post-World War II international order and a reassessment of the balance between national sovereignty and multilateral cooperation.

The debate over the duration of unipolarity revolves around structural determinants and the policies adopted by the dominant power. While some foresee a short-lived unipolar moment, others anticipate a more prolonged period of dominance, contingent upon how effectively the United States manages its power and addresses the interests of other states. It pursues its

objectives with or without international support, demonstrating the lack of constraints on its actions in a unipolar system.

The debate over the duration of unipolarity suggests that it may extend beyond a mere fleeting moment, contingent on the effectiveness of U.S. policies and domestic politics. The lack of international constraints in a unipolar system grants the dominant power, the United States, significant freedom to pursue its preferred policies without regard for the preferences of other states. This freedom is evident even in the face of strategic threats like terrorism, as the United States maintains its primacy and reinforces its unilateralist tendencies in its foreign policy approach in shaping state behavior. Domestic politics, rather than external threats or structural constraints, may play a more significant role in determining a dominant state's strategy in a unipolar world.

The tension observed in U.S. strategy, arises from the divergent approaches between security and economic strategies. While security strategy may align with balance-of-threat theory, economic strategy may lean more towards balance-of-power theory. However, in a unipolar system where the dominant state faces loose constraints and lacks significant external threats, neither theory may fully explain the dynamics of state behavior.

Moreover, the motivation for integrating economic and security strategies may vary depending on the perceived challenges to hegemony. If there are no imminent threats to the dominant state's position, the motivation to integrate strategies may be limited. Instead, the dominant state may prioritize short-term gains over long-term objectives, influenced by domestic political considerations.

In conclusion, understanding U.S. security strategy in a unipolar world requires considering the interplay between structural constraints, domestic politics, and the perceived threats to hegemony. While traditional theories offer insights, they may fall short in explaining the complexities of state behavior in a system characterized by loose constraints and a dominant power.

Emergence of China – Multipolarity?

The emergence of China as a significant player in the international system has sparked debates about the future polarity of global power dynamics. With its rapid economic growth, military expansion, and

technological advancements, China has positioned itself as a potential challenger to the United States' strategic predominance. Some scholars, like Chinese realist Yan Xuetong, argue that economically, the world is already bipolar, with China being the only country capable of challenging American hegemony, especially if it forms alliances, such as with Russia.

China's ambitious pursuit of great power status, supported by its large population, vast territory, and active participation in international affairs, suggests a shift towards bipolarity if China continues on this trajectory. However, predictions about the future polarity vary among scholars. Some foresee a bipolar world emerging by 2020, with the United States and China as the two superpowers. Others predict multipolarity, where power is more evenly distributed among several major players. The National Intelligence Council (NIC) has also forecasted a multipolar world by 2025, with China potentially becoming the largest economy by 2030.

Despite these predictions, some argue that the international system remains unipolar, with the United States still playing a prominent role, albeit alongside other emerging global players. The ongoing debate highlights the complexity of power dynamics and the potential for multiple forms of polarity to coexist within the international system. Ultimately, the future configuration of global power will depend on various factors, including economic trends, military capabilities, diplomatic alliances, and domestic policies of major states.

Conclusion

In summary, the concept of polarity in international relations revolves around the number and distribution of great powers, which possess significant economic, military, territorial, technological, and political capabilities that set them apart from other states. These capabilities can vary over time, with factors like advancements in technology, such as nuclear power during the Cold War, influencing the status of great powers and reshaping international relations.

However, defining polarity in international relations is not straightforward, and there is no consensus on how to measure it. Scholars have different interpretations and criteria for determining polarity, leading to ongoing debates about the nature of the international system. Questions about the longevity of great powers and the extent of their power further complicate the issue.

Even after the Cold War, uncertainty persists regarding the configuration of power in the international system. Some scholars argue for a unipolar world dominated by a single superpower, while others predict a multipolar system with several major players. Additionally, the emergence of countries like China and India as potential great powers introduces the possibility of a bipolar dynamic.

Ultimately, achieving consensus among scholars of international relations on the measurement and understanding of polarity is essential for developing a clearer understanding of power dynamics and their implications for global politics.

B) Rise of China

China's ascent stands as arguably the most significant economic and geopolitical development of the 21st century. Its rise reverberates across various domains, including global security, international development, global governance, and human rights. While China's prominence in international trade is conspicuous, its influence extends to other dimensions of global power. Notably, China's expanding influence in international production and financial markets is evident through its leadership in manufacturing, offshore assembly activities in electronics and textiles, and ownership of the world's largest banks. Additionally, China asserts its global leadership by spearheading the creation of new institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), signing initiatives like the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and promoting its Belt and Road initiative.

In terms of economic magnitude, China is nearly on par with the United States and surpasses all other nations, whether assessed in nominal or purchasing power parity (PPP) terms. In 2019, the US boasted a GDP of $21.4 trillion, while China recorded $14.1 trillion in nominal terms and a staggering $27 trillion in PPP terms. Furthermore, China boasts a formidable presence in corporate competitiveness, with 119 Fortune Global 500 companies compared to the US's 121 in 2019. Regarding innovation, measured by research and development (R&D) spending, the US leads the world by a significant margin, with $581 billion spent in 2018. China follows closely with $293 billion, far surpassing the third-ranked country, Japan, which spent $193 billion.

Over the past four decades, the primary objective of Chinese communist

leaders has been to maintain their grip on power and strengthen their control over the country. This goal prompted Deng Xiaoping to initiate economic reforms that shifted China towards a market-oriented economy. Deng recognized that the failure of centrally planned economies elsewhere had led to the collapse of communist regimes, and he sought to prevent a similar fate for China by pursuing economic success through a strategy modeled after the East Asian export-led growth model.

Following the October Revolution, communist leaders aimed to spread communism globally, leading to the establishment of communist regimes in various countries, including China. However, the failure of centrally planned economies ultimately undermined the viability of communist ideology.

China's success in recent decades has been attributed to the Communist Party of China (CPC) embracing capitalism and market-oriented reforms. Deng Xiaoping advocated for the introduction of a market economy, drawing inspiration from the economic success of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Deng recognized that failure to deliver robust economic growth would jeopardize the CPC's hold on power. Initially, there was resistance within the CPC to market reforms, with some advocating for a return to central planning. However, Deng's pragmatic approach prevailed, leading to the implementation of reforms such as the household responsibility system, which decentralized agriculture and incentivized production. These reforms laid the groundwork for China's economic transformation and growth miracle.

Deng utilized the power of the CPC to drive economic reforms, emphasizing government decentralization and meritocracy. Contrary to popular belief, China's economic success was not achieved through the state's withdrawal from the economy but through the CPC's active involvement in promoting growth. This process ultimately strengthened the CPC's control over various aspects of society, including the military, education, and media.

In recent years, the CPC has even allowed private entrepreneurs to join its ranks, further solidifying its control over the private sector. Overall, the CPC's ability to adapt and embrace market-oriented policies has been instrumental in maintaining its dominance and ensuring China's continued economic growth.

Chinese communist leaders have shifted their focus from promoting

global communism to consolidating power domestically and elevating China's status on the international stage. While they no longer actively seek to establish communist regimes worldwide, they are driven by strong ambitions for China's position in global affairs. Internationally, China aims to bolster its economic and geopolitical influence through initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This initiative seeks to enhance China's economic growth by investing in infrastructure projects globally, fostering economic interdependencies, and securing access to vital resources. By creating such interdependencies, China aims to deter criticism from other countries and solidify its international standing.

China's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic further fueled its aspirations for global leadership. Despite initial failures, China's effective response to the outbreak, coupled with perceived shortcomings in the U.S. response, positioned China as a potential alternative to U.S. leadership on the world stage. Chinese diplomats engaged in assertive "wolf warrior" diplomacy, spreading propaganda and attempting to suppress criticism of China's handling of the pandemic. China's assertiveness has also been evident in its military activities, such as border conflicts with India, increasing presence in the South China Sea, and military maneuvers near Taiwan. Additionally, China has exerted pressure on countries like Australia through threats and trade embargoes, highlighting its willingness to use economic leverage for political purposes.

For decades, China's communist regime has prioritized the incorporation of Hong Kong and Taiwan into its fold. The imposition of the National Security Law in Hong Kong effectively ended the "One Country, Two Systems" framework and tightened Beijing's control over the territory. Similarly, Beijing has sought to undermine Taiwan's autonomy and isolate it internationally, leveraging policies like the "One China" principle. In conclusion, Chinese communist leaders are focused on consolidating power domestically, projecting influence internationally, and advancing China's interests on the global stage. Their ambitions include economic growth, geopolitical dominance, and the integration of territories like Hong Kong and Taiwan into the Chinese Communist Party's sphere of influence.

The prospect of a potential Chinese invasion of Taiwan looms large, especially following the communist takeover of Hong Kong and the subsequent erosion of the "One Country, Two Systems" framework. Taiwan's rejection of such an agreement is rooted in the CPC regime's lack

of commitment to autonomy and democratic freedoms. Chinese leaders may attempt to coerce Taiwan into reunification through a combination of incentives and coercion. This could involve manipulating elections to favor pro-China candidates, deploying agents to influence public opinion, or inciting disturbances to justify military intervention.

The possibility of a PLA invasion of Taiwan is further fueled by international precedents, such as the relatively muted response to Russia's annexation of Crimea. However, Taiwan differs significantly from Crimea in terms of public sentiment, with the majority of Taiwan's population strongly opposed to communist rule and supportive of democracy. The most significant deterrent to a Chinese invasion of Taiwan is the potential response from the United States. A clear and unwavering commitment from the US to defend Taiwan would serve as a powerful deterrent against Chinese aggression. However, the extent of US commitment to Taiwan's defense remains somewhat uncertain, posing a significant security challenge for Taiwan.

The threat of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan underscores the importance of maintaining a strong deterrent posture and fostering international support for Taiwan's security and sovereignty. Clarity and consistency in US policy towards Taiwan are essential for deterring potential aggression and preserving stability in the region.

Over the past decade, China has undergone a notable shift in its diplomatic strategy, characterized by the adoption of a more assertive and confrontational approach termed "wolf warrior" diplomacy, named after the popular Chinese action film series. This transformation has spurred discussions among scholars and policymakers regarding its motivations and its impact on China's international reputation and soft power. As China assumes a greater role in global affairs, comprehending the driving forces behind its diplomatic conduct and the effects of this assertive stance is essential for navigating the complexities of 21st-century international relations.

There has been a considerable shift from China's traditional low-profile diplomacy, epitomized by Deng Xiaoping's "hide your strength, bide your time" strategy, to the current wolf warrior diplomacy. While the former emphasized a "peaceful rise" narrative and non-interference, the latter is characterized by assertive rhetoric and a willingness to confront perceived criticism.

The shift in China's diplomatic approach aligns with Power Transition Theory, as China seeks to assert its growing influence in response to internal nationalism and perceived external threats. This transition reflects China's efforts to realign its international posture with its rising status and ambitions.

Xi Jinping's leadership and personal ambitions present significant challenges for China's political stability and international relations. His actions have disrupted established norms within the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) and undermined essential information channels. One critical aspect of Xi's leadership is his departure from the traditional succession system within the CPC. This system, established after Mao's death, ensured a smooth transition of power by allowing incumbent leaders to groom their successors. However, Xi has broken with this tradition by sidelining the successors chosen by his predecessors, creating uncertainty and potential instability for the future of Chinese politics.

Additionally, Xi's approach to information management has hindered effective governance and crisis response. Historically, the CPC relied on parallel information systems to gather accurate data and monitor social and economic conditions. However, Xi's crackdown on dissent and whistleblowers has stifled these channels, leading to delays in recognizing and addressing crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic. This authoritarian approach has not only undermined China's internal resilience but has also contributed to global repercussions due to delayed responses and lack of transparency.

Xi's consolidation of power and disregard for established norms within the CPC have raised concerns both domestically and internationally. His ambitions and leadership style may further exacerbate tensions with Taiwan and other regional actors, potentially escalating conflicts and destabilizing the Asia-Pacific region. Overall, Xi Jinping's leadership represents a departure from the pragmatism and consensus-building approach of his predecessors, posing challenges for China's internal governance and its relations with the international community.

Beijing's advocacy for a "multipolar world" is resonating with developing nations, evidenced by the transition from the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to the Global Development Initiative (GDI). Initially launched a decade ago, the BRI has been touted by China's foreign ministry as attracting $1 trillion in investment across nearly 150 countries. Chinese

lenders' willingness to provide loans to countries often overlooked by institutions like the World Bank garnered support for Beijing globally. However, it also resulted in significant debt burdens and, in some cases, local resentment. Recent research indicates that China has spent $240 billion bailing out countries struggling with BRI-related debts between 2008 and 2021.

In response, in 2021, President Xi Jinping unveiled the GDI during a United Nations address, aiming to foster international cooperation in areas aligned with the UN's sustainable development goals, including poverty reduction and climate change mitigation. Shortly after the BRICS summit, Beijing announced a $10 billion fund to support the GDI. China's economic challenges may constrain its capacity to provide extensive financial assistance to compliant neighbors. Notably, the scale of funding offered by the GDI is expected to be substantially lower compared to the BRI. According to Yun Sun, Director of the China program at the Stimson Center, a US think tank, the GDI will not match the financial support provided by the BRI.

However, China employs other instruments to expand its influence, particularly in the global South. An illustration of this is the proliferation of Confucius Institutes, state-sponsored cultural and educational centers offering Mandarin language instruction in over 100 countries worldwide. China's cultural diplomacy and expanding reach through technological products, including platforms like TikTok, represent a significant aspect of its global engagement strategy in the 21st century. As China rises as a global economic and technological powerhouse, it recognizes the importance of soft power and cultural influence in shaping international perceptions and relationships.

One of the key components of China's cultural diplomacy is its promotion of traditional Chinese culture, arts, and language abroad. Through initiatives such as Confucius Institutes, which are cultural and language centers established in various countries, China aims to enhance understanding and appreciation of its culture and language worldwide. These institutes offer Chinese language courses, cultural events, and exchanges, fostering people-to-people connections and promoting China's cultural identity.

In addition to traditional cultural promotion, China leverages modern technologies and platforms to extend its cultural influence globally.

TikTok, owned by the Chinese company ByteDance, has emerged as a popular social media platform with a global user base, particularly among younger demographics. Through TikTok, Chinese cultural content, trends, and perspectives are disseminated to millions of users worldwide, shaping popular culture and influencing global discourse.

Moreover, China's expansion into the technology sector has facilitated its outreach and influence beyond traditional cultural channels. Chinese companies such as Huawei, Xiaomi, and Alibaba have established themselves as global leaders in areas such as telecommunications, e-commerce, and digital payment systems. These companies not only provide innovative technological products and services but also serve as ambassadors of Chinese innovation and entrepreneurship on the global stage. However, China's cultural diplomacy and technological expansion have not been without controversy. Concerns have been raised about issues such as censorship, data privacy, and security risks associated with Chinese-owned platforms and technologies. The geopolitical tensions between China and other countries, particularly the United States, have further intensified scrutiny and regulatory challenges for Chinese tech companies operating abroad.

Despite these challenges, China continues to invest in its cultural diplomacy efforts and technological expansion as part of its broader strategy to enhance its global influence and soft power. By promoting its cultural heritage, fostering technological innovation, and engaging with international audiences through platforms like TikTok, China seeks to shape perceptions, build connections, and assert its presence in the global arena.

C) Contemporary International Issues :

i) Human Rights

Human rights encompass fundamental freedoms such as life, liberty, security, and subsistence, among others, which are considered inherent entitlements possessed by all individuals by virtue of their humanity. The term "inalienable" underscores the notion that these rights cannot be relinquished or transferred, drawing parallels to the language used in the Declaration of Independence where certain freedoms were described as "unalienable." This designation implies that such rights are not granted by governments but are instead intrinsic to human existence, often referred

to as "natural rights" by thinkers like John Locke. Since these rights are not conferred by authorities, they cannot be legitimately revoked or alienated by any entity, including governments. Violating this principle by infringing upon or tampering with these rights may provoke justified resistance or rebellion from the populace, as seen historically in instances of revolution aimed at overthrowing oppressive regimes.

Human rights serve as a potent political discourse, often serving as the primary avenue through which marginalized groups can assert their voices and make universal claims. Various organizations, whether operating at the international, national, or grassroots levels, continue to utilize human rights discourse as their preferred mode of advocacy. Despite its limitations within institutional frameworks, this discourse remains a vital source of political inspiration and mobilization, allowing people to be educated about their rights and galvanized into action.

In today's world, no longer polarized along the East/West axis, the potential of this political discourse may be heightened. A more interconnected global community presents increased opportunities for international cooperation, crucial for realizing the vision of universal human rights. At the international level, there is a noticeable resurgence in commitment to the United Nations as a platform for resolving conflicts and advancing human rights objectives.

International cooperation in the realm of human rights can take various forms, including enhancing mechanisms for enforcing and monitoring compliance with international human rights standards. Both Charter-based and Convention-based procedures could benefit from improvement in this regard. States that have not yet done so could consider ratifying Article 41 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which allows for interstate complaints to the Human Rights Committee, as well as the Optional Protocol of the Covenant, enabling the Committee to address complaints from individuals. There is ample opportunity for strengthening the procedures and remedies outlined in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

The post-Cold War era presents opportunities for international human rights within democratic movements, as traditional oppositions diminish. However, the persistence of political philosophical divisions

may constrain these opportunities. The fall of the Communist bloc has coincided with a significant rightward shift in the political ideologies of Eastern European countries. Instead of transcending old divisions, the post-Cold War political climate appears to be characterized more by a regression or retrenchment.

The genesis of most contemporary international human rights norms can be traced back to the aftermath of World War II, shaped by the prevailing political ideologies of that era. These human rights norms are often categorized into three generations, each corresponding to distinct political visions: civil and political rights linked with Western liberal democracies, social and economic rights aligned with Eastern socialist states, and development rights associated with post-colonial, developing nations. The division of the International Bill of Rights into two Covenants—one focusing on civil and political rights, the other on social, economic, and cultural rights—largely stemmed from the political and ideological schisms of the post-war period. It took nearly two decades from the adoption of the Universal Declaration for the Covenants to be ratified, reflecting fundamental differences between liberal and socialist interpretations of individual rights and their relation to society. Despite occasional acknowledgments of the indivisibility of all human rights, contemporary international human rights discourse remains influenced by a delicate balance of ideological disparities.

Governments and Human Rights Promotion

The United Nations recognized the significant role of education in the protection and promotion of global human rights. The Universal Declaration urged "all peoples and all nations" to promote respect for the rights and freedoms it embodies through teaching and education, considering it as a "common standard of achievement." Subsequently, the UN General Assembly called upon all member states to disseminate, display, read, and explain the Declaration in schools and other educational institutions, without regard to political distinctions. Moreover, the Declaration urged countries to take progressive measures, both nationally and internationally, to ensure the universal and effective recognition and observance of the human rights outlined in the document, with education likely being a crucial component of such measures.

Similar to the Universal Declaration, the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women emphasized the role of

education in disseminating protections aimed at reducing or eliminating discrimination against women. It required that all appropriate measures be taken to educate public opinion and direct national aspirations toward eradicating prejudice and abolishing practices based on the inferiority of women. The UN perceives education on human rights, including women's rights, as a crucial tool for eliminating discrimination against women. In line with this view, the UN, through agencies like UNESCO, the International Labour Organization, and UNICEF, has undertaken efforts to promote human rights education. For instance, UNESCO organized the International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy in Montreal, Canada, from March 8-11, 1993. The Congress adopted the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, which recognizes education for human rights and democracy as both a human right and a prerequisite for realizing human rights, democracy, and social justice.

Education plays a crucial role in human rights promotion, especially considering that some international human rights instruments do not create legal obligations on states. For instance, the Universal Declaration, along with the ICCPR and the ICESCR, represents authoritative standards of behavior to which all states should aspire, but they are not legally binding. These instruments call on states to recognize the rights of their inhabitants under national laws and take measures to realize human rights through national institutions. However, states may choose to selectively comply with these standards based on their national interests, ignoring them if they conflict with strategic or economic interests. Therefore, education becomes imperative to raise awareness about human rights and encourage states to voluntarily uphold them, even in the absence of legal obligations.

States have the discretion to decide whether or not to ratify international human rights agreements. This decision is not limited to authoritarian regimes but also includes democratic countries like the United States. Even when a country ratifies an international human rights agreement, it may not consistently commit itself to promoting human rights as outlined in the agreement. Ratifying countries essentially subject themselves to evaluation by international organizations but do not necessarily pledge unwavering commitment to abide by the terms of the agreement. While states agree to follow international human rights standards under agreements like the Universal Declaration, ICCPR, and ICESCR, they do not authorize the UN to investigate their compliance with these standards. Reviewing states'

compliance records, it is evident that many states merely pay lip service to human rights, signing treaties without genuinely intending to shape their policies or restrict their power according to the treaty terms.

Evolution of Human Rights Post-Cold War

The decade following the end of the Cold War is often considered the pinnacle of international human rights efforts, despite the absence of a universal consensus. There was a notable increase in recognition that both states and multilateral organizations had a legitimate role in advocating for and monitoring human rights. This period witnessed a broadening of human rights activism to encompass democratic rights, including the right to free and fair elections, as evidenced by the widespread acceptance of international election monitoring. Moreover, states began to take proactive measures to protect populations through the establishment of international criminal law mechanisms.

In 1993, the UN Security Council (UNSC) established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to investigate and prosecute cases of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity arising from the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. Shortly thereafter, in 1994, the UNSC established a similar tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), to address the atrocities committed during the Rwandan genocide.

In 1998, countries signed the Treaty of Rome, laying the groundwork for the establishment of a permanent court with jurisdiction over genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity committed as part of widespread or systematic attacks against civilian populations. Subsequently, in 2000, the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established in Geneva. In 2018, the ICC's mandate was expanded to include the crime of aggression. While 125 countries initially submitted to the ICC's jurisdiction, some countries, such as the Philippines and Burundi, later withdrew their participation.

Since its inception, the International Criminal Court (ICC) has been a subject of controversy. During the George W. Bush administration, the United States refused to subject itself to the Court's authority and actively worked to prevent the prosecution of U.S. citizens. The administration's staunch opposition to the ICC, including leveraging threats to cut international assistance to coerce poorer countries into not prosecuting U.S. officials, underscored the refusal of at least one major global power

to consistently recognize its jurisdiction. Additionally, criticisms emerged regarding the slow pace of investigations and prosecutions under the ICC's first prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo, with concerns raised about the Court's aggressive pursuit of leaders and groups involved in conflicts, such as Sudanese President Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. Critics argued that the ICC's actions could hinder negotiations and peaceful transitions of power.

Another point of contention was the perception of the ICC's focus primarily on Africa, which led to concerns about the Court being viewed as an instrument of international law that applied disproportionately to weaker states. This Africa-centric focus nearly prompted withdrawals from the ICC by countries like South Africa and The Gambia. Despite these criticisms, the ICC has secured only ten convictions in its twenty-year existence. Nonetheless, its establishment and public role have instilled a sense among activists, jurists, and citizens that impunity for systematic crimes against humanity will no longer be tolerated, even if the path to justice is imperfect and many indictments remain symbolic acknowledgments of crimes.

In 2001, another significant step toward international human rights enforcement was taken with the release of a report by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, which introduced the concept of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). This initiative aimed to prevent atrocities like those witnessed in Rwanda in the early 1990s, acknowledging the international community's collective failure to intervene and stop genocide. At the 2005 UN World Summit, member states expressed readiness to take collective action, including military intervention authorized by the UN Security Council, to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.

However, the prominence of R2P diminished after 2011, following a mission in Libya authorized by the Security Council to protect civilians from attacks by forces loyal to Muammar Qaddafi. The mission's transition from protection to regime change, the loss of civilian lives during the operation, and the ensuing chaos fueled concerns that R2P could be manipulated by great powers and could itself pose a threat to human rights and civilian populations when applied without nuance.

Civil Society & Human Rights Norms

The advancement of UN goals, liberal ideals, and the expansion of human rights norms and jurisprudence were significantly facilitated by the emergence and consolidation of transnational human rights and grassroots organizations and networks. Their proliferation gained momentum in the 1970s following a series of coups d'état in countries like Greece, Czechoslovakia, Chile, and Argentina, which led to widespread repression exposed by local activists and the media. The independence movements in former colonies in Asia and Africa played a crucial role in shaping the concept of self-determination and individual rights, laying the groundwork for the modern human rights system. This momentum received formal recognition on the global stage and among the great powers during Jimmy Carter's presidency (1977–1981), where human rights became a core element of U.S. foreign policy.

The period also witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of international and domestic nongovernmental human rights groups. Amnesty International, established in 1961 in London, played a pioneering role in bringing attention to political prisoners and popularizing the concept of "prisoner of conscience." Helsinki Watch, later renamed Human Rights Watch, emerged in response to monitoring human rights in Soviet bloc countries, expanding its scope globally over time. These organizations, along with numerous others that followed, contributed significantly to embedding human rights in public consciousness and international relations. They served as platforms for training new activists and fostering connections between local grassroots movements, community organizations, and international bodies.

The transformation brought about by the burgeoning transnational human rights movement extended beyond mere numerical growth, networks, and public discourse. It fostered a sense of community that facilitated the dissemination of new ideas, information, and personal testimonies on an international scale. By relaying such information to sympathetic governments and relevant officials in multilateral organizations, the movement exerted pressure for action against human rights abuses. This network embodied a novel understanding of sovereignty, shifting from the traditional notion of a state's sovereign right to govern within its borders to one where states were held accountable to the voices within their populations and to criticism from other states and multilateral bodies. While this accountability was an original aim of the

UN and various human rights treaties, civil society's efforts, through the documentation and humanization of abuses, the provision of independent objective information, and the formation of alliances among committed citizens across borders, helped actualize these norms in domestic and international discourse, if not always in enforcement.

Local activists and international forensic scientists collaborated to establish the culpability of military juntas for disappearances in countries like Argentina, while dissidents such as Andrei Sakharov, Elena Bonner, and Václav Havel gained international attention and, in some cases, release from prison due to the advocacy of transnational civil society. In subsequent years, this spirit and these civil networks adapted to various aspects of human rights expansion, notably as autocratic regimes gave way to elected governments under pressure from transnational civil society.

Later movements for Indigenous, women's, environmental, and LGBT rights drew inspiration from the rights articulated in treaties from the 1940s onwards, employing similar tactics and often collaborating with established human rights organizations. This process, outlined by Bob Clifford, involves the framing of grievances as normative claims, the placement of these rights on the international agenda, acceptance of new norms by states and international bodies, and finally, the implementation of these norms by national institutions. This process has become standard practice, albeit sometimes imitated by nondemocratic states like Russia and China in their efforts to undermine human rights and criticism.

The recognition, pursuit, and protection of human rights norms internationally have never been uniform or consistent. Successes in curbing human rights abuses, such as those mentioned earlier, primarily occurred in smaller, weaker countries and were sometimes driven more by domestic politics than genuine commitment to human rights. These states were more susceptible to leverage through measures like suspension of trade privileges or the withholding of economic and military assistance. However, such tools have proven less effective in influencing larger countries like China, which, due to its massive internal economy, is less vulnerable to external economic pressures. Additionally, international businesses heavily invested in the Chinese market often support China, further diminishing the effectiveness of economic leverage. Moreover, human rights norms and mechanisms have struggled to protect individuals and communities in situations of state collapse, such as those witnessed in Libya, Syria, and Venezuela.

The global divisions over human rights that emerged in the 1940s became more pronounced in the 2000s and were already evident in 1993 at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. The United States sought a clear reaffirmation of global commitment to human rights in the post-Cold War era. However, a bloc of countries including China, Iran, Pakistan, Singapore, and Syria argued against the universality of human rights, claiming they were a Western construct that did not apply to their societies. While the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action reiterated states' commitment to the international bill of rights, it also emphasized the importance of respecting national and regional particularities, historical backgrounds, and cultural and religious differences. Despite affirming the universality of human rights, the declaration highlighted growing divisions, which have widened over the following decades, especially as domestic politics shifted and global great-power competition intensified.

Doubts & Debates:

Critics of the human rights movement, argue that the emphasis on civil and political liberties over economic and social rights has disadvantaged the latter, which are often more relevant to the needs of many citizens in the Global South. By failing to address extreme inequality and socioeconomic needs, the human rights movement has lost its effectiveness as a framework for reform, particularly in the face of rising populism and without a broader focus on social rights, the achievements of human rights could be easily reversed.

There are also concerns about the justiciability of economic and social rights, such as the right to housing, healthcare, and education. These rights are often dependent on state capacity, which many developing countries lack, and are not directly enforceable like civil and political rights. Additionally, violations of economic and social rights are often linked to complex societal factors rather than intentional abuse by state or nonstate actors. Some argue that economic and social rights should be considered aspirational goals rather than absolute rights due to practical challenges in enforcement.

Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum argue that civil and political rights are essential for human dignity, which is core to the process of development. They contend that civil and political rights cannot be separated from economic and social development. Despite this perspective, there is a growing movement, particularly in the Global South, advocating

for a "right to development," recognizing development as an inalienable right subject to international human rights standards.

Another criticism is the concept of "rights inflation," whereby any desirable public good is equated with human rights, potentially diluting the effectiveness of genuine human rights claims. Critics argue that this expansion of human rights to encompass various issues risks undermining their legal basis and turning them into moral imperatives rather than legally enforceable rights. The proliferation of topics addressed by UN human rights mechanisms, as noted by Hurst Hannum, reflects this trend, with many issues not directly linked to international human rights treaties or obligations.

The debate over the universality of human rights versus cultural relativism, as well as concerns about foreign interference in sovereign affairs, continues to shape discussions on human rights. However, rights abusers have become more vocal and are finding support from unlikely allies. Autocratic regimes, such as China and Russia, are asserting national sovereignty and noninterference to resist international norms and criticisms of human rights abuses. Some Western democracies, including the United States under former President Donald Trump, have also aligned themselves with populist regimes and downplayed human rights concerns.

Within Western democracies, human rights protections have faced challenges, particularly with the rise of far-right parties. Policies targeting asylum seekers, such as offshore detention centers and agreements with other countries to prevent migrants from reaching their borders, have raised concerns about human rights violations. In the United States, attempts to dismantle harsh immigration policies have faced judicial challenges.

These domestic strains have also affected foreign policy and the effectiveness of regional and international human rights bodies. The European system of human rights, including the Council of Europe and the European Union, has faced challenges in upholding human rights norms, particularly in cases were economic interests or political considerations influence decision-making. Brexit has further complicated matters, raising questions about the UK's commitment to the European human rights system and the rule of law.

Overall, the increasing resistance to human rights norms and the erosion of protections within Western democracies highlight the ongoing challenges in promoting and protecting human rights globally.

In the United States, there has been a growing rejection of human rights institutions and international norms, fueled by nationalist and populist sentiments in domestic politics. This trend has deepened in recent years, with administrations openly undermining human rights institutions and norms. During the "war on terror," the Bush administration rejected international criticism of its use of torture and detention without due process in Guantánamo. While Obama pledged to reverse these policies, many remained unchanged, and under the Trump administration, hostility towards international human rights norms increased significantly.

The Trump administration withdrew the United States from the UN Human Rights Council and cut funding to multilateral and regional human rights organizations. It also placed sanctions on individuals associated with the International Criminal Court for investigating U.S. troops in Afghanistan for war crimes. Domestically, concerns were raised over the treatment of migrants and protesters, with the administration often refusing to engage with international human rights bodies.

This divergence among historical defenders of human rights has created opportunities for countries like China and Russia to assert their influence and reset the international human rights consensus in their favor. China, in particular, has presented its authoritarian-led development as an alternative model, emphasizing economic and social rights over political and civil rights. It has also sought to fill the diplomatic and financial void left by the United States, offering alternatives to existing multilateral institutions.

Technological advances have further complicated the human rights landscape, providing governments with unprecedented power that may be difficult to hold accountable. Global tensions and nationalist populism have also hindered multilateral cooperation, exacerbating humanitarian crises and global inequality. As the world grapples with the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, there is a need for greater attention to economic and social rights while continuing to protect and expand political and civil rights.

ii) Arab- Israel Conflict.

The Origins of the Arab–Israeli Conflict

The conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Jews is primarily rooted in a struggle over land, rather than religious differences, although both groups

have diverse religious backgrounds. The area in question, historically known as Palestine, has been divided into Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip since the war of 1948-49. Both sides have competing claims to this relatively small territory, which are not easily reconcilable.

Jewish claims to the land are based on biblical promises to Abraham and his descendants, the historical presence of the Jewish kingdom of Israel, and the need for a Jewish homeland in response to European anti-Semitism. On the other hand, Palestinian Arabs assert their rights based on continuous residence in the region for centuries and their demographic majority. They reject the idea that biblical history should serve as the basis for modern territorial claims and argue that Arabs, as descendants of Abraham's son Ishmael, are also entitled to the land promised by God. Overall, the conflict is complex and deeply rooted in historical, religious, and political factors, making it challenging to resolve.

In the 19th century, a global trend emerged where people began identifying themselves as nations and demanding national rights, particularly the right to self-rule in a state of their own. Both Jews and Palestinians developed national consciousness during this time and mobilized to achieve their national goals. The Zionist movement, advocating for a Jewish homeland, began in 1882 with the first wave of European Jewish immigration to Palestine. Palestine, being the site of Jewish origin, seemed like the logical choice for this endeavor. However, at that time, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire and did not constitute a single political unit.

According to Ottoman records from 1878, the population of the Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre districts totaled 462,465 inhabitants, consisting of 403,795 Muslims (including Druze), 43,659 Christians, and 15,011 Jews. Additionally, there were approximately 10,000 Jews with foreign citizenship and several thousand Muslim Arab nomads (bedouin) who were not counted as Ottoman subjects. The majority of Arabs, both Muslims and Christians, lived in rural villages scattered throughout the region.

Until the early 20th century, the majority of Jews residing in Palestine were concentrated in four cities of religious significance: Jerusalem, Hebron, Safad, and Tiberias. These Jews, largely observant of traditional orthodox religious practices, focused on studying religious texts and relied on charity from the global Jewish community for their livelihood. Their

connection to the land was primarily religious rather than national, and they were not actively involved in or supportive of the Zionist movement, which originated in Europe and was brought to Palestine by immigrants. In contrast, most of the Jews who immigrated from Europe led a more secular lifestyle and were committed to the Zionist goal of establishing a Jewish nation and constructing a modern, independent Jewish state. By the onset of World War I in 1914, the Jewish population in Palestine had grown to approximately 60,000, with around 33,000 being recent settlers. Meanwhile, the Arab population in Palestine in 1914 numbered about 683,000.

Zionism, as a modern political movement, espouses the belief that all Jews constitute a single nation and advocates for the concentration of Jews in Palestine/Israel to establish a Jewish state as a solution to anti-Semitism. The World Zionist Organization, founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897, aimed to establish "a national home for the Jewish people secured by public law."

While Zionism drew inspiration from Jewish religious ties to Jerusalem and the Land of Israel (Eretz Israel), its ideology was also influenced by nationalist concepts and colonial notions regarding Europeans' rights to colonize and settle other territories. Zionism gained traction among Jews and garnered support from Western nations, particularly in response to anti-Jewish violence such as the pogroms in the Russian Empire during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Holocaust, which resulted in the systematic genocide of over six million Jews by the Nazis during World War II, further galvanized international backing for the establishment of a Jewish state.

There are various forms of Zionism, with one dominant form from the 1920s to the 1970s known as Labor Zionism, which aimed to combine socialism and nationalism. Labor Zionists in Palestine during the 1920s established initiatives such as the kibbutz movement (collective communes, often with agricultural economies), Jewish trade unions and cooperatives, as well as the primary Zionist militias, including the Haganah and Palmach. These efforts also led to the formation of political parties that eventually merged into the Israeli Labor Party in 1968. David Ben-Gurion, a prominent figure in Labor Zionism, emerged as its top leader and subsequently became the first Prime Minister of Israel.

Post-Cold War Arab-Israel Relations

In the past three decades, the Middle East has undergone significant transformations, coinciding with the end of the Cold War and the rise of the United States as the sole superpower. The presidency of George W. Bush and the subsequent War on Terror reshaped the regional dynamics, solidifying Israel's position as a key US ally. This period witnessed a reconfiguration of alliances, with the region split into opposing camps, primarily centered around Iraq and Iran. Unlike during the Cold War, these adversaries lacked superpower backing.

US interests in the region encompassed a range of issues, including the Iranian nuclear program, counterterrorism efforts against groups like ISIS, and stabilizing states affected by the Arab Spring uprisings. Economic development and fostering alliances with moderate Arab states and Israel were integral to US strategy. The cooperation of moderate Arab states was crucial in countering Iran's nuclear ambitions, while the War on Terror provided authoritarian regimes with opportunities to enhance domestic security using Israeli technologies. Saudi Arabia initially advocated for normalization with Israel, but the longstanding stance was that resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict should precede such moves. Throughout the early 21st century, the Middle East saw the formation of pro and anti-American blocs, with Iran playing a significant role as a driving force behind anti-American sentiment.

The region's fluidity is exemplified by rapid changes in diplomatic relations. For instance, the interval between Israel's war with Egypt in 1973 and Egyptian President Sadat's visit to Israel in 1977 marked a significant shift in relations. Similarly, the transition from violent clashes during the First Intifada to diplomatic breakthroughs following the Madrid conference illustrates the region's volatility. In 2010, allegations of Mossad involvement in the assassination of Hamas official Mahmoud al-Mabhouh strained relations between Israel and the UAE, leading to a rupture in ties. However, less than a decade later, the UAE emerged as a close regional ally of Israel, spearheading the Abraham Accords. These developments underscore the rapid and unpredictable nature of change in the Middle East.

Gulf War & the Rising regional fracture

The failure of the United States and Israel to respond meaningfully

to the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) moderation led to the PLO's opposition to the US-led attack on Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War. Although the PLO did not endorse Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, it viewed Saddam Hussein's challenge to the US and the Gulf oil-exporting states as an opportunity to alter the regional status quo and draw attention to the question of Palestine. However, after the war, the PLO found itself diplomatically isolated, with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia cutting off financial support, pushing the organization to the brink of crisis.

Following the Gulf War, the United States sought to stabilize its position in the Middle East by promoting a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Despite their turn against the PLO, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were eager to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and eliminate the potential for regional instability it created. In this context, the administration of President Bush felt obligated to its Arab allies and pressured Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to engage in negotiations with the Palestinians and Arab states. This led to the convening of a multilateral conference in Madrid, Spain, in October 1991. However, Shamir insisted that the PLO be excluded from the talks and that Palestinian aspirations for independence and statehood not be directly addressed, conditions which the US accepted.

Subsequent negotiating sessions held in Washington, DC, involved Palestinians represented by a delegation from the occupied territories. However, participants in this delegation were subject to Israeli approval, and residents of East Jerusalem were barred from participating on the grounds that the city is part of Israel. Although the PLO was formally excluded from these talks, its leaders regularly consulted with and advised the Palestinian delegation. Despite numerous meetings between Israeli and Palestinian delegations, little progress was made. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir revealed after leaving office that his strategy was to prolong the Washington negotiations for ten years, anticipating that by then, the annexation of the West Bank would be a fait accompli.

In June 1992, a new Israeli Labor Party government led by Yitzhak Rabin took office and pledged to swiftly conclude an Israel-Palestinian agreement. However, the Washington negotiations became deadlocked after December 1992 when Israel expelled over 400 Palestinian residents of the occupied territories accused (but not tried or convicted) of being radical Islamist activists. Human rights conditions in the West Bank and Gaza deteriorated significantly after Rabin assumed office, undermining the legitimacy of the Palestinian delegation to the Washington talks and prompting the resignation of several delegates.

The lack of progress in the Washington talks and the worsening economic and human rights conditions in the West Bank and Gaza accelerated the growth of a radical Islamist challenge to the PLO. Violent attacks against Israeli targets by HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement) and Islamic Jihad further exacerbated tensions. Ironically, before the intifada, Israeli authorities had enabled the development of Islamist organizations as a way to divide Palestinians in the occupied territories. But as the popularity of Islamists grew and challenged the moderation of the PLO, they came to regret their policy of encouraging political Islam as an alternative to the PLO's secular nationalism. Eventually, Yitzhak Rabin came to believe that HAMAS, Jihad and the broader Islamic movements of which they were a part posed more of a threat to Israel than the PLO.

The Oslo Accords, signed in September 1993, represented a significant shift in Israeli-Palestinian relations. These accords, negotiated secretly in Oslo, Norway, between Israeli and PLO representatives, led to the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles. This declaration was based on the mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO.

Key provisions of the Oslo Accords included:

1. **Israeli Withdrawal:** Israel agreed to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and the city of Jericho in the West Bank, with further withdrawals from unspecified areas of the West Bank during a five-year interim period.
2. **Formation of Palestinian Authority (PA):** The PLO established the Palestinian Authority (PA), which was granted self-governing powers, primarily at the municipal level, in areas from which Israeli forces withdrew.
3. **Elections:** In January 1996, elections were held for the Palestinian Legislative Council and the presidency of the PA. Yasir Arafat won the presidency by a significant margin.
4. **Final Status Issues:** The Oslo Accords deferred the resolution of key issues such as the extent of territories to be ceded by Israel, the nature of the Palestinian entity to be established, the future of Israeli settlements and settlers, water rights, the refugee problem, and the status of Jerusalem. These issues were to be addressed in subsequent final status negotiations.

The PLO, led by Yasir Arafat, accepted the Oslo Accords despite their limitations and flaws. The agreement was seen as deeply flawed because it did not fully address Palestinian aspirations for statehood and self-determination. However, the PLO accepted it due to its weakened position after the Gulf War, internal challenges from Islamist radicals and local leaders in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and its desire for diplomatic progress despite limited support in the Arab world. Arafat's leadership was crucial in concluding the agreement, as he was seen as the figure with the necessary legitimacy and authority to negotiate with Israel.

The Oslo Accords established a negotiation process without defining a specific outcome, aiming to conclude by May 1999. Delays ensued due to Israel's reluctance to cede control over occupied territories and its unwillingness to make necessary concessions for a final status agreement. Periodic violence by Palestinian opponents of the Oslo process, particularly groups like HAMAS and Jihad, also contributed to the delays. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, during his tenure from 1996 to 1999, was skeptical of and opposed to the Oslo process, avoiding serious engagement with it.

Following Netanyahu's term, a Labor-led coalition under Prime Minister Ehud Barak assumed power in 1999. Initially focusing on negotiations with Syria, Barak shifted attention to the Palestinian track when efforts with Syria faltered. Throughout the interim period of the Oslo process, both Labor and Likud governments in Israel continued settlement expansion in the occupied territories, signaling intentions to annex territory in the final settlement. However, the Oslo accords lacked mechanisms to prevent these unilateral actions or Israeli violations of Palestinian rights in areas under its control.

Final status negotiations were scheduled to start in mid-1996 but commenced earnestly only in mid-2000. By this time, several interim Israeli withdrawals had granted the Palestinian Authority partial control over portions of the West Bank and Gaza. Nevertheless, these areas remained encircled by Israeli-controlled territory, with Israel maintaining control over entry and exit points.

The Oslo process placed early demands on Palestinians for compromise, while deferring Israel's key concessions to the final status talks. This imbalance left Palestinian expectations largely unmet, contributing to dissatisfaction with the accords.

In July 2000, President Clinton convened Prime Minister Barak and President Arafat at Camp David to finalize negotiations for the long-awaited final status agreement. Barak outlined Israel's "red lines," stating that Israel would not revert to its pre-1967 borders, East Jerusalem with its 175,000 Jewish settlers would remain under Israeli sovereignty, settlement blocs in the West Bank housing about 80 percent of the 180,000 Jewish settlers would be annexed by Israel, and Israel would accept no legal or moral responsibility for the Palestinian refugee issue.

The Palestinians, adhering to UN Security Council Resolution 242 and their interpretation of the Oslo Declaration of Principles, aimed for an Israeli withdrawal from the majority of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including East Jerusalem, and the establishment of an independent state in these territories. Significant disparities, particularly regarding Jerusalem and refugees, prevented an agreement at the Camp David summit in July 2000. While Barak proposed a more extensive Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank than previously considered, he insisted on Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem, which was unacceptable to the Palestinians and much of the Muslim world.

Arafat's refusal to yield to American and Israeli pressure bolstered his standing among his constituents, while Barak faced political turmoil at home, including the loss of coalition partners who viewed his concessions to the Palestinians as excessive. Nevertheless, the summit broke the Israeli taboo on discussing the future of Jerusalem, prompting many Israelis to reconsider their approach and recognize the necessity of compromise for achieving peace.

The second Intifada which commenced in 2000 until 2005 was initiated by the Palestinians, in protest of Israeli control over the West Bank, the deadlock in the peace talks, and anger over former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest site in Islam. In retaliation, despite objections from the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court, the Israeli government sanctioned the construction of a wall surrounding the West Bank in 2002. The breakdown of the Camp David summit resulted in a significant escalation in Israeli-Palestinian tensions, culminating in the outbreak of the second Intifada.

This violent episode, triggered by the visit of Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon to the holy site of Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem's Old City in September 2000, marked a turning point in Israeli-Palestinian

relations. Over the next five years, the conflict saw a surge in Palestinian terrorism targeting Israeli civilians and retaliatory actions by the Israeli military in Palestinian territories, resulting in a tragic loss of life, with over 3,000 Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis killed. The collapse of the peace process was evident, despite intermittent efforts by the United States to revive negotiations. Both sides remained unable to rebuild sufficient confidence and trust to pursue meaningful negotiations for resolving the conflict.

The period following the Annapolis Conference in November 2007, which aimed to advance Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, has been marked by significant obstacles rather than opportunities for meaningful peace talks. This period included failed attempts such as the nine-month mission led by US Secretary of State John Kerry, concluding in April 2014. Instead of progress, the region witnessed numerous challenges, including three conflicts between Israel and Hamas in Gaza (2008-9, 2012, 2014), as well as recurrent bouts of violence in Jerusalem and the West Bank. Additionally, Israel experienced three consecutive right-wing governments under Prime Minister Netanyahu, from 2009 to the present, characterized by policies favoring settlement expansion and legislation perceived to undermine Israel's democratic principles.

Concurrently, efforts to reconcile differences between the Fatah and Hamas factions within the Palestinian territories repeatedly failed, exacerbating intra-Palestinian tensions. Hamas; one of the two major Palestinian political organizations, was created in1987 following the first intifada and split from Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood.

In 1997, the US government recognized Hamas as a foreign terrorist organization. The mutual trust between Israelis and Palestinians deteriorated significantly due to unilateral actions, such as Israel's expansion of settlements, the blockade of Gaza, and the withholding of Palestinian tax revenues. Moreover, the Palestinian Authority achieved an upgrade in its international status to that of a non-Member Observer State at the UN General Assembly in 2012, followed by applications to join numerous international conventions and treaties, including the International Criminal Court. Subsequently, the ICC initiated an inquiry into alleged war crimes committed by Israel during the 2014 Gaza War.

However, this hurt the US and other Western powers' attempts to restart the West Bank peace talks in 2013, as the formation of a unity

government in 2014 between Fatah, the official party of the Palestinian Authority, and Hamas, a breakaway faction, put an end to peace talks. In the summer of 2014, Hamas launched almost 3,000 rockets towards Israel, which prompted Israel to launch a significant offensive in Gaza.

Egypt mediated a cease-fire in late August 2014 after 2,251 Palestinians and 73 Israelis were killed. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas asserted that the Oslo Accords' territorial limitations did not apply to the Palestinians after the 2015 unrest between Israelis and Palestinians. From March to May 2018, Palestinians in the Gaza Strip protested along the Israel-Gaza border, which however ended on the 70th anniversary of the Nakba - the Palestinian exodus that preceded Israel's 1948 founding. Violence broke out, causing terrible humanitarian harm despite the majority of protestors being peaceful. The UN reports that live ammunition wounded over 6,000 protestors and killed 183.

Recent Developments and Future Prospects

Israeli Settlement Expansion and Peace Prospects (2014-2023)

One of the persistent challenges to peace remained Israel's continued expansion of settlements in the West Bank, deemed illegal under international law. Settlement construction, along with policies such as home demolitions and land confiscation, undermined the viability of a two-state solution and exacerbated tensions on the ground. Efforts to restart negotiations, including U.S.-brokered initiatives such as the 2019 Peace to Prosperity plan, failed to gain traction amid deep-seated mistrust and divergent priorities.

2020: Abraham Accords

The Abraham Accords, signed in 2020, are a series of historic agreements that led to the normalization of diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations between Israel and Arab countries, including the UAE and Bahrain, and later the Joint Declaration with Morocco.

The Accords marked a departure from decades of Arab-Israeli conflict, opened up economic opportunities, fostered regional stability, and represented a symbol of changing dynamics in the Middle East. They also served as a model for potential future agreements between Israel and other Arab and Muslim-majority countries.

As of 2022, Arab-Israeli relations remain fraught with challenges, yet opportunities for resolution persist. The normalization agreements between Israel and some Arab states, brokered by the United States under the Abraham Accords, represent a paradigm shift in regional dynamics. However, these agreements have sparked controversy within the Arab world, particularly among Palestinians who view them as a betrayal of their cause. Moving forward, achieving a just and sustainable resolution to the conflict will require concerted efforts to address core grievances, promote mutual recognition, and uphold international law and human rights principles.

Israel-Hamas Conflict 2023:

On October 7, 2023, Hamas, identified as a U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organization (FTO), launched a series of surprise attacks on Israel from the Gaza Strip, resulting in significant casualties, including more than 1,200 Israelis and foreign nationals, including 35 U.S. citizens. These attacks, along with reported intelligence failures, prompted scrutiny from Israeli and U.S. officials. While there are allegations of Iran providing support to Hamas, President Joe Biden stated in October that there was no evidence implicating Iran in planning the attacks.

In response to the October 7 attacks, Israel declared war on Hamas and initiated aerial bombardment and ground operations in Gaza. By March 12, 2024, over 31,000 Palestinians in Gaza had been killed. Despite ongoing hostilities, Israel and Hamas agreed to a temporary ceasefire in late November, during which a number of hostages held by both sides were released. However, the conflict has led to a dire humanitarian situation in Gaza, with an estimated 1.7 million Gazans displaced out of a population of approximately 2.1 million. More than 60% of housing units in Gaza have been destroyed or damaged, contributing to a severe food insecurity crisis.

In response to the humanitarian crisis, the United States and other countries have taken steps to provide additional aid to Gaza, including through air and maritime deliveries. Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has called for the complete elimination of Hamas and the return of all hostages. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) have reportedly gained control over key areas of northern Gaza and continue operations in an effort to target Hamas leadership. Negotiations involving the United States, Egypt, and Qatar are ongoing to secure a potential ceasefire and hostage-prisoner exchange deal between Israel and Hamas. While the

Biden Administration has affirmed Israel's right to defend itself, it has urged Israel to minimize civilian casualties and increase humanitarian assistance in Gaza. Additionally, concerns have been raised about Israel's plans to advance its forces into the southern city of Rafah without a credible plan to protect civilians.

Divergent viewpoints among officials from the United States, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority (PA) based in the West Bank regarding post-conflict security and governance for Gaza may exacerbate the existing challenges. U.S. officials have voiced backing for the reinstatement of PA administration in Gaza following specific reforms, as part of initiatives aimed at progressing towards a two-state solution. However, the PA and other Arab leaders insist on tangible advancements towards the establishment of a Palestinian state before cooperating with such a transition. Prime Minister Netanyahu has opposed the return of PA authority in Gaza, advocating instead for Israel to retain full security control over all territories west of the Jordan River. He argues that his longstanding position has prevented the creation of a Palestinian state.

In an October 2023 supplementary budget request, US President Biden urged the US Congress to allocate over $14 billion in funding related to Israel and more than $9 billion for global humanitarian assistance, which could potentially be designated for Gaza, Israel, and the surrounding region.

In November 2023, the United Nations initiated a revised flash appeal totaling $481 million to address the urgent needs of individuals in Gaza and the West Bank, with nearly half of the required funding promised by December. Organizations such as UNICEF and UNRWA are actively involved in delivering vital resources like medical supplies, fuel, and emergency aid in Gaza. However, the Biden administration announced a temporary halt in new contributions to UNRWA in January following allegations by Israel that twelve agency employees were involved in the October 7 attack by Hamas. Several other nations, including Canada, Germany, and Japan, have also suspended their funding to UNRWA.

Additionally, humanitarian assistance is being provided by major organizations such as the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, which includes the Palestine Red Crescent Society, and Doctors Without Borders. Amid ongoing hostilities, there has been a growing international push for a humanitarian ceasefire. In December,

the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities, with ten countries, including the United States, voting against the resolution.

Self-Assessment Questions:

1. Discuss the concept of a unipolar world order after the Cold War. To what extent did the United States establish global hegemony?
2. Examine the rise of China as a global power since 1991. How has China's growing influence affected the international balance of power?
3. Analyze the impact of the dissolution of the Soviet Union on global geopolitics. How did it change the dynamics of international relations?
4. What are the main challenges to the unipolar world order established by the United States after the Cold War? Discuss with reference to the rise of multipolarity and regional powers.
5. Critically evaluate the role of international institutions such as the United Nations, IMF, and World Bank in shaping international relations since 1991. Have they remained relevant in the post-Cold War world?
6. How has the Arab-Israeli conflict evolved in the post-Cold War era? Discuss the role of international diplomacy and the involvement of global powers in this issue.
7. Analyze the role of human rights in contemporary international relations. How have global norms and interventions shaped the discourse on human rights since 1991?
8. What has been the impact of globalization on international relations since 1991? Discuss its role in economic, political, and cultural transformations across the world.

UNIT– IV

Lesson 4.1 - Foreign Policy of India

(A) India Foreign Policy : Main Features -

Indian foreign policy is a multifaceted endeavor, shaped by a combination of historical legacies, ideological principles, and contemporary geopolitical realities. Since gaining independence in 1947, India has navigated its position on the global stage with a commitment to maintaining its sovereignty and promoting its national interests. Central to India's foreign policy approach is its dedication to non-alignment, democratic values, and fostering cooperation among nations, particularly in Asia.

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, articulated the essence of India's foreign policy during the Asian Conference in March 1947. He emphasized the imperative of steering clear of military factionalism and power rivalries, advocating for an independent stance in the face of Cold War politics. Nehru's vision laid the foundation for India's non-aligned stance, which aimed to preserve autonomy while engaging with the international community.

Walter Lippmann's perspective on foreign policy as the art of balancing national commitments and capabilities resonates with India's approach. India's foreign policy decisions are influenced by a myriad of factors, including its geographical location, historical experiences, cultural heritage, and political structure. These elements shape India's interactions with other nations and international organizations as it seeks to fulfill and promote its national interests.

Moreover, Michael Brecher's observation on India's foreign policy underscores its significance in fostering political awakening in Asia. India's leadership role in the region reflects its commitment to promoting stability, cooperation, and development beyond its borders.

In this chapter, we delve into the determinants, objectives, and evolution of Indian foreign policy, exploring how India's unique blend of historical consciousness, democratic ethos, and strategic pragmatism continues to shape its engagement with the world. Through examining key

principles, milestones, and challenges, we aim to unravel the intricacies of India's foreign policy landscape and its implications for regional and global dynamics.

- The basic philosophy of Indian foreign policy:
  - **1)** India is committed to world peace, democratic values, secularism, peaceful coexistence, and vasudhaiva kutumbakam.
  - 2) India opposes tendencies like imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid, and interventionism.
- Determinants of foreign policy:
  1. **Article 51** → India will endeavor to promote International peace and security. The determining elements of foreign policy are described in Article 51 of the directive principles of the policy of the Indian constitution:
     - (A) The state will increase International peace and security.
     - (B) There will be full relations of justice and respect between nations.
     - (C) Will have respect for International laws and treaties.
     - (D) Will resolve International disputes through arbitration.
  2. **Ministry of External Affairs**
  3. **Prime Minister's office**
  4. **Approval of International treaties and agreements by the parliament.**

Factors Helpful in Determining India's Foreign Policy:

- Experiences of Indian leaders in international politics.
- The skill of seeing the world in the prismatic light of the political, economic, and ideological contradictions that emerged because of the two world wars.
- The conclusion that political contradictions and economic disparities cannot be limited to different parts of the world because they are interconnected and similar.
- The fight for independence in India was different from the contemporary movements in the rest of the world. The reason for this was the ideology that there is no uniform formula to deal with the diversities of the complex world.

- The belief that international harmony, peace and stability can be achieved only through a logical process, argumentation and a commitment to cooperate rather than oppose.
- The thinking of the Indian leadership is that we have a feeling of peace, stability and welfare towards the international community and want to contribute, hence, the aspirations of the common people of the entire world will have to be given appropriate place in our foreign policy.

Features of Indian Foreign Policy

India's foreign policy is characterized by several key features that reflect its historical, geographical, and strategic position in the world. These features shape India's interactions with the international community and guide its approach to global affairs:

- Non-alignment: One of the foundational principles of Indian foreign policy is non-alignment. India, under the leadership of figures like Jawaharlal Nehru, advocated for non-alignment during the Cold War era. Non-alignment meant that India did not align itself with any of the major power blocs, the United States-led Western bloc or the Soviet-led Eastern bloc. Instead, India sought to maintain its independence, sovereignty, and pursue its national interests through a policy of non-alignment. India's continued engagement with multiple countries and blocs without aligning with any major power blocs, such as its strategic partnership with the United States alongside its participation in forums like BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO).
- Strategic Autonomy: India emphasizes strategic autonomy in its foreign policy, which means maintaining the freedom to make decisions independently without being dictated by external powers. India seeks to safeguard its national interests and pursue its objectives based on its own assessment of global events and developments. India's decision-making during the Ukraine crisis, where it maintained an independent stance and refrained from explicitly condemning Russia, despite pressure from Western powers.
- Focus on Multilateralism: India actively engages in multilateral forums such as the United Nations, G20, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), and various regional organizations.

India believes in the importance of multilateralism in addressing global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, and economic cooperation. Further its active participation in global initiatives such as the International Solar Alliance (ISA) to address climate change, and its role in the Quad (comprising the United States, Japan, Australia, and India) for regional security and economic cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region. India often advocates for reforms in international institutions to reflect contemporary global realities more accurately.

- Neighborhood First Policy: India places significant importance on its immediate neighborhood and follows a "neighborhood first" policy. Strengthening ties with neighboring countries in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region is a priority for Indian foreign policy. Initiatives like the "Act East Policy" aim to deepen economic and strategic engagement with Southeast Asian countries. Adding to that India's efforts to provide COVID-19 vaccines to neighboring countries and the Indian Ocean region as part of its "Vaccine Maitri" initiative, highlighting its commitment to regional cooperation and solidarity during the pandemic.
- Economic Diplomacy: With the liberalization of its economy in the early 1990s, India has increasingly used economic diplomacy as a tool to enhance its global influence. India seeks foreign investment, promotes trade, and engages in economic partnerships with countries around the world to foster economic growth and development.
- Soft Power: India leverages its rich cultural heritage, democratic values, and contributions to areas such as yoga, Bollywood, and IT services to enhance its soft power globally. Cultural diplomacy, educational exchanges, and people-to-people contacts are important elements of India's foreign policy strategy. The increasing popularity of yoga globally, promoted by India through initiatives like the International Day of Yoga, which has garnered support and participation from countries worldwide, enhancing India's soft power and cultural influence
- Security Concerns: India faces various security challenges, including terrorism, cross-border infiltrations, and territorial disputes. As a result, security considerations play a significant role in shaping India's foreign policy, particularly in its relations with neighboring

countries and major powers. One such example can be seen during its responses to security challenges such as the Pulwama attack in 2019, where it conducted airstrikes targeting terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan-administered Kashmir, demonstrating its resolve to combat cross-border terrorism.

- Global South Solidarity: India maintains close ties with other developing countries, particularly those in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, based on shared historical experiences and common developmental goals. India often advocates for the interests of the Global South in international forums and supports South-South cooperation initiatives. India's collaboration with African countries through initiatives like the India-Africa Forum Summit and the lines of credit extended for developmental projects, illustrating its commitment to South-South cooperation and supporting the developmental aspirations of fellow developing nations.
- Nuclear Policy: India's nuclear policy is characterized by its commitment to maintaining a credible minimum deterrent while advocating for global nuclear disarmament. India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974 and declared itself a nuclear-armed state. However, it adheres to a policy of "no first use," meaning it pledges not to use nuclear weapons first in a conflict. India's nuclear doctrine emphasizes a retaliatory strike capability to deter potential adversaries. Additionally, India has consistently advocated for nuclear disarmament and global non-proliferation efforts while seeking to expand its civil nuclear cooperation with other countries for peaceful purposes.

Determinants of Indian Foreign Policy

1. Geography:

- India's geographical location plays a crucial role in shaping its foreign policy. Situated in South Asia, India shares borders with several countries, including Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar.
- The presence of the Himalayas to the north and the Indian Ocean to the south influences India's strategic thinking and security concerns.

- India's proximity to major shipping routes in the Indian Ocean enhances its maritime interests and necessitates a focus on naval capabilities and alliances with littoral states.

2. History and Traditions:

- India's historical experiences, including colonization by the British, have left a lasting impact on its foreign policy outlook.
- India's tradition of non-alignment, dating back to its post-independence era under leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, emphasizes independence from superpower blocs and a commitment to principles of sovereignty and self-determination.
- Historical ties with neighboring countries, such as cultural exchanges with Nepal and Bhutan or historical tensions with Pakistan, influence India's bilateral relations and foreign policy decisions.

3. Economic Elements:

- India's economic growth and aspirations as a regional and global power shape its foreign policy objectives.
- Increasing economic interdependence through trade and investment drives India's engagement with countries around the world, leading to initiatives like "Act East" and "Neighborhood First" policies.
- Energy security concerns necessitate engagement with oil-rich regions like the Middle East and Africa, impacting diplomatic relationships and alliances.

4. Nature of Leadership:

- The personalities and priorities of India's leaders play a significant role in shaping foreign policy decisions.
- Leadership styles, whether characterized by pragmatism, idealism, or assertiveness, influence India's diplomatic approach and international engagements. Changes in leadership can lead to shifts in foreign policy focus and strategic alliances.

5. National Interest:

- Protecting India's territorial integrity, promoting economic development, ensuring energy security, and enhancing global influence are core components of India's national interest.

- Foreign policy decisions are often made with the primary goal of advancing these interests, sometimes leading to strategic alignments or conflicts with other nations.

6. International System:

- India's foreign policy is influenced by the dynamics of the international system, including the power distribution among major actors and emerging global trends.
- India's aspirations for a multipolar world order, where it holds a prominent position, drive its engagement with institutions like the United Nations, G20, and BRICS.
- India's response to global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, and pandemics is shaped by its perception of its role in the international community and its relations with other states.

7. Ideology

- India's foreign policy is guided by democratic values, as seen in its cooperation with the United States, exemplified by the Indo-U.S. civil nuclear agreement. Ideological principles are evident in India's historic support for decolonization, demonstrated by Prime Minister Nehru's advocacy for self-determination in colonial territories.
- India's solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, highlighted by diplomatic sanctions and support for Nelson Mandela, showcases its commitment to human rights causes. Additionally, India's leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War era underscores its advocacy for third-world solidarity and sovereignty, as articulated by Nehru's vision for a multipolar world.
- There are some factors that cannot be changed such as geographical location, history, culture, civilization, national psychology, and political and economic ideologies are important inputs that play an important role in the conduct and direction of foreign policy.
- India's foreign policy was determined by national interest, social and historical background, geographical conditions, and current International circumstances. India's foreign policy was greatly influenced by the national independence movement and the then International reality and geopolitical needs.

- After the country became independent in August 1947, Prime Minister Nehru propounded the policy of non-alignment. Nehru said "Our geographical conditions and India's geographical location compel us to play an important role in world politics as a major power." Highlighting the objectives of foreign policy Nehru said "We will always oppose the policy of colonialism, imperialism, and apartheid." we express full faith and trust in the principles of the United Nations and will always make efforts for world disarmament at every level.

Challenges Before Indian Foreign Policy

1. **Improving Relations with Neighboring Countries and Superpowers:**

   India faces the challenge of managing complex relationships with its neighboring countries, marked by historical tensions, territorial disputes, and geopolitical competition.

   Strengthening ties with neighbors like Pakistan, China, Nepal, and Bangladesh requires diplomatic finesse and proactive engagement to address mutual concerns and build trust.

   Balancing relations with global superpowers, particularly the United States, China, and Russia, presents another challenge. India must navigate competing interests and strategic rivalries while safeguarding its sovereignty and national interests.

2. **Addressing Global Problems:**

   India confronts a multitude of global challenges, including environmental crises, ozone depletion, wildlife conservation (such as tiger safety), and nuclear proliferation.

   As a responsible global actor, India must actively participate in international efforts to combat climate change, preserve biodiversity, and ensure nuclear non-proliferation through multilateral agreements and cooperation.

   Additionally, India plays a crucial role in addressing humanitarian crises, such as refugee problems, by providing assistance and advocating for peaceful resolutions to conflicts.

3. **Promoting Democratization of Multilateral Forums:**

   Indian foreign policy aims to democratize and reform multilateral institutions like the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

India advocates for greater representation and voice for developing countries in decision-making processes within these institutions to ensure fairness and equity in global governance.

Reforming global forums also involves addressing power imbalances and enhancing transparency to make them more responsive to the needs of all member states.

4. **Tackling Internal Challenges:**

Internally, India grapples with a range of socio-economic challenges, including terrorism, corruption, Naxalism (left-wing extremism), illiteracy, poverty, and unemployment.

Effective foreign policy must complement domestic efforts to address these challenges by fostering international cooperation in areas such as counter-terrorism, anti-corruption initiatives, education, poverty alleviation, and job creation.

India's ability to tackle internal issues not only enhances its resilience but also strengthens its credibility and influence on the global stage.

Different Phases of Indian Foreign Policy:

Different phases of Indian foreign policy:			
Cold war era		**Post - cold war era**	
1947 - 64 Nehru era	1964 - 91 Post - Nehru era ↓ Realistic era	1991 - 2000 First decade of globalization	2000 - present Globalized world

A. Nehru Era → 1947-1964

Idealistic Phase of Indian Foreign Policy:

During the Nehruvian era, Indian foreign policy entered an idealistic phase marked by principled stances and diplomatic initiatives aimed at promoting peace, equality, and non-alignment.

Main Characteristics:

Increase in India's prestige through non-aligned movement, Panchsheel, disarmament, and opposition to imperialism, colonialism, and apartheid.

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM):

Coined by George Liska, NAM was established to maintain neutrality amidst Cold War tensions.

Panchsheel, initiated in 1954, emphasized principles of national unity, non-aggression, laissez-faire, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

The Bandung Conference in 1955 laid the groundwork for NAM, bringing together 29 Asian and African nations.

The Belgrade Conference in 1961 formally established NAM, with five key leaders including Nehru playing pivotal roles.

NAM Coordinating Bureau:

Headquarters in New York, with current Secretary General Ilham Aliyev from Azerbaijan.

Membership comprises 120 countries, with summits held approximately every three years.

Significance of NAM:

Upholding autonomous foreign policies, opposition to colonialism, imperialism, foreign military bases, military alliances, and bilateral military treaties with superpowers.

Key NAM Conferences:

Notable summits include those held in Berlinograd (1961), Cairo (1964), and Lusaka (1970).

The seventh summit convened in New Delhi in 1983 under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, with 101 participating countries.

Real Non-Alignment:

1977 witnessed a reaffirmation of non-alignment during the Janata Party government led by Morarji Desai, with Atal Bihari Vajpayee as Foreign Minister.

Nehruvian foreign policy's idealistic phase, epitomized by initiatives like NAM and Panchsheel, left a lasting legacy on India's diplomatic ethos, emphasizing principles of neutrality, sovereignty, and global cooperation.

B. Post-Nehruvian Era:

During the Post Nehruvian era, India's foreign policy shifted towards realism, marked by pragmatic approaches to national security and International relations.

Key Achievements:

- Treaty with Soviet Union (1971):

  The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1971 marked a significant milestone in India's foreign policy.

  This treaty enhanced strategic ties between India and the Soviet Union, providing mutual support in defense, technology, and trade.

- Shimla Agreement with Pakistan (July 1972):

  The Shimla Agreement, signed after the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, aimed to normalize relations between India and Pakistan. It emphasized the resolution of disputes through bilateral negotiations and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty.

- Nuclear Test (1974):

  India's successful nuclear test in 1974 demonstrated its capability in the nuclear domain.This test, known as "Smiling Buddha," established India as a nuclear power and reinforced its strategic autonomy in defense matters.

- Establishment of SAARC (1985):

  The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established in 1985, reflecting India's commitment to regional cooperation and development. SAARC aimed to foster economic growth, social progress, and cultural development among member states in South Asia.

  The post-Nehruvian era witnessed India adopting a realistic approach to foreign policy, prioritizing national interests and security concerns. Strategic partnerships with countries like the Soviet Union, landmark agreements such as the Shimla Agreement, and initiatives like SAARC underscored India's evolving diplomatic engagements and regional leadership role during this period.

C. IN THE FIRST DECADE OF GLOBALIZATION

The first decade of globalization witnessed a significant shift in India's foreign policy, characterized by the emergence of realism, the decline of non-alignment, and a focus on economic liberalization.

Realism in Indian Foreign Policy:

With the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, India embraced realism in its foreign policy approach.

The dissolution of the bipolar world order reduced the relevance of non-alignment, prompting India to reassess its strategic priorities.

Economic Liberalization and Globalization:

In 1991, under the leadership of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Foreign Minister Manmohan Singh, India embarked on a path of economic liberalization, privatization, and globalization.

This shift towards market-oriented policies replaced socialist tendencies with capitalist principles, emphasizing economic growth and integration into the global economy.

Major Events:

1. **Look East Policy (1992):**

   India's Look East Policy aimed to strengthen relations with Southeast Asian countries, particularly ASEAN nations.

   This initiative facilitated economic cooperation, trade, and strategic partnerships with countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

2. **Gujral Doctrine (1996):**

   Introduced by Prime Minister I.K. Gujral, the Gujral Doctrine emphasized India's preference for peaceful coexistence and friendly relations with neighboring countries.

   This doctrine prioritized non-reciprocal gestures of goodwill towards neighboring states, enhancing regional stability and cooperation.

3. **Nuclear Explosion (1998):**

   India's nuclear tests in 1998 marked a significant milestone in its defense and foreign policy.

   The nuclear explosions demonstrated India's capability as a nuclear

power and underscored its commitment to strategic autonomy and deterrence.

The first decade of globalization witnessed a transformation in India's foreign policy, driven by the imperatives of economic liberalization, changing geopolitical dynamics, and a pragmatic approach to international relations. Embracing realism, fostering regional cooperation, and asserting its position on the global stage, India navigated the complexities of the post-Cold War era while pursuing its national interests and aspirations for economic prosperity.

D. Indian Foreign Policy From 2001 in a Globalized World

During the period from 2001 to 2014, India's foreign policy adapted to the dynamics of an increasingly globalized world, marked by greater economic integration and geopolitical shifts.

Membership in Regional Economic Cooperation Organizations:

India actively pursued membership in various regional economic cooperation organizations to enhance its economic engagement and trade relations.

Key memberships during this period included joining the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 2004 and becoming a dialogue partner with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2005.

Emphasis on Economic Reforms and Foreign Investment:

The Indian government prioritized economic reforms, liberalization, and attracting foreign capital investment to spur economic growth and development.

Initiatives such as the New Industrial Policy of 2001 and the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) liberalization measures aimed to create a more conducive environment for business and investment.

Integration into the Global Economy:

India pursued closer economic ties with major global powers and emerging economies, recognizing the importance of integration into the global economy.

Bilateral trade agreements with countries like the United States,

European Union, and Japan aimed to enhance market access and promote trade relations.

Engagement in Multilateral Forums:

India actively participated in multilateral forums and international organizations to address global challenges and promote its interests.

The country played an influential role in the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations and sought reforms in global financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank.

E. Foreign Policy 2014 Onwards: Balancing Activism and Aggression

Under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's leadership, India's foreign policy since 2014 has demonstrated a strategic balance between activism and aggression, focusing on regional connectivity, economic diplomacy, aggressive security measures, and energy security initiatives.

- Neighbor First Policy:

  Modi's "Neighbor First" policy prioritizes fostering strong relationships with neighboring countries.SAARC countries' leaders attended Modi's inaugural ceremony in 2014, followed by BIMSTEC countries in 2019. India launched the SAARC satellite (GSAT-9) to enhance regional connectivity and cooperation.

- Act East Policy:

  Modi's "Act East" policy elevates India's engagement with ASEAN countries to a strategic level. India's association with ASEAN dates back to 1992, becoming a full dialogue partner in 1996. Modi's emphasis on the "3C" concept - Connectivity, Cooperation, and Contact - underscores India's commitment to ASEAN.

- Aggressive Security and Diplomacy:

  Modi's tenure witnessed assertive security measures, including surgical strikes in Pakistan and operations against Naga militants in Myanmar. India pursued a policy of isolating Pakistan on the issue of terrorism and took a firm stance on the Doklam dispute with China.

- Energy Security:

  Initiatives like the nuclear deal with Japan and Australia bolstered India's energy security. The establishment of the International Solar

Alliance at COP 21 in Paris furthered India's commitment to renewable energy.

- Cultural and Economic Diplomacy:

  Modi's declaration of International Yoga Day on June 21 showcased India's cultural diplomacy on the global stage.

  Initiatives like "Make in India" aimed to attract foreign investment and bolster India's economic diplomacy.

  Leveraging soft power and tapping into the Indian diaspora contributed to India's emerging role as a leading power.

Modi's foreign policy approach combines proactive engagement with neighboring countries, strategic partnerships with global players like ASEAN, assertive security measures, initiatives for energy security, and cultural and economic diplomacy. This balanced approach reflects India's evolving role as a key player in regional and global affairs under Modi's leadership.

Various Organizations and India's Membership

1. **G-77:**

   Established in 1964.

   A coalition of developing nations to promote economic cooperation and collective negotiating power. India has been a member since its inception, advocating for the interests of developing countries.

2. **G-15:**

   Established in 1989 with 17 member countries.

   Formed during the 9th Belgrade Conference.

   Aims to foster cooperation among developing countries in areas such as trade, investment, and technology.

3. **G-20:**

   Established in 1999.

   Comprises the world's 20 largest economies.

   Represents a platform for North-South cooperation, replacing the G-7 as the primary forum for global economic coordination.

4. **BRICS**:

   Established in 2009, consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa.

Concept originated from economist Jim O'Neill.

India actively participates in BRICS summits and initiatives, enhancing cooperation in areas such as trade, investment, and development.

5. **IBSA**:

Established in 2003 involving India, Brazil, and South Africa.

A trilateral forum promoting South-South cooperation in economic, political, and cultural spheres.

Aims to enhance ties and exchange experiences among member countries.

6. **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO):**

Formed in 2001 with the participation of Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

India and Pakistan joined as full members in 2017, followed by Iran in 2023.

The SCO promotes cooperation in various fields including security, economics, and culture, with India actively engaging in its activities.

7. **SAARC:**

Established in 1985 in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

A regional organization promoting cooperation among South Asian countries.

India, as a founding member, plays a significant role in SAARC's initiatives for regional development and cooperation.

8. **Mekong-Ganga Cooperation:**

Established in 2000 involving India, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand. Focuses on cooperation in areas such as tourism, education, culture, and transport.

9. **BIMSTEC**:

Established in 1997 comprising Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Thailand.

Aims to enhance regional cooperation in the Bay of Bengal region, with India actively participating in its initiatives for economic integration and connectivity.

India's membership in these organizations reflects its commitment

to regional and global cooperation, economic development, and fostering partnerships with countries across various continents.

(B) Non Aligned Movement :

During the Cold War era (1945-1991), the global landscape was dominated by two opposing camps: the capitalist bloc led by the United States of America (USA) and the communist bloc led by the Soviet Union (USSR), commonly referred to as the Western and Eastern camps, respectively. Amidst this bipolar world order, a new option emerged for the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This movement offered a third way, distinct from aligning with either the capitalist or communist blocs. The NAM advocated for a policy of non-alignment, promoting independence, sovereignty, and neutrality in international affairs.

The term "First World" referred to the capitalist countries led by America, while the "Second World" encompassed the communist countries led by the Soviet Union. In contrast, the "Third World" comprised countries involved in the Non-Aligned Movement, primarily former colonies from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These nations sought to chart their own course, free from the influence of major power blocs, and aimed to develop economically and maintain political stability in a climate of international peace. Additionally, there was a concept of the "Fourth World," which pertained to sub-Saharan nations facing unique challenges and development issues within the broader context of the global order.

The newly independent nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, buoyed by aspirations for economic development and political autonomy, gravitated towards the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. This chapter explores the origins, principles, and significance of the NAM, highlighting its role in shaping the foreign policy of emerging nations during the Cold War era and beyond.

The concept of non-alignment emerged as a pivotal strategy during the Cold War era, offering newly independent nations a path of independence and neutrality amidst the intense rivalry between the capitalist and communist blocs. The term "non-alignment" was first coined by India's Defense Minister V.K. Krishna Menon in 1953. However, it was George Liska who first used the term in a scientific sense. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru further popularized the term during the Colombo Conference in 1954,

advocating for a policy that allowed nations to maintain independence without aligning with either major power bloc. Nehru echoed this sentiment, asserting that neutrality was a wartime concept, whereas non-alignment was a broader principle applicable in times of peace as well.

The foundation of non-alignment was laid during the Asian Unity Conference held in New Delhi in 1947, where fifteen countries came together to assert their autonomy and sovereignty in world affairs. Nehru emphasized that Asian countries must develop their own policies and not be manipulated by external powers. The Bandung Conference of 1955, organized by Sri Lanka, brought together 29 countries from Asia and Africa, further solidifying the principles of non-alignment. This conference, also known as the Africa-Asian Conference, played a crucial role in shaping the non-aligned movement.

In 1956, a successful meeting in Belgrade was held between Joseph Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Abdul Gamal Nasser of Egypt, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of India. During this meeting, known as the Belgrade Summit, the Bandung principles were reaffirmed, strengthening the commitment to non-alignment among participating nations.

Thus, the founding fathers of NAM were:-

1. Jawaharlal Nehru (India)
2. Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt)
3. Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia)
4. Sukarno (Indonesia)
5. Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana)

Their efforts laid the foundation for the NAM, which provided a platform for countries to pursue their own paths free from alignment with major power blocs. Further these historical events and diplomatic initiatives laid the groundwork for the non-aligned movement, establishing it as a significant force in global politics and diplomacy, providing a platform for newly independent nations to assert their sovereignty and pursue their national interests on the world stage.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was officially established in 1961 during a conference held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, where the charter was accepted, and a 27-point manifesto was issued. The first conference of the NAM took place in Belgrade the same year. Recently, in October 2021, the 60th anniversary of the NAM was celebrated in Belgrade.

Initially, the NAM had 25 member countries, with three Latin American countries joining as observers. However, the movement has since expanded significantly, with the current membership numbering 120 countries, as of the Tehran conference in 2012. The membership includes 53 countries from Africa, 39 from Asia, 26 from Latin America and the Caribbean, and two from Europe (Belarus and Azerbaijan). In addition to member countries, the NAM also has 18 observer nations and 10 observer international organizations, including ASEAN, the Arab League, the Commonwealth, and others. Notably, there are no guest countries in the NAM, making it the largest global organization after the United Nations.

The main characteristic of non-alignment, as espoused by the NAM, is the independence of foreign policy. It is considered a democratic principle of world politics, offering a means, goal, and policy for member nations. Non-alignment opposes military treaties between countries and aims to strengthen a system where every state is truly independent and sovereign in its foreign policy decisions.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru highlighted the potential of non-alignment in peacefully resolving international disputes through mutual negotiations, emphasizing the need for impartiality and selflessness. The concept of non-alignment aligns with Talcott Parsons' "power bank concept," advocating for the formation of a group of countries known for their impartiality and independence in global affairs.

The concept of non-alignment has been subject to various interpretations and perspectives over the years. While some scholars and politicians have viewed it as a selfish policy, others have emphasized its role in promoting peace and independence on the global stage.

Georg Schwarzenberger, for instance, identified six possible meanings of non-alignment, including non-engagement, non-restriction, neutrality, neutralization, isolationism, and unilateralism. However, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister and a key figure in shaping the non-aligned movement, rejected these definitions. He argued that non-alignment should not be seen as merely staying out of conflicts or alliances but rather as a commitment to peace and cooperation among nations. Nehru envisioned non-alignment as a "group of peace," emphasizing that it was not a third bloc but rather a coalition of independent nations striving for mutual cooperation. He reiterated this stance in a speech to the US Congress in 1949, where he emphasized India's commitment to

defending freedom and justice globally. Indira Gandhi, Nehru's successor and another influential leader in the non-aligned movement, described it as the largest "humanitarian peace movement." She emphasized the pragmatic nature of non-alignment, highlighting its focus on active participation in global issues based on their merits and demerits rather than aligning with superpowers.

In essence, the real meaning of non-alignment lies in active engagement on global issues while maintaining independence and refusing to align with any particular power bloc. It is a call for expanding national sovereignty and promoting cooperation among nations for the greater good of humanity.

Membership Terms of the Non-Aligned Movement (Nam):

1) **Autonomous and Independent Foreign Policy and Peaceful Coexistence:**

   Member states are required to maintain autonomy and independence in their foreign policies, advocating for peaceful coexistence among nations.

2) **Opposition to Colonialism and Imperialism:**

   NAM members stand against colonialism and imperialism, supporting the self-determination and sovereignty of all nations.

3) **Absence of Foreign Military Bases:**

   Member states prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases on their territories, ensuring national security and sovereignty.

4) **Distance from Military Alliances:**

   NAM countries maintain a stance of neutrality and refrain from joining military alliances such as NATO, WARSAW, SEATO, etc.

5) **No Bilateral Military Treaties with Superpowers:**

   NAM members do not enter into bilateral military treaties with any superpowers, preserving their independence and avoiding entanglements in global power struggles.

Main Purposes of the Non-Aligned Movement:

- Abandoning Cold War Politics
- Pursuing an Independent Foreign Policy
- Abstaining from Military Alliances
- Cooperation and Support for World Peace

- Continuing the Struggle against Colonialism, Imperialism, and Apartheid
- Promoting World Disarmament
- Protecting Human Rights and Human Dignity

Key Definitions and Perspectives on Non-Alignment:

- Jawaharlal Nehru described non-alignment as the policy of keeping away from military alliances, emphasizing independence in foreign affairs.
- Non-alignment embodies "positive neutrality," maintaining equal distance from superpowers to assert independence in implementing foreign policies.
- V.N. Khanna emphasized the economic aspect of non-alignment, foreseeing its importance in addressing economic disparities between the North and South.
- The Bandung Principles, established in 1955, advocate for peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations, promoting fundamental human rights, sovereignty, and justice.

Major Organs of the Non-Aligned Movement (Nam):

1. **COORDINATION BUREAU:**

   The executive arm of NAM, based in New York, responsible for coordinating activities and facilitating communication among member states.

2. **FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE:**

   Convenes to prepare the agenda for the NAM Summit, discussing key issues and priorities of member states.

3. **SUMMIT MEETINGS:**

   Held approximately every three years, NAM Summits serve as platforms for member states to address global challenges and promote cooperation. Notable summits include:

   - Belgrade (1961): The inaugural summit where the Declaration of Non-Engagement and Economic Progress was accepted.
   - Cairo, Egypt (1964): Raised the issue of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) for the first time.
   - Lusaka, Zambia (1970): Marked the third summit.

- Algeria (1973): Hosted the fourth summit.
- New Delhi (1983): The seventh summit.
- Isla Margarita, Venezuela (2016): Held the seventeenth summit.
- Baku, Azerbaijan (2019): Hosted the eighteenth summit.
- Uganda (2023): Hosted the nineteenth summit.

These organs play crucial roles in advancing the objectives and principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, promoting cooperation, peace, and mutual respect among member states.

Important Summits:

A. Algiers Conference 1973 (4th):

SIGNIFICANCE: Clear announcement and demand for the New International Economic Order (NIEO).

The conference saw an emphasis on economic issues alongside political ones, marking a shift towards addressing global economic disparities.

B. Havana (Cuba) Summit 1979 (6th):

Cuban President Fidel Castro termed USSR a natural friend of NAM, causing India's Janata Party government's protest due to its stance on real non-alignment.

This summit highlighted ideological divisions within NAM, with debates over the alignment of member states.

C. New Delhi Conference 1983 (7th):

Emphasis on North-South dialogue, South-South cooperation, and complete nuclear disarmament.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stressed the importance of equality in international governance.

The conference reaffirmed NAM's commitment to promoting peace and disarmament amidst escalating global tensions.

D. Harare Conference 1986 (8th) (Zimbabwe):

KEY EVENTS: Establishment of the Africa Fund, support for Namibia's independence, and discussions on world peace and disarmament.

This summit highlighted NAM's solidarity with African nations in their struggle against colonialism and apartheid.

E. Belgrade Conference 1989 (9th):

Formation of G-15, initiated by India, comprising developing nations.

The conference aimed to foster economic cooperation among developing countries, addressing issues such as trade imbalances and technology transfer.

F. Jakarta Conference 1992 (10th):

Discussion on NAM's relevance post-Cold War, with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak questioning its significance.

The summit explored NAM's role in shaping global politics in the post-Cold War era, amidst shifting geopolitical dynamics.

G. Durban Conference 1998 (12th):

Presided by African President Nelson Mandela, reviewing NAM's role in New Delhi.

Mandela's leadership underscored NAM's commitment to African liberation movements and its role in promoting peace and development on the continent.

H. Havana Conference (Cuba) 2003 (14th):

Acting President Raul Castro presided, with Indian PM Manmohan Singh's attendance. Proposals for the Bank of the South and the South Commission were made.

This summit sought to strengthen South-South cooperation and address economic inequalities among member states.

I. Sharm-el-Sheikh Conference (Egypt) 2009 (15th):

Declaration of Nelson Mandela International Day on July 18.

The conference celebrated the legacy of Nelson Mandela and emphasized NAM's commitment to human rights and social justice.

J. Tehran Conference (Iran) 2012 (16th):

Admission of Azerbaijan and Fiji, expanding NAM to 120 members.

This summit focused on expanding NAM's membership and enhancing its relevance in addressing contemporary global challenges.

K. Margarita Conference (Venezuela) 2016 (17th):

Chaired by Nicholas Maduro on Margarita Island, focusing on

solidarity for peace, sovereignty, and development.

The conference aimed to strengthen NAM's unity and solidarity in the face of emerging global threats and geopolitical tensions.

L. Baku (Azerbaijan) Conference 2019 (18th):

THEME: Adherence to Bandung Principles to address contemporary global challenges, with Ilham Aliyev as the current President of Azerbaijan.

This summit reiterated NAM's commitment to the Bandung Principles and its role in promoting peace, sovereignty, and development in the modern world.

The 18th summit of the Non-Aligned Movement took place in Baku, Azerbaijan, on October 25-26, 2019.

Heads of state and government deliberated on expanding and deepening dialogue and cooperation to fulfill the movement's principles, ideals, and objectives, leading to discussions on parliamentary cooperation.

Under the chairmanship of Azerbaijan, a proposal was made to establish the NAM Parliamentary Network comprising parliamentarians from member states.

The NAM Parliamentary Network was officially established on November 28, 2021, in Madrid, Spain, under the initiative of President Ilham Aliyev of Azerbaijan.

Comprising nominated members from the parliaments of member nations, the NAM Parliamentary Network aims to foster collaboration and dialogue among parliamentarians on issues of common interest.

The Madrid Declaration was adopted during the 18th summit of the Non-Aligned Movement.

It was decided that the NAM summit would be held annually for the first time.

Baku, Azerbaijan, was designated as the headquarters for the NAM conference.

The inaugural conference of the NAM Parliamentary Network (PN) took place from June 30 to July 1, 2022, in Baku, Azerbaijan.

Sahiba Gafarova served as the President of the first NAM PN conference.

The NAM PN comprised representatives from 29 member countries.

Notably, India is not a member of the NAM Parliamentary Network, while Pakistan holds membership.

M. Uganda (19th) In 2023

- India has participated in 18 NAM summits to date. However, the Prime Minister of India did not attend three of these summits:
  1. **Havana (Cuba) - 1979:** The then Prime Minister Charan Singh Chaudhary did not attend this summit. Instead, India was represented by the Foreign Minister Shyam Nandan Mishra. Notably, this is the only summit where India was represented by the External Affairs Minister.
  2. **Margarita (Venezuela) - 2016 (17th Summit):** Prime Minister Modi did not attend this summit. Instead, Vice President Hamid Ansari represented India. Interestingly, this marked the second instance in NAM's history where the Prime Minister of India was absent from the summit. Previously, in 1979, Prime Minister Charan Singh had not attended the Havana summit.
  3. **Baku (Azerbaijan) - 2018 (18th Summit):** Prime Minister Modi also did not attend this summit. Instead, Vice President Venkaiah Naidu represented India. Thus, for both the Margarita and Baku summits, the Vice President represented India.

India and Non-Alignment

- India has given place to non-alignment as a policy among the basic principles of its foreign policy.

Real non-alignment:

- Real non-alignment has been a significant aspect of India's foreign policy, characterized by several key events and perspectives:
- The concept gained prominence in 1977 when the Janata Party included it in their manifesto.
- Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in 1977, articulated the idea of "pure non-alignment," stressing that India should not only be non-aligned but also project itself as such.
- Morarji Desai highlighted the need to correct perceived foreign

policy biases during Indira Gandhi's tenure, advocating for a realignment towards non-alignment.

- During General Ayub Khan's rule in Pakistan (1963-64), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as Foreign Minister, sought to counter non-alignment by establishing the "Peking-Pindi-Jakarta Axis" (China-Pakistan-Indonesia) in favor of Afro-Asian solidarity.
- The New Delhi Conference in 1983 marked India's active role in the Non-Aligned Movement, with Indira Gandhi leading the seventh summit. India emerged as a key spokesperson, advocating for the New International Economic Order.

India: Non-Alignment 2.0

Non-alignment 2.0 marks a significant shift in Indian foreign policy strategy for the 21st century, as advocated by a collective declaration by eight Indian scholars.

Released in New Delhi in 2012, Non-alignment 2.0 redefines the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in the contemporary era.

This updated approach, non-alignment 2.0, underscores the importance of multilateralism and stresses cooperation with other regional organizations. It prioritizes economic relations over purely political ones.

Supporting scholars of non-alignment 2.0 include prominent figures such as Bhanupratap Mehta, Shyam Sharan, Shivshankar Menon, Sunil Khilnani, Rajeev Kumar, M.K. Narayanan, and Brijesh Mishra, among others.

In Sunil Khilnani's book "Non-alignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the 21st Century" (2013), he outlines several reasons for the concept of Non-alignment 2.0:

- India's increasing proximity to the United States.
- The global shift from political dynamics to economic considerations.
- India's emergence as a potential superpower.
- Prioritizing national interests over leadership roles within the Third World.
- The adoption of India's "Look East" and "Look West" policies, which are fundamentally incongruent with traditional non-alignment principles.

Criticism

Western thinkers have often criticized the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) as a false and opportunistic ideology. John Foster Dulles argued that the concept of NAM was meaningless during the Cold War's ideological polarization, asserting that there were only two camps in the world, making any third camp or option irrelevant. Dulles famously stated, "Either you are white or black." Georg Schwarzenberger characterized NAM as a selfish policy, while President Truman criticized NAM policy as immoral. President Reagan referred to NAM as "disguised non-alignment," and Condoleezza Rice, serving as the USA's Secretary of State in 2007, questioned the relevance of NAM in a world without a Cold War or rival camps. Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr also viewed non-alignment as a false ideology, while Henry Kissinger criticized NAM for lacking strategic coherence and effectiveness in addressing global challenges. Zbigniew Brzezinski argued that NAM's policy of non-alignment was outdated and ineffective in the modern geopolitical landscape. Margaret Thatcher viewed NAM as a hindrance to meaningful international cooperation, particularly in addressing security and economic issues, and Samuel Huntington questioned the moral basis of NAM's non-alignment policy, suggesting that it could lead to strategic indecisiveness and geopolitical vulnerability. George F. Kennan criticized NAM for its perceived lack of leadership and strategic direction, particularly during times of global crisis. These criticisms reflect a broader skepticism among Western thinkers regarding the efficacy and relevance of NAM's non-alignment ideology in the contemporary international system.

(C) NAM : Its Relevance Today

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) continues to hold significant relevance as a platform due to its steadfast adherence to its founding principles, ideas, and purpose. This enduring relevance can be observed across various dimensions:

- Preservation of World Peace: NAM has historically played an active and constructive role in preserving world peace. It remains committed to its founding principles aimed at establishing a peaceful and prosperous world. NAM has consistently advocated for the prohibition of the invasion of any country, promoted disarmament initiatives, and advocated for a sovereign world order based on mutual respect and cooperation among nations.

- Support within the UN: NAM's total strength comprises 118 developing countries, with most of them being members of the UN General Assembly. This vast representation gives NAM significant influence within the UN framework. NAM members collectively represent two-thirds of the General Assembly, making them a crucial vote-blocking group. This support within the UN underscores NAM's importance as a key player in shaping global policies and decisions.
- Territorial Integrity and Sovereignty: One of the core principles of NAM is the preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty. NAM continues to stand by this principle, demonstrating its repeated relevance in defending the independence and sovereignty of every nation. This commitment is crucial in the context of ensuring a world order based on respect for national boundaries and self-determination.
- Empowerment of Third World Nations: NAM has historically served as a significant platform for third-world countries facing socio-economic challenges. These nations have often been exploited and marginalized by more developed nations. NAM has acted as a protector for these small countries, providing a platform to voice their concerns and interests on the global stage. By advocating for the rights and interests of developing nations, NAM contributes to a more equitable and just international order.
- Equitable World Order: NAM's relevance is underscored by its commitment to promoting an equitable world order. It serves as a platform where countries with diverse political and ideological backgrounds can come together for dialogue and cooperation. For instance, during the NAM Summit in 2009, leaders emphasized the need for a fair and just global order, advocating for principles of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.
- Interest of Developing Countries: NAM plays a pivotal role in safeguarding the interests of developing nations. In forums like the WTO, NAM member countries have collectively advocated for fair trade practices and opposed measures that could disadvantage developing economies. This was evident in the discussions surrounding agricultural subsidies, where NAM countries emphasized the need for balanced trade agreements that consider the development needs of all nations.

- Cultural Diversity and Human Rights: NAM's relevance extends to addressing cultural diversity and human rights issues. It provides a platform for member states to raise concerns about human rights violations and advocate for cultural preservation. For example, NAM has voiced support for indigenous rights and cultural heritage protection, highlighting the importance of preserving diverse cultural identities in a globalized world.
- Sustainable Development: NAM's focus on sustainable development aligns with global goals and initiatives. Through NAM, countries can collaborate on environmentally friendly policies, resource management strategies, and climate change mitigation efforts. The NAM Summit in 2015 saw discussions on sustainable development goals (SDGs), emphasizing the importance of collective action in achieving a more sustainable future for all.
- Economic Growth: NAM's cooperative framework offers economic benefits to member countries. By fostering trade agreements, investment partnerships, and technological exchanges, NAM contributes to economic growth and development. For instance, NAM's support for regional economic integration has facilitated trade blocs like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), promoting intra-African trade and economic prosperity.

NAM's relevance lies in its ability to address global challenges, promote cooperation among diverse nations, and advocate for equitable and sustainable development. As noted by former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, "The Non-Aligned Movement has been a powerful voice in support of peace, development, and human rights."

Self-Assessment Questions:

1. What are the core principles that define India's foreign policy? Explain how these principles have evolved since independence.
2. Throw light upon how geographical, cultural, and historical factors influence India's foreign policy decisions.
3. Analyze India's "Neighbourhood First" policy. How did initiatives such as the "Vaccine Maitri" highlight India's regional cooperation efforts during the COVID-19 pandemic?
4. Discuss how leadership changes in India can impact foreign policy, particularly in terms of shifts in priorities and international engagements.

5. What is the key feature of India's foreign policy under Prime Minister Modi's leadership since 2014?
6. Define non-alignment and discuss how it influenced India's international relations during the Cold War.
7. Is the Non-Aligned Movement still relevant in today's unipolar and multipolar global order? Support your argument with examples.

UNIT – V

Lesson 5.1 - UN and Regional Organisations

(A) The League of Nations

The **League of Nations** was the first worldwide intergovernmental organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace. It was founded on 10 January 1920 by the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War. The main organization ceased operations on 20 April 1946 when many of its components were relocated into the new United Nations. As the template for modern global governance, the League profoundly shaped the modern world.

The League's primary goals were stated in its Covenant. They included preventing wars through collective security and disarmament and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration. Its other concerns included labour conditions, just treatment of native inhabitants, human and drug trafficking, the arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe. The Covenant of the League of Nations was signed on 28 June 1919 as Part I of the Treaty of Versailles, and it became effective with the rest of the Treaty on 10 January 1920. Australia was granted the right to participate as an autonomous member nation, marking the start of Australian independence on the global stage. The first meeting of the Council of the League took place on 16 January 1920, and the first meeting of the Assembly of the League took place on 15 November 1920. In 1919, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role as the leading architect of the League.

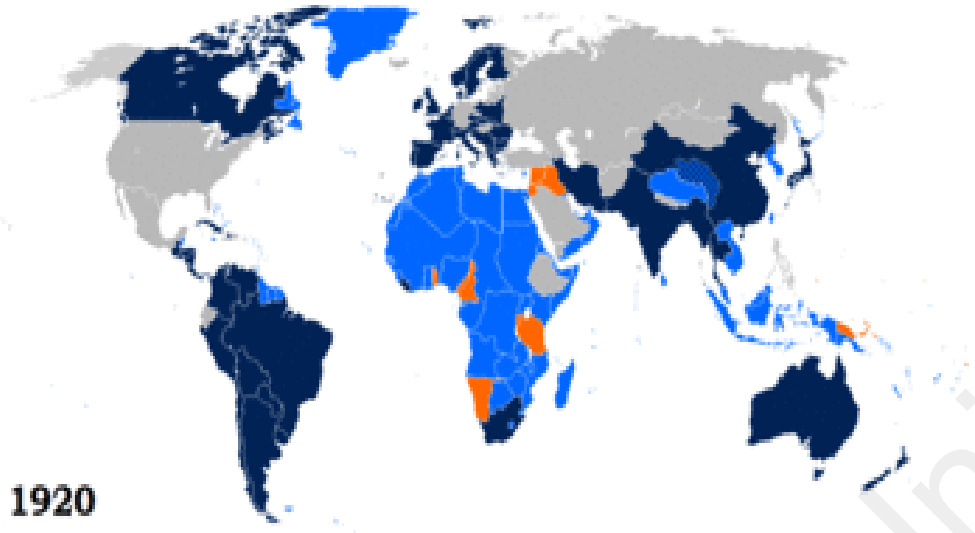
The diplomatic philosophy behind the League represented a fundamental shift from the preceding hundred years. The League lacked its own armed force and depended on the victorious Allies of World War I (Britain, France, Italy and Japan were the initial permanent members of the Executive Council) to enforce its resolutions, keep to its economic sanctions, or provide an army when needed. The Great Powers were often reluctant to do so. Sanctions could hurt League members, so they were reluctant to comply with them. During the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, when the League accused Italian soldiers of targeting International Red Cross and

Red Crescent Movement medical tents, Benito Mussolini responded that "the League is very well when sparrows shout, but no good at all when eagles fall out."

At its greatest extent from 28 September 1934 to 23 February 1935, it had 58 members. After some notable successes and some early failures in the 1920s, the League ultimately proved incapable of preventing aggression by the Axis powers in the 1930s. The credibility of the organization was weakened by the fact that the United States never joined, and Japan and Germany quit in 1933–1934. Italy quit in 1937. The Soviet Union only joined in 1934 and was expelled in 1939 after invading Finland. Furthermore, the League demonstrated an irresolute approach to sanction enforcement for fear it might only spark further conflict, further decreasing its credibility. One example of this hesitancy was the Abyssinia Crisis, in which Italy's sanctions were only limited from the outset (coal and oil were not restricted), and later altogether abandoned despite Italy being declared the aggressors in the conflict. The onset of the Second World War in 1939 showed that the League had failed its primary purpose; it was largely inactive until its abolition. The League lasted for 26 years; the United Nations (UN) replaced it in 1946 and inherited several agencies and organisations founded by the League.

Current scholarly consensus views that, even though the League failed to achieve its main goal of world peace, it did manage to build new roads towards expanding the rule of law across the globe; strengthened the concept of collective security, giving a voice to smaller nations; fostered economic stabilization and financial stability, especially in Central Europe in the 1920s; helped to raise awareness of problems like epidemics, slavery, child labour, colonial tyranny, refugee crises and general working conditions through its numerous commissions and committees; and paved the way for new forms of statehood, as the mandate system put the colonial powers under international observation. Professor David Kennedy portrays the League as a unique moment when international affairs were "institutionalised", as opposed to the pre-First World War methods of law and politics.

Membership



A map of the world in 1920–45, which shows the League of Nations members during its history

Of the League's 42 founding members, 23 (24 counting Free France) remained members until it was dissolved in 1946. In the founding year, six other states joined, only two of which remained members throughout the League's existence. Under the Weimar Republic, Germany was admitted to the League of Nations through a resolution passed on 8 September 1926.

An additional 15 countries joined later. The largest number of member states was 58, between 28 September 1934 (when Ecuador joined) and 23 February 1935 (when Paraguay withdrew).

On 26 May 1937, Egypt became the last state to join the League. The first member to withdraw permanently from the League was Costa Rica on 22 January 1925; having joined on 16 December 1920, this also makes it the member to have most quickly withdrawn. Brazil was the first founding member to withdraw (14 June 1926), and Haiti the last (April 1942). Iraq, which joined in 1932, was the first member that had previously been a League of Nations mandate.

The Soviet Union became a member on 18 September 1934, and was expelled on 14 December 1939 for invading Finland. In expelling the Soviet Union, the League broke its own rule: only 7 of 15 members of the Council voted for expulsion (United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Bolivia, Egypt, South Africa, and the Dominican Republic), short of the majority required by the Covenant. Three of these members had been made Council

members the day before the vote (South Africa, Bolivia, and Egypt). This was one of the League's final acts before it practically ceased functioning due to the Second World War.

Permanent organs

The main constitutional organs of the League were the Assembly, the council, and the Permanent Secretariat. It also had two essential wings: the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organization. In addition, there were several auxiliary agencies and bodies. Each organ's budget was allocated by the Assembly (the League was supported financially by its member states).

The relations between the assembly and the council and the competencies of each were for the most part not explicitly defined. Each body could deal with any matter within the sphere of competence of the league or affecting peace in the world. Particular questions or tasks might be referred to either.

Unanimity was required for the decisions of both the assembly and the council, except in matters of procedure and some other specific cases such as the admission of new members. This requirement was a reflection of the league›s belief in the sovereignty of its component nations; the league sought a solution by consent, not by dictation. In case of a dispute, the consent of the parties to the dispute was not required for unanimity.

The Permanent Secretariat, established at the seat of the League at Geneva, comprised a body of experts in various spheres under the direction of the general secretary. Its principal sections were Political, Financial and Economics, Transit, Minorities and Administration (administering the Saar and Danzig), Mandates, Disarmament, Health, Social (Opium and Traffic in Women and Children), Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux, Legal, and Information. The staff of the Secretariat was responsible for preparing the agenda for the Council and the Assembly and publishing reports of the meetings and other routine matters, effectively acting as the League's civil service. In 1931 the staff numbered 707.

The Assembly consisted of representatives of all members of the League, with each state allowed up to three representatives and one vote. It met in Geneva and, after its initial sessions in 1920, it convened once a year in September. The special functions of the Assembly included the admission of new members, the periodical election of non-permanent

members to the council, the election with the Council of the judges of the Permanent Court, and control of the budget. In practice, the Assembly was the general directing force of League activities.

The League Council acted as a type of executive body directing the Assembly's business. It began with four permanent members – Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan – and four non-permanent members that were elected by the Assembly for a three-year term. The first non-permanent members were Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain.

The composition of the council was changed several times. The number of non-permanent members was first increased to six on 22 September 1922 and to nine on 8 September 1926. Werner Dankwort of Germany pushed for his country to join the League; joining in 1926, Germany became the fifth permanent member of the council. Later, after Germany and Japan both left the League, the number of non-permanent seats was increased from nine to eleven, and the Soviet Union was made a permanent member giving the council a total of fifteen members. The Council met, on average, five times a year and in extraordinary sessions when required. In total, 107 sessions were held between 1920 and 1939.

Other bodies

The League oversaw the Permanent Court of International Justice and several other agencies and commissions created to deal with pressing international problems. These included the Disarmament Commission, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Mandates Commission, the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation (precursor to UNESCO), the Permanent Central Opium Board, the Commission for Refugees, the Slavery Commission, and the Economic and Financial Organization. Three of these institutions were transferred to the United Nations after the Second World War: the International Labour Organization, the Permanent Court of International Justice (as the International Court of Justice), and the Health Organisation[90][91] (restructured as the World Health Organization).

The Permanent Court of International Justice was provided for by the Covenant, but not established by it. The Council and the Assembly established its constitution. Its judges were elected by the Council and the Assembly, and its budget was provided by the latter. The Court was to hear and decide any international dispute which the parties concerned

submitted to it. It might also give an advisory opinion on any dispute or question referred to it by the council or the Assembly. The Court was open to all the nations of the world under certain broad conditions.

Child labour in a coal mine, United States, c. 1912

The International Labour Organization was created in 1919 on the basis of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. The ILO, although having the same members as the League and being subject to the budget control of the Assembly, was an autonomous organisation with its own Governing Body, its own General Conference and its own Secretariat. Its constitution differed from that of the League: representation had been accorded not only to governments but also to representatives of employers' and workers' organisations. Albert Thomas was its first director.

Child labour in Kamerun in 1919

The ILO successfully restricted the addition of lead to paint, and convinced several countries to adopt an eight-hour work day and forty-eight-hour working week. It also campaigned to end child labour, increase the rights of women in the workplace, and make shipowners liable for accidents involving seamen. After the demise of the League, the ILO became an agency of the United Nations in 1946.

The League's Health Organisation had three bodies: the Health Bureau, containing permanent officials of the League; the General Advisory Council or Conference, an executive section consisting of medical experts; and the Health Committee. In practice, the Paris-based Office international d'hygiène publique (OIHP) founded in 1907 after the International Sanitary Conferences, was discharging most of the practical health-related questions, and its relations with the League's Health Committee were often conflictual. The Health Committee's purpose was to conduct inquiries, oversee the operation of the League's health work, and prepare work to be presented to the council. This body focused on ending leprosy, malaria, and yellow fever, the latter two by starting an international campaign to exterminate mosquitoes. The Health Organisation also worked successfully with the government of the Soviet Union to prevent typhus epidemics, including organising a large education campaign.

Linked with health, but also commercial concerns, was the topic of narcotics control. Introduced by the second International Opium Convention, the Permanent Central Opium Board had to supervise the

statistical reports on trade in opium, morphine, cocaine and heroin. The board also established a system of import certificates and export authorisations for the legal international trade in narcotics.

The League of Nations had devoted serious attention to the question of international intellectual cooperation since its creation. The First Assembly in December 1920 recommended that the Council take action aiming at the international organisation of intellectual work, which it did by adopting a report presented by the Fifth Committee of the Second Assembly and inviting a committee on intellectual co-operation to meet in Geneva in August 1922. The French philosopher Henri Bergson became the first chairman of the committee. The work of the committee included: an inquiry into the conditions of intellectual life, assistance to countries where intellectual life was endangered, creation of national committees for intellectual cooperation, cooperation with international intellectual organisations, protection of intellectual property, inter-university co-operation, co-ordination of bibliographical work and international interchange of publications, and international co-operation in archaeological research.

The Slavery Commission sought to eradicate slavery and slave trading across the world, and fought forced prostitution. Its main success was through pressing the governments who administered mandated countries to end slavery in those countries. The League secured a commitment from Ethiopia to end slavery as a condition of membership in 1923, and worked with Liberia to abolish forced labour and intertribal slavery. The United Kingdom had not supported Ethiopian membership of the League on the grounds that "Ethiopia had not reached a state of civilisation and internal security sufficient to warrant her admission."

The League also succeeded in reducing the death rate of workers constructing the Tanganyika railway from 55 to 4 per cent. Records were kept to control slavery, prostitution, and the trafficking of women and children. Partly as a result of pressure brought by the League of Nations, Afghanistan abolished slavery in 1923, Iraq in 1924, Nepal in 1926, Transjordan and Persia in 1929, Bahrain in 1937, and Ethiopia in 1942.

Mandatory powers

The territories were governed by mandatory powers, such as the United Kingdom in the case of the Mandate of Palestine, and the Union of South

Africa in the case of South-West Africa, until the territories were deemed capable of self-government. Fourteen mandate territories were divided up among seven mandatory powers: the United Kingdom, the Union of South Africa, France, Belgium, New Zealand, Australia and Japan. With the exception of the Kingdom of Iraq, which joined the League on 3 October 1932, most of these territories did not begin to gain their independence until after the Second World War, in a process that did not end until 1990. Following the demise of the League, most of the remaining mandates became United Nations Trust Territories.

In addition to the mandates, the League itself governed the Territory of the Saar Basin for 15 years, before it was returned to Germany following a plebiscite, and the Free City of Danzig (now Gdańsk, Poland) from 15 November 1920 to 1 September 1939.

Resolving territorial disputes

The aftermath of the First World War left many issues to be settled, including the exact position of national boundaries and which country particular regions would join. Most of these questions were handled by the victorious Allied powers in bodies such as the Allied Supreme Council. The Allies tended to refer only particularly difficult matters to the League. This meant that, during the early interwar period, the League played little part in resolving the turmoil resulting from the war. The questions the League considered in its early years included those designated by the Paris Peace treaties.

As the League developed, its role expanded, and by the middle of the 1920s it had become the centre of international activity. This change can be seen in the relationship between the League and non-members. The United States and the Soviet Union, for example, increasingly worked with the League. During the second half of the 1920s, France, Britain and Germany were all using the League of Nations as the focus of their diplomatic activity, and each of their foreign secretaries attended League meetings at Geneva during this period. They also used the League's machinery to try to improve relations and settle their differences.

Why the League Failed

As the progenitor of the modern-day United Nations, the League of Nations was the first intergovernmental organisation which was established

after the end of World War I. The organisation found its roots in President Woodrow Wilson's speech "Fourteen Points," in which he called for an institution designed to facilitate multilateral discussions to foster long-term cooperation and unity among nations. In January 1919, the Allied powers gathered for the Paris Peace Conference where they became signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, thus forming the League of Nations. The League was the epitome of international diplomacy, yet its structural flaws opened the doors for the systemic failures which would ultimately render the organisation powerless and ineffective.

The Treaty of Versailles served as a foundation upon which the Covenant of the League of Nations was built. Representatives, headed by President Wilson, gathered to pen the Covenant which came to fruition in 1919. The creation of the League was, however, not without its difficulties. Opposing viewpoints arose from different parties: Britain was fearful of French domination, Japan insisted on the ratification of its proposed clauses on racial equality, the US Senate refused to allow US participation in the League, which arguably serves as the most significant blow to the legitimacy of the League, among many other disputes. The Covenant consisted of highly idealistic yet unattainable values. Jacks poses a question: "How can [Member states] do other than break up with nothing done?" The sentiment behind a statement such as this hammered the nail into the coffin, culminating into criticism aimed at the League for its ineffectiveness on having relied so strongly on a supposed pooling of sovereignty to enforce its statutes upon its members. Despite the divisions, the Covenant was officially enforced in 1920, foreshadowing its tumultuous future.

The League's primary objective, as indicated in the preamble, was to "promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." The horrors of the Great War served as a rallying cry for an international institution to facilitate a means of forum whereby countries could gather to settle any disputes, should they arise. Fostering peace between countries was an ambitious plan contingent upon the existence of diplomatic relations and a willingness to cooperate. The Covenant strongly promoted the Westphalian principle of state sovereignty in Article 10, urging its Members "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." This statute ties with Article 21, which upheld mutual respect for international agreements like the Monroe Doctrine,

a U.S. foreign policy which condemns intervention and colonialism in the Western Hemisphere and forwards the principle of national self-determination. Article 16 of the Covenant declares that a war against one Member is a war against all, and that the aggressor would be subject to sanctions. It is in these ideas promoted by the Articles of the League Covenant that we see the ways in which the efficacy of the League relied on multilateral compliance. Although the Covenant possessed optimistic endeavours of international cooperation, the League was, in fact, an unrealistic and naive embodiment of a regulatory body that lacked the power to enforce its laws upon its Member states, putting the organisation into an inevitable deadlock.

There are a plethora of loopholes in the logistical organisation of the League, many of which L.P. Jacks covers in his article "A League of Nations as a League of Governments?" Jacks states, "No account is taken of the wide differences that exist among governments." In saying that, Jack implies that the League of Nations, constituting of various Member states, could never be united under a homogenous Covenant because each would possess different agendas and goals which the League, as it stood, was unable to curb, and the disunity was worsened by the absence of any legitimate form of an enforcer. A League, which was designed to keep the peace, according to Jacks, "would inevitably crumble" and would be doomed to fail because nations would find a way to dodge the unenforceable Articles contained in the Covenant to serve their own interests. Therefore, Jacks concludes, "When these different governments act . . . under the form of a league, there is no collective check to restrain them." The inability to restrain its Member states from committing offenses accounted for the inevitable failures of the League, which will prove evident in the examples.

Guided by the Wilsonian spirit of idealist liberalism (prioritising individual liberty in political agendas), the League launched a series of Minority Treaties which sought to safeguard the rights of the minority populations of member states by ensuring that member countries do not differ in their treatment of their subjects. Despite the seemingly good intentions, the treaties revealed the highly ambiguous nature of the policy as reflected in the abuses committed by the Great Power Germany. As Weimar Germany, under Gustav Stresemann, sought to regain her lost kin in Eastern Europe, Germany took on a role of the "defender of minorities" as branded by historian Carole Fink. The Volkisch international policy, which bases itself upon the belief in the superiority of the German people,

was a clear contradiction to Germany's self-proclaimed title as a stout defender of all minority rights on the global stage and was simply used as a disguise to hide their agenda for imperial acquisition. The German-Polish Convention regarding Upper Silesia of 1922 (a plebiscite organised by the League), although partly successful in resolving border disputes, only granted the German minority in Poland the freedom to present their grievances to the League. After all, Germany's role as the defender of minorities was a mere guise to hide Berlin's hopes of domination through imperialist conquests which remained amid internal weaknesses.

This tragedy signified the vague nature of the treaties, allowing for injustices committed by a great power such as Germany, thus discrediting the League's overall credibility due to its impotence in implementing its statutes. The League had failed to "to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories," as titled under Article 23b of the Covenant, by allowing Germany to establish themselves under the sun, despite the lack of apparent interest in the protection of their people. L. P. Jacks notes that "the assumption is made that all governments are competent, . . . to compel their own subjects to keep promises made on their behalf." Jacks indicates a fatal flaw within the great power states who dominate the international scene, which have vested interests as their forefront objective. Mazower correctly mentions that "this supremely paternalistic stance assumed that "civilized" states such as those in Western Europe had evolved procedures to facilitate the assimilation of minorities," which gives strong evidence that powerful states are explicitly exploiting their own countrymen. It also reveals the inaction on behalf of the League to reprimand the offender, Germany, or to holistically resolve the problems suffered by ethnic minorities. Among other factors, the rise of Adolf Hitler prompted Germany's withdrawal from the League, further diminishing the League in rightfully enforcing its resolutions upon offending states like Germany.

Another Eastern European country who suffered under the guise of advancing minority rights was Poland, though the League of Nations acted as a guarantor to safeguard these rights. The formation of "an independent Poland brought into being . . . minority rights." Despite this, the bilateral Polish Treaty, which was signed together with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, resulted in heated tensions between Germany and Poland. Poland houses many ethnic minorities including ethnic Germans and Jews who were oppressed due to the antisemitic wave which was on the rise in 1930s. Colonel Beck, the Polish premier "denounced Poland's minority-rights

obligations, 'pending the introduction of a general and uniform system for the protection of minorities," resulting in Poland rejecting the Minority Treaty in 1934. As a result, many of the Polish Jews were stripped of their basic rights, which came into conflict with the League's aim to preserve the self determination of peoples. This is an example of the League's inability to safeguard against and reprimand minority abuse occurring among its own Member states, thus undermining the League's legitimacy which, inevitably, resulted in a "waning confidence felt by European minorities in the value of the League." The rejection of the Polish Treaty indicated a lack of enforcement powers the League's Covenant possessed, reducing it from the role as a enforcer to a mere "interlocutor helping governments carry out their own obligations." The League's apparent apathy was used to support such claims, effectively curtailing their influence. Much of the European discontent had its origins in the "action of governments in their relationships with one another, and to their hostile interferences with each other's business," beyond which the League found itself incapable of quelling.

In the 1930s, nations such as Germany, Italy, and Japan saw the gradual rise of fascism and dictatorship rulings whose foreign policy was structured upon their insatiable imperial conquests. Worsened by the economic downturn of the Great Depression from 1929, their combative ultranationalism would foreshadow many offenses committed on their behalf against the Covenant. Jacks writes, "To suppress [combative nationalism] by a league of combative nationalisms is not possible." Having fascist countries as members of the League was a barrier to other member states in working within a conducive framework of international cooperation. Jacks poses an interesting question: "But who are these possible offenders, and who are the most dangerous of them? They are precisely those Great Powers." After all, it was the Great Powers who persistently violated the central tenets of the League.

As a founding member of the League, Italy, as one of the Great Powers, used her ability to conquer Abyssinia, otherwise known as Ethiopia. The rise of fascist dictator Benito Mussolini and the Italian disappointment in not getting a fair share of lands after World War I prompted the country to unlawfully invade Abyssinia in 1935. By doing so, Italy violated Article 10 of the Covenant by disrespecting the sovereignty of Abyssinia. In response, the League imposed a series of sanctions against Italy which failed to pose any serious consequence, considering Italy's prompt withdrawal from the

League in 1937. To make matters worse, France and Britain were involved in a tacit agreement with Italy and agreed to the Italian annexation of Abyssinia. The failure of dominant members of the League to comply and respect the League's code of conduct gives truth to Jacks' astute observation: "The great European states, which are to play the part of chief policemen, [are] also the chief criminals." The Great Powers within the League were the main and significant violators of the Covenant in more than just "several" instances, bringing substantiated criticism upon the League in discrediting the organisation overall. The U.S.' disinvolvement in the League (another rising Great Power and the main advocate for the creation of the League in the first place) also brought a considerable blow upon the legitimacy of the League, especially regarding the efficacy of the sanctions and policies that were supposed to bind their member-states.

The fascist government of Japan was the epitome of another Great Power compromising the integrity of the League. Japan proved itself able to stand on par with the European Great Powers which had existed prior to the war, and they utilised the interwar period to exercise its imperialistic desires, exerting power and dominance on the global stage. In 1931, Japan breached Article 10 by launching an attack on the Chinese authorities in Manchuria. Japan's aggressive foreign policy, which led the Japanese army to finally conquer the region in 1932, was one of the instances whereby the League failed to reprimand their member states. The Japanese invasion of Chinese territory was not equalled with any economic sanctions imposed by the League, and it did not antagonise or boycott Japan to debilitate them in any way as promised in Article 16 of the Covenant which promises a war against the aggressor. However, when the League's commission decided that Manchuria ought to be returned to China, Japan resigned from the League in 1933 to sidestep any consequences. Similar to Germany's withdrawal, this move by Japan only emphasises the League's growing inability to enforce its Covenant. Jacks provides a clear analysis of this incident: "While remembering what governments have done in keeping the peace at home, we must not forget what they have done in breaking the peace abroad." Jacks' remarks points at a paradox contained in the League's peacekeeping mission – the Great Powers were more enthusiastic in breaking, rather than preserving, the primary objective of the League: peace.

Several Latin American countries enjoyed their inclusion to the League, making up "one-third of the total membership of the League." Though the

League benefited much from a significant Latin American representation, these said countries became disillusioned during certain fallouts that they had with the League. However, the Latin American nations "remained in Geneva [awaiting] the definitive admission of the United States into the [League]," but the U.S. remained on the sidelines due to strong domestic opposition against their membership to the League. The League meddled with Latin American affairs, particularly in the 1930s, during which two major wars erupted under the League's supervision — the Chaco and Leticia wars. In 1932, Bolivia and Paraguay engaged in the Chaco war which eventually culminated into another one of the League's failures in mishandling international disputes. The "capture of the Paraguayan fortress of Boqueron by Bolivian troops" precipitated the war, which later evolved to be a deadly one. This is considered to be a direct violation of Article 10, since Bolivia failed to uphold Paraguay's sovereignty. The League's sanctions failed to rival the damages caused to the Paraguayans by Bolivia and, ultimately, resulted in the Paraguayan withdrawal from the League and "damaged [the League's] reputation in the international community."

The League's failures may also be traced back to its fundamental structural error of alienating the Latin American nations, as it was primarily concerned with "topics directly related to the postwar period" and hesitant as to their perception of "Latin America as a homogenous region." Its inability to construct an equal stage for all its Member states to be fully represented on the global stage led to the League's eventual downfall, as demonstrated by the League's inability to prevent the Chaco and Leticia wars. After all, Jacks mentions that "Leagues of democracies are no easier to maintain than Holy Alliances of kings and emperors," arguing that democratic countries are "subject to violent revulsions." It is as if all the countries belonging to the League are taking the same medicine—it cannot cure all.

In conclusion, the League of Nations was an organisation that was dominated through the monopoly of Great Powers. The failures of the League stemmed from the highly ambitious and idealistic Covenant, coupled with the League's inability to enforce them on their Member states. The limitations of the League allowed for several Members to violate them due to self-interested national policies. The ease in the Members' withdrawals from the League ultimately diminished the span of their control to enforce their Covenant. L. P. Jacks brings insightful analyses to

the League's inadequacies, tracing them back to the inefficacy of a League of democratic countries. When a League of government exists, it sets itself up for destruction regardless of its primary objective. After all, a kingdom which is divided against itself cannot stand.

United Nations Organisation

United Nations (UN), international organization established on October 24, 1945. The United Nations (UN) was the second multipurpose international organization established in the 20th century that was worldwide in scope and membership. Its predecessor, the League of Nations, was created by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and disbanded in 1946. Headquartered in New York City, the UN also has regional offices in Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi. Its official languages are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. For a list of UN member countries and secretaries-general.

According to its Charter, the UN aims:

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,…to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights,…to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

In addition to maintaining peace and security, other important objectives include developing friendly relations among countries based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; achieving worldwide cooperation to solve international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems; respecting and promoting human rights; and serving as a centre where countries can coordinate their actions and activities toward these various ends.

The UN formed a continuum with the League of Nations in general purpose, structure, and functions; many of the UN's principal organs and related agencies were adopted from similar structures established earlier in the century. In some respects, however, the UN constituted a very different organization, especially with regard to its objective of maintaining international peace and security and its commitment to economic and social development.

Changes in the nature of international relations resulted in modifications in the responsibilities of the UN and its decision-making apparatus. Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union deeply affected the UN's security functions during its first 45 years. Extensive post-World War II decolonization in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East increased the volume and nature of political, economic, and social issues that confronted the organization. The Cold War's end in 1991 brought renewed attention and appeals to the UN. Amid an increasingly volatile geopolitical climate, there were new challenges to established practices and functions, especially in the areas of conflict resolution and humanitarian assistance. At the beginning of the 21st century, the UN and its programs and affiliated agencies struggled to address humanitarian crises and civil wars, unprecedented refugee flows, the devastation caused by the spread of AIDS, global financial disruptions, international terrorism, and the disparities in wealth between the world's richest and poorest peoples.

History and development

Despite the problems encountered by the League of Nations in arbitrating conflict and ensuring international peace and security prior to World War II, the major Allied powers agreed during the war to establish a new global organization to help manage international affairs. This agreement was first articulated when U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter in August 1941. The name United Nations was originally used to denote the countries allied against Germany, Italy, and Japan. On January 1, 1942, 26 countries signed the Declaration by United Nations, which set forth the war aims of the Allied powers.

The United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union took the lead in designing the new organization and determining its decision-making structure and functions. Initially, the "Big Three" states and their respective leaders (Roosevelt, Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin) were hindered by disagreements on issues that foreshadowed the Cold War. The Soviet Union demanded individual membership and voting rights for its constituent republics, Britain wanted assurances that its colonies would not be placed under UN control. There also was disagreement over the voting system to be adopted in the Security Council, an issue that became famous as the "veto problem."

The first major step toward the formation of the United Nations was taken August 21–October 7, 1944, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, a meeting of the diplomatic experts of the Big Three powers plus China (a group often designated the "Big Four") held at Dumbarton Oaks, an estate in Washington, D.C. Although the four countries agreed on the general purpose, structure, and function of a new world organization, the conference ended amid continuing disagreement over membership and voting. At the Yalta Conference, a meeting of the Big Three in a Crimean resort city in February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin laid the basis for charter provisions delimiting the authority of the Security Council. Moreover, they reached a tentative accord on the number of Soviet republics to be granted independent memberships in the UN. Finally, the three leaders agreed that the new organization would include a trusteeship system to succeed the League of Nations mandate system.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, with modifications from the Yalta Conference, formed the basis of negotiations at the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO), which convened in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, and produced the final Charter of the United Nations. The San Francisco conference was attended by representatives of 50 countries from all geographic areas of the world: 9 from Europe, 21 from the Americas, 7 from the Middle East, 2 from East Asia, and 3 from Africa, as well as 1 each from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (in addition to the Soviet Union itself) and 5 from British Commonwealth countries. Poland, which was not present at the conference, was permitted to become an original member of the UN. Security Council veto power (among the permanent members) was affirmed, though any member of the General Assembly was able to raise issues for discussion. Other political issues resolved by compromise were the role of the organization in the promotion of economic and social welfare; the status of colonial areas and the distribution of trusteeships; the status of regional and defense arrangements; and Great Power dominance versus the equality of states. The UN Charter was unanimously adopted and signed on June 26 and promulgated on October 24, 1945.

Organization and administration

Principles and membership

The purposes, principles, and organization of the United Nations are outlined in the Charter. The essential principles underlying the purposes

and functions of the organization are listed in Article 2 and include the following: the UN is based on the sovereign equality of its members; disputes are to be settled by peaceful means; members are to refrain from the threat or use of force in contravention of the purposes of the UN; each member must assist the organization in any enforcement actions it takes under the Charter; and states that are not members of the organization are required to act in accordance with these principles insofar as it is necessary to maintain international peace and security. Article 2 also stipulates a basic long-standing norm that the organization shall not intervene in matters considered within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. Although this was a major limitation on UN action, over time the line between international and domestic jurisdiction has become blurred.

New members are admitted to the UN on the recommendation of the Security Council and by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. Often, however, the admittance of new members has engendered controversy. Given Cold War divisions between East and West, the requirement that the Security Council's five permanent members (sometimes known collectively as the P-5)—China, France, the Soviet Union (whose seat and membership were assumed by Russia in 1991), the United Kingdom, and the United States—concur on the admission of new members at times posed serious obstacles. By 1950 only 9 of 31 applicants had been admitted to the organization. In 1955 the 10th Assembly proposed a package deal that, after modification by the Security Council, resulted in the admission of 16 new states (4 eastern European communist states and 12 noncommunist countries). The most contentious application for membership was that of the communist People's Republic of China, which was placed before the General Assembly and blocked by the United States at every session from 1950 to 1971. Finally, in 1971, in an effort to improve its relationship with mainland China, the United States refrained from blocking the Assembly's vote to admit the People's Republic and to expel the Republic of China (Taiwan); there were 76 votes in favour of expulsion, 35 votes opposed, and 17 abstentions. As a result, the Republic of China's membership and permanent Security Council seat were given to the People's Republic.

Controversy also arose over the issue of "divided" states, including the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), North and South Korea, and North and South Vietnam. The two German states were admitted as members in 1973; these two seats were reduced to one after the country's reunification

in October 1990. Vietnam was admitted in 1977, after the defeat of South Vietnam and the reunification of the country in 1975. The two Koreas were admitted separately in 1991.

Following worldwide decolonization from 1955 to 1960, 40 new members were admitted, and by the end of the 1970s there were about 150 members of the UN. Another significant increase occurred after 1989–90, when many former Soviet republics gained their independence. By the early 21st century the UN comprised nearly 190 member states.

Principal organs

The United Nations has six principal organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

General Assembly

The only body in which all UN members are represented, the General Assembly exercises deliberative, supervisory, financial, and elective functions relating to any matter within the scope of the UN Charter. Its primary role, however, is to discuss issues and make recommendations, though it has no power to enforce its resolutions or to compel state action. Other functions include admitting new members; selecting members of the Economic and Social Council, the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, and the Trusteeship Council; supervising the activities of the other UN organs, from which the Assembly receives reports; and participating in the election of judges to the International Court of Justice and the selection of the secretary-general. Decisions usually are reached by a simple majority vote. On important questions, however—such as the admission of new members, budgetary matters, and peace and security issues—a two-thirds majority is required.

The Assembly convenes annually and in special sessions, electing a new president each year from among five regional groups of states. At the beginning of each regular session, the Assembly also holds a general debate, in which all members may participate and raise any issue of international concern. Most work, however, is delegated to six main committees: (1) Disarmament and International Security, (2) Economic and Financial, (3) Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural, (4) Special Political and Decolonization, (5) Administrative and Budgetary, and (6) Legal.

The General Assembly has debated issues that other organs of the UN have either overlooked or avoided, including decolonization, the independence of Namibia, apartheid in South Africa, terrorism, and the AIDS epidemic. The number of resolutions passed by the Assembly each year has climbed to more than 350, and many resolutions are adopted without opposition. Nevertheless, there have been sharp disagreements among members on several issues, such as those relating to the Cold War, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and human rights. The General Assembly has drawn public attention to major issues, thereby forcing member governments to develop positions on them, and it has helped to organize ad hoc bodies and conferences to deal with important global problems.

The large size of the Assembly and the diversity of the issues it discusses contributed to the emergence of regionally based voting blocs in the 1960s. During the Cold War the Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe formed one of the most cohesive blocs, and another bloc comprised the United States and its Western allies. The admission of new countries of the Southern Hemisphere in the 1960s and '70s and the dissipation of Cold War tensions after 1989 contributed to the formation of blocs based on "North-South" economic issues—i.e., issues of disagreement between the more prosperous, industrialized countries of the Northern Hemisphere and the poorer, less industrialized developing countries of the Southern Hemisphere. Other issues have been incorporated into the North-South divide, including Northern economic and political domination, economic development, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and support for Israel.

Security Council

The UN Charter assigns to the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council originally consisted of 11 members—five permanent and six nonpermanent—elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. From the beginning, nonpermanent members of the Security Council were elected to give representation to certain regions or groups of states. As membership increased, however, this practice ran into difficulty. An amendment to the UN Charter in 1965 increased the council's membership to 15, including the original five permanent members plus 10 nonpermanent members. Among the permanent members, the People's Republic of China replaced the Republic of China (Taiwan) in 1971, and

the Russian Federation succeeded the Soviet Union in 1991. After the unification of Germany, debate over the council's composition again arose, and Germany, India, and Japan each applied for permanent council seats.

The nonpermanent members are chosen to achieve equitable regional representation, five members coming from Africa or Asia, one from eastern Europe, two from Latin America, and two from western Europe or other areas. Five of the 10 nonpermanent members are elected each year by the General Assembly for two-year terms, and five retire each year. The presidency is held by each member in rotation for a period of one month.

Each Security Council member is entitled to one vote. On all "procedural" matters—the definition of which is sometimes in dispute—decisions by the council are made by an affirmative vote of any nine of its members. Substantive matters, such as the investigation of a dispute or the application of sanctions, also require nine affirmative votes, including those of the five permanent members holding veto power. In practice, however, a permanent member may abstain without impairing the validity of the decision. A vote on whether a matter is procedural or substantive is itself a substantive question. Because the Security Council is required to function continuously, each member is represented at all times at the UN's headquarters in New York City.

Any country—even if it is not a member of the UN—may bring a dispute to which it is a party to the attention of the Security Council. When there is a complaint, the council first explores the possibility of a peaceful resolution. International peacekeeping forces may be authorized to keep warring parties apart pending further negotiations. If the council finds that there is a real threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression (as defined by Article 39 of the UN Charter), it may call upon UN members to apply diplomatic or economic sanctions. If these methods prove inadequate, the UN Charter allows the Security Council to take military action against the offending country.

During the Cold War, continual disagreement between the United States and the Soviet Union coupled with the veto power of the Security Council's permanent members made the Security Council an ineffective institution. Since the late 1980s, however, the council's power and prestige have grown. Between 1987 and 2000 it authorized more peacekeeping operations than at any previous time. The use of the veto has declined dramatically, though disagreements among permanent members of the Security Council—

most notably in 2003 over the use of military force against Iraq—have occasionally undermined the council's effectiveness. To achieve consensus, comparatively informal meetings are held in private among the council's permanent members, a practice that has been criticized by nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

In addition to several standing and ad hoc committees, the work of the council is facilitated by the Military Staff Committee, sanctions committees for each of the countries under sanctions, peacekeeping forces committees, and an International Tribunals Committee.

Economic and Social Council

Designed to be the UN's main venue for the discussion of international economic and social issues, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) directs and coordinates the economic, social, humanitarian, and cultural activities of the UN and its specialized agencies. Established by the UN Charter, ECOSOC is empowered to recommend international action on economic and social issues; promote universal respect for human rights; and work for global cooperation on health, education, and cultural and related areas. ECOSOC conducts studies; formulates resolutions, recommendations, and conventions for consideration by the General Assembly; and coordinates the activities of various UN programs and specialized agencies. Most of ECOSOC's work is performed in functional commissions on topics such as human rights, narcotics, population, social development, statistics, the status of women, and science and technology; the council also oversees regional commissions for Europe, Asia and the Pacific, Western Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

The UN Charter authorizes ECOSOC to grant consultative status to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Three categories of consultative status are recognized: General Category NGOs (formerly category I) include organizations with multiple goals and activities; Special Category NGOs (formerly category II) specialize in certain areas of ECOSOC activities; and Roster NGOs have only an occasional interest in the UN's activities. Consultative status enables NGOs to attend ECOSOC meetings, issue reports, and occasionally testify at meetings. Since the mid-1990s, measures have been adopted to increase the scope of NGO participation in ECOSOC, in the ad hoc global conferences, and in other UN activities. By the early 21st century, ECOSOC had granted consultative status to more than 2,500 NGOs.

Originally, ECOSOC consisted of representatives from 18 countries, but the Charter was amended in 1965 and in 1974 to increase the number of members to 54. Members are elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly. Four of the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union (Russia), and France—have been reelected continually because they provide funding for most of ECOSOC's budget, which is the largest of any UN subsidiary body. Decisions are taken by simple majority vote.

Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council was designed to supervise the government of trust territories and to lead them to self-government or independence. The trusteeship system, like the mandate system under the League of Nations, was established on the premise that colonial territories taken from countries defeated in war should not be annexed by the victorious powers but should be administered by a trust country under international supervision until their future status was determined. Unlike the mandate system, the trusteeship system invited petitions from trust territories on their independence and required periodic international missions to the territories. In 1945 only 12 League of Nations mandates remained: Nauru, New Guinea, Ruanda-Urundi, Togoland and Cameroon (French administered), Togoland and Cameroon (British administered), the Pacific Islands (Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas), Western Samoa, South West Africa, Tanganyika, and Palestine. All these mandates became trust territories except South West Africa (now Namibia), which South Africa refused to enter into the trusteeship system.

The Trusteeship Council, which met once each year, consisted of states administering trust territories, permanent members of the Security Council that did not administer trust territories, and other UN members elected by the General Assembly. Each member had one vote, and decisions were taken by a simple majority of those present. With the independence of Palau, the last remaining trust territory, in 1994, the council terminated its operations. No longer required to meet annually, the council may meet on the decision of its president or on a request by a majority of its members, by the General Assembly, or by the Security Council. Since 1994 new roles for the council have been proposed, including administering the global commons (e.g., the seabed and outer space) and serving as a forum for minority and indigenous peoples.

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice, commonly known as the World Court, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, though the court's origins predate the League of Nations. The idea for the creation of an international court to arbitrate international disputes arose during an international conference held at The Hague in 1899. This institution was subsumed under the League of Nations in 1919 as the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) and adopted its present name with the founding of the UN in 1945.

The court's decisions are binding, and its broad jurisdiction encompasses "all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force." Most importantly, states may not be parties to a dispute without their consent, though they may accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the court in specified categories of disputes. The court may give advisory opinions at the request of the General Assembly or the Security Council or at the request of other organs and specialized agencies authorized by the General Assembly. Although the court has successfully arbitrated some cases (e.g., the border dispute between Honduras and El Salvador in 1992), governments have been reluctant to submit sensitive issues, thereby limiting the court's ability to resolve threats to international peace and security. At times countries also have refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction or the findings of the court. For example, when Nicaragua sued the United States in the court in 1984 for mining its harbours, the court found in favour of Nicaragua, but the United States refused to accept the court's decision, blocked Nicaragua's appeal to the Security Council, and withdrew from the compulsory, or general, jurisdiction of the court, which it had accepted since 1946.

The 15 judges of the court are elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. No two judges may be nationals of the same state, and the judges are to represent a cross section of the major legal systems of the world. Judges serve nine-year terms and are eligible for reelection. The seat of the World Court is The Hague.

Secretariat

The secretary-general, the principal administrative officer of the United Nations, is elected for a five-year renewable term by a two-thirds

vote of the General Assembly and by the recommendation of the Security Council and the approval of its permanent members. Secretaries-general usually have come from small, neutral countries. The secretary-general serves as the chief administrative officer at all meetings and carries out any functions that those organs entrust to the Secretariat; he also oversees the preparation of the UN's budget. The secretary-general has important political functions, being charged with bringing before the organization any matter that threatens international peace and security. Both the chief spokesperson for the UN and the UN's most visible and authoritative figure in world affairs, the secretary-general often serves as a high-level negotiator. Attesting to the importance of the post, two secretaries-general have been awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace: Dag Hammarskjöld in 1961 and Kofi Annan, corecipient with the UN, in 2001.

The Secretariat influences the work of the United Nations to a much greater degree than indicated in the UN Charter. It is responsible for preparing numerous reports, studies, and investigations, in addition to the major tasks of translating, interpreting, providing services for large numbers of meetings, and other work. Under the Charter the staff is to be recruited mainly on the basis of merit, though there has been a conscious effort to recruit individuals from different geographic regions. Some members of the Secretariat are engaged on permanent contracts, but others serve on temporary assignment from their national governments. In both cases they must take an oath of loyalty to the United Nations and are not permitted to receive instructions from member governments. The influence of the Secretariat can be attributed to the fact that the some 9,000 people on its staff are permanent experts and international civil servants rather than political appointees of member states. The Secretariat is based in New York, Geneva, Vienna, Nairobi (Kenya), and other locales. It has been criticized frequently for poor administrative practices—though it has made persistent efforts to increase the efficiency of its operations—as well as for a lack of neutrality.

(B) United Nations – General Assembly

United Nations General Assembly, one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN) and the only body in which every member of the organization is represented and allowed to vote. The first session of the assembly convened on Jan. 10, 1946, in London, with 51 countries represented. As of 2006 there were 192 members of the General Assembly.

Numerous nonmembers, such as states, organizations, and other entities (e.g., the Vatican, the African Union, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Palestine), maintain observer status, enabling them to participate in the work of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly exercises deliberative, supervisory, financial, and elective functions relating to any matter within the scope of the UN Charter. Its primary role, however, is to discuss issues and make recommendations, though it has no power to enforce its resolutions or compel state action. Other functions include admitting new members; selecting members of the Economic and Social Council, the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, and the Trusteeship Council; supervising the activities of the other UN organs, from which the General Assembly receives reports; and participating in the election of judges to the International Court of Justice and the selection of the secretary-general. Decisions usually are reached by a simple majority vote. On important questions, however—such as the admission of new members, budgetary matters, and peace and security issues—a two-thirds majority is required.

The General Assembly convenes annually and in special sessions, electing a new president each year from among five regional groups of states. At the beginning of each regular session, the General Assembly also holds a general debate, in which all members participate and may raise any issue of international concern. Most work, however, is delegated to six main committees, known as (1) Disarmament and International Security, (2) Economic and Financial, (3) Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural, (4) Special Political and Decolonization, (5) Administrative and Budgetary, and (6) Legal. (Committees are generally referred to by their number; thus, the Disarmament and International Security Committee is known as the First Committee.)

The large size of the General Assembly and the diversity of the issues it discussed contributed to the emergence of regionally based voting blocs in the 1960s. During the Cold War the Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe formed one of the most cohesive blocs. Since the 1980s and the end of the Cold War, blocs have formed around "North-South" economic issues—i.e., issues of disagreement between the more-prosperous, industrialized countries of the Northern Hemisphere and the poorer, less-industrialized developing countries of the Southern Hemisphere.

The number of resolutions passed by the General Assembly each year has climbed to more than 300, and many resolutions are adopted without opposition. Nevertheless, there have been sharp disagreements among members on several issues, such as those relating to the Cold War, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and human rights.

Functions and powers of the General Assembly

(i) Forum for multilateral negotiation

Established in 1945 under the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly occupies a central position as the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations. Comprised of all 193 Members of the United Nations, it provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion of the full spectrum of international issues covered by the Charter. It also plays a central role in the process of standard-setting and the codification of international law.

The Assembly meets from September to December each year (main part), and thereafter, from January to September (resumed part), as required, including to take up outstanding reports from the Fourth and Fifth Committees. Also during the resumed part of the session, the Assembly considers current issues during high-level thematic debates organized by the President of the General Assembly. During that period, the Assembly traditionally also conducts informal consultations on a wide range of substantive topics towards the adoption of new resolutions.

(ii) Functions and powers of the General Assembly

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

- Consider and make recommendations on the general principles of cooperation for maintaining international peace and security, including disarmament;
- Discuss any question relating to international peace and security and, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed by the Security Council, make recommendations on it;
- Discuss, with the same exception, and make recommendations on any questions within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations;

- Initiate studies and make recommendations to promote international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and international collaboration in the economic, social, humanitarian, cultural, educational and health fields;
- Make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation that might impair friendly relations among nations;
- Receive and consider reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs; Consider and approve the United Nations budget and establish the financial assessments of Member States;
- Elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of other United Nations councils and organs and, on the recommendation of the Security Council, appoint the Secretary-General. Pursuant to its "Uniting for Peace" resolution of November 1950 (resolution 377 (V)), the Assembly may also take action if the Security Council fails to act, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member, in a case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.

The Assembly can consider the matter immediately with a view to making recommendations to Members for collective measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. While the Assembly is empowered to make only non-binding recommendations to States on international issues within its competence, it has, nonetheless, initiated actions—political, economic, humanitarian, social and legal—which have affected the lives of millions of people throughout the world. The landmark Millennium Declaration, adopted in 2000, and the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document reflect the commitment of Member States to reach specific goals to attain peace, security and disarmament along with development and poverty eradication; safeguard human rights and promote the rule of law; protect our common environment; meet the special needs of Africa; and strengthen the United Nations. The search for consensus Each Member State in the Assembly has one vote. Votes taken on designated important issues, such as recommendations on peace and security and the election of Security Council members, require a two-thirds majority of Member States, but other questions are decided by simple majority.

The Assembly makes recommendations to States on international issues within its competence. It has also taken actions across all pillars

of the United Nations, including with regard to political, economic, humanitarian, social and legal matters. In September 2015, the Assembly agreed on a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals, contained in the outcome document of the United Nations Summit for the adoption of the post-2015 development agenda (resolution 70/1 entitled "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development). In 2022, the Assembly held a series of meetings to discuss the recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General in his report [link] entitled "Our Common Agenda", an agenda of action, designed to strengthen and accelerate multilateral agreements – particularly the 2030 Agenda – and make a tangible difference in people's lives (Read "Our common agenda", summary of thematic consultations).

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

- Consider reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs

The Assembly may also take action in cases of a threat to the peace, breach of peace or act of aggression, when the Security Council has failed to act owing to the negative vote of a permanent member. In such instances, according to its "Uniting for peace" resolution of 3 November 1950, the Assembly may consider the matter immediately and recommend to its Members collective measures to maintain or restore international peace and security.

(iii) Decision making

Each of the 193 Member States in the Assembly has one vote. Votes taken on designated important issues – such as recommendations on peace and security, the election of Security Council and Economic and Social Council members, and budgetary questions – require a two-thirds majority of Member States, but other questions are decided by a simple majority. That said, following informal consultations among Member States during which proposals are negotiated, the majority of resolutions are adopted without a vote (i.e., by consensus).

(iv) Revitalization of the work of the General Assembly

There has been a sustained effort to make the work of the General Assembly more focused and relevant. This was first identified as a priority during the 58th session, and efforts continued at subsequent sessions to streamline the agenda, improve the practices and working methods of the Main Committees, enhance the role of the General Committee, strengthen the role and authority of the President and examine the Assembly's role in the process of selecting the Secretary-General.

During recent sessions, the Assembly adopted landmark resolutions on the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly (A/RES/70/305, A/RES/71/323, A/RES/72/313, A/RES/73/341, A/RES/74/303) and A/RES/75/325), which, inter alia, established an oath of office and a code of ethics for the Presidents of the General Assembly and provided for informal interactive dialogues with candidates for the position of President of the General Assembly.

The practice of convening high-level thematic debates is also a direct outcome of the revitalization process. It has become an established practice for the Secretary-General to brief Member States periodically, in informal

meetings of the General Assembly, on his recent activities and travels. These briefings have provided a well-received opportunity for exchange between the Secretary-General and Member States.

(v) Credentials Committee

The Credentials Committee, appointed by the General Assembly at each session, reports to the Assembly on the credentials of representatives.

(vi) General debate

The Assembly's annual general debate provides Member States the opportunity to express their views on major international issues. On this occasion, the Secretary-General presents on the opening day of the debate his report on the work of the Organization.

(vii) Main Committees

With the conclusion of the general debate, the Assembly begins consideration of the substantive items on its agenda. Because of the great number of items on the agenda, the Assembly allocates to its six Main Committees items relevant to their work. The Committees discuss matters under the agenda items, and recommend draft resolutions and decisions to the Assembly for consideration and action.

The six Main Committees are: the Disarmament and International Security Committee (First Committee); the Economic and Financial Committee (Second Committee); the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee (Third Committee); the Special Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee); the Administrative and Budgetary Committee (Fifth Committee); and the Legal Committee (Sixth Committee).

A number of agenda items, including on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East, are considered directly in the General Assembly plenary.

(viii) Subsidiary organs of the General Assembly

Under Article 22 of the Charter, the General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

(ix) Regional groups

Various regional groupings have evolved over the years in the General Assembly for electoral purposes as well as vehicles for consultation and to facilitate procedural work. The groups are: the African States; the Asia-Pacific States; the Eastern European States; the Latin American and Caribbean States; and the Western European and other States. The post of President of the General Assembly rotates among these regional groups.

(x) Special sessions and emergency special sessions

In addition to its regular sessions, the Assembly may meet in special and emergency special sessions. To date, the Assembly has convened 32 special sessions and 11 emergency special sessions.

United Nations – Security Council

United Nations Security Council, United Nations (UN) organ whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security.

Structure and procedures

The Security Council originally consisted of 11 members—five permanent members (the Republic of China [Taiwan], France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and six nonpermanent members elected by the UN General Assembly for two-year terms. An amendment to the UN Charter in 1965 increased council membership to 15, including the original five permanent members and 10 nonpermanent members. Among the permanent members, the People's Republic of China replaced the Republic of China in 1971, and the Russian Federation succeeded the Soviet Union in 1991. The nonpermanent members are generally chosen to achieve equitable representation among geographic regions, with five members coming from Africa or Asia, one from eastern Europe, two from Latin America, and two from western Europe or other areas. Five of the 10 nonpermanent members are elected each year by the General Assembly for two-year terms, and five retire each year. The presidency is held by each member in rotation for a period of one month.

Each member has one vote. On all "procedural" matters—the definition of which is sometimes in dispute—decisions by the council are made by

an affirmative vote of any nine of its members. Substantive matters, such as the investigation of a dispute or the application of sanctions, also require nine affirmative votes, including those of the five permanent members holding veto power. In practice, however, a permanent member may abstain without impairing the validity of the decision. A vote on whether a matter is procedural or substantive is itself a substantive question. Because the Security Council is required to function continuously, each member is represented at all times at the United Nations headquarters in New York City.

The composition of the Security Council has been a contentious matter, particularly since the end of the Cold War. Critics have argued that the Security Council and its five permanent members reflect the power structure that existed at the end of World War II, when much of the world was under colonial rule. Reform efforts have remained elusive but have centred on efforts to make the work of the Security Council more transparent and on demands by important non-permanent members, such as Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan (the so-called G-4), to obtain permanent membership—or at least have special status within the Security Council. One proposal put forward by the G-4 countries was to increase the membership of the Security Council to 25 seats by adding six new permanent members, including one each for themselves and two for Africa.

Any state—even if it is not a member of the UN—may bring a dispute to which it is a party to the attention of the Security Council. When there is a complaint, the council first explores the possibility of a peaceful resolution. International peacekeeping forces may be authorized to keep warring parties apart pending further negotiations (*see* United Nations Peacekeeping Forces). If the council finds that there is a real threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression (as defined by Article 39 of the UN Charter), it may call upon UN members to apply diplomatic or economic sanctions. If these methods prove inadequate, the UN Charter allows the Security Council to take military action against the offending nation.

In addition to several standing and ad hoc committees, the work of the council is facilitated by the Military Staff Committee, Sanctions Committees for each of the states under sanctions, Peacekeeping Forces Committees, and an International Tribunals Committee.

Structure, Functions and Powers of the UN and Its Main Organs 4 Functions and Powers of the Security Council Under the United Nations Charter, the functions and powers of the Security Council are:

- to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
- to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction;
- to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement;
- to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;
- to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;
- to call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression;
- to take military action against an aggressor;
- to recommend the admission of new Members;
- to exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas"; to recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

(B) The General Assembly and the Security Council : and Problems of Peace

The UN faces a diverse range of complex and interconnected issues in the 21st century, reflecting the evolving global landscape. These diverse challenges require strong international cooperation, diplomacy, and a commitment to upholding the principles of the United Nations. However, the UN often faces obstacles such as geopolitical rivalries, national sovereignty concerns, and differing priorities among member states, which make finding effective solutions to these issues a complex and ongoing process.

Some of the major challenges include:

- **Climate Change**

  The most important issue of today is **climate change**, and this is a crucial time. The effects of climate change are unparalleled in

magnitude, ranging from changing weather patterns that endanger food production to **increasing sea levels** that increase the risk of major flooding. The UN has been actively involved in addressing climate change through initiatives like the **Paris Agreement 2015** and the **1997 Kyoto Protocol**. The challenge lies in convincing all nations to take significant steps to reduce **greenhouse gas emissions**, adapt to climate impacts, and meet sustainability goals. Balancing economic development with environmental sustainability remains a complex task.

- **Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping**

The UN plays a crucial role in conflict resolution and peacekeeping efforts around the world. **Conflicts in Syria**, Yemen, South Sudan, and Ukraine are just a few examples of ongoing crises that demand UN intervention. The organisation faces challenges in negotiating peace agreements, ensuring humanitarian access, and maintaining stability in post-conflict regions. According to the UN Charter, the organisation was established to "save future generations from the tragedy of war." The Charter was officially signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, marking the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organisation. It then became effective on October 24, 1945. A cross-cutting issue that is essential to accomplishing all of the **Sustainable Development Goals** is the upkeep of world peace and security. The **Security Council, General Assembly, Secretary-General**, Departments of Peacekeeping Operations, Field Support, Political Affairs, and the Peace Building Support Office are primarily some of the UN offices active in promoting and maintaining global peace and security.

- **Pandemics and Global Health**

The **COVID-19 pandemic** underscored the need for international cooperation in addressing global health crises. The UN, through the **World Health Organisation** (WHO), has played a central role in coordinating responses and vaccine distribution. However, equitable access to vaccines, misinformation, and political tensions has complicated these efforts.

- **Human Rights and Humanitarian Crises**

  The UN is tasked with promoting and protecting human rights worldwide. Humanitarian crises, such as those in Syria, Myanmar, and Venezuela, pose significant challenges to upholding human rights. Balancing the principles of sovereignty and the responsibility to protect is an ongoing debate within the UN system.

- **Migration and Refugees**

  The 21st century has seen a significant increase in forced migration and refugee crises. Large-scale population-forced migration is a global calamity that calls for coordinated action from the international community under the direction of world leaders. A record-breaking number of migrants and refugees are crossing international boundaries to escape war, persecution, poverty, and other severe situations. Large-scale population relocation affects the social, economic, and political landscape in ways that go beyond casualties. The **UN High Commissioner for Refugees** (UNHCR) works to provide protection and assistance to **displaced persons**, but issues related to immigration policies, border control, and xenophobia have complicated efforts to address this challenge.

- **Terrorism and Transnational Threats**

  Terrorism, **organised crime,** and cyber threats are transnational challenges that require international cooperation. The UN works to **counter terrorism** through various agencies and conventions, but the evolving nature of these threats and differing national interests pose difficulties.

- **Nuclear Proliferation and Arms Control**

  Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and promoting disarmament are critical goals for the UN. The proliferation of nuclear technology and tensions between nuclear-armed states, such as the United States, Russia, and North Korea, present ongoing challenges to international security.

Resource Constraints for the United Nations

The United Nations (UN) has long struggled with limited resources in its efforts to effectively tackle the numerous global challenges it faces.

These resource constraints have hindered its ability to fulfil its mission of promoting peace, security, human rights, and development worldwide. The UN relies heavily on member states' contributions to fund its various programs and initiatives. However, funding shortfalls have been a chronic issue. Member states often do not meet their financial commitments in full and on time, leading to budget deficits. These shortfalls can impede the UN's ability to carry out its essential functions, including peacekeeping operations, humanitarian aid, and development projects. UN peacekeeping missions are vital for maintaining peace and stability in conflict-affected regions. However, these operations are frequently underfunded, resulting in inadequate resources for troops, equipment, and logistical support. This can compromise the safety and effectiveness of peacekeepers on the ground.

Political Divisions among Member States of the United Nations

The UN operates by trying to prevent war, assisting parties to conflict in negotiating a settlement, sending peacekeepers, and fostering circumstances that will allow peace to endure and develop. To be effective, these activities should complement one another and frequently overlap. Political divisions among member states of the UN are indeed a significant challenge that can hinder collective action on a wide range of global issues. These divisions can be attributed to various factors, including differing national interests, historical conflicts, ideological differences, and power imbalances. Addressing these divisions is crucial for the UN to effectively fulfil its mandate of promoting peace, security, and sustainable development worldwide. It requires a commitment from member states to prioritise the common good over narrow national interests and to work together to find mutually acceptable solutions to global challenges. **Multilateralism** and diplomacy should remain at the core of these efforts, as they offer the best hope for a more peaceful and prosperous world.

The Need for UN Reform

The need for UN reform is imperative to adapt to the evolving global landscape and to fulfil its mission of promoting international peace, security, and development effectively. This reform should be pursued to enhance the UN's capacity to address current and future challenges while upholding the principles of equality, justice, and cooperation among nations. The world today is vastly different from what it was in 1945 when the UN

was established. New global powers have emerged, and the geopolitical landscape has shifted dramatically. Reforming the UN's decision-making structures, particularly the Security Council, is essential to reflect these changes and ensure equitable representation among nations. Ensuring that UN resources are allocated efficiently and transparently is essential. Reform should focus on optimising budgetary practices and eliminating waste to ensure that funds are directed toward programs that have a real impact on global development.

Diplomacy and International Cooperation

Diplomacy and international cooperation are the essence of the United Nations, enabling the organisation to address global challenges, maintain peace, and protect human rights. The UN serves as a platform for nations to collaborate on multifaceted issues like climate change, disarmament, and security. The Security Council relies on diplomacy to tackle global security concerns through discussion and resolutions. The UN offers a space for negotiating global governance matters, from trade pacts to arms control. Diplomacy and cooperation among member states shape international policies for the benefit of the global community.

Role of Civil Society and NGOs in Supporting the Efforts of the UN

Civil society and **NGOs** are vital partners in advancing the UN's global mission. They enhance the UN's effectiveness by promoting peace, human rights, **sustainable development**, and social justice. The UN recognises their significance, fostering collaboration through initiatives like the **United Nations Democracy Fund** (UNDEF). UNDEF primarily supports regional civil society organisations during the democratisation phases. Over 1,500 CSOs have formal affiliations with the UN Department of Global Communications (DGC), aiding information dissemination and public awareness about the UN's work. These partnerships empower NGOs to align with the UN Charter and promote a better understanding of global issues.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the United Nations remains an essential organisation for addressing global challenges and maintaining international order in the 21st century. However, it must evolve, adapt, and reform to effectively address the complex and interconnected issues of our time. The UN's enduring relevance lies in its ability to foster

cooperation, uphold human rights, and promote global stability, making it a vital institution for a more peaceful and prosperous world.

(C) Regional Organisations : EU, SAARC and ASEAN

(i) EUROPEN UNION (EU) -

The European Union (EU) stands as a remarkable example of intergovernmental cooperation and supranational organization, embodying the motto "Unity in Diversity." Born from Winston Churchill's dream of a "United Nations of Europe," the EU is a multifaceted economic and political entity with distinct characteristics. Established in 1993 and headquartered in Brussels, Belgium, the EU comprises 27 member states (26 after Brexit), each contributing to a common defense and foreign policy. While it operates with its own flag, anthem, foundation day, and even a parliament, currency (Euro), and central bank, it notably lacks a formal constitution.

One of the EU's defining features is its concept of "pooled sovereignty," where member countries agree to share aspects of their national sovereignty for collective decision-making. However, this approach has also led to criticisms of a "democratic deficit," wherein the EU's political institutions may weaken the influence of national institutions and citizens. The EU's expansion has been significant, with Croatia becoming a member in 2013. The Eurozone, comprising countries that have adopted the Euro currency, plays a crucial role in the EU's economic integration and stability, with notable non-EU members like Vatican City, San Marino, Monaco, and Andorra also adopting the Euro.

Despite challenges and debates, the EU's contributions to peace, reconciliation, democracy, and human rights in Europe have been recognized internationally. In fact, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 for its efforts in advancing these crucial causes. While attempts to create a common EU constitution faced hurdles in 2004, the EU remains a symbol of unity, integrity, and cooperation among diverse nations, reflecting the vision of a Europe united for prosperity and peace.

Origin and Creation

The origins of the European Union (EU) trace back to various milestones and treaties that laid the foundation for regional cooperation and integration in Europe.

1. **Benelux 1944**: The Benelux countries - Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg - initiated cooperation in 1944 as an economic union aimed at fostering mutual prosperity and stability in the post-war era.
2. **European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) - Paris Treaty (1951):** Building upon the Benelux initiative, the ECSC was established by the Paris Treaty in 1951, bringing together the Benelux countries along with France, West Germany, and Italy. This marked a significant step in integrating key sectors of the economy among these nations.
3. **European Economic Community (EEC) - March 1957**: The actual beginning of what would evolve into the EU started with the signing of the Treaty of Rome in March 1957. The six founding members - Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, West Germany, and Italy - signed this treaty in Rome, laying the groundwork for regional economic cooperation and integration. These six founding members are often referred to as the Inner Six.
4. **Maastricht Treaty (1991):** The Maastricht Treaty, signed in December 1991 and coming into force in November 1993, marked a significant turning point. It transformed the EEC into the European Union (EU), introducing elements of political and monetary unity. The treaty aimed to establish a European Monetary Union, introduce common policies in areas such as foreign affairs and internal affairs, and create a single currency, the Euro.
5. **Nice Treaty (2001):** The Nice Treaty, signed in February 2001 and entering into force in February 2003, made membership in the European Monetary Union (Eurozone) voluntary rather than mandatory, providing more flexibility to member states.
6. **Athens Pact (2003-10):** The Athens Pact extended EU membership to Eastern European countries, further expanding the union's reach and influence.
7. **Rome Summit 2004:** At the Rome Summit in 2004, there was a decision to consolidate previous treaties into a common constitution for the EU. However, this effort faced challenges and ultimately failed when the proposed constitution was rejected in referendums held in France and the Netherlands.

8. **Lisbon Treaty 2007:**

   Entered into force in 2009.

   Merged the Treaty of Rome of 1957 and the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, serving as a new pact for reform and unity in case the proposed 'Common Constitution' did not materialize.

- The Schengen Visa:
  - Issued under the 1985 EU Treaty.
  - Allows citizens of EU member countries to travel freely to all member countries without a passport.
  - Implemented in 1995.
  - Croatia is set to become a member of the Schengen Area starting from 2023.
- Copenhagen Criteria - 1993 E.U. Criteria for Membership:
  - A democratic governance system must be in place.
  - A good record of human rights must be maintained.
  - Efficient fiscal management is required.
- Trade and Technology Council (TTC):
  - Established in 2023 between the EU and India.
  - Aims to deepen strategic engagement on trade and technology between the two partners.
  - Involves three separate threads of bilateral talks on trade, investment, and geographical indications, conducted separately from the TTC.
  - TTC ministerial meetings will depend on the preliminary work of three working groups focusing on strategic technologies, digital governance, digital connectivity, green clean energy technologies, trade, investment, and resilient value chains.

EU Organisational Structure

The European Union (EU) has a complex organizational structure involving several key institutions:

1. **EUROPEAN COUNCIL**:

   Headquarters: Brussels

   Formation: 1949

Composition: Heads of government of member states, President of the European Commission, President of the European Parliament.

Role: Supreme political authority making decisions and providing political direction to the EU.

Meetings: Held four times a year (March, June, October, December), known as EU summits over two days (Thursday and Friday).

Responsibility: Security policies also fall under the European Council.

Current President: Charles Michel since December 1, 2019.

Strategic Agenda: Prepares a five-year strategic agenda (2019–2024) focusing on priority areas:

- Protecting citizens and freedom.
- Developing a strong economic base.
- Building a climate-neutral, green, fair, and social Europe.
- Promoting European interests and values globally.

2. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT:

The European Parliament serves as a crucial institution within the European Union (EU), with the following key characteristics:

Headquarters: Strasbourg (France)

Session Locations: Sessions of the European Parliament take place in Strasbourg, while parliamentary committees meet in Brussels. The secretariat of the Parliament is located in Luxembourg.

Discussion Focus: The Parliament engages in discussions on foreign and important matters.

Membership: It comprises a total of 705 members and operates as a unicameral institution.

Speaker: The European Parliament has one speaker who plays a central role in its proceedings.

Main Functions: The primary functions of the Parliament include making laws and passing the budget.

Tenure: Members of the European Parliament serve a term of five years.

Voting System: There is no uniform voting system for electing members, as each member state is free to choose its own system. The three systems commonly used are the party list proportional

representation system, the single transferable vote system (STV), and the first-past-the-post system.

Direct Elections: Members of the European Parliament are elected through direct elections based on universal adult franchise.

Seat Allocation: Each country is allocated seats in proportion to its population, ensuring a representation based on the principle of downward equality.

Election Process: Elections for the European Parliament are held every five years, with 705 members being directly elected since 1979. Member countries have the right to elect a specific number of MEPs based on their population size.

3. EUROPEAN COMMISSION

The European Commission serves as the executive branch and plays a vital role in the day-to-day operations of the European Union (EU). Here are key aspects of the European Commission's structure and functions:

Executive Role: The European Commission is responsible for executing and implementing the decisions and policies of the EU.

Guardian of the Treaties: It is often referred to as the "Guardian of the Treaties," emphasizing its role in ensuring that EU treaties are upheld and implemented by member states.

Representation: Each EU member state appoints a Commissioner who represents their country's interests within the Commission.

Appointment of President: The President of the European Commission is nominated by the European Council and requires approval from the European Parliament. The President's tenure lasts for five years.

Current President: As of 2019, Ursula von der Leyen serves as the President of the European Commission (from 2019–2024).

Directorates-General (DGs): The Commission operates through various Directorates-General (DGs), which function like specialized departments or ministries. There are 33 DGs covering different policy areas.

Political Priorities: The Chairman of the Commission determines political priorities for specific periods.

Overall, the European Commission acts as the administrative and executive body of the EU, working to implement policies, uphold

treaties, and advance the interests of member states and EU citizens.

Here is an elaboration on the Council of the European Union, European Court of Justice, European Court of Auditors, European Ombudsman, and European Central Bank:

4. **COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION:**

   Members: Comprised of the finance ministers from the 27 EU member countries.

   Function: Alongside the European Parliament, the Council of the EU is responsible for making and adopting laws and policies for the EU.

5. **EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE (ECJ):**

   Establishment: Founded in 1952 with two main bodies - the Court of Justice and the General Court (established in 1988).

   Location: Headquartered in Luxembourg.

   Functions: The ECJ interprets EU laws to ensure they are applied uniformly across all member states. It also settles legal disputes between EU institutions and member states.

6. **EUROPEAN COURT OF AUDITORS:**

   Location: Based in Luxembourg.

   Function: The European Court of Auditors is responsible for auditing the EU's finances. It ensures that EU funds are spent appropriately, legally, and effectively.

7. **EUROPEAN OMBUDSMAN:**

   Location: Headquarters in Strasbourg, France.

   Appointment: The European Ombudsman is appointed by the European Parliament.

   Role: The Ombudsman investigates complaints from EU citizens about maladministration by EU institutions or bodies, ensuring transparency and accountability.

8. **EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK (ECB):**

   Location: Headquartered in Frankfurt, Germany.

   Function: The ECB is responsible for formulating and implementing monetary policy for the eurozone. It aims to maintain price stability and support economic growth within the euro area.

These institutions play crucial roles in the functioning and governance of the European Union, ensuring transparency, legality, and effectiveness in EU policies, laws, finances, and administration.

Relations of EU and India

- India and the European Union (EU) share a significant and multifaceted relationship that has evolved over the decades. Here are some key aspects of their cooperation and partnership:
- India established political relations with the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1963, marking the beginning of their engagement.
- The EU-India Cooperation Agreement, signed in 1994, laid down a legal framework for enhancing political, economic, and regional cooperation between the two entities.
- In 2004, the EU and India officially announced their Strategic Partnership, signifying a deeper level of engagement and collaboration.
- India holds the status of being the only strategic partner of the EU among developing countries, apart from China, showcasing the importance and depth of their relationship.
- Since 2000, the EU-India Summit has been a platform for high-level discussions and cooperation on various fronts.
- Trade relations between India and the EU are robust, with the EU being India's third-largest trading partner, and India ranking as the 10th largest trading partner of the European Union.
- Historically, significant summits such as the first EU-India Summit in 2000 in Lisbon, Portugal, and India's recognition as a strategic partner at the 2004 Hague Summit have marked milestones in their relationship.
- The resumption of the EU-India Summit in March 2016, after a hiatus of four years, underscored the continued commitment to strengthen ties and cooperation.
- Overall, the relationship between India and the EU spans across political, economic, and regional cooperation, reflecting shared interests and mutual benefits in a range of areas.
- India and the European Union (EU) have encountered several obstacles in their relationship, hindering progress and cooperation in various areas:

- The EU has proposed including automobiles and drugs in the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), but India has not agreed to this inclusion, leading to disagreements and delays in finalizing the agreement.
- EU foreign direct investment (FDI) interests in India seek more relaxation in rules and regulations to facilitate smoother investment processes, which has been a point of contention in negotiations.
- The European Union has advocated for international arbitration mechanisms for investment disputes, whereas India's stance on this issue may differ, leading to challenges in finding common ground.
- WTO regulations often lead to bans on Indian food products under sanitary and phytosanitary measures, such as Alphonso mangoes and around 700 generic medicines, creating trade barriers and disputes.
- India has been striving to attain the status of a data secure country, which has implications for data sharing and privacy regulations, adding complexity to discussions and agreements between India and the EU.
- A dispute between India and Italy involving sailors had an impact on the negotiations of agreements between the two parties, highlighting the potential for external factors to influence bilateral relations negatively.
- These obstacles reflect divergent interests, regulatory concerns, and external disputes that have contributed to challenges in advancing the relationship between India and the European Union. Addressing these issues will require ongoing dialogue, compromise, and cooperation to foster stronger ties and mutual benefits.

Emerging Challenges

The European Union (EU) faces several significant challenges that have impacted its operations and member countries:

1. **BREXIT**:

   The United Kingdom (UK) exited the EU on January 31, 2020, following a referendum in 2016 where 51.9% of the population voted to leave.

   Issues such as sovereignty, immigration, economic contributions, and benefits were central to the Brexit debate.

   The Brexit process was initiated according to Article 50 of the

Lisbon Treaty, leading to complex negotiations and agreements to regulate post-Brexit relations between the UK and the EU.

2. **PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES:**

The EU has faced challenges related to the influx of refugees and migrants, especially during periods of conflict and instability in neighboring regions.

Managing refugee flows, ensuring humanitarian assistance, and addressing the root causes of migration remain ongoing challenges for the EU.

3. **ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:**

The economic growth rate of the EU has not been consistently high, with fluctuations and challenges in different sectors and member states.

The Eurozone countries experienced an economic crisis in 2011, leading to economic restructuring, austerity measures, and ongoing efforts to stabilize economies.

Some EU countries, such as Greece, have faced severe economic difficulties and have been on the verge of bankruptcy, requiring financial assistance and structural reforms.

These challenges have tested the cohesion and resilience of the EU, requiring collective action, policy adjustments, and strategic initiatives to address complex issues and ensure the stability and prosperity of member states.

Europe Union Timeline

- April 1951 → The Treaty of Paris is signed, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg.
- July 23, 2002 → The ECSC officially ends as its functions are absorbed into the EU.
- March 1957 → The Treaty of Rome is signed, creating the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).
- January 1958 → The EEC and EURATOM become effective.
- January 1973 → Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom join the EEC.

- June 1979 → The first direct elections for the European Parliament are held.
- June 1985 → The Schengen Agreement is signed, leading to the creation of the Schengen Area for passport-free travel.
- October 1990 → Germany reunifies, leading to a stronger presence in the EU.
- February 1992 → The Maastricht Treaty is signed, formally establishing the European Union.
- January 1993 → The integrated market within the EU is formed.
- January 2002 → The euro, the EU's common currency, is introduced and adopted by 12 member countries.
- May 2004 → Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia join the European Union.

ii) SAARC :

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is a significant regional organization formed on December 8, 1985, with the signing of the SAARC Charter in Dhaka, Bangladesh. It was conceived as a platform for promoting regional cooperation among South Asian nations, addressing common challenges, and fostering economic, social, and cultural development in the region.

The founding members of SAARC include Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Afghanistan joined as the eighth member during the 14th summit in April 2007, expanding the organization's reach and influence. Notably, SAARC does not have a provision for a dispute resolution mechanism within its charter, leading to challenges in resolving bilateral disputes between member nations, such as the long-standing India-Pakistan border issue. The idea for SAARC originated in the late 1970s, proposed by Ziaur Rahman, the President of Bangladesh. The first significant meetings among member countries' representatives occurred in April 1981, when foreign secretaries convened in Colombo, Sri Lanka, followed by a foreign ministers' conference in New Delhi in August 1983.

Apart from member nations, SAARC also includes several permanent observer countries, such as the United States, China, Australia, Japan, the European Union, South Korea, Myanmar, Mauritius, and Iran. These

observers play a role in the organization's activities and initiatives. Myanmar holds the status of an observer nation, not a full member of SAARC. Additionally, guest participation from countries like South Africa further enhances SAARC's engagement with the global community. The SAARC Secretariat, established in Kathmandu on January 17, 1987, serves as the administrative hub for coordinating the organization's activities and initiatives, facilitating communication among member nations, observers, and guests.

Structure

SUMMITS (HEADS OF GOVERNMENT):

Held annually, the highest decision-making body.

Addresses key regional issues and strategic cooperation among member states.

MEETINGS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS (COUNCIL OF MINISTERS):

Conducted twice a year between the summits.

Discusses policy matters, regional challenges, and cooperation initiatives.

STANDING COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES:

Responsible for overall monitoring, coordination, and setting priorities.

Approves projects, funding, and mobilizes resources for SAARC initiatives.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEES:

Focus on specific technical areas like trade, agriculture, health, etc.

Develop strategies, policies, and recommendations for member states.

WORKING COMMITTEE:

Implements decisions taken by higher bodies.

Coordinates activities, prepares reports, and ensures smooth functioning.

SECRETARIAT:

Established in Kathmandu, Nepal on January 16, 1987.

Coordinates and monitors SAARC activities, provides meeting

services, and serves as a communication channel with international organizations.

First Secretary General: Abul Ahsan (Bangladesh), followed by notable figures like Kant Kishore Bhargava and Sheel Kant Sharma (India).

Current Secretary General: Esala Ruwan Weerakon from Sri Lanka since March 2020.

Appointed by the Council of Ministers on a rotation basis for a three-year term.

The SAARC structure encompasses various levels of decision-making, coordination, and implementation to promote regional cooperation and address common challenges among South Asian nations.

Objectives of SAARC (Article 1):

The objectives of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) as outlined in Article 1 of its Charter are as follows:

1. To promote the welfare and improve the quality of life of the people of South Asia.
2. To accelerate greater development, social progress, and cultural development in the region, providing all individuals with the opportunity to live in dignity and realize their full potential.
3. To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia.
4. To foster mutual trust, understanding, and contribute to each other's problems.
5. To promote cooperation and mutual assistance in economic, social, cultural, technical, and scientific fields.
6. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries.
7. To enhance cooperation among member states in international forums on matters of general common interest.
8. To cooperate with international and regional organizations that share similar goals and objectives.

These objectives form the foundation of SAARC's mission to promote regional cooperation, development, and mutual support among South Asian nations.

Three Principles of SAARC (Article 2):

1. Cooperation within the framework of the Association shall be based on respect for the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and mutual benefit.
2. Such cooperation will not be a substitute for bilateral and multilateral cooperation but will complement it.
3. Such cooperation will not be inconsistent with bilateral and multilateral obligations.

Meetings of Heads of State or Government (Article 3):

The meeting of Heads of State or Government can be held once a year or more often whenever the Member States deem it necessary.

Council of Ministers (Article 4):

Composed of the Foreign Ministers of the Member states.

The Council of Ministers will meet twice a year, and an extraordinary session of the Council may be held by agreement between Member states.

Standing Committee (Article 5):

This committee comprises Foreign Secretaries.

Responsible for monitoring and coordinating cooperation programs, approving programs and projects along with their funding methods, determining inter-regional priorities, organizing regional and external resources, identifying new areas of cooperation, and submitting reports to the Council of Ministers for policy decisions.

Meetings can be held as often as necessary.

Technical Committees (Article 6):

These committees submit necessary reports to the Standing Committee.

The chairmanship of the Technical Committees is usually appointed by rotation among the Member States in alphabetical order every two years.

Technical Committees:

1. Technical Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development

2. Technical Committee on Health and Population Activities
3. Technical Committee on Women, Youth, and Children
4. Technical Committee on Science and Technology
5. Technical Committee on Transport
6. Technical Committee on Environment

Action Committees (Article 7)

The Standing Committee constitutes action committees consisting of member states concerned with the implementation of projects involving two or more but not all member states.

Secretariat (Article 8)

Established in January 1987 in Kathmandu, Nepal.

Financial Arrangements (Article 9)

Voluntary contributions from member states will finance the activities.

If sufficient financial resources cannot be raised within the area to finance the activities of the association, external funding may be raised from suitable sources by or with the approval of the Standing Committee.

General Provisions (Article 10)

Decisions will be taken on the basis of consensus at all levels.

Special Bodies of SAARC:

1. **SAARC DEVELOPMENT FUND (SDF) - THIMPHU, BHUTAN**

   Primary objective: Finance cooperation-based projects in the social sector such as poverty alleviation, development, etc.

   Governed by a board composed of representatives from the finance ministries of member countries. The governing council oversees the functioning of the board.

2. **SOUTH ASIAN/SOUTH ASIAN UNIVERSITY (SAU) - NEW DELHI**

   Established at the 13th SAARC Summit in 2005.

   The project office of SAU was established in Bangladesh.

   Professor Gouher Rizvi prepared the concept paper for SAU.

An inter-ministerial agreement for the establishment of SAU was signed on 4 April 2007 at the 14th SAARC Summit.

3. **SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL STANDARDS ORGANIZATION (SARSO) – DHAKA**

   Established to enhance coordination and cooperation among SAARC member countries in the field of standardization and conformity assessment.

   The secretariat of the standards organization is located in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

   Agreement on SARSO effective from August 25, 2011.

4. **SAARC ARBITRATION COUNCIL**

   Signature of the 13th Convention (2005) which came into force on July 2, 2007.

   An intergovernmental body established in Pakistan to provide a legal forum for the efficient settlement of commercial, industrial, trading, banking, investment, and other related disputes.

SAARC Cabinet Secretaries' Meetings

The idea was suggested by India in 2008 to discuss issues of common concern such as administrative reforms, procedural simplification, and implementation of development programs related to SAARC.

Meetings Held:

1. November 2009 - New Delhi, India
2. April 2014 - Dhaka, Bangladesh
3. April 2015 - Islamabad, Pakistan
4. June 2016 - Kathmandu, Nepal

These meetings aimed to facilitate discussions and collaboration among member states on various administrative and developmental matters within the SAARC framework.

SAARC Bodies

SAARC APEX BODY	HEADQUARTERS	RECOGNITION
1) SAARC CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SCCI)	ISLAMABAD	APRIL, 2020
2) SOUTH ASIA ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION IN LAW (SAARCLAW)	KATHMANDU	JANUARY, 2019
3) SOUTH ASIAN FEDERATION OF ACCOUNTANTS (SAFA)	NEW DELHI	JANUARY, 2017
4) SOUTH ASIA FOUNDATION (SAF)	NEW DELHI	AUGUST, 2016
5) SAARC WRITERS AND LITERATURE FOUNDATION	NEW DELHI	APRIL, 2017
6) SOUTH ASIA INITIATIVE TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN (SAIEVAC)	KATHMANDU	NOVEMBER 2016

Achievements of SAARC:

1. **SAPTA → SOUTH ASIA PREFERENTIAL TRADING AGREEMENT:**

   Established in 1993 during the Seventh SAARC Summit held in Dhaka.

   Signed on 11 April 1993 at Dhaka and implemented in 1995.

2. **SAFTA → SOUTH ASIAN FREE TRADE AREA AGREEMENT:**

   Unanimously reached during the Islamabad Summit of 2004 and came into effect from January 2006.

   Established a Free Trade Area (FTA) among SAARC member countries, boosting internal trade and reducing trade gaps.

3. **SAARC AGREEMENT ON TRADE IN SERVICES (SATIS) 2012:**

   Follows the 'Positive List' approach of GATS-PLUS for liberalizing trade in services.

   Aims to enhance cooperation and integration in the services sector among SAARC nations.

4. **SAARC SOCIAL CHARTER:**

   Adopted during the 12th SAARC Summit in Islamabad in 2004.

   Outlines principles and objectives for promoting social development, reducing poverty, and enhancing the quality of life in the region.

5. **SAARC DISASTER MANAGEMENT CENTRE (SDMC) :**

   Established in 2006 in India to enhance regional cooperation in disaster preparedness, response, and recovery.

   Aims to strengthen coordination among member countries for effective disaster management.

6. **SAARC FOOD BANK:**

   Created in 2008 to address food security challenges in the region.

   Facilitates the exchange and distribution of food grains among member countries during emergencies or shortages.

7. **SAARC DEVELOPMENT FUND (SDF):**

   Established in 2010 to finance regional development projects in sectors like infrastructure, energy, and social development.

   Governed by a board of representatives from finance ministries of member states.

8. **SAARC ARBITRATION COUNCIL:**

   Established in 2007 to provide a legal forum for settling commercial, industrial, and other disputes among member countries.

   Enhances confidence in cross-border trade and investments by providing a reliable dispute resolution mechanism.

9. SAARC CULTURAL CENTRE:

Established in Sri Lanka to promote cultural exchanges, preserve heritage, and foster mutual understanding among member nations.

Organizes cultural events, exhibitions, and programs to showcase the rich diversity of South Asian cultures.

10. SAARC ENERGY CENTRE:

Established in Pakistan to promote cooperation in the energy sector, including renewable energy, energy efficiency, and technology transfer.

Facilitates knowledge sharing, capacity building, and collaborative projects to address energy challenges in the region.

These achievements demonstrate SAARC's multi-dimensional approach towards regional cooperation, encompassing economic, social, cultural, disaster management, and energy sectors for the collective benefit of South Asian nations.

Challenges

1. **LACK OF MEETINGS:**

SAARC has faced challenges related to the irregularity and infrequency of high-level meetings among member states. For instance, the 19th SAARC Summit scheduled to be held in Pakistan in 2016 was postponed due to escalating tensions between India and Pakistan.

The lack of regular meetings hampers progress on important regional issues and prevents timely decision-making and cooperation among member countries.

2. **LIMITATIONS OF SAFTA:**

While SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Area) was established in 2004 to promote intra-regional trade, it has faced challenges in achieving its objectives. Intra-regional trade within SAARC remains significantly lower compared to other regional blocs.

According to data from the SAARC Secretariat, intra-SAARC trade accounted for only around 5% of total trade among member countries in recent years, highlighting the limitations and slow progress of SAFTA.

3. **INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS:**

   Tensions and longstanding disputes, particularly between India and Pakistan, have been a major impediment to effective regional cooperation within SAARC. The India-Pakistan conflict has led to the cancellation or postponement of SAARC summits and hindered progress on various regional initiatives, including trade agreements and connectivity projects.

4. **BIG BROTHER SYNDROME:**

   The perception of India as a "big brother" or dominant power within SAARC has created challenges in fostering trust and equal participation among member states. Some smaller member countries may feel marginalized or overshadowed by India's influence, impacting decision-making processes and the overall effectiveness of SAARC initiatives.

5. **REGIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS:**

   The South Asian region faces significant security challenges, including terrorism, cross-border conflicts, and arms proliferation. These security threats have implications for regional stability and cooperation efforts.

   For example, disputes over border security and terrorism-related issues have strained relations between India and other SAARC member states, affecting the overall security environment in the region.

6. **ECONOMIC DISPARITIES AND DEVELOPMENT IMBALANCES:**

   Economic disparities among SAARC member countries, with some having advanced economies and others facing developmental challenges, pose barriers to effective economic cooperation and integration.

   According to World Bank data, per capita GDP in South Asian countries varies widely, ranging from higher-income economies like Maldives to lower-income nations like Afghanistan, highlighting the development gaps within the region.

7. **POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND INTERNAL CONFLICTS:**

   Political instability and internal conflicts in certain SAARC countries, such as Nepal and Afghanistan, have hindered regional cooperation

efforts and led to uncertainties in the policy environment. Instances of political unrest and governance challenges can impact decision-making processes within SAARC and create obstacles to achieving common objectives.

Important SAARC Summits

- **1985 - 1st Summit in Dhaka, Bangladesh:**

  SAARC was established on December 8, 1985, with the signing of the SAARC Charter in Dhaka.

  The founding members were Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

- **1986 - 2nd Summit in Bangalore, India:**

  The decision to establish the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu, Nepal, was made during this summit.

- **1993 - 7th Summit in Dhaka, Bangladesh:**

  The South Asia Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) was approved during this summit, held on April 10-11, 1993.

  SAPTA aimed to encourage trade among SAARC member countries.

- **1995 - 8th Summit in New Delhi, India:**

  The Heads of State of SAARC countries accepted to implement the South Asia Preferential Trade Preference Agreement (SAPTA) during this summit.

  The year 1995 was declared the SAARC Year of Poverty Reduction, and 1996 was declared the SAARC Literacy Year.

- **2004 - 12th Summit in Islamabad, Pakistan:**

  The South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) was established during this summit, which took place in Islamabad.

  The SAARC Social Charter was also ratified during this time.

- **2007 - 14th Summit in New Delhi, India:**

  SAARC ministers signed an agreement to establish the South Asia University during this summit.

  A joint declaration was signed to include the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in SAARC.

- **2011 - 17th Summit in Addu City/Ataul Islands (Maldives):**

  The theme of this summit was "Building Bridges."

- **2014 - 18th Summit in Kathmandu, Nepal:**

  The theme was "Strong Integration for Peace and Prosperity."

- **2016 - Proposed 19th Summit in Pakistan (Boycotted by India and others):**

  The 19th SAARC Summit was proposed to be held in Pakistan in 2016, but India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bhutan, and Afghanistan boycotted the conference after the Uri attack in 2016.

- **South Asia Satellite (SAARC Satellite):**

  Originally named SAARC Satellite, it is now known as the South Asia Satellite.

  It is a communication and weather satellite funded entirely by India, with Pakistan not participating in the project.

- **India's Approach - SAARC Minus One and Two-Speed SAARC:**

  India is pursuing a policy known as "SAARC Minus One," referring to SAARC without Pakistan.

  The concept of "Two-Speed SAARC" involves giving more importance to sub-regional cooperation within SAARC and placing emphasis on organizations like BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation).

iii) ASEAN

ASEAN, or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, has a rich history and a strong focus on regional cooperation and development. Its origins can be traced back to the efforts of Thanat Khoman, the Foreign Minister of Thailand, who first proposed the idea. This visionary initiative was further supported by Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, who coined the name ASEAN. Formally established on August 8, 1967, through the Bangkok Declaration, ASEAN has its headquarters in Jakarta, Indonesia. The organization's motto, "One Vision, One Identity, One Community," reflects its commitment to unity and collaboration among its member states.

Initially, ASEAN's primary objective was to counter the spread of communism, particularly from China and the USSR. Over time, it evolved

into a platform for economic cooperation and cultural exchange among Southeast Asian nations. ASEAN started with five founding members: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Subsequently, Brunei (1984), Vietnam (1995), Laos and Myanmar (1997), and Cambodia (1999) joined as member states. Notably, Taiwan (Republic of China) is not part of ASEAN. The member countries of ASEAN are often classified into two groups: the ASEAN Tigers, which include Indonesia, Brunei, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, known for their rapid economic growth; and the Lion Cubs, consisting of Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Myanmar, which are emerging economies within the region.

ASEAN follows a unique approach known as the "ASEAN Way," characterized by informal, non-confrontational, and cooperative methods of reconciliation. This approach has been instrumental in fostering regional stability and mutual understanding. Economically, ASEAN has emerged as a significant regional economic organization, promoting cooperation and development among developing countries in Southeast Asia. The organization's logo, depicting ten ears of rice symbolizing the ten member countries, along with a circle representing unity, reflects its emphasis on friendship and strength. ASEAN Day, celebrated annually on August 8, marks the organization's achievements and contributions to regional peace and prosperity. As ASEAN completed 50 years in 2017, it showcased its enduring commitment to regional integration and collaboration in addressing common challenges and opportunities.

Goals in ASEAN Declaration

- The goals of ASEAN are multifaceted and encompass various aspects of regional cooperation and development. Here are the key goals of ASEAN:
- Accelerate Economic, Social Progress, and Cultural Development: ASEAN aims to accelerate economic growth, social progress, and cultural development in the region through joint efforts based on equality and partnership. This goal is essential for strengthening the foundation of a prosperous and peaceful community among Southeast Asian countries.
- Promote Active Cooperation and Mutual Assistance: ASEAN strives to promote active cooperation and mutual assistance among its member states on matters of permanent common interest. This

cooperation is crucial for maintaining justice, rule of law, and harmonious relations between the countries in the region.

- Provide Assistance in Training and Research: ASEAN is committed to providing assistance to its member states through training and research facilities in academic, professional, technical, and administrative fields. This support aims to enhance the capabilities and capacities of member countries in various sectors.
- Cooperate for Greater Growth in Agriculture, Industry, and Trade: ASEAN members work together to promote effective cooperation for encouraging greater growth in agriculture, industry, and trade sectors. This includes improving transportation and communication facilities and studying international merchandise trade to uplift the living standards of ASEAN people.
- Promote Southeast Asian Studies: ASEAN emphasizes the promotion of Southeast Asian studies to enhance understanding, appreciation, and collaboration within the region. This includes academic and research initiatives focused on Southeast Asian history, culture, society, and economics.
- Maintain Close Cooperation with International and Regional Organizations: ASEAN aims to maintain close and fruitful cooperation with existing international and regional organizations that share similar goals and objectives. Exploring avenues for closer cooperation among member states and external partners is essential for achieving mutual benefits and addressing common challenges effectively.

Fundamental Principles

The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) of 1976 outlines key principles for ASEAN:

- Mutual Respect: All member countries must respect each other's independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity.
- Sovereignty and Non-Interference: Every state has the right to manage its internal affairs without external interference, coercion, or subversion.
- Non-Interference: ASEAN members agree not to interfere in each other's internal matters, fostering trust and cooperation.

- Peaceful Dispute Resolution: Differences or disputes should be resolved peacefully through dialogue, negotiation, mediation, or other peaceful means.
- Rejection of Force: Member states reject the use or threat of force, promoting peaceful coexistence and stability.
- Effective Cooperation: ASEAN emphasizes effective cooperation to address regional challenges, promote mutual interests, and achieve common goals across various domains.

ASEAN Charter

The ASEAN Charter came into effect on 15 December 2008.

Singapore was the first country to ratify the ASEAN Charter on 7 January 2008.

The last country to ratify was Thailand, on 15 November 2008.

The ASEAN Community has three pillars that began in 2015:

1. ASEAN Political-Security Community
2. ASEAN Economic Community
3. ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community

The ASEAN Coordination Council (ACC) comprises the foreign ministers of ASEAN.

The ASEAN Secretary-General is Kao Kim Hourn from Cambodia.

The first Secretary-General was Hartono Dharsono from Indonesia.

The headquarters of ASEAN is located in Jakarta.

Dialogue partners of ASEAN include:

1. Australia
2. Canada
3. China
4. India
5. Japan
6. New Zealand
7. South Korea
8. Russia
9. UK
10. USA

Sectoral dialogue partners of ASEAN are:

1. Brazil
2. Norway
3. Pakistan
4. Switzerland
5. Turkey
6. United Arab Emirates

Development partnership countries with ASEAN are:

1. Chile
2. France
3. Germany
4. Italy

Asean Human Rights Body:

The ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) was established in accordance with Article 14 of the ASEAN Charter.

It was established on 23 October 2009 at the 15th ASEAN Summit in Thailand.

The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration was adopted in 2012, encompassing internationally accepted rights including civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights.

The right to development was also recognized. ASEAN's strength lies in its continuous dialogue and consultation policy among its members, partner members, and non-regional organizations. It serves as the only organization in Asia providing a political platform for Asian countries and world powers to discuss political and security issues.

ASEM (ASIA-EUROPE MEETING):

ASEM is the main multilateral channel of communication and dialogue between Asia and Europe.

The 13th ASEM Summit was held virtually on 25-26 November 2021, organized by Cambodia.

ASEAN Concord I (ASEAN Pact I) - 1976:

The first ASEAN Summit was held on 23-24 February 1976 in Bali,

Indonesia.

The Southeast Asia nuclear weapons-Free Treaty was established in 1995.

China (1996), Russia (1996), and the Republic of Korea (1991) became full partners of ASEAN.

ASEAN Concord II (ASEAN Pact II) - 2003 (Bali Declaration):

- The 2005 Kuala Lumpur Declaration was part of the second ASEAN Concord.
- The second Concord aimed to achieve a dynamic, cohesive, resilient, and integrated ASEAN Community, including the ASEAN Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community, and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. The ASEAN Community was launched in 2015.

ASEAN Concord III (ASEAN Pact III) - 2011 (Bali Declaration):

The purpose of Concord III is to promote free trade and enhance regional security within ASEAN.

BANGKOK TREATY 1995 - SOUTHEAST ASIA NUCLEAR WEAPONS-FREE ZONE TREATY:

Members signed an agreement to establish Southeast Asia as a nuclear-free zone.

ASEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION (AFTA) - 1992:

AFTA, the ASEAN Free Trade Association, was established in 1992.

2007 CEBU DECLARATION:

The 2007 Cebu Declaration aimed to accelerate the establishment of the ASEAN Community by 2015.

ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (AEC):

The AEC was established in 2015.

It functions as a common market ensuring the free flow of goods, services, investment, and human resources.

ASEAN SUMMITS

The first ASEAN Summit took place in February 1976 in Bali.

Since 2009, ASEAN Summits have been held twice a year as per the ASEAN Charter adopted in 2008.

Recent Summits include:

- 38th and 39th Summits (2021) in Brunei
- 40th and 41st Summits (2022) in Cambodia
- 42nd Summit scheduled for 10-11 May 2023 in Indonesia.

Events at the Summit:

- ASEAN Summit
- East Asian Summit
- ASEAN+3 Summit
- ASEAN+1 Summit (e.g., ASEAN+India Summit)

ASEAN-LED FORUMS

ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM (ARF):

Established in 1994.

Members: 27, including USA, India, China, Japan, etc.

India became a member of ARF in 1996.

Objectives:

1. Increase confidence-building in the region.
2. Bring uniformity in regional security and foreign policies.

ASEAN+3:

Includes China, Japan, and South Korea.

Launched in 1997.

Consultative group brings together the ten members of ASEAN and China, Japan, and South Korea.

ASEAN+3 Summit institutionalized in 1999 in Manila.

EAST ASIA SUMMIT (EAS):

First organized in 2005.

Aims to promote security and prosperity in the region.

Attended by heads of state from ASEAN, Australia, China, India,

Japan, New Zealand, Russia, South Korea, and the United States.

ASEAN+6 (ASEAN+3+Australia+New Zealand+India) participate in this summit, also known as ASEAN+8.

Defense ministers also hold meetings.

ASEAN+CER (CLOSER ECONOMIC RELATIONS):

Includes Australia and New Zealand.

ASEAN+1:

Bilateral talks between ASEAN and individual countries like India, China, and the USA.

ASEAN+6:

Includes ASEAN+3, Australia, New Zealand, and India, which have free trade agreements with ASEAN.

REGIONAL COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP (RCEP):

RCEP is a proposed free trade agreement (FTA) between ASEAN+6 countries (China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and India), encompassing 16 countries.

India decided to leave RCEP in November 2019.

It includes provisions for goods, services, investment, human resources, intellectual property rights, etc.

Proposed at the ASEAN Summit in Cambodia in 2012.

The first RCEP Summit was held in November 2017 in Manila, Philippines.

India officially refused to join RCEP on November 4, 2019, during a summit in Bangkok.

Reasons for India's decision to leave RCEP:

1. Fear of increased imports from China leading to a higher trade deficit.
2. Unbalanced trade with other ASEAN countries.
3. Concerns about increased dairy imports from Australia and New Zealand.

4. Japan and South Korea pushing for stricter intellectual property rules.
5. India's preference for simpler or more liberal rules in the services markets of these countries.

India ASEAN Relations

Between 1965 and 1967, initiatives were taken to form the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Initially, ASEAN countries proposed full membership for India, but India rejected this proposal due to its Southeast Asia strategy focusing on Vietnam's position in the Cold War and concerns about US presence in Southeast Asia.

Renewed contacts with Southeast Asian countries led to India becoming a partial member in 1991-92, with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao making efforts to engage with emerging power centers under the 'Look East Policy'.

Subsequently, under Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral, India increased contacts with ASEAN leaders, joining the Asian Regional Forum (ARF) under security-related agreements.

Post-1991, India focused on enhancing relations with ASEAN, with Narasimha Rao initiating the 'Look East Policy' and Narendra Modi subsequently changing it to 'Act East Policy'. In 1992, India became a sectoral dialogue partner of ASEAN, and by 1996, it progressed to a full dialogue partner. India also became a member of ARF in 1996. Important milestones include the 1st ASEAN-India Summit in 2002 in Cambodia, the establishment of the ASEAN India Business Council (AIBC) in 2003, and a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) on goods with ASEAN in 2009, followed by an FTA on services and investment in 2014.

A Strategic Partnership Agreement between India and ASEAN was signed in 2012, leading to the ASEAN-India Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation, the ASEAN-India Trade in Goods Agreement (AITIGA), and agreements on services trade and investment in 2003 and 2014, respectively.

Key facts include India being the sixth-largest trading partner of ASEAN, with ASEAN as India's fourth-largest trading partner and the eighth-largest source of FDI among dialogue partners. The Delhi Declaration underpins maritime cooperation, while forums like the Delhi

Dialogue and the ASEAN-India Centre (AIC) facilitate political, security, and economic discussions.

Projects like the IMT Highway, Mekong Ganga Cooperation, and the Kaladan Multimodal Project strengthen connectivity and cooperation between India and ASEAN countries. The Quad (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) involving India, US, Japan, and Australia aims to address regional security challenges, indirectly countering China's influence in the Indo-Pacific region.

Outcomes of the 43rd Summit in September 2023 include the adoption of documents like the ASEAN Concord IV and the ASEAN Leaders' Declaration on ASEAN as the 'Epicentrum of Growth', with the summit theme being "ASEAN Matters: Epicentrum of Growth" under Indonesia's ASEAN chairmanship.

Self-Assessment Questions:

1. Discuss the role and relevance of the United Nations Security Council in maintaining international peace. What are the key criticisms of its structure and functioning?
2. Explain the significance of the General Assembly within the United Nations. How does it differ from the Security Council in terms of authority and decision-making?
3. Critically examine the League of Nations' failure to maintain peace. What lessons did the United Nations learn from its predecessor?
4. Evaluate the challenges faced by the United Nations in ensuring global peace and security in the 21st century. How effective are peacekeeping missions in conflict zones?
5. Discuss the evolution of regional organizations in the post-Cold War period. How have regional alliances shaped global politics in the 21st century?
6. Evaluate the criticisms surrounding the permanent membership and veto power of the UN Security Council. Should reforms be made to make it more democratic?