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SEMESTER - IV

CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course of the UG Fourth Semester Programme (Fourth Semester) of KKHSOU is titled “Contemporary International Politics" . The course has fourteen units.

In the contemporary period, two of the most significant events that shaped the course of world politics were the First World War and the Second World War. The course “Contemporary International Politics” therefore starts with a discussion of the causes and consequences of the First World War and the Second World War. After the Second World War, the single most important development in the field of international politics was the emergence of two superpowers, namely, the United States and the erstwhile Soviet Union and the subsequent polarisation of the world into two rival power blocs, namely, the Western Capitalist Bloc headed by the United States and the Eastern Communist Bloc led by the erstwhile Soviet Union. Accordingly, the course “Contemporary International Politics" discusses the various aspects relating to the Cold War- the strained relations between the two power blocs which dominated the global scene for the greater part of the post-Second World War period.Two major issues of international relations of contemporary time are conflict and cooperation among nations at various levels. Accordingly the concept of conflict and cooperational that take place at the international level among various nations is covered in the course. In today’s world, and especially after the end of the Second World War, nations of the world are increasingly cooperating with one another for peace and development. This is reflected in the form of various international organisations operating at different levels. The course discusses the meaning, background and types of International Organisations. The course further goes on to discuss the United Nations as the custodian of international peace and security among nations in the post-Second World War period. It is the prime responsibility of the UN to ensure the prevalence of peace in the world. In the face of Cold War politics, a group of nations chose to be neutral and to maintain equidistance from bloc politics. Accordingly, the course includes a discussion on the Non-Aligned Movement. The non-aligned nations refused to join or be aligned with or against either of the two major power blocs, whether the Western Capitalist Bloc or the Eastern Communist Bloc. A discussion on three very important organizations for regional cooperation, namely the European Union (EU) , South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have also been incorporated in the course. For world peace to prevail , there is always a need for ensuring financial stability and fair trade practices in the world. Accordingly, the course discusses three main global financial institutions , namely, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new world order. The course therefore dwells on the emerging world order in the post-Cold War period. India, like any other sovereign nation, pursues a foreign policy of its own in order to conduct her relations with other

nations in a way that safeguards her national interests while at the same time contributing to world peace. Indian foreign policy is influenced and determined by a number of factors. The course therefore discusses the basic principles and objectives of India's foreign policy. The course finally ends with India's relations with a few countries, namely, USA, China, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

While going through the units of the course, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. You will notice some alongside boxes while going through a unit , which have been included to help you know some of the difficult, unseen terms. Again, each unit carries certain activities after every section. These "ACTIVITIES" will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW" after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. It will be better if you answer the questions put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. Furthermore, a set of sample questions has been included under the category called "model questions".

UNIT 1: FIRST WORLD WAR AND SECOND WORLD WAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 First World War (1914-1919): Causes and Consequences

- 1.3.1 Causes of the First World War
- 1.3.2 Consequences of First World War

1.4 Second World War (1939-1945): Causes and Consequences

- 1.4.1 Causes of the Second World War
- 1.4.2 Consequences of Second World War

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6 Further Reading

1.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.8 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the causes of the First World War
- discuss the consequences of the First World War
- explain the causes of the Second World War
- discuss the consequences of the Second World War

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The 19th century international system was highly imperialist in nature. Some of the powerful European nations were seen to have been playing power games with the smaller countries. The result was development of a sense of insecurity among nations. So, formation of alliances were seen, either in terms of protectionism or for expansionism. These developments led to a situation of conflict and hatred in entire Europe. The result was two consecutive total wars, one in 1914 (First World War) and the other in 1939(Second World War).

1.3 FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918): CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

The First World War was a total war, which Europe had not witnessed for centuries. It totally led to the collapse of the status quo of the 19th century European system. It was this event that led to the demotion of Europe as a pre-eminent continent which started to face challenges from rapidly industrializing giants like USA and Japan. According to Susan L. Carruthers, Professor in American Studies at the University of Warwick in the UK, imperial disputes within European states was the main reason behind the war in 1914. There was naval rivalry between Britain and Germany. France was fearing Germany's expansion. On the other hand, gaining territory was an economic compulsion for Germany. These conditions coupled with the question of nationalism and disruption of the prevailing balance of power system led to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

The First World War began on July 28, 1914 where as many as 26 states got involved. The great powers of Europe were divided into two coalitions: the Triple Entente-consisting of France, Russia and Britain-and the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Subsequently, the nations constituting the Triple Entente eventually become known as the Allied Powers, while the nations constituting the Triple Alliance became known as the Central Powers.

The First World War began when Austria-Hungary declared a war against Serbia. Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Austria-Hungary Empire was assassinated on June 28, 1914 while on an official visit of Bosnia. Austria-Hungary believed then Serbian terrorists were behind the assassinations. An ultimatum of war was given to Serbia in case it failed to meet the demands of Austria-Hungary. When Serbia failed to meet the demands, Austria - Hungary declared war on 28th of July, 1914 against Serbia. Russia was unhappy about it and declared war against Austria-Hungary. When Germany attacked France through Belgium and violated the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain declared war against Germany on August 4, 1914 to curb Germany's power. Although the United

States maintained a policy of non-intervention and isolationism in the beginning, subesqently the sinking of seven US ships by German submarines , the US declared war against Germany in April 1917.

In the beginning , Germany decided to advance towards Paris and was successful in making some advances. However, by September 1914, the Germans were pushed back by the French army. The battle of Marne proved to be crucial in so far as it not only pushed back the Germans but also provided time to the Allies to regroup and be better prepared for this war. Turkey decided to join hands with Germany because it wanted to secure an advantageous position in the Suez Canal area. Britain retaliated in order to defend her protectorate of Egypt and opened war fronts against Turkey in Syria, Iraq and Palestine. Between 1915-1917, the war was escalating very fast, with Germany playing a proactive role through submarine warfare and entry of USA in the war.

In September 1918, Bulgaria surrendered to Greece, simultaneously Austria and Turkey accepted defeat and sought ***armistice***. Meanwhile, after the October Revolution and the creation of the Soviet Socialist Republic in 1918, Russia's involvement in the war ended. By now Germany was isolated and was feeling weak and helpless in the war. The Germans were dissatisfied with their ruler, the German Kaiser (Kaiser) who was forced to flee to Holland. On 11 November, 1918, an interim government by Mac von Baden came to power which accepted defeat. On 18 November, 1918 with the handing over of terms of armistice to Germany, the First World War came to a halt. Soon after that, a number of peace initiatives were adopted by the states to recover from the worst catastrophes of the 20th century.



Armistice: It is a formal agreement of warring parties to stop fighting.

1.3.1 Causes of the First World War

The 19th century international system began after the Vienna Congress in 1815. The system was Eurocentric. Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia were the major powers of that time. In 1871 when France was defeated in the Franco-Prussian war, France felt humiliated. It was followed by loss of the territory of Alsace-Lorraine

by France to Germany. So, a war-like condition was precipitated by France. On the other hand, Britain, Russia, Austria, Germany and Italy came to be recognized as major powers and they started engaging in an unhealthy struggle for power and supremacy. The following are some of the causes of the First World War :

- **Breakdown of the balance of power system:** A Eurocentric balance of power system was in operation during the 19th century which led to armaments, territorial compensation, compensations, alliances and counter alliances which made the entire international system volatile. It accepted war as a means. The breakdown of the balance of power system and the creation of a power vacuum was one of the reasons for World War.
- **Rise of extreme Nationalism:** The 19th century also showed extreme nationalism in Europe which was started under the impact of French Revolution. It encouraged Germany and Italy to accept aggressive nationalism. As a result, ethnic conflicts and clashes were seen in a number of multinational states. For example, under the leadership of the German statesman Bismark, the German nationalists initiated the process of uniting all German speaking territories of Europe into a single German state and in the process they got engaged in disputes with France and Austria. Formation of unified Germany in 1870 , intensified European insecurity. Germany's expansionist policy was leading to clashes within Europe. Nationalism was also growing in the Balkans and Central Europe.
- **Policy of Imperialism and Expansionism:** Policy of imperialism and expansionism was adopted by most of the European states including England, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Italy and Germany. The European nations used imperialism as an instrument for the exploitation of people of their respective colonies. There were many clashes among the colonial powers, particularly in Africa. This colonial rivalry

among the European powers was one of the causes of the First World War.

- **Militarism:** Militarism and military power constituted national power and the nations vigorously tried to secure their own interests in international relations. War was accepted and used as a means of settling disputes and was preferred over negotiations. By the early 20th century, an arms race had begun and each nation wanted to increase the size and strength of their militaries. Secret diplomacy was also resorted to by the nations.
- **Alliances:** Nations throughout the world started making defence agreements with their neigbours. As per these treaties, if one country was attacked, the allied countries were under obligation to defend them. Some such treaties include the treaties between Russia and Serbia, between Britain and France and Belgium, between Germany and Austria-Hungary, between France and Russia, etc.

Hence, the pre-war period in Europe was characterized by the balance of power system, dominant Europe, extreme nationalism and absence of an international regulatory organization. The countries were seen to have involved in mutual distrust and rivalries, aggressive nationalism, secret diplomacy which resulted in the outbreak of the First World-War.

1.3.2 Consequences of the First World War

- **Post First World War Peace Settlement:** The Paris Peace Conference and the Peace treaties which followed ended the state of war between the Central Powers and the Allies.

An inter-governmental organization, namely, the League of Nations, was founded on 10 January 1920 as a result of the Paris Peace Conference. The League of Nations aimed at maintaining world peace.

Following are some of the important treaties signed during the Paris Peace Conference which tried to bring back normalcy in the post war period.

- **The Treaty of Versailles 1919.**
- **The Treaty of Saint-Germain.**
- **The Treaty of Neuilly.**
- **The Treaty of Trianon.**
- **The Treaty Sevres.**
- **The Treaty of Laussane.**

As a result of the treaties, a number of new states came into being but they were not adequately provided with security. In later years, they were tried to be provided with safeguards and rights. But it was not adequate for the newly created minority states, so they formed part of the Allied powers and concluded separate minority treaties with Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece and Armenia. States were also seen to conclude bilateral treaties within the minority states. The League of Nations was given the supervisory authority. However, all these efforts were not adequate. Even, The League of Nations failed to play active role in the inter-war period. Simultaneously, certain important developments took place which paved the way for a more dangerous war ahead.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention any two treaties signed during the Paris Peace Conference, which tried to bring back normalcy in the post war period.

.....

.....

Q 2: During the First World War , the great powers of Europe were divided into two coalitions: the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. (True/Fase)

.....

1.4 SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945) : CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

The Second World War began on September 1,1939 with the German aggression of Poland. Prior to these developments Germany and Soviet Union entered into a mutual non-aggression treaty on sharing polish territory. The same was going on in between Britain and France. But instead secret negotiations were taking place in between Soviet Union and Germany, and Britain and Germany. When Germany invaded Poland, Britain and France declared war on Germany. Soon other countries followed which escalated to a full-fledged global war. Subsequently, Japan launched aggression against China. Italy was neutral for a long time but could not remain isolated for long and joined the German side. By June 22, 1941, Germany waged war against Soviet Union after achieving successful victories in many countries in Europe. It compelled USSR to join the Allied forces. Soon Pearl Harbor, the US naval base in Hawaii was bombed by Japan which resulted in the United States joining the war. Joining of the USA in the war created two power blocks - Allied Powers (Britain, France, Soviet Union, USA and allies) and Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). In response to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the USA bombarded the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atom bombs. Ultimately, the Allied powers emerged victorious. Germany had surrendered on May 8, 1945. The Second World War ended suddenly with the conclusion of armistice in between USA and Japan on September 2, 1945.

1.4.1 Causes of the Second World War

The Second World War broke out in 1935 and ended in 1945. Some of the causes of the Second World War are as follows:

- **Failure of Peace settlements:** The Treaty of Versailles signed soon after the First World War could not address the burning issues of the countries of then Europe. Some specific provisions of the treaty targeted some particular nations, like Germany and imposed harsh restrictions on it. Actually the various articles

of the treaty directly or indirectly aimed at weakening Germany in all respects, territorially, economically, militarily and politically For instance, there occurred territorial changes, like, France was given back the authority over Alsace and Lorraine; Belgium got back Malmedy, Poland was given back Upper Silesia and southern part of East Prussia, Danzing was made a free city and Memel had been given to Lithuania. Union of Austria had been forbidden. The treaty has also weakened the military strength of Germany. On the economic front, Germany was burdened with huge compensation in terms of paying huge reparation payments. The size and strength of the German military was drastically reduced. The treaty specifically aimed at crippling all powers of Germany. This perhaps was carrying the seeds of hatred which culminated in the formation of Nazi power in the pre-Second World war period.

- **Narrow Nationalism:** Germany , Italy and Japan followed extreme and narrow nationalism after the implementation of the humiliating terms and conditions of Treaty of Versailles. The people of Germany was fed up with the measures imposed on them by the US president Wilson and consciously accepted the Adolf Hitler, the founder of the Nazi Party as their leader and started following his policy. Similarly, the failure of Italy to gain almost nothing from the Paris Peace Conference and the great blow from economic depression of 1930, gave Benito Mussolini, the leader of the National Fascist Party a chance to gain power while promising to make Italy rich and prosperous. Mussolini was seen to expand his territory to form the Rome-Berlin Axis in international relations. These two developments (rise of Nazism and Fascism) contributed towards the outbreak of the second world war.
- **Militarism and expansionism:** Japan , one of the important players in the First World War was in an advantageous position. The Japanese Imperial War Council was busy boosting its

military power. It went against the provisions of the League of Nations and invaded the Chinese territory of Manchuria and started an undeclared war against China. It was also a part of the Rome-Berlin Axis and so was playing active role in the Second World War. Most importantly, it bombed Pearl Harbor which led the US to retaliate in the form of bombardment of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

- **Failure of the League of Nations:** In 1919, the League of Nations was created as an authority to establish peace in the post First World War period. But due to structural deficiencies and lack of unanimity in decision making among the member states the League failed to play proactive role to restoration of peace and second world war the result. There were certain reasons for which the League failed. Some of them are:
  - It lacked strong organizational command.
  - Its covenant was observed more in breach than in compliance.
  - It failed to act effectively in the Manchurian and the Abyssinian crises (Abyssinia was a territory under the Ethiopian Empire which was invaded by Italy) .
  - The small nations were not confident of the League.
  - The great powers showed no efforts to bring in practice the provisions of the League.
  - Some powers like Britain and France started using the League for their own self-interests.
  - USA failed to be its member.
  - To Germany, the League was of no use because it was just the grouping of the victorious imperialist powers.
  - For USSR, the League was a forum of the imperialists.

  Basically, the League lacked efficiency and coherence, for which it completely failed to provide collective security which had disastrous effects in the form of the outbreak of the Second World War.

- **Failure of Disarmament:** It was assumed that after the conclusion of the Paris Peace Conference the nations would go for disarmament but nothing of that sort happened. The task of dismantling of all sorts of armaments were entrusted with the League of Nations through the Temporary Mixed Commission in 1920 but that too failed. In 1925, the Preparatory Commission was instituted but due to divergent views of the nations, offensive weapons could not be identified. As a result, mutual distrust increased among the nations. According to the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was compelled to surrender its weapons and it was fixed that other nations would do the same consequently. But that did not happen and Germany was seen leaving the League and the Disarmament Conference. Other powers already had huge stock of armaments and failure of disarmament led to an unprecedented arms race fuelling the outbreak of the Second World War.
- **The Economic Depression, 1930:** By 1929, USA stopped all loans to the European Nations. This directly hampered Germany's development policies as it was dependent on US approved loans. The Great Depression of 1930 triggered a wave of bank failures across central Europe and led to the total destruction of the banking system of Germany. People were running jobless in large numbers in the whole of Europe. Germany was the worst affected among all nations. England was doing away with the gold standard. Japan and Italy took advantage of the economic crises and initiated aggressive designs, which contributed much to the outbreak of the Second World War.

The above mentioned reasons were not the only ones responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. There were some others like Appeasement policy adopted by Britain and France whereby the two countries made several

concessions to Hitler in order to avoid conflict; the system of secret alliances; the unsolved problems of the National Minorities, all of which contributed towards the Second World War.

1.4.2. Consequences of the Second World War

Even during war time, the big powers were making efforts towards restoration of peace. A number of agreements through conferences were concluded during 1939-1945. Some of the important agreements are:

- Atlantic Conference, 1941
- Casablanca Conference, 1943
- Moscow Conference, 1943
- Cairo Conference, 1943
- Tehran Conference, 1943
- Dumbarton Oaks, 1944 (Agreement to establish the United Nations)
- Quebec Conference, 1944
- Yalta Conference, 1945
- Potsdam Conference, 1945

This war time diplomacy helped the allied powers in, not only winning the war but also in giving shape to the future course of international relations. The Potsdam Agreement of 1945 was an agreement between three of the Allied powers, namely, USA,UK and USSR on the policy for the occupation and reconstruction of Germany and other nations. Germany had surrendered on May 8, 1945. Under the Potsdam Agreement, the decision was taken to set up a Council of Foreign Ministers which did the ground work for drafting peace treaties (Peace treaty with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland , Hungary, Japan, Austria and Germany). The Potsdam Agreement also made provisions for punishment for war criminals, land boundaries and reparations.

The war ended suddenly with the conclusion of armistice

in between USA and Japan on September 2, 1945.

The Second World War made a significant impact on the course of international politics.

A direct fallout of the Second World War was the formation of the United Nations Organisation. The irreparable loss of life and property during the two world wars made the world leaders think about creating an effective international organization to guarantee peace and security. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of USA tabled a proposal to form the United Nations Organization. In the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 1944 the world leaders reached an agreement to establish the United Nations. Subsequently, in the San Francisco Conference of 1945, representatives of 50 member-nations met to prepare the United Nations Charter and the whole process of establishment of the United Nations was completed by October 1945.

There were changes in the power structures among the nations after the Second World War. The world was no more regulated by traditional power structures nor was it Eurocentric anymore. The end of the Second World War increased the rate of decolonization with more and more countries from Asia and Africa gaining independent from years of colonial rule. The old European colonial powers were declining and a bipolar world was fast emerging in the form of the Cold War between two superpowers , namely the United States and the Soviet Union. There was a move towards acceptance of liberal ideology by the world community which was resulting in the rise of new sovereign states in the international field. Some of the nations which were less affected by the two wars formed a different group namely, the Non-Alignment states which included many countries from Asia and Africa including India. Diplomatic styles were changing and more countries were under the process of democratization. The old balance of power system was no more in practice. With a new desire for peace, states started to move towards regional groupings paving the way for a multi-polar world in the

subsequent years. In the aftermath of the Second World War , there was the rise of communist influence in Southeast Asia as evident from the establishment of the People's Republic of China by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. So, the impact of Second World War was overwhelming and a new world was seen to have been forming gradually.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Write two causes of the Second World War?

.....

.....

.....

Q 4: Write two important conferences held for restoration of peace during the Second World war?

.....

.....

.....



1.5 LET US SUM UP

- The First World War was a total war, which Europe had not witnessed for centuries. It totally led to the collapse of the status quo of the 19th century European system. It was this event that led to the demotion of Europe as a pre-eminent continent which started to face challenges from rapidly industrializing giants like USA and Japan.
- The First World War began when Austria-Hungary declared a war against Serbia. It was on July 28, 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Austria-Hungary Empire were assassinated on June 28, 1914 while on an official visit of Bosnia.
- Between 1915-1917, the war was escalating very fast, with Germany

playing a proactive role through submarine warfare and entry of USA in the war.

- On 18 November, 1918 with the handing over of terms of armistice to Germany, the First World War came to a halt. Soon after that, a number of peace initiatives were adopted by the states to recover from the worst catastrophes of the 20th century.
- Some of the causes of the First World War include breakdown of the balance of power system, rise of extreme Nationalism, policy of imperialism and expansionism, militarism and alliances.
- The Paris Peace Conference and the Peace treaties which followed ended the state of war between the Central Powers and the Allies.
- An inter-governmental organization, namely, the League of Nations, was founded on 10 January 1920 as a result of the Paris Peace Conference. The League of Nations aimed at maintaining world peace.
- Some important treaties were signed during the Paris Peace Conference including the Treaty of Versailles 1919, the Treaty of Saint-Germain, etc.
- The Second World War begun on September 1,1939 with the German aggression of Poland. Prior to these developments Germany and Soviet Union entered into a mutual non-aggression treaty on sharing polish territory. The same was going on in between Britain and France. But instead secret negotiations were taking place in between Soviet Union and Germany, and Britain and Germany.
- When Germany invaded Poland, Britain and France declared war on Germany. Soon other countries followed which escalated to a full-fledged global war. Subsequently, Japan launched aggression against China. Italy was neutral for a long time but could not remain isolated for long and joined the German side.
- By June 22, 1941, Germany waged war against Soviet Union after achieving successful victories in many countries in Europe. It compelled USSR to join the Allied forces. Soon Pearl Harbor, the US naval base in Hawaii was bombed by Japan which resulted in the United States joining the war.

- Joining of the USA in the war created two power blocks - Allied Powers (Britain, France, Soviet Union, USA and allies) and Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). In response to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the USA bombarded the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atom bombs.
- Ultimately, the Allied powers emerged victorious. Germany had surrendered on May 8, 1945. The Second World War ended suddenly with the conclusion of armistice in between USA and Japan on September 2, 1945.
- The Second World War broke out in 1935 and ended in 1945. Some of the causes of the Second World War are failure in Peace settlements, narrow nationalism, militarism and expansionism, failure of the League of Nations, failure of disarmament, the Economic Depression, 1930 , Appeasement policy adopted by Britain and France, etc.
- Even during war time, the big powers were making efforts towards restoration of peace. A number of agreements through conferences were concluded during 1939-1945. Some of the important agreements include Atlantic Conference, 1941, Casablanca Conference, 1943, Moscow Conference, 1943, Potsdam Conference, 1945, etc.
- The Second World War made a significant impact on the course of international politics.
- A direct fallout of the Second World War was the formation of the United Nations Organisation.
- There were changes in the power structures among the nations after the Second World War. The world was no more regulated by traditional power structures nor was it Eurocentric anymore.
- The end of the Second World War increased the rate of decolonization with more and more countries from Asia and Africa gaining independent from years of colonial rule. The old European colonial powers were declining and a bipolar world was fast emerging in the form of the Cold War between two superpowers , namely the United States and the Soviet Union.



1.6 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.

2) Ghai, K.K. *International Relations-Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.

3) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.

4) Pant, Pushpesh. *International Relations in the 21st Century*. McGraw Hill Education.



1.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1:

The Treaty of Versailles 1919.

The Treaty of Saint-Germain.

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3:

(a) Failure of Peace settlements: The Treaty of Versailles signed soon after the First World War could not address the burning issues of the countries of then Europe. Some specific provisions of the treaty targeted some particular nations, like Germany and imposed harsh restrictions on it. Actually the various articles of the treaty directly or indirectly aimed at weakening Germany in all respects, territorially, economically, militarily and politically For instance, there occurred territorial changes, like, France was given back the authority over Alsace and Lorraine; Belgium got back Malmedy, Poland was given back Upper Silesia and southern part

of East Prussia, Danzing was made a free city and Memel had been given to Lithuania. Union of Austria had been forbidden. The treaty has also weakened the military strength of Germany. On the economic front, Germany was burdened with huge compensation in terms of paying huge reparation payments. The size and strength of the German military was drastically reduced. The treaty specifically aimed at crippling all powers of Germany. This perhaps was carrying the seeds of hatred which culminated in the formation of Nazi power in the pre-Second World war period.

(b) Narrow Nationalism: Germany , Italy and Japan followed extreme and narrow nationalism after the implementation of the humiliating terms and conditions of Treaty of Versailles. The people of Germany was fed up with the measures imposed on them by the US president Wilson and consciously accepted the Adolf Hitler, the founder of the Nazi Party as their leader and started following his policy. Similarly, the failure of Italy to gain almost nothing from the Paris Peace Conference and the great blow from economic depression of 1930, gave Benito Mussolini, the leader of the National Fascist Party a chance to gain power while promising to make Italy rich and prosperous. Mussolini was seen to expand his territory to form the Rome-Berlin Axis in international relations. These two developments (rise of Nazism and Fascism) contributed towards the outbreak of the second world war.

Ans to Q No 4: True



1.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: The First World War began when Austria-Hungary declared a war against which country ?

Q 2: In which year did the Second World War begin?

Q 3: The Second World War ended suddenly with the conclusion of armistice on September 2, 1945 between which two countries ?

Q 4: Mention any two causes of the Second World War.

Q 5: In which year was the Atlantic Conference held ?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain any two causes of the Second World War?

Q 2: Write two reasons why the League of Nations failed in restoration of peace and outbreak of Second World War?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the causes of the First World War.

Q 2: Explain the consequences the Second World War.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: COLD WAR-MEANING, CAUSES AND PHASES

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Origin and Meaning of Cold War

2.4 Causes of the Cold War

2.5 Phases of the Cold War

2.5.1 Consequences of the Cold War

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Readings

2.8 Answers to check your Progress

2.9 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- describe the origin of cold war
- explain the meaning of cold war
- explain the causes of cold war
- describe various phases of cold war and the relationship between the two power blocs.
- discuss the consequences of the Cold War

2.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the Cold War which emerged after the Second World War in international politics. In general terms, this cold war implied the strained and hostile relations that existed between two rival blocs or groups of countries. The main rival blocs were the Western Capitalist Bloc headed by United States and the Eastern Communist Bloc led by the erstwhile Soviet Union or the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Each bloc wanted to carry forward its own respective ideology

as a result of which there prevailed mutual suspicion and rivalry between the two blocs. Neither peace nor war prevailed during this cold war period.

2.3 ORIGIN AND MEANING OF COLD WAR

Even prior to the beginning of the Second World War, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were not too friendly. However, it was only after the Second World War that the relations between the two came to be characterised as cold war. As a matter of fact, after the Second World War, the world became divided into two distinct blocs, each led by a rival superpower. While the Western capitalist bloc was headed by the United States, the Eastern communist bloc was headed the Soviet Union. The eastern bloc consisted of the communist countries in general, particularly the Soviet Union and its political and military allies in Eastern Europe. The western bloc consisted of the non-communist countries which included the United States and the advanced industrialized countries of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This bipolarisation or division of the world into two blocs led to the emergence of a situation of cold war, marked by constant mutual hostility and suspicion. While the Soviet Union claimed that its government was democratic in the true sense of the term and was opposed to "US imperialism", the US, on the other hand, maintained that the Soviet Union wanted to spread communism all over the world and it was necessary to check the same. Accordingly, ideological differences between the two blocs was the hallmark of the cold war period. The term "cold war" was first coined by Bernard Baruch, an American statesman in 1947. Subsequently, in the same year, Walter Lippmann popularized the term in his book, "The Cold War", where he described the situation that had arisen between the western powers and the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, each side adopted policies aimed at strengthening itself and weakening the other. Accordingly, the cold war fell short of an actual hot war.



CHECK YOU PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention the names of the two superpowers that emerged after the Second World War in International Politics?

.....

.....

Q 2: Who coined the term Cold War?

.....

.....

Q 3: The eastern bloc consisted of the communist countries in general. (True/False)

.....

2.4 CAUSES OF COLD WAR

Several causes were responsible for the emergence of the Cold War. However, there are differences of opinions among scholars regarding the causes of the cold war. There are two views associated with the causes of Cold War, such as Orthodox view and Revisionist view. While the Orthodox view considered Soviet Union to be responsible for the emergence of Cold War , the Revisionists view blamed United States of America for the Cold War. Some of the factors which are held responsible for the emergence of the Cold War are given below-

- **Mutual antagonism:** Some scholars have seen Cold War as a product of mutual antagonism between USA and Soviet Union. They hold that the mistrust and the consequent fear were the basis of conflict in the post World War II period. The mutual fear and suspicion led to the hostility of relations between the two blocs. The capitalist countries feared about Soviet expansion. The communist countries feared that capitalist countries were determined to destroy the socialist countries. The mutual fear and suspicion among these two countries led to the emergence of Cold War in the post World War II period.

- **Ideological incompatibilities:** Some scholars have expressed the view that the cause of the Cold War was rooted in ideological incompatibilities. Scholars regard it as another reason for the Soviet-American conflict. There were lots of differences in the ideologies of USA and Russia to work on a long term programme of co-operation in the post Second World War period. The USA worked according to the capitalist ideology and the Soviet Union was the propagator of the socialist ideology. These two extremely opposite ideologies inevitably resulted in conflict between the USA and the Soviet Union after World War II.
- **Mutual misunderstanding:** Some scholars consider the mutual misunderstanding between USA and the Soviet Union as one of the causes of cold war. According to them, both the parties considered their own action as correct and the action of the adversary parties as wrong. This naturally gave rise to distrust towards each other.
- **Inevitability of Conflicts**: Some scholars argue that international relations is based on conflicts among nation-states. Nation states co-operate with one another during the troublesome period. Along with the termination of the threat, cooperation also comes to an end. During the Second World War, in order to prevent the Nazi-Fascist Axis, the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American group of nations co-operated with each other. After the defeat of the enemy in 1945, the East-West conflict re-emerged. This resulted in the Cold War.
- **Economic interests:** While the Eastern bloc, comprising Soviet Union and its allies, stood for the socialist planned economy controlled by the state, the Western bloc, comprising USA and its allies, favoured capitalist economy promoting individual initiative and enterprise. For economic benefit, the western powers tried to keep the third world free from communist domination. Similarly, the Soviet Union and her allies were also determined to deny and demoralise as much as possible the capitalist penetration into the third world. So, these two extremely opposite ideologies necessarily resulted in conflict between these two blocs after World War II.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Briefly write about any two causes of Cold War.

.....

.....

2.5 PHASES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE COLD WAR

The cold war passed through various phases in various shape till nineties which are as under-

- **First-Phase (1946-49):** During this period both power blocs were under mutual distrust and suspicion and each party exerted pressure on the other to crumble down. The United States resorted to direct military action through the Truman Doctrine in 1947. The United States pursued the policy of intervention and defender of status-quo during this period. Besides through the Marshall Plan in June, 1947, America pursued economic integration of west European powers. It is mentionable that Marshall Plan was a plan of providing economic assistance to seventeen European nations to ensure economic re-construction among these states after the Second World War. It was named after the U.S. Secretary of State, George Marshall. It formed North Atlantic Treaty Organsiation (NATO) in 1949 in order to counter the "Soviet expansionism". On the other hand, Joseph Stalin in his speech in February, 1946 talked about "inevitability of conflict with the capitalist powers". The refusal of the US to accord recognition to the Communist Government of China in 1949 and its support to the Formosa Government increased tension between the two super powers during this period.
- **The Second Phase (1949-53):** In this phase, America continued its policy of providing military and economic aid against Soviet Union. During this period, United States concluded security treaty with Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS) and Peace Treaty with Japan

in 1951. During this period the Korean War (1950-53) also occurred and it created a major confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union. American and Russian troops remained stationed on both sides of Korea (North Korea under communist influence and South Korea under western influence). Subversive activities were carried out by the power blocs against each other. The Soviet Union also exploded the atom bomb in 1949 and entered a nuclear race with the US. Each bloc attempted to counter the influence of the other and indulged in a game of power politics. As a result hostility between the two rival blocs continued in a unabated manner.

- **Third phase (1953-57):** This phase witnessed the continuation of the American policy of military and economic offensive against the eastern block. During this period, two new US sponsored treaties, namely, the South-East Asia Treaty organization (SEATO) and Middle East DefenceOrganisation (MEDO) emerged. America also sought to expand its area of influence in the Middle East by extending the Truman Doctrine to the region. Besides, it established a number of military bases around Soviet territory. It entered into defence treaties with 43 countries.

  The Soviet Union, for her part, concluded the WARSAW Pact with East European Powers to counteract NATO which was formed in 1949. The Soviet Union also entered into defence treaties with 12 countries. During this period, Germany was partitioned into two countries. The Western bloc established a fully sovereign Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) on May 5, 1955 while the Soviet Union established the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in October, 1955. Both blocs also exploded the hydrogen bomb during this period.

- **Fourth Phase (1957-62):** The fourth phase lasted from 1957-62. It was marked by two extreme trends. During this period the principles of co-existence between the US and the Soviet Union were declared. At the same time, the world saw the most dangerous Cuban Missile crisis which almost threatened to trigger a third world war. However,

subsequently, a congenial atmosphere was developed between the two blocs. An agreement was signed between Soviet President Nikita Khrushchev andAmerican President John. F. Kennedy regarding the Soviet Union's withdrawal of its missile base from Cuba in exchange for the American guarantee for not invading Cuba. Accordingly, mankind was saved from the destruction of a nuclear war.

Under the principles of co-existence, mutual cultural and political exchanges took place between the US and the Soviet Union. The heads of governments of both the countries visited each other's country. This paved the way for the relative easing of tension in the relations between the US and the Soviet Union.

- **Fifth Phase (1962-69):** This phase was marked by a deep appreciation of the futility of nuclear weapons between both the blocs. A world wide concern demanding ban on nuclear weapons was seen during this period and several treaties concerning disarmament of nuclear weapons were concluded. The Partial Test Ban Treaty was concluded in 1963. The Geneva Hot-line Agreement of 1963 brought the US and the Soviet Union much closer. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 was also made possible due to the efforts of both the superpowers. The leaders of both countries stressed on the necessity of peaceful co-existence and on the principle of disarmament to save mankind from another global war. The Russian premier Khurshchev visited Washington and met President Eisenhower in pursuance of his principle of peaceful co-existence. During his visit, Khrushchev addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. He proposed that all the states should completely disarm themselves within four years. Subsequently, the United States, Soviet Union and Britain adopted the NPT which provided that countries equipped with nuclear capabilities were not to transfer their nuclear weapons to any non-nuclear power or to provide them the technical know-how in producing these weapons.
- **Sixth Phase (1969-78):** The sixth phase which started from 1969 was marked by détente. It marked a new period of relaxation

developed in the early 1970s which came to be known as "détente," a French word meaning "release of tensions." During this period, relations between the US and the Soviet Union became more and more co-operative and friendly. Relations between United States and the Soviet Union became quite normal and the leaders of both countries visited each other's territory. Cultural exchanges, trade agreement and co-operative technological ventures took place between them. All these new developments took place in the wake of the realization of the leaders of both the two sides about the need to avoid mutual destruction and to save mankind from another destructive war. Such a congenial atmosphere contributed towards détente between the superpowers.Here in, it is mentionable that the process of détente between the US and the Soviet Union started when the Soviet Premier Khrushchev pleaded for peaceful co-existence. In 1972 the American President Nixon visited Moscow and signed the SALT-1 Agreement. This agreement included the treaty on the limitation of Anti-Ballastic Missile system and the interim Agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Such treaties contributed towards improvement of relations between the two blocs.

Another important development took place during this phase when the Soviet Union signed a treaty with West Germany in 1970 and agreed not to use force against her. This agreement greatly contributed to the easing of tension in Europe. Subsequently another agreement over Berlin between Soviet Union, Britain, USA and France took place with the view to reducing the tension in the relations between the two blocs. In 1973, Brezhnev, the Chief of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, visited Washington and held a series of talks concerning peace. Both leaders confirmed their stand to work together for enduring peace and to reduce the nuclear arms race existing between them. They signed four important agreements concerning agricultural research, transportation and expansion of cultural and scientific exchanges etc.

They also agreed to avoid confrontation of a nuclear war in order to achieve peace in entire Europe. President Ford concluded an agreement with the Soviet party chief Brezhnev for limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next ten years. Besides both leaders attended a Summit Conference on security and co-operation in Europe held in Helsinki in July 1975. Such efforts towards normalisation of relations to a peaceful situation created an atmosphere of almost complete détente between the two superpowers.

Another aspect of the cold war was the Sino-Soviet rift which built up a new tension between the Soviet Union and China as well as China and USA. But the period of détente made it easier for the states concerned to find out the possibilities of better understanding between them. Both China and USA made efforts towards easing tension like exchange of ambassadors in 1979.

Despite détente, some strains of Cold War continued between the US and the Soviet Union. Accordingly, both the blocs continued to pursue the policy of containment of the opponent. For example, the United States continued to support armed build up in Iran to retain her influence in the Middle East and to counteract the growing influence of the Soviet Union in the region. On the other hand, Soviet Union submitted proposals for Asian collective security with a view to replacing the American sphere of influence in South-East Asia as well as to contain China.

- **Seventh Phase (1979 onwards):** The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT), signed in 1972 between the United States and the Soviet Union lapsed in October 1977. In order to give a new boost to the process, both leaders made considerable efforts and after a prolonged series of negotiations a treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic offensive arms during the period up to 31st December, 1985 was signed in Vienna on 18 June, 1979 by American president Carter and Leonid Breznev, the President of the Soviet Union. This treaty is popularly known as SALT-II. This treaty envisaged the determination of both the super powers in limiting the

expansion of the nuclear weapons. Both countries reaffirmed their stand to take measures for the further limitations and reduction of strategic arms through this agreement to achieve complete disarmament. But both the conclusion of SALT-II and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan occurred at the same time and it hampered the process of détente. As a result, a new Cold War broke out towards the close of 1970s. This new cold war broke out as a result of erosion in the relations between the two super powers. It greatly centered around the arms race and was more threatening to mankind since by now weapons technology had achieved a new peak. In the midst of the new cold war, the leaders of the two superpowers continued to feel the need of coming to some sort of understanding. Therefore, both superpowers- the USA and the USSR, met for several times in order to bring about regular and intensified dialogue between them. A number of meetings were held at bilateral and multilateral forums, but they could not arrive at definite agreements. But a welcome development in this direction took place in December 1987 at Washington Summit where the two superpowers reached an understanding on intermediate range missiles and they intended to eliminate nuclear weapons as far as possible. Further, in May-June 1988 at the Moscow summit, two countries exchanged documents on ratification of Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty and they pledged to strive for a treaty on the reduction of strategic arms , namely, the Strategic Arms Reduction and Limitation Treaty (START). This way, both superpowers made persistent efforts to improve their relations and a process of easing of cold war was brought out. Another important step in this direction was Soviet Union's move towards unilateral reduction of Soviet troops and armaments in Europe in 1988. During that time, Soviet Union indicated its intention to have closer relations with the western world. In the subsequent years, the two superpowers showed greater spirit of accommodation on various international issues and tried to remove the irritants existing in their mutual relations. For example, in the Malta Summit in 1989 both the super powers discussed several constraints

and issues relating to them and such summit level talks contributed towards the development of good relations. Similarly, in 1990 another summit between the United States and the Soviet Union was held at Washington and leaders of these countries not only concluded agreements for economic and cultural co-operation but also pledged to conclude a pact for trimming conventional military forces in Europe. They also announced their decision to destroy chemical weapons and settle disputes over limits on cruise missiles. Following this, both superpowers declared unilateral disarmament policy separately and announced a 10-Point disarmament plan with the objective of eradicating all nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction.

Beginning from the early 1985, the Soviet Union began to decline. Years of military build up led to a stagnant economy. At the same time, several Soviet Socialist Republics began to resist central leadership. Significantly, the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev introduced Perestroika (a political movement aimed at restructuring the Soviet political and economic system) and Glasnost (policy of openness and transparency in the government) in the second half of the 1980s.All this resulted in the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991 which marked the end of the Cold War. But, the cold war formally came to an end in the mid 1990s when NATO leaders formally announced the end of the Cold War at their summit meeting held in London. Such announcement was widely acclaimed by the world leaders. On the other hand, Soviet leaders described it as "realistic and constructive."



LET US KNOW

Between 1979 and 1985, conflicts and tensions between the two power blocs resurfaced in a more intensive manner. This period is often described as the "New Cold War". New Cold War broke out towards the close of 1970's when the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan. It meant

disruption of the process of detente between the two super powers during the sixties and seventies. This new cold war differed from the old cold war. The new cold war was more threatening than the old cold war. While the old cold war greatly centred on ideology, the new cold war centred on arms race because of advancements achieved by the two superpowers in the field of weapons technology.

2.5.1 Consequences of the Cold War

The Cold War which started after the Second World War and continued till the early 1990s had far-reaching implications in international politics. As a consequence of the Cold War, a mad race between the two power blocs started, with each bloc trying to acquire more and more sophisticated weapons. At the same time, it created some military alliances in International Politics like NATO, WARSAW Pact, CENTO, SEATO etc. This added to the tension between the power blocs. Another implication of the Cold War was the emergence of the policy of Non-Alignment. After the Second World War, a large number of Nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America attained independence and they decided to keep away from the two power blocs and their military alliances. These newly independent states preferred the policy of non-alignment to detach themselves from power politics by not aligning with either the United States or the Soviet Union.

Another consequence of the Cold War was the failure of the international community to work as a single entity under the United Nations in various issues. On account of mutual distrust and mutual rivalry between the two superpowers, each bloc took conflicting stands on different issues. Besides, United Nations machinery became ineffective as a result of two power bloc's rivalry stand. It was seen that in the United Nations, when one bloc raised a proposal, another bloc tried to oppose that action. For example, the United States made use of its veto power on the question of China's entry into the United Nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Through which plan launched in June, 1947 did America provide economic assistance to European nations to ensure their economic re-construction after the Second World War?

.....

.....

Q 6: During the Cold War, détente implied the easing of tensions or strained relations between the US and the Soviet Union. (True/ False)

.....

Q 7: Which treaty did the Soviet Union conclude with East European Powers to counteract NATO?

.....

.....

Q 8: The Western bloc established the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) while the Soviet Union established the ..... (Fill in the blank)



ACTIVITY 2.1

Try to analyse the international political scenario in the contemporary world after the end of the Cold War.



2.6 LET US SUM UP

- After the Second World War, the world became divided into two distinct blocs, each led by a rival superpower. While the Western capitalist bloc was headed by the United States, the Eastern communist bloc was headed the Soviet Union.

- The cold war passed through various phases in various shape till nineties.
- During the First-Phase (1946-49), both power blocs were under mutual distrust and suspicion. It formed North Atlantic Treaty Organsiation (NATO) in 1949 in order to counter the "Soviet expansionism". America also sought to expand its area of influence in the Middle East by extending the Truman Doctrine to the region.
- In the Second Phase (1949-53),America continued its policy of providing military and economic aid against Soviet Union. During this period, United States concluded security treaty with Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS) and Peace Treaty with Japan in 1951.
- TheThird phase (1953-57) witnessed the continuation of the American policy of military and economic offensive against the eastern block. During this period, two new US sponsored treaties, namely, the South-East Asia Treaty organization (SEATO) and Middle East DefenceOrganisation (MEDO) emerged. The Soviet Union, for her part, concluded the WARSAW Pact with East European Powers to counteract NATO which was formed in 1949.
- The Fourth Phase (1957-62) lasted from 1957-62. It was marked by two extreme trends. During this period the principles of co-existence between the US and the Soviet Union were declared. At the same time, the world saw the most dangerous Cuban Missile crisis which almost threatened to trigger a third world war.
- The Fifth Phase (1962-69) was marked by a deep appreciation of the futility of nuclear weapons between both the blocs. A world wide concern demanding ban on nuclear weapons was seen during this period and several treaties concerning disarmament of nuclear weapons were concluded. The Partial Test Ban Treaty was concluded in 1963. The Geneva Hot-line Agreement of 1963 brought the US and the Soviet Union much closer. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 was also made possible due to the efforts of both the superpowers.
- The Sixth Phase (1969-78) which started from 1969 was marked by détente. It marked a new period of relaxation developed in the early

1970s which came to be known as "détente," a French word meaning "release of tensions." During this period, relations between the US and the Soviet Union became more and more co-operative and friendly.

- In the Seventh Phase (1979 onwards), Soviet intervention in Afghanistan occurred at the same time and it hampered the process of détente. As a result, a new Cold War broke out towards the close of 1970s.
- Beginning from the early 1985, the Soviet Union began to decline. Significantly, the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev introduced Perestroika (a political movement aimed at restructuring the Soviet political and economic system) and Glasnost (policy of openness and transparency in the government) in the second half of the 1980s.All this resulted in the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991 which marked the end of the Cold War.
- The consequences of the Cold War may be summarised as: mad race between the two superpowers to acquire more and more sophisticated weapons (b) creation of some alliance in international politics like NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc. (c) emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement among the countries maintaining equidistance from the two superpowers.



2.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Ghai, K.K.International Relations - *Theory and Practice*. NewDelhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Malhotra ,Vinay Kumar. *International Relations*. NewDelhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.
4) Pant, Pushpesh. *International Relations in the 21st Century*. McGraw Hill Education.



2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The United States and the Soviet Union

Ans to Q No 2: Bernard Baruch

Ans to Q No 3: True

Ans to Q No 4: (i) Mutual antagonism: Some scholars have seen Cold War as a product of mutual antagonism between USA and Soviet Union. They hold that the mistrust and the consequent fear were the basis of conflict in the post World War II period. The mutual fear and suspicion led to the hostility of relations between the two blocs. The capitalist countries feared about Soviet expansion. The communist countries feared that capitalist countries were determined to destroy the socialist countries. The mutual fear and suspicion among these two countries led to the emergence of Cold War in the post World War II period.

(ii) Ideological incompatibilities: Some scholars have expressed the view that the cause of the Cold War was rooted in ideological incompatibilities. Scholars regard it as another reason for the Soviet-American conflict. There were lots of differences in the ideologies of USA and Russia to work on a long term programme of co-operation in the post Second World War period. The USA worked according to the capitalist ideology and the Soviet Union was the propagator of the socialist ideology. These two extremely opposite ideologies inevitably resulted in conflict between the USA and the Soviet Union after World War II.

Ans to Q No 5: Marshall Plan

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7: Warsaw Pact

Ans to Q No 8: German Democratic Republic (East Germany)



2.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Which country led the Western bloc ?

Q 2: In 1947, the United States resorted to direct military action through which Doctrine?

Q 3: Mention the name of an alliance of the Eastern communist bloc.

Q 4: Who introduced Perestroika and Glasnost ?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Discuss the meaning and origin of the Cold War.

Q 2: Describe the consequences of the Cold War.

Q 3: Explain the phase of détente during the Cold War.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the phases of the Cold War.

Q 2: Write a note on the Cold War.

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UNIT 3 : CONFLICT AND CO-OPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Conflict and Peace

- 3.3.1 Meaning of Conflict
- 3.3.2 Characteristics and Types of Conflict
- 3.3.3 Meaning of Peace

3.4 Meaning and Significance of Co-operation in International Politics

3.5 Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution

- 3.5.1 Meaning of Conflict Management
- 3.5.2 Meaning of Conflict Resolution

3.6 Let Us Sum Up

3.7 Further Reading

3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.9 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of conflict and peace
- list out the characteristics of conflict
- explain the types of conflict
- discuss the different perspectives of peace
- explain the meaning and significance of co-operation in international politics
- explain the meaning of conflict management and conflict resolution
- describe the various techniques of conflict management.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

In international politics, the struggle for power among the nations is characterised by both conflict and co-operation. The national interests of all the nations are neither fully compatible nor can be made so. It is the

purpose of conflict management and conflict settlement to ensure that cooperation continues despite existence of conflict in international politics. So it is through co-operation that conflict among all the nations could be removed.

3.3 CONFLICT AND PEACE

The issue of conflict and peace has always been a focal issue in all periods of history and at all levels and in almost all periods of international relations. The concern of humankind for peace can be assessed by taking into account the fact that all religions, all of religious scriptures and several religious ceremonies are committed to the cause of peace and all these advocate an elimination of conflict.

3.3.1 Meaning of Conflict

The word conflict drives from the Latin word "Confligere" which means to strike together. The term conflict has a variety of meanings. It is often used as a synonym for incompatible or irreconcilable. A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In other words, a conflict is a state of affairs characterised by the existence of incompatible aspects of relationships.

In any case, the concept of conflict applies almost all its forms, economic, national or international. Kenneth Boulding has applied his theory of economic conflict to international conflict and he states a few peculiar characteristics of international conflicts. One such characteristic is that there takes place a dramatic alternation of peace and war in the process of competition of states. This alternation can be also called an alternation between latent conflict and overt conflict. In case of latent conflict, the means used are threats, promises and pressure while the means used in case of overt conflict is war.

Conflict is important in international politics because conflicts cannot be eliminated from international society and it is the existence of conflict which constitutes the essence of international politics. Today

a number of new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have some boundary problems, which is a great cause of conflict in international politics. Here conflict arises from the fact that war always represents a threat in diplomatic relations.

Conflicts are always in the process of creation and re-creation. It should be remembered that the resolution of conflict is only one way of ending conflicts. There are also other methods of resolving conflict like avoidance, conquest, award, reconciliation, negotiation, bargaining and resolution through international organisations. All these methods of resolution of conflict come within the scope of study of international politics.



ACTIVITY 3.1

Try to find out the concept of conflict in the contemporary international politics.

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.....

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3.3.2 Characteristics and Types of Conflict

- **Characteristics of Conflict**

  There are various characteristics of conflict. These are as follows:

  - Conflict does not just appear, conflict evolves.
  - Conflict is energised through opposing interests.
  - Conflict is featured by incompatibilities of goals.
  - Conflict is bred by differing values.

- **Types of Conflict**

  Conflict is classified into the four types:

  - **Interpersonal conflict:** It is refers to a conflict between two individuals. This occurs typically due to differences

among people. Apparently it is a natural occurrence which can eventually help in personal growth or developing ones relationship with others.

- **Intrapersonal conflict:** It occurs within an individual. It takes place in the person's mind. Hence, it is a type of conflict that is psychological involving the individual's thoughts, values, principles and emotions.
- **Intragroup conflict:** It happens among individuals within a team. The incompatibilities and misunderstanding among these individuals lead to an intragroup conflict. It arises from interpersonal disagreement.
- **Intergroup conflict:** It takes place when a misunderstanding arises among different teams within an organization. In addition, competition may also lead to intergroup conflict. (www.typesofconflict.org)

3.3.3 Meaning of Peace

Peace occurs between heterogeneous social groups and is characterised by a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence. Commonly understood as absence of hostility, peace often involves compromises and therefore is initiated with thoughtful listening and communication to enhance and create mutual understanding.

➢ **Two Perspectives of Peace**

There are two perspectives of peace. These are:

- **Negative Peace:** It can be defined as absence of direct violence like physical or verbal violence between individuals, groups, and governments. Negative peace addresses immediate symptoms like the violent conditions and effects of war and conflict, the use and effects of force and weapons and its aftermath.
- **Positive Peace:** It is more than the absence of violence; it is the presence of social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources,

equal protection and impartial enforcement of law. Positive peace assumes an inter-connectedness of all life and eliminates the conditions which lead to direct violence .



LET US KNOW

Noted realist thinker, Hans.J.Morgenthau devoted one of his pioneering works Politics Among Nations to a discussion of the problem of securing peace and suggested three broad alternatives for this purpose, that is- peace through limitation, peace through transformation and peace through accommodation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is meant by the term conflict? (within 60 words)

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q.2: Conflict is always in the process of creation and re-creation. (True/ false)

.....

Q.3: Kenneth Boulding has applied the theory of..... (Fill in the blank)

Q.4: Conflict is classified into interpersonal,....., intragroup and intergroup conflict (Fill in the blank)

Q. 5: Positive peace assumes an inter-connectedness of all life. (True/ false)

.....

Q. 6: What is meant by the term peace? (within 60 words)

.....

.....

.....

.....

3.4 MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CO-OPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

- **Meaning of Cooperation**

The term co-operation has different meanings. When we talk of co-operation in international politics, it broadly denotes the governments of different states working together towards a common goal. Political co-operation often comes by way of treaties. A treaty is a formally approved agreement between two states whereby the contracting states collaborate with one another in taking joint actions on certain issues and exchange material and human resources voluntarily and according to their own interests and strategies.

Co-operation can be between two states (bilateral cooperation) or multiple number of states (multilateral cooperation). Co-operation can be achieved in a number of ways like negotiations, tacit bargaining, etc.

Liberalism believed that international institutions play a key role in promoting co-operation among the states. With strong international institutions and increasing interdependence, states have the opportunity to reduce conflict. The main assumption of Liberalists is that war is not inevitable and there is much more potential to co-operate if the anarchical conditions are reduced.

Realism believes that even if a state does not try to increase its power and is happy with the way things are, it should not be under the impression that other states will behave likewise. If the other states suddenly decided not to co-operate, the survival of the first state will be under threat. Because all the states are aware of this, they all try to protect themselves by seeking control, increasing their military capabilities and making allies with other

states. So this is the main view of realists regarding the concept of co-operation in international politics.

Idealism believes in the creation of international organisations which promote peaceful change, disarmament and international laws, making co-operation much easier to achieve. If necessary these international organizations can use enforcement on states. Idealists say that states which are bound by rules and norms created by the institutions will have no choice but to co-operate.

- **Significance of Co-operation in International Politics:**

In international politics, co-operation is regarded as a stepping-stone to a world government. Since the end of the cold war, numerous nations have demonstrated that co-operation in different spheres of the international arena is possible and desirable to achieve collective welfare of humanity through joint efforts. The main aim of international cooperation is to solve global problems through agreements in different spheres, be it economic, political, social or environmental. In some cases, co-operation can trigger new agreements between the governments of different countries, which may lead to change in international politics.

Significance of co-operation can be observed through the notable reduction in inter-state conflicts in the 20th century through bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements between and among nation-states after World War II. The nations' willingness to work together has strengthened over time. Several examples are available to show the increasing cooperation between nations such as security co-operation between US and USSR after the end of the Cold War, arms control and disarmament agreements including Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START,I) 1991 and establishment of NATO's Partnership for Peace (1994), the G8 Global Partnership against the spread of weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction (2002),etc. The US-Russian co-operation was further strengthened by anti-terrorism agreements enacted in the wake of the terrorist attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001.

Another significance of co-operation in international politics is that it is through co-operation that mobilisation of ideas takes place and material and human resources are exchanged between different nation states for the purpose of promoting human development.

Further, international cooperation also helps in the sharing of intelligence and necessary information among the security agencies of different nations. Thus, by their coordinating their efforts, the nations of the world can take appropriate measures to counter various types of international crimes such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, illegal weapons' trade, terrorism, money laundering, etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Liberalism believes that international institutions play a key role in promoting co-operation among the states. (True/False)

.....

Q.8: In which year were START-I and NATO's Partnership for Peace signed?

.....

Q.9: International cooperation helps in the sharing of intelligence and necessary information among the security agencies of different nations. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: Discuss the significance of co-operation in international politics in your own words. (within 60 words)

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3.5 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

By nature international politics is characterised by the outbreak of conflicts from time to time. Conflict is the condition in which international politics has always operated. Conflict between parties (mostly nation-states) continues in the world. If some conflict is resolved, some other crops up. Conflict is a process which is usually a long-drawn affair.

Accordingly, in international politics, the concepts of conflict management and conflict settlement are the two important and essential devices to maintain peace and co-operation among the nations.

3.5.1 Meaning of Conflict Management

Conflict management is an art or skill of handling, conducting or dealing tactfully with a conflict in order to control it successfully. Conflict management may result in either controlling or stopping the conflict. The primary objective of conflict management is to prevent conflict escalation resulting in a catastrophe, or what can be described as preventing disaster. Conflict management refers to the process of bringing down a conflict to the normal condition. Conflict management implies that a difficult situation may be frozen and tension normalised for the time being, but the basic problem or cause lying at its root is not resolved.

- **Techniques of Conflict Management**

  Followings are the techniques of conflict management:

- **Negotiation and Coercive Diplomacy:** To prevent disaster and crises escalation, negotiation may be employed. Diplomacy normally resorts to negotiations aimed at peacefully settling international disputes by reaching agreements through discussion. Its main thrust is on adoption of peaceful means. Under certain circumstances, coercive diplomacy may also have to be resorted to involving the threat of the use of force or actual use of limited force

- **Mediation:** It is an old device to manage conflict situation whereby an independent third party intervenes in the conflict between two or more contending parties so as to find a mutually agreeable solution. Even in primitive political systems, mediation by third parties was often practised to de-escalate tensions between nations. In the contemporary times, mediation depends upon the principle of voluntarism i.e. the parties to a conflict must accept the use of third party mediation.
- **Adjudication and Arbitration:** Through this technique, the parties to the conflict submit the issue under tension to an independent legal tribunal by a prior agreement of the parties. The decision of the arbitrator is considered to be final.
- **International and Regional Organisations:** This technique is helpful in managing international conflicts that threaten peace and security or that break out into violent confrontation. International organisations play a significant role in managing international conflicts. In this regard we can mention the names of international and regional organisations like the United Nations (UN), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Organisation of American States (OAS), etc.

3.5.2 Meaning of Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution addresses the deep-rooted causes of conflict and aims at deeper understanding of the conflict situation based on a peaceful settlement that ultimately transforms the contradictions and incompatibilities at the heart of the conflicts rather than to merely manage them peacefully. In conflict resolution, the parties to the conflict start engaging with one another constructively, removing all misunderstandings among them. They arrive at a mutually complementary settlement in a way that the conditions and causes which led to the conflict are eliminated. Some prominent researchers in field of conflict resolution are Professor Johan Galtung from Norway and American diplomat John W. Burton. The methods of conflict resolution basically centre around mutual dialogue

and discussion and the methods used in the case of conflict settlement are also used. However, in case of conflict resolution, there is a greater effort to conduct the proceedings in an atmosphere of increased openness, transparency, mutual trust and goodwill.

In conclusion, it must be mentioned that to eliminate or at least to reduce the chances of the outbreak of a war which often results from unresolved disputes, the states must accept and use the peaceful means of conflict settlement and conflict resolution like negotiations, good offices, mediation, conciliation, international commissions of enquiry, arbitration and judicial settlement.



LET US KNOW

Sir Winston Churchill once noted, "***Jaw,jaw***, is better than War, war". What he meant was that sometimes, there can be a real advantage in postponing war by employing the techniques of dialogue, discussion, negotiation and mediation. Over time, passions cool and peaceful solutions eventually become possible.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: Mention any two techniques of conflict management.

.....

Q.12: Mention the names of two prominent researchers in field of conflict resolution.

.....

Q.13: Write about Adjudication and Arbitration as techniques of conflict management.

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Q.14: Conflict resolution addresses the deep-rooted causes of conflict and aims at deeper understanding of the conflict situation. (True/ False)

……



3.6 LET US SUM UP

- The word conflict drives from the Latin word "Confligere" which means to strike together.
- A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs.
- Conflict is a state of affairs characterised by the existence of incompatible aspects of relationships.
- Conflict is important in international politics because conflicts cannot be eliminated from international society and it is the existence of conflict which constitutes the essence of international politics.
- Conflicts are always in the process of creation and re-creation. It should be remembered that the resolution of conflict is only one way of ending conflicts.
- There are also other methods of resolving conflict like avoidance, conquest, award, reconciliation, negotiation, bargaining and resolution through international organisations. All these methods of resolution of conflict come within the scope of study of international politics.
- There are various characteristics of conflict. Conflict is classified into the four types: Interpersonal conflict, Intrapersonal conflict, Intragroup conflict and Intergroup conflict.
- Peace occurs between heterogeneous social groups and is characterised by a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence. Commonly understood as absence of hostility, peace often involves compromises and therefore is initiated with thoughtful listening and communication to enhance and create mutual understanding.

- There are two perspectives of peace. These are: Negative peace and Positive peace.
- The term co-operation has different meanings. When we talk of co-operation in international politics, it broadly denotes the governments of different states working together towards a common goal. Political co-operation often comes by way of treaties.
- Co-operation can be between two states (bilateral cooperation) or multiple number of states (multilateral cooperation).
- Co-operation can be achieved in a number of ways like negotiations, tacit bargaining, etc.
- Liberalism believes that international institutions play a key role in co-operation among the states.
- Realism believes that even if a state does not try to increase its power and is happy with the way things are, it should not be under the impression that other states will behave likewise.
- Idealism believes in the creation of international organisations which promote peaceful change, disarmament and international laws to achieve co-operation.
- The main aim of international cooperation is to solve global problems through agreements in different spheres, be it economic, political, social or environmental. In some cases, co-operation can trigger new agreements between the governments of different countries.
- In international politics, the concepts of conflict management and conflict settlement are the two important and essential devices to maintain peace and co-operation among the nations.
- Conflict management is an art or skill of handling, conducting or dealing tactfully with a conflict in order to control it successfully.
- The techniques of conflict management include Negotiation and Coercive Diplomacy, Mediation, Adjudication and Arbitration, and International and regional organizations.
- Conflict resolution addresses the deep-rooted causes of conflict and

aims at a deeper understanding of the conflict situation based on a peaceful settlement that ultimately transforms the contradictions and incompatibilities at the heart of the conflicts rather than to merely manage them peacefully.



14.7 FURTHER READING

1. Kumar, Mahendra. *Theoritical Aspects of International Politics*. Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala and Company.
2. Malhotra, Kumar. Vinay. (2006). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publication Private Ltd.
3. Thomas, Deiz., Ingvild. Bode, and Aleksandra. Fernandes, Da Costa. (2011). *Key Concepts in International Relations*. New Delhi: Sage Publication.
4. William, D. Paul. (2008). *Security Studies: An introduction*. Rutledge Publication.



3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The word conflict drives from the Latin word "Confligere" which means to strike together. The term conflict has a variety of meanings. It is often used as a synonym for incompatible or irreconcilable. A conflict starts when there exists two different sets of interests, aims, values, and beliefs. In other words, a conflict is a state of affairs characterised by the existence of incompatible aspects of relationships.

Conflict is important in international politics because conflicts cannot be eliminated from international society and it is the existence of conflict which constitutes the essence of international politics.

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: Economic conflict

Ans to Q No 4: Intragroup conflict

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q. No.6: Peace occurs between heterogeneous social groups and is characterised by a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence. There are two perspectives of peace, namely, Negative Peace which means absence of direct violence and Positive Peace which is more than the absence of violence and presence of social justice .

Ans to Q No 7: False

Ans to Q No 8: START- I in 1991 and NATO's Partnership for Peace in 1994

Ans to Q No 9: True

Ans to Q No 10: In international politics, co-operation is regarded as a stepping-stone to a world government. Since the end of the cold war, numerous nations have demonstrated that co-operation in different spheres of the international arena is possible and desirable to achieve collective welfare of humanity through joint efforts. The main aim of international cooperation is to solve global problems through agreements in different spheres, be it economic, political, social or environmental. In some cases, co-operation can trigger new agreements between the governments of different countries, which may lead to change

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UNIT 4 : INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning and Background

4.3.1 Meaning of International Organizations

4.3.2 Background

4.4 Types of International Organizations

4.5 Let Us Sum Up

4.6 Further Reading

4.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.8 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of international organizations
- explain the background of international organizations
- discuss the meaning of International Governmental Organizations and International Non-Governmental Organizations
- discuss General Membership and General Purpose Organisations; General Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations; Limited Membership and General Purpose ; Limited Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

One of the promising developments of the twentieth century in inter-state relations has been the proliferation of international organizations. International organizations have been created and developed in order to achieve cooperation amongst nations of the world. Their actions have bearing upon all the aspects of life of people throughout the world whether

they are political, economic, social, cultural, educational or scientific. In this unit we shall discuss different aspects relating to international organizations.

4.3 MEANING AND BACKGROUND

4.3.1 Meaning of International Organizations

International organizations may be defined as associations of states established on the basis of a treaty in accordance with international law in order to achieve specific objectives. International organizations possess a system of organs through which they operate and have certain rights and duties that are distinct from those of member states.

International Organizations are set up by the states through treaties which are the constituent instruments and character of the international organizations. International organizations are created by the states on the basis of international agreements for certain specific tasks and therefore they are the association of States for the performance of specific functions. They do not supersede or dictate the states, and therefore, they do not acquire the character of international government. They have separate legal personality and, as such , are the subjects of international law.

4.3.2 Background

- **The rise of international organizations:** In the ancient and medieval periods, direct relations between states remained the basic feature of international relations. Bilateral treaties and the diplomatic contacts were the primary means to establish relations with the other States.

  Diplomatic relations in due course of time became more widespread and expanded in terms pf political and economic relations. In the ancient India, one can find the practice of

sending "doots" from one rajya (kingdom) to another rajya. However, neither the practice was uniform nor were they sent to other States permanently.

These "doots" were send temporarily to other rajya for some specific purpose and once the purpose was fulfilled they came back to their own rajyas.

In the ancient period, a variety of Leagues were formed for conducting international relations, in addition to diplomatic contacts, for the purposes of defence, religious worship and for trade. In China, as early as in 681 B.C., a few small states, threatened by external danger, formed a League for mutual defence. The Greek city States also developed the League system. They formed the Amphictyonic League which was originally formed by twelve neighbouring tribes for safeguarding the temple of Delphi. Later, the function of the League expanded to create international unity and avoiding war. Treaties of alliances and the League system was the first step towards the creation of international organizations.

The present day growth of international organizations owes their existence, to a great extent, to the conferences and meetings that took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to regulate the inter-state relations. Although these conferences were not international organizations, the joining of many states therein signalled the opening of a new era in international relations.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) were some of the the first international treaties that were milestones in the development of international organizations. Both were peace treaties, which aimed at putting an end to prolonged periods of war between some European powers and establishing peace among them.

- **Development in the nineteenth century:** Nineteenth century saw the beginning of the movement towards interdependence

and international cooperation. The result was that international conferences acquired new dimensions and their scope began to extend beyond solely peace settlement. Conferences and meetings began to be held at increasing frequency. The Congress of Vienna held in 1814-1815 at Vienna is one of the most important international conferences of the European States in the nineteenth century. The Conference was a meeting of the ambassadors of European states to discuss the balance of power situation in Europe. With the Hague Peace Conferences (1899 and 1907), which were some of the world's largest diplomatic conferences held on the issues of limitation of armaments and agreeing on the laws of war respectively, an important threshold was crossed on the way to international institutionalization.

In the nineteenth century, in order to facilitate growing international commerce, international organizations were formed to promote international cooperation in the field of communications. By 1865 all European states had developed their internal postal services. They realized the advantage of unifying the postal service areas. In 1874 the first International Postal Union was established, by twenty-two states. The postal delivery zones of all these states were unified into one delivery zone. In 1865, the International Telegraph Union was formed. The members of the Union connected their telegraph service into a network. In 1890, the International Convention on Railway Freight Traffic was concluded to facilitate the carriage of goods by rail from one country to another. There were also other organizations formed at this time.

- **Development of International Organizations in the twentieth century:** The twentieth century witnessed the all-round development of international organizations. After the traumatic experience of World War I, the League of Nations was established in 1920 by the Paris Peace treaty with the object

of achieving international peace and security and to promote international cooperation. International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) were organically connected with the League but enjoyed a high degree of independence. The League structure also contained three so-called technical organizations which were: Economic and Financial Organization, the Communications and Transit Organization and the Health Organization.

The establishment of the League of Nations in 1920 marked an important landmark in the development of international organizations. It was primarily an organization designed to regulate the resort to war, to facilitate disarmament, and to promote peaceful settlement of international disputes. The organization raised much hopes in the initial stages but almost died under the pressure of events leading to World War II.

The Second World War had created horror in the minds of the people. It brought ruthless destruction. People everywhere assumed that some kind of world organization should be established. After a series of long discussions and heated deliberations, the organization which emerged was the United Nations Organization. The Permanent Court of International Justice was abolished in 1946. A new court-International Court of Justice, which was an integral part of the Charter of the United Nations, was established in 1946. The Court functions in accordance with the Statute which is based on the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

In addition to the general organization of the international society as represented by the League of Nations and thereafter the United Nations, the region-specific needs of international co-operation have led to the emergence of specialized organizations of groups of states in particular regions. Each such specialized organization promotes international

cooperation in particular areas of common interest to the member nations of a particular geographical region. In the light of the above development, some important regional organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were established in the late 1940s and the early 1960s respectively.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write the meaning of International Governmental Organizations.

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.....

Q 2: Mention the names of two important regional organizations.

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4.4 TYPES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

International organizations may be classified in different ways based on the nature of members, scope, powers and functions and objectives. An organization may be universal or regional. A universal organization is one in which all or almost all the states in the world are members. The United Nations is a prominent example of a universal organization. A regional organization, on the other hand, is one in which only the member states of a particular geographical area are members. The OAS and OAU are important examples of regional organizations.

International organizations may again be divided in accordance with the intended duration, i.e. ad hoc, provisional or permanent organizations, or in accordance with the nature of their powers, that is, judicial, conciliatory, governmental or legislative organizations. They can be divided into single purpose or multi-purpose organizations.

International organizations may be divided into broad categories based on the criteria of (a) type of members and (b) the scope of membership and purpose of the organization.

(A) Classification based on type of members: Based on the type of members, international organizations may be classified into **International Governmental Organizations** and **International Non-Governmental Organizations**.

(i) International Governmental Organizations: International Governmental Organizations are composed of sovereign states. Countries form organizations to address international issues. These are called international governmental organizations. Diplomats from member nations meet regularly, discuss problems, and try to find solutions. Sometimes they agree on a course of action and sometimes they do not.

Some governmental organizations are formed for a single purpose. The North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) was first created for ensuring the defence of its member nations. The goal of the World Trade Organization(WTO) is to address issues of trade and finance among nations.

The objectives of other governmental organizations are broad. The largest governmental organization is the United Nations (UN). It has many goals, including promoting peace, fighting disease, spreading education, and improving health care. The UN also provides its member countries with a platform where they can present their own point of view.

Governmental organizations can create major changes in the world. For example, the European Union (EU) set up a common unit of money for most of its members. The euro is now a standard currency, which makes it easier for nations to trade. Terrorism persists, although all international organizations condemn and work to prevent it.

(ii) International Non-governmental organizations: There are also international organizations that are not linked to any government. Rather, they are formed by private citizens to meet a need or to work for a cause. Such groups are called non-governmental organizations (NGOs). NGOs often work with

governmental organizations and usually depend on volunteers and private donations.

NGOs may be either national (or domestic) or international (global). Private organizations formed at national level have national membership and they define their goals in their constitutions. International NGOs have international membership and perform their activities at the international level. Their activities are meant for public good.

NGOs can do some things that governmental organizations cannot do. For example, some countries may accept aid for their people from NGOs rather than from an organization connected with particular governments. The International Committee of the Red Cross(ICRC) is one such NGO. Médecins Sans Frontières is another such NGO. Amnesty International is a leading Human Rights NGO.

- **Important International Governmental Organizations:** Many international governmental organizations work to improve the lives of people around the world. Some are particularly important. These are as follows:

  i) **The United Nations:** The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945, just after World War II. Its main goal is to keep peace among nations. The UN also seeks to support social progress, fight poverty, and protect human rights.

  The General Assembly is the main forum for the UN's 193 member nations. Every member nations can raise its voice in the forum. A smaller body called the Security Council deals with immediate threats to world peace. The Security Council has five permanent members. They are the United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and China. Ten other members are elected for a two-year term by the General Assembly. Any one of the five

permanent members can veto a decision made by or block any action of the Security Council.

The UN has a number of organs and agencies that handle other issues. The UN's International Court of Justice, also called the World Court, settles legal disputes between nations. The UN also tries to help developing countries make their economies more productive. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) works to improve the lives of children around the world. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO) promotes science, education, and culture.

There are six main organs of the United nations- the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

The Specialized agencies of United Nations are:

a) International Labour organization (ILO)
b) Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
c) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
d) International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
e) World Health Organization (WHO)
f) World Bank Group
g) International Monetary Fund (IMF)

ii) **North Atlantic Treaty Organization:** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a group of 28 nations in North America and Europe. Its main goals are to keep peace and defend all members in times of war. Sometimes, NATO members send armed forces to an area where there is a crisis. For instance, NATO sent forces to Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq in 2003.

iii) **World Trade Organization:** The World Trade Organization (WTO) has more than 150 member nations from around the World. The WTO's goal is to promote free trade. To do so, it encourages member nations to remove any trade barriers.

iv) **International Labour Organization:** The only tripartite U.N. agency, since 1919, the ILO brings together governments, employers and workers of 187 member states, to set labour standards, develop policies and device programs promoting decent work for all women and men.

The unique tripartite structure of the ILO gives an equal voice to workers, employers and governments to ensure that the views of the social partners are closely reflected in labour standards and in shaping policies and programmes.

The main aims of the ILO are to promote rights at work , encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection and strengthen dialogue on work-related issues. The ILO became the first specialized agency of the UN in 1946.

v) **World Health Organization:** The World Health Organization (WHO) is part of the United Nations. It works in a variety of ways to improve health for all people. It directs the UN's efforts to fight and prevent disease in nations around the world. The WHO has formed standards for countries to meet to promote their people's health. It helps countries meet these standards. The WHO also conducts research on public health issues.

Among the WHO's successes are the ending of smallpox and teaching people about the HIV virus.

The WHO has also helped achieve a 99 percent decrease in cases of polio around the world. In Africa, the WHO has helped reduce a disease called river blindness. River blindness is caused by the bite of a particular insect. Lessening the threat of this disease has allowed land that was not used because of the risk of infection to be farmed again.

vi) **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE):** The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe is the world's largest security-oriented intergovernmental organization. It is concerned with issues such as arms control, promotion of human rights, freedom of press, and fair elections. It has its secretariat in Vienna, Austria. Its origin can be traced back to the 1975 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) held in Helsinki, Finland.

The OSCE is concerned with early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict rehabilitation. It is composed of 57 participating states which are located in Europe, Northern and central Asia, and North America. It was created during the Cold War era as an East-West forum.

vii) **International Police Organization (INTERPOL):** The International Criminal Police Organization, more commonly known as Interpol, is an intergovernmental organization that facilitates international police cooperation. In 1923, representatives of the criminal police forces of 20 countries met in Vienna and they formed the International Criminal Police Commission (ICPC). In 1956, the ICPC was renamed as the International

Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL). Its present headquarters are in Lyon, France. At present, the INTERPOL has 194 member countries. The INTERPOL focuses on transnational crimes including child pornography, cybercrime, drug trafficking, genocide, human trafficking , environmental crimes, corruption, terrorism, war crimes, weapons smuggling, etc.

- **Important International Non-Governmental Organizations:** Some leading international non-governmental organizations are as follows:

  i) **International Committee of the Red Cross:** The International Committee of the Red Cross is a humanitarian institution based in Geneva, Switzerland. It unites the efforts of aid societies in countries around the world under the banner of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The ICRC gives aid to the people who are victims of war or natural disasters. During a war, the group tries to protect civilians and to make sure that prisoners of war are well treated. Prisoners of war are soldiers captured by enemy forces during a conflict. The ICRC tries to find missing persons. It also brings food, clothing, and medicines to people in need in war-torn areas. The ICRC maintains a neutral position. That is, it does not take sides in a war. Most nations respect the efforts of the ICRC and allow it to do its work. The founder of ICRC was Henry Dunant a Swiss businessman . He was the first recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

  ii) **Médecins Sans Frontières:** Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), also known in English as "Doctors Without Borders", is an international humanitarian

medical non-governmental organization of French origin. It is best known for its projects in conflict zones and in countries affected by endemic diseases.

Médecins Sans Frontières was founded in 1971, by a small group of French doctors and journalists who sought to expand accessibility to medical care across national boundaries and irrespective of race, religion, creed, or political affiliation.

MSF has general consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council. It received the 1999 Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of its members' continued effort to provide medical care in acute crises, as well as raising international awareness of potential humanitarian disasters. Its Headquarters are at Geneva, Switzerland.

iii) **World Organization of the Scout Movement:** World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) is the largest international scouting organization. WOSM was established in 1922, and has its operational headquarters at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and its legal seat in Geneva, Switzerland.

The WOSM's current stated mission is to "to contribute to the education of young people, through a value system based on the Scout Promise and Scout Law, to help build a better world where people are self-fulfilled as individuals and play a constructive role in society". WOSM is organized into regions and operates with a conference, committee and bureau.

WOSM is a non-governmental organization with General Consultative Status to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

iv) **Amnesty International :** Amnesty International was founded in 1961 by British lawyer Peter Benenson and is independent of any government, political ideology, economic interest or religion. It is concerned with the impartial protection of human rights. Amnesty International has a varied network of members and supporters around the world.

Amnesty International's vision is of a world in which every person enjoys all the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights standards. In pursuit of this vision, Amnesty International's mission is to undertake research and action focused on preventing and ending grave abuses of the rights to physical and mental integrity and freedom of conscience and expression , and freedom from discrimination, within the context of the work to promote all human rights.

(B) Classification based on the scope of membership and purpose of the organization: Based on the scope of membership and purpose of the organization, International organizations may be classified as below:

(i) **General Membership and General Purpose Organisations:** Such organisations are global in scope and are open to all the states. They serve a variety functions, such as peace and security, socio-economic co-operation, protection of human rights, growth and exchange of cultural, educational and scientific activities. Examples of such organizations are the League of Nations and the United Nations.

(ii) **General Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations:** Such organizations are also known as known as functional organizations because they are devoted to a specific function but they are open to all the states of the international community.

Examples of such organizations are the specialized agencies of the United Nations such as International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Labour Organization, World Health organization, etc.

(iii) **Limited Membership and General Purpose Organizations:** Such organizations are open to the states of a particular region and therefore, they are known as regional organizations . They are created for a wide range of security, political, and socio-economic functions and responsibilities. Examples of such organizations are the Organization of American States (OAS), the African Union (AU) and the Arab League.

(iii) **Limited Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations:** There are organizations which are open to the States of a particular region and which are set up to perform specific or limited functions. Examples of such organizations are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty Organization (the Warsaw Pact).

Co-operation between nations is an essential element to survive where the world has witnessed two world wars and where there is conflict in economic, social , cultural and political spheres. International Organizations play a major role in unifying the international community and join hand in fighting hunger , poverty, security, and also co-operate in free flow of trade and commerce.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: International Governmental Organizations are composed of sovereign states. (True/False)

.....

Q4: The North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) was first created for ensuring the defence of its member nations. (True/False)

.....

Q5: Cite an example of a general membership and general purpose organisation.

.....

.....

Q 6: Who was the founder of ICRC ?

.....

.....



4.5 LET US SUM UP

- International organizations may be defined as associations of states established on the basis of a treaty in accordance with international law in order to achieve specific objectives. International organizations possess a system of organs through which they operate and have certain rights and duties that are distinct from those of member states.
- International Organizations are set up by the states through treaties which are the constituent instruments and character of the international organizations. International organizations are created by the states on the basis of international agreements for certain specific tasks and therefore they are the association of States for the performance of specific functions.
- In the ancient and medieval periods, direct relations between states remained the basic feature of international relations. Bilateral treaties and the diplomatic contacts were the primary means to establish relations with the other States.
- The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) were some of the the first international treaties that were milestones in the development of international organizations. Both were peace treaties, which aimed at putting an end to prolonged periods of war between some European powers and establishing peace among them.
- Nineteenth century saw the beginning of the movement towards interdependence and international cooperation. The result was that international conferences acquired new dimensions and their scope

began to extend beyond solely peace settlement. Conferences and meetings began to be held at increasing frequency. The Congress of Vienna held in 1814-1815 at Vienna is one of the most important international conferences of the European States in the nineteenth century.

- The twentieth century witnessed the all-round development of international organizations. After the traumatic experience of World War I, the League of Nations was established in 1920 by the Paris Peace treaty with the object of achieving international peace and security and to promote international cooperation.
- The establishment of the League of Nations in 1920 marked an important landmark in the development of international organizations. It was primarily an organization designed to regulate the resort to war, to facilitate disarmament , and to promote peaceful settlement of international disputes. The organization raised much hopes in the initial stages but almost died under the pressure of events leading to World War II.
- International organizations may be divided into broad categories based on the criteria of (a) Types of members and (b) the scope of membership and purpose of the organization. These are discussed below:
- Based on the type of members, international organizations may be classified into International Governmental Organizations and International Governmental Organizations.
- International Governmental Organizations are composed of sovereign states. Countries form organizations to address international issues. These are called international governmental organizations.
- There are also international organizations that are not linked to any government. Rather, they are formed by private citizens to meet a need or to work for a cause. Such groups are called non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
- NGOs may be either national (or domestic) or international (global). Private organizations formed at national level have national

membership and they define their goals in their constitutions. International NGOs have international membership and perform their activities at the international level. Their activities are meant for public good.

- Based on the scope of membership and Purpose of the organization, international organizations are clalssified into General Membership and General Purpose Organisations, General Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations, Limited Membership and General Purpose Organizations, Limited Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations.



4.6 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Ghai, K.K. *International Relations - Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Dr. Agarwal, H.O. (2006) *International Organisation.* Second Edition: Reprint 2018, Central Law Publications, Allahabad.
4) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.
5) Pant, Pushpesh. *International Relations in the 21st Century*. McGraw Hill Education.



3.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1 : International organizations may be defined as associations of states established on the basis of a treaty in accordance with international law in order to achieve specific objectives. International organizations possess a system of organs through which they

operate and have certain rights and duties that are distinct from those of member states.

International Organizations are set up by the states through treaties which are the constituent instruments and character of the international organizations. International organizations are created by the states on the basis of international agreements for certain specific tasks and therefore they are the association of States for the performance of specific functions. They do not supersede or dictate the states, and therefore, they do not acquire the character of international government. They have separate legal personality and, as such , are the subjects of international law.

Ans to Q No 2: Organization of American States (OAS) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

Ans to Q No 3 : True

Ans to Q No 4 : True

Ans to Q No 5 : League of Nations

Ans to Q No 6 : Henry Dunant



4.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: What are the types of International Organizations?

Q 2: What is international government organizations and international non-governmental organizations ? Elaborate with examples.

Q 3: The present headquarters of INTERPOL are located in which country?

Q 4: Mention the name of an international humanitarian medical non-governmental organization.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write the meaning of International Governmental Organizations.

Q 2: Write about general membership and limited purpose organizations.

Q 3: Write about any two International Non-Governmental Organizations.

Q 4: Write briefly about the International Committee of the Red Cross.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the meaning and background of international organizations.

Q 2: Discuss the meaning of International Governmental Organizations and International Non-Governmental Organizations.

Q 3: Discuss the classification of international organizations based on the type of members

Q 4: Discuss the classification of international organizations based on the scope of membership and purpose of the organization.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 5 : THE UNITED NATIONS

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Origin and Aims and Purposes of the United Nations

5.3.1 Origin of the United Nations

5.3.2 Aims and Purposes of the United Nations

5.3.3 Membership of the United Nations

5.4 Structure of the United Nations

5.5 Structure of the United Nations

5.6 Role of the United Nations in the International Field

5.6.1 Future Role of the United Nations

5.6 Let us Sum up

5.7 Further Reading

5.8 Answers to Cheek Your Progress

5.9 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- discuss the origin of the United Nations
- discuss the aims and purposes of the United Nations
- describe the composition of the United Nations
- describe the six organs of the United Nations
- evaluate the role played by the United Nations since its establishment

5.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the origin, aims and purposes of the world body i.e. United Nations. After a persistent struggle undertaken by the world leaders to create an International organisation whose main responsibility would be maintenance of international peace and security

among nations, this organisation came into being on October 24, 1945. The United Nations consist of six main organs. Besides, it has some specialized agencies also. Since its inception, this world body has striven for the maintenance of international peace and security for the development of a world order where every nation irrespective of its size, population, resources, might get equal prominence in the international scenario. Besides, its role in the field of socio-economic development has also benefited nations around the world.

5.3 ORIGIN AND AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

5.3.1 Origin of the United Nations

The origin of the United Nations (UN) was the result of the failure of the League of Nations, which was formed after the First World War, to prevent war from this world and maintain International peace. The League of Nations had completely failed in fulfilling its aims and objectives and as a result Second World War broke out. The irreparable loss of life and property caused by the First World War compelled the statesmen of the world during the Second World War to think about creating an effective alternative international organization to guarantee peace and security. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of USA tabled a proposal to form the United Nations Organization. The name “United Nations” was coined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first used in the “Declaration by United Nations” of January 1, 1942 during the Second World War when the representatives of 26 nations pledged to fight together against Germany, Japan and Italy. In the San Francisco Conference (1945), representatives of 50 member-nations met to prepare the United Nations Charter and the whole process of establishment of the United Nations was completed by October 1945. On October 24, 1945, the UN Charter came into being when it had been ratified by the United

Kingdom, the United States France, China, the Soviet Union, and a majority of other signatories.

5.3.2 Aims and Purposes of the United Nations

The preamble to United Nations Charter starts with the words "we the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war……" The Charter of the United Nations contains more than 10,000 words, 111 articles and 19 chapters. The basic objectives of the United Nations are enshrined in the Preamble to the Charter. The Preamble starts with the words "we the peoples of the United Nations…." and goes on to outline the following four major objectives to be secured:

- To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war;
- To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small;
- To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained;
- To promote social progress and better standards of life.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the Preamble urges

member-nations to practise tolerance, to live in peace as good neighbours, to unite to maintain peace and security; to ensure that armed forces shall not be employed except in the common interest and to use the international machinery for the social and material uplift of all peoples.

The United Nations charter has laid down some fundamental principles under Article-1 of the Charter which are as follows:

- To maintain International peace and security;
- To develop friendly relations among nations;
- To achieve International co-operation in solving International problems;

- To promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all; and
- To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of others.

Article 2 of the UN Charter declares that the United Nations is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all member states. All member-states shall settle their disputes by peaceful means. The member states will refrain from any threat or use of force against the political independence or territorial integrity of any state. The member states will not render any assistance to a state against which the United Nations has taken action. The United Nations will not intervene in any matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

5.3.3 Membership

The original member states of the United Nations were 51 and this number of member-states has presently risen up to 192. Our nation, India, was among the original members of the United Nations.The membership of the United Nations is open to all peace loving states which accept the obligations contained in the UN Charter and which in the judgment of the United Nations, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. New members can be admitted by a two-third majority votes of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Members can be expelled or suspended in the same manner.

The headquarters of the United Nations are at New York (U.S.A.) and its European office is situated at Geneva, Switzerland. The flag of the United Nations is light blue in colour. In the centre of the flag is the United Nation's symbol which is emblazoned in white. The symbol is that of a polar map of the world impressed by twin olive branches. Its official languages are Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish and Arabic.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: In which year was the United Nations born?

.....

.....

Q 2: What was the number of original member-states of the United Nations?

.....

.....

Q 3: The official languages of the UN are seven in number. (True/ False)

.....

Q 4: Article 2 of the UN Charter declares that the United Nations is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all member states.(True/False)

.....

Q 5: The European office of the UN is situated at ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 6: Mention the fundamental principles laid down under Article-1 of the UN Charter.

.....

.....

5.4 STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

There are six organs of the United Nations:

- General Assembly
- Security Council
- Secretariat
- Economic and Social Council
- Trusteeship Council
- International Court of Justice

- **General Assembly :** General Assembly is the major organ of the United Nations. It is based upon the Principles of "sovereign equality of its members". General Assembly consists of the representatives of all member-states. Each member state is entitled to have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly. But each member-state has only one vote irrespective of the size, population or power of the states.

  General Assembly is essentially a deliberative body. It discusses the matters which come under the purview of the United Nations. Decisions on all important maters are taken by two-third majority. While simple majority in the Assembly is enough to decide the ordinary maters. The assembly can discuss any matter within the scope of the Charter and any question relating to peace and security brought to its attention by a member or non-member. The General Assembly admits new members to the UN on the recommendations of the Security Council. The General Assembly elects the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the members of the Economic and Social Council and members of the Trusteeship Council. The judges of the International Court of Justice are elected by the Assembly in conjunction with the Security Council.

  General Assembly is like a conference of diplomats. It meets regularly once a year usually in September. Special sessions can be called at the request of the Security Council or a majority of the members of the General Assembly.

- **Security Council:** Security Council is the executive body of the United Nations which functions almost continuously. Its session can be called at 24-hour notice. The prime responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security has been entrusted with this organ. The Security Council has 15 members out of which 5 member-states are permanent members while the rest of the 10 member-states are non-permanent members. China, France, United Kingdom, United States of America and Russia are the five permanent members of United Nations. The non-permanent members are elected for a term

of two years by the General Assembly. While doing so it takes into account the contributions of the members towards the maintenance of international peace and security. The non-permanent members are not eligible for immediate re-election. Previously the Security Council had only six non-permanent members but it was increased to ten by an amendment of the UN Charter which came into force in 1965. Our nation, India, has been a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for six times since 1950. Most recently, it became a non-permanent member of the Security Council from 1991 to 1992.

The consent of any nine member-states out of the total fifteen is necessary for taking decisions on procedural matters while for substantive matters the consent of all the five permanent members is also required apart from the consent of any nine member-states. This actually means that the permanent members can exercise veto power whereby it can prevent the adoption of by the Security Council of any draft resolutions on 'substantive' matters. The 'power of veto' is also referred to as the principle of "great Power unanimity". Every member-state has one vote. If a permanent member-state is absent at the time of vote, its vote will be regarded as null and void. For the procedural matters, the consent of any nine members is needed. Member-states can send their representatives to the United Nations permanently.

The Security Council can discuss any matter which causes threat to peace and security of the international community. For settlement of international disputes, the Security Council can request the nations to settle disputes by negotiation. The Security Council can give suggestions to the disputing nations to resolve the dispute with the help of International Court of Justice or a mediator.

The Security Council has been vested with important enforcement powers. It is, therefore, often described as the "enforcement arm" of the United Nations. When the Security Council finds that a peaceful settlement is not possible to a particular dispute, it can decide upon alternative measures which it considers necessary for the restoration of international peace and security. It first tries to resolve the dispute

without involving the use of armed forces like. Towards this end it can take measures such as complete or partial interruption of economic relations, severing communications links and snapping of diplomatic relations, etc. When all theses measures fail to be effective, then the Security Council can take action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary for the maintenance and restoration of international peace and security.

Decolonization: The process of a colony or colonies becoming independent.



LET US KNOW

Article 43 of the UN Charter calls upon all members of the United Nations to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

It may be mentioned here that the General Assembly adopted the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" on November 3, 1953. This resolution laid down that if the Security Council, fails to perform the primary responsibility for maintenance of peace and security because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately and make appropriate recommendations to the members for "collective measures" including the use of armed forces when necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.

- **Secretariat:** The Secretariat is like an international civil service. It is the principal administrative body of the United Nations. It is headed by the Secretary General appointed by the General Assembly for a term of 5 years based on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary General acts as the chief administrative officer in the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and in the Trusteeship Council. The Secretary General gives his report to the General Assembly after taking into account all details of the cases filed by these councils. The Secretary General can

bring to the attention of the Security Council a particular case if there is a danger to international peace and security. In performing their duties, the Secretary General and its officials are responsible to the United Nations. It is the duty of the Secretary General to implement all resolutions passed by the Security Council or the General Assembly. The Secretary General can call special or emergency sessions of the General assembly at the request of the Security Council or the majority of the member states.



LET US KNOW

Trygve Lie from Norway was the first Secretary General of the UN. U Thant from Burma/Myanmar was the first Secretary General from Asia.



ACTIVITY 5.1

Find out the name of the present Secretary General of the UN.

.....

.....

- **Economic and Social Council**: The Economic and Social Council has been established to handle international economic, social, cultural, health and other related matters. It is the main organ of the United Nations working under the General Assembly to achieve the objectives as laid down in the Charter in the above spheres. It consists of 54 members. Each year, the General Assembly elects 18 members for a period of three years, with one third members retiring annually. The retiring members are eligible for immediate re-election. Every member state will have only one representative in the Council and have only one vote. Decisions are taken by majority vote.

  The main functions of the Council are as follows:

  - to make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and make recommendations concerning therewith;

- to make recommendations for ensuring human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- to prepare draft convention for submission to the General Assembly.
- to call international conferences on matters falling within its competence; and
- to co-ordinate all activities of the specialized agencies.

- **Trusteeship Council:** The Trusteeship Council was formed in 1945. It was formed to oversee the ***decolonization*** of those dependent territories placed under the international trusteeship system created by the UN Charter. These territories were previously under the mandate system of the League of Nations. Ultimately, eleven territories were placed under trusteeship: seven in Africa and four in Oceania (islands in the Pacific Ocean and the vicinity). In other words, The Council looks after the interests of people in areas which are not yet fully self-governing.

  The Trusteeship Council operates under the authority of the General Assembly. The Trusteeship Council is responsible for the supervision of the administration of trust territories placed under its jurisdiction. The exact number of its members is not specified. It consists of the following members:

  - All members of the United Nations which are administering trust territories
  - The five permanent members of the UN Security Council
  - As many other non-administering members as needed to ensure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between those members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not. Such non-administering members are elected by the UN General Assembly for renewable three-year terms. The Council meets at least once in a year.



LET US KNOW

The last remaining United Nations trust territory was Palau, an island nation in the Pacific Ocean. It gained independence on October 1, 1994. Following this, the Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1 November 1994. The Council also amended its rules of procedure whereby the obligation to meet annually was dropped and instead it was agreed that it would meet as occasion required — by its decision or the decision of its President, or at the request of a majority of its members or the General Assembly or the Security Council.

Following are the functions and scope of the Trusteeship Council:

- to ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of colonial people without underminig their colonial culture.
- to help in maintaining international peace and security.
- to assist colonial people to achieve self-government and independence.
- to treat the people justly and to protect them against abuse.
- to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the people of the world.
- to ensure the equal treatment of the members of the united nations of their relationship with the trust, territories.
- to examine the annual reports submitted by the administering authorities presenting a comprehensive picture of the political, economic, social and educational progress in the trust territories.

- **International Court of Justice:** The International Court of Justice is the judicial organ of the United Nations. Its composition and functioning is determined by the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The Statute forms an integral part of the UN Charter. It

consists of 15 Judges who are elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently for a term of 9 years. The court elects its President and Vice-President for a term of 3 years. No two judges can be nationals of the same country. The court has its headquarters at the Hague in the Netherlands, but it may sit elsewhere whenever it considers this desirable. The official languages of the court are English and French. All member states of the United Nations are automatically parties to the Statute of the court. It decides the legal issues referred to it by the member states. It exercises voluntary, obligatory and advisory jurisdiction.

All cases which are related to the United Nations Charter come under the purview of this court. The United Nations bears the expenditure incurred on this court. A quorum of nine judges constitutes the court. The Court takes all decisions by majority vote, of the judges present and voting. In the event of equality of votes, the president or the judge acting in his place has the casting vote. The judgment is final and without appeal.

Besides the above mentioned organs, there are several specialized agencies of the UN. These agencies of the United Nations are also called auxiliary agencies. All member-states of the United Nations are not members of the specialized agencies. These specialized agencies are not an organic part of the world body. These agencies are concerned with all the basic economic and social problems of mankind and play a great role in fostering international co-operation and in improving the life conditions of the people of the world. These specialized agencies are mentioned as follows:

- International Labour Organisation (ILO)
- Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
- International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO)
- World Heath Organisation (WHO)

- United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF) –(originally United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund)
- World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO)
- Universal Postal Union (UPU)
- International Tele Communications Union (ITU)
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
- International Finance Corporation (IFC)
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or World Bank.
- United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- World Trade Organisation (WTO)
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- UN-HABITAT



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: General Assembly is a deliberative body. (True/False)

.....

Q 8: WHO stands for ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 9: How many total members does the Security Council have?

.....

.....

Q 10: Who elects the non-permanent members to the Security Council?

.....

.....

Q 11: The Headquarters of the International Court of Justice are located located at New York. (True/False)

.....

5.5 ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD

Since its inception, the United Nations has played a significant role in the international sphere. The foremost role played by United Nations is prevention of war existing among nations to some extent. The United Nations has been able to stop war between Holland and Indonesia in 1948. In 1950 at the request of South Korea, the United Nations sent its forces against North Korea and after a great struggle it could establish peace in the region in 1953. Similarly, the Soviet Union withdrew her forces from Afghanistan due to efforts played by the United Nations. The Iran-Iraq war also ended due to the continued efforts of the Untied Nations.

To bring about international co-operation among member-states, the United Nations has done a lot since October 24, 1945. The United Nations celebrated International Co-operation Year in 1965 to bring awareness among Nations so that in economic, scientific, social, cultural and technical fields, nations come closer to one another.

Since the fundamental purpose of the United Nations is the preservation of peace and international security and to save succeeding generations from war, the United Nations has been pursuing the process of disarmament and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

For Instance, on March 3, 1970, with the efforts of the United Nations, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty came into force. Similarly, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was another development towards this direction.

The United Nations proclaimed the Third United Nations Development Decade (1981-1990). The General Assembly has from time to time exhorted all members of the United Nations to oppose colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racial discrimination, hegemony, expansionism and all forms of foreign aggression and occupations. They should work for economic emancipation and development of the developing countries which are some of the major concerns of the United Nations. For the success of the International Development Strategy adopted by the

United Nations, it provides assistance to its member states under various projects.

Regarding the de-colonization process, the United Nations plays a crucial role in transition of millions of people from colonial domination to freedom. More than 75 nations have joined the United Nations as independent states. Namibia, the last colony in Africa, gained independence in 1990 due to the laudable and persistent efforts of the United Nations.

Another notable step taken by the United Nations was elimination of racial discrimination from South Africa. United Nations organized a world conference for action against racial discrimination and apartheid in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the Government of Nigeria and called on all the Governments and people to lend their full support to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination to attain self-determination for the South African people.

Removal of poverty is a major challenge before the United Nations which covers millions of people of this world. United Nations has taken several technical programmes for eradication of poverty and for the promotion and consolidation of human development since a large section of people in the developing world are still in the vicious cycle of absolute poverty. United Nations through its United Nations Development Programme has taken some other steps to end long-standing barriers to women and ensure full equality with men in all fields. United Nations has taken the initiative to increase female literarcy, provision for employment opportunities for women and ensuring gender equality in terms of civil, social and political rights so that women can live in the society with dignity and status. The “Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” accepted by the United Nations in 1979 was another step in this direction.

Regarding protection of human rights United Nations proclaimed Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948, which strive for restoration of human rights for the people of those countries where these rights have not been granted in order to enable mankind to have equality of opportunity for their development. Accoedingly, the United

Nations has been working towards fulfiling its objectives and aims enshrined in its Charter.



LET US KNOW

All United Nations member states have agreed to achieve eight international development goals by the year 2015. These are called the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which are as follows:

i) To Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
ii) To Achieve universal primary education
iii) To Promote gender equality and empower women
iv) To Reduce Child Mortality Rate
v) To Improve maternal health
vi) To Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
vii) To Ensure environmental sustainability
viii) To Develop a global partnership for development

5.5.1 Future Role of the United Nations

Sixty years ago the United Nations was born out of the sufferings caused by the Second World War. The determination to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war is vital today. The United Nations has survived and played an important role in preventing global conflict and has achieved much for people all over the world. The United Nations has helped to shape the very structure of relations between nations in the modern age. Through the process of decolonization and elimination of apartheid, hundreds of millions of human beings have been assured the exercise of the fundamental right of self determination. But since the United Nations has not been able to fulfill all expectations enshrined in the Charter, it is high time for the United Nations to reform and modernise itself to face the challenges of the future. Therefore, in order that the UN can respond effectively to the challenges of the future, certain steps should be initiated. For

instance, the functioning of the General Assembly should be revitalized. The Security Council should be expanded and its working methods should be reviewed that will further strengthen its capacity and effectiveness, enhance its representative character and improve its working efficiency and transparency. The role of the Economic and Social Council should be strengthened to enable it to carry out effectively in the modern age the task it has been assigned with respect to the well being and standards of life of all people. In order to carry out its work effectively the United Nations must have adequate resources. Member states must meet on time. Accordingly, such reforms should be initiated if we are to ensure that the United Nations of the future serves well the people in whose name it was established.



ACTIVITY 5.2

Try to find out the arguments in favour of why India should get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

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LET US KNOW

Apartheid was the official policy enforced by the South African Government between 1948 and 1994 advocating a most systematic form of legalized and institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination whereby black people were kept separate from white people. According to this policy the black people of South Africa were denied most of their fundamental rights and liberties. They were not allowed to participate in the government and were subjected to many repressive laws and regulations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 12: When did the United Nations proclaim the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

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Q 13: In which year was the "Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" was accepted?

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Q 14: Briefly discuss the future role of the UN.

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5.6 LET US SUM UP

- The name "United Nations" was coined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first used in the "Declaration by United Nations" of January 1, 1942.
- The preamble to United Nations Charter starts with the words "we the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war……" The Charter of the United Nations contains more than 10,000 words, 111 articles and 19 chapters.
- The United Nations charter has laid down some fundamental principles under Article-1 of the Charter which include maintenance of international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, etc.
- There are six organs of the United Nations, namely, General Assembly,

Security Council, Secretariat, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council and International Court of Justice.

- The membership of the United Nations is open to all peace loving states which accept the obligations contained in the UN Charter and which in the judgment of the United Nations, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. Members can be expelled or suspended in the same manner.
- General Assembly is the major organ of the United Nations. It is based upon the Principles of "sovereign equality of its members". General Assembly consists of the representatives of all member-states. But each member-state has only one vote irrespective of the size, population or power of the states.
- General Assembly is essentially a deliberative body. It discusses the matters which come under the purview of the United Nations.
- Security Council is the executive body of the United Nations which functions almost continuously. Its session can be called at 24-hour notice. The prime responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security has been entrusted with this organ. The Security Council has 15 members out of which 5 member-states are permanent members while the rest of the 10 member-states are non-permanent members.
- The Trusteeship Council was formed in 1945. It was formed to oversee the decolonization of those dependent territories placed under the international trusteeship system created by the UN Charter. These territories were previously under the mandate system of the League of Nations.
- The International Court of Justice is the judicial organ of the United Nations. Its composition and functioning is determined by the Statute of the International Court of Justice.
- Since its inception, the United Nations has been palying a significant role in the international sphere. In order that the UN can respond effectively to the challenges of the future, certain steps should be initiated.



5.7 FURTHER READING

1) Basu, Rumki : *The United Nations: The Structure and Functions of an International Organisation*, Sterling Publishing, New Delhi.

2) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.

3) Ghai, K.K. *International Relations – Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.

4) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.



5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: October 24, 1945

Ans to Q No 2: 51

Ans to Q No 3: False

Ans to Q No 4: True

Ans to Q No 5: Geneva

Ans to Q No 6: (i) To maintain International peace and security;

(ii) To develop friendly relations among nations;

(iii) To achieve International co-operation in solving International problems;

(iv) To promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all; and

(v) To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of others.

Ans to Q No 7: True

Ans to Q No 8: World Health Organisation

Ans to Q No 9: True

Ans to Q No 10: General Assembly

Ans to Q No 11: False

Ans to Q No 12: December 10, 1948

Ans to Q No 13: 1979

Ans to Q No 14: The United Nations has been playing an important role in the international field. However, in order that the UN can respond effectively to the challenges of the future, certain steps should be initiated. For instance, the functioning of the General Assembly should be revitalized. The Security Council should be expanded and its working methods should be reviewed that will further strengthen its capacity and effectiveness, enhance its representative character and improve its working efficiency and transparency. The role of the Economic and Social Council should be strengthened to enable it to carry out effectively in the modern age, the task it has been assigned with respect to the well being and standards of life of all people. In order to carry out its work effectively the United Nations must have adequate resources. Member states must meet on time. Accordingly, such reforms should be initiated if we are to ensure that the United Nations of the future serves well the people in whose name it was established.



5.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who coined the name “United Nations” ?

Q 2: The headquarters of the United Nations are located in which city?

Q 3: When did the United Nations proclaim the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

Q 4: How many members does the the Security Council have?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the origin and aims of the United Nations.

Q 2: Write briefly about the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

Q 3: Write a short note on the International Court of Justice.

Q 4: Write a short note on the Economic and Social Council.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Describe the structure of the United Nations?

Q 2: Discuss the role of the United Nations in the international field.

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UNIT 6 : NON-ALIGNMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Meaning and Definition of Non-alignment

- 6.3.1 Meaning of Non-alignment
- 6.3.2 Definition of Non-alignment
- 6.3.3 Characteristics of Non-alignment
- 6.3.4 Growth of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

6.4 Critical Evaluation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

6.5 NAM Summits and Conferences

- 6.5.1 Relevance of NAM in the 21st century

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of Non-Alignment
- describe the characteristics of Non-Alignment
- describe the factors which have contributed towards the growth of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)
- discuss the various NAM summits
- discuss the relevance of NAM in the 21st century

6.2 INTRODUCTION

It is important for us to know that the term 'Non-alignment' had its birth in international politics after the Second World War (1945). It was an answer of the new sovereign states to the forces of Cold War and security alliances. At that time the world was divided into two power blocs, one

headed by USA and the other by former USSR. The states which gained sovereignty at that time decided to remain away from these blocs and Cold War. This they decided to do so, in order to maintain their independence in international politics. Their policy of staying away from the two power blocs is known as the policy of Non-alignment.

6.3 MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-ALIGNMENT

6.3.1 Meaning of Non-Alignment

The term 'Non-Alignment' denotes different meanings, as "neutrality", "neutralism", "isolationism", "non-involvement" etc. The above mentioned terms were some way similar to non-alignment but none of it can be used for defining non- alignment in the proper sense. The term neutrality means non-commitment to a particular dispute between or among some states. Neutralism is complete or permanent neutrality in international politics. A state which follows this policy declares its neutrality in present or future disputes of political nature. Non-alignment is entirely different from these policies. It refers to the policy of non-involvement in cold war disputes. It emphasizes in the policy of maintaining equal distance from both the super powers, namely, the USA and former USSR, which emerged after World War II. It is important for us to keep in mind that, a country which follows the policy of non-alignment, is not deprived of the freedom of action or raising its voice when its justice or rights are violated. It is not an ethical doctrine divorced from political realities of the world. On the contrary, it is the wisest policy adopted in the context of cold war and bipolarisation. It is the only way out to keep oneself aloof from international political turmoil created by super-power rivalry. It is the most effective alternative for unhampered economic development by seeking positive co-operation.

In simple terms non-alignment means a foreign policy which opposes cold war, alliances and aggressive power politics and which stands for independence in foreign relations based on such principles as peace, friendship and cooperation with all.

From the above discussion, we can say that following are the main tenets of Non-alignment:

- Non-alignment is not isolationism. On the contrary, it is a policy of active participation in world politics for protecting national interest and upholding moral values.
- Non-alignment is an effort to maintain national independence and freedom of action in regard to determining the shape of political institutions and foreign policy.
- It opposes colonialism in all its manifestations and the evils associated with it.
- Non-alignment policy aims at structuring international political institutions based on sovereign equality of all nations.
- It encourages participation of all states in global economy on the basis of equality and national independence.

6.3.2 Definition of Non-Alignment

The term “non-alignment” was coined by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru during his speech in 1954 delivered in Colombo, Sri Lanka. It was after him that the term non-alignment was adopted to describe the policy of keeping away from alliances, cold war and power-politics among the two super powers and their blocs.

According to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, “Non-alignment means attempt by a nation to keep itself aloof from military blocs. It means trying to view the things as far as possible, not from military point of view though that has to come in sometimes, but we must have independent view point and must have friendly relations with all countries.”(International Relations Theory and Practice by K.K. Ghai).

According to eminent Indian scholar, Appadorai, non-alignment can be best defined as, “Not entering into military alliances

with any country and in particular with any country either of the western or of the communist bloc." (International Relations Theory and Practice by K.K. Ghai).

In simple words, the term Non-alignment is used in the context of the foreign policies of the states which had decided not to join either of the two power blocs in world politics. which is opposed to cold war and military alliances of the power blocs. It stands for the policy of acting independently in international relations and taking all decisions on the basis of national interests and an independent view of the world. It stands for full participation in international relations.

6.3.3 Characteristics of Non-Alignment

By now we got the basic idea about the concept of Non-alignment. It is also important for us to know about the various characteristics that this movement has about which we are going to discuss. Some of the important features of Non-alignment are mentioned below:

- **Rejection of Military and Security Alliances:** Non-alignment is opposed to military alliance with the Super Powers. It may be noted here that in the post World War II period, security alliances like the NATO, Warsaw Pact etc. evolved, which was opposed by NAM because such alliances were used as instruments by the Super Powers to establish their control. Non-alignment as such stands for keeping away from all types of military, political and security alliances.
- **Equidistance from the Super Powers:** Non-alignment was in favour of adopting a policy of equidistance from both the super powers, namely the USA and USSR. It was of the view that for a developing nation, the most important requirement is financial aid for its development. Therefore, if a country is aligned with a particular bloc, that country loses the financial support of the other bloc. That is why Non-alignment Movement

wanted to promote a policy whereby the non-aligned countries would remain equidistant from both the super powers.

- **Independent Foreign Policy:** The non-aligned countries are in favour of adopting an independent foreign policy without having any commitment to the foreign policy of the two Super Powers. Non-Alignment favoured adopting such an independent foreign policy so that it would promote the national interest of the respective countries and keep the countries away from the pressure of the super powers.
- **Economic Dimension:** Non-alignment has a distinct economic dimension. The leaders of the movement believed that putting all the eggs in the same basket may prove to be dangerous. It wanted to secure maximum economic benefit from both the Super Powers. It must be mentioned here that, most of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa were economically poor. They were in need of economic assistance for their development. That is why the non-aligned countries wanted to maintain a close relation with both the Super Powers in economic terms. It was a kind of strategy that was adopted by the leaders of the movement to ensure flow of fund for the economic development of the backward regions.
- **Opposition to Colonialism:** Non-alignment was opposed to all colonial influences and supported a policy of de-colonisation. The policy of de-colonisation wants to liberate the countries of Asia and Africa from the control of the colonial powers. It is important here to note that it is particularly because of the support provided by NAM that a large number of countries were liberated from colonial influence in Asia and Africa.
- **Promotion of Racial Equality- Another feature of Non:** alignment is the promotion of racial equality amongst the nations. That is why this movement was opposed to any kind of racial inequality like the system of Apartheid in South Africa. In South Africa, it was the minority colonial regime that

dominated the black majority people, whom were given the status of second class citizen in their own country. It was the Non-Aligned Movement whose support was crucial in dismantling the system of apartheid in South Africa.

- **Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes:** A significant feature of Non-Alignment is that, it is in favour of peaceful settlement of international disputes. Accordingly, Non-alignment prefers the method of dialogue amongst the concerned parties in order to find a permanent solution to the problem. By rejecting the military approach, Non-alignment has promoted the philosophy and technique of peaceful settlement of international disputes and contribute towards peaceful cooperation and development.
- **A Policy of Action and not Isolationalism:** Sometimes non-alignment is confused with isolationalism. But the fact is that, non-alignment rejects isolationalism and accepts the right to fully participate in international politics. It stands for full and bold participation in world politics and for freely expressing one's views on all international issues and problems.

The above mentioned are the fundamental characteristics of Non-Alignment. In the year 1961, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the President of Egypt and Marshal Tito, the President of Yugoslavia accepted the following five essentials or tests of a non-aligned foreign policy.

- Independent foreign policy based upon Non- alignment and Peaceful Co-existence.
- Opposition to colonialism and support for liberation movements.
- Non-membership of any military alliance or bloc.
- Absence of bilateral military base / bases on the territory of the state.
- Absence of a foreign military base on the territory of the state.

Each nation that wishes to be accepted as a non-aligned nation has to satisfy all the above mentioned five tests.



LET US KNOW

A significant development in the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement was the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 hosted by the Indonesian president, Sukarno. The participating nations declared that they did not want to get involved in the Cold War and adopted a declaration on promotion of world peace and cooperation. Subsequently, in 1961, the first official Non-Aligned Movement Summit was held in Belgrade at the initiative of the president of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito.

6.3.4 Factors responsible for the Growth of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

While discussing about the growth of non-alignment movement, we come across a number of factors which have immensely contributed towards the growth of this movement. Some of the factors are mentioned below:

- **Political Situations in Asia and Africa:** After the Second World War, most of the countries of Asia and Africa got independence from foreign rule. But at the same time there was urgent need for money to ensure economic development of these countries. Accordingly, there was a need for political initiative to deal wit the problem of development. It was in this context that the NAM was initiated by the leadership of the Third World countries.
- **Rise of Nationalism:** There was the growth of nationalism in Asia and Africa after the Second World War. As a result of this, the anti-colonial movements became stronger in the countries of Asia and Africa. Nationalism also demanded that these countries should have an independent foreign policy to

determine their future. This was another context in which the NAM came into being.

- **Economic Backwardness:** While after the Second World War most of the countries of Asia and Africa got political independence, the economic conditions of these countries were also extremely miserable. The issue of economic development was in the limelight and there was a general agreement for need of funds for the Third World Countries. As a result of this, the leadership of the NAM decided to continue with such policy so that money could be made available from all quarters. This was another ground on the basis of which the need for NAM was felt.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who used the term "non-alignment" for the first time?

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Q 2: Mention any two characteristics of NAM.

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.....

Q 3: Name the leaders who adopted the five essentials or tests of a non-aligned foreign policy?

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Q 4: Non-Alignment Movement opposed colonialism, military and security alliances. (True/False)

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6.4 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)

Non-alignment has completed seven decades of its operation in international relations, yet, it is not devoid of criticisms. Critics still point out several faults in the policy of Non-Alignment.

- **Points of Criticism:**
  - **Non-alignment an Unrealistic and Idealistic Policy:** This is the first criticism against Non-alignment that it is an idealistic and utopian principle which cannot be actually put into practice. Keeping away from the cold war and maintaining equidistance from power blocs, can be talked and theoretically justified but cannot be effectively practiced. Non- alignment as a policy of peace and friendship sounds good in theory, but its actual operation is difficult and harmful.
  - **Non-alignment can be a source of Friendlessness:** Critics are of the opinion that a non-aligned country may lack sincere and real friends. Let us take the example of India. India's strong criticism of America's foreign policy (1945-1990)as a policy of cold war denied for it the real and strong friendship of the U.S.A. Similarly, India's fear of communism, and its criticism of some of the policies of erstwhile USSR provided a check in the development of a deep friendship with the former USSR. This failure became very disturbing at the time of Chinese aggression of 1962. During this period, USSR failed to provide the needed support to India and even USA and Britain could only give limited aid. Therefore, the critics favour alignment in place of non-alignment.
  - **Non-alignment is a principle of Inaction:** The critics of this movement are of the opinion that in the name of neutrality in cold war, the non-aligned countries keep themselves away from taking any strong policy decisions. Their decisions are always attempts aimed at following the middle path for playing safe.
  - **Non-Alignment a policy of Double Alignment:** The critics through this point argue that, the non-aligned states always try to practice double standards for securing aid and help from all nations. Critics also go to the extent of saying that non-alignment lacks political morality and that the neutral outlook is not based

on any political morality but on personal grievances and political ambitions.

- **Non-Alignment no longer a Relevant Principle:** Another point of argument against Non-alignment is that, though it was justified for the new states to follow non-alignment in the era of Cold War and power politics among the two super powers, it no longer suits them to keep up non-alignment in the changed international environment. With the end of Cold War, collapse of USSR, etc. the factors and forces which gave rise to the need for non-alignment have got eliminated. Therefore, there remains no justification for the continuance of non-alignment.

  On the basis of the above mentioned grounds the critics reject the policy of Non-alignment.

- **Points of Justification:** Supporters of the principle Non-alignment, on the other hand, has put forward some justifications which are mentioned below.
  - **Non-alignment is a Realist Concept:** Supporters of non-aligned principle are of the opinion that it is wrong to describe non-alignment as unrealistic. The success with which the non-aligned countries have been practicing non-alignment as regards their relation with the super powers and other like-minded Third World countries is a proof of the realistic nature of non-alignment. Today all the states realize the importance of relations with them and have come to realize the value of non-alignment.
  - **Non-alignment involves full Action and Participation:** in International Relations- It has been justified on the ground that it is wrong to call this policy a policy of inaction. It is a proof that a non-aligned country like India, by remaining away from power blocs have always expressed their views independently, impartially and boldly on all international issues. Furthermore, non-aligned countries have played an active role in securing world peace and development and co-operation among the

members of the international community. They have been actively participating and playing a key role in international relations.

- **Non-alignment has enabled the New States to Act out their desired roles in International Relations:** Non-alignment is such a policy which has helped the new states to actively take part in world politics after the World War II. Inspite of their weak power positions due to poverty, economic and industrial backwardness and very limited military power, they have been in a position to maintain their individuality and play an active role in world politics.
- **Non-alignment is not Double Alignment:** Non-alignment does not stand for military or political alignment with any state. It is based on the principle of equality and mutual respect for all. Supporters further argue that it is due to lack of objective judgement that makes some people call it double alignment. Friendship with one nation is never pursued against or at the cost of relations with another nation.
- **Positive Role in ending the Cold War:** Non-alignment has surely played an important role in ending the Cold War. The decision of some states, like India, to follow non-alignment was a source of weakness for the Cold War. Had India joined either of the power blocs, it would have further intensified the Cold War. By refusing to join the Cold War and by determined opposition to the forces of Cold War and security alliances, the non-aligned nations played a positive role in ending Cold War in international relations.
- **Non-Alignment is better than Alignment:** The success of Non-alignment can be explained by conducting a comparative study of the working of the movement. The number of the Non-aligned countries has been registering a regular upward trend and at present a large majority of states continue to follow Non-alignment. On the other hand, the security alliances have

become weak. The alliances have failed to remain active. The principle of peaceful co-existence and cooperative interactions among all instead of power politics and alliance-counter-alliance politics tends to reflect the view that Non-alignment has been better than alignment. Therefore Non-alignment still continues to be useful and a relevant principle and a source of strength and co-operation for the Third World countries.

The above mentioned points justify the continuance of Non-alignment. This principle with its emphasis on independent foreign policy, peace, peaceful co-existence and cooperation has become a valuable source of strength and prestige for the Non-aligned countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Mention any two points of criticism of NAM.

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Q 6: Mention any two points of justification of NAM.

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6.5 NAM CONFERENCES AND SUMMITS

Under the leadership of Nehru, Nasser and Tito and of course with the dedicated work of several other leaders of the non-aligned countries, Non-alignment developed into an international movement and started its work against power-politics, cold war imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, armament race and nuclear proliferation. By 1961, Non-alignment became ready for being launched as an international movement of peace, freedom, independence, cooperation and prosperity. The initiative came in the form of the First Summit of the Non-aligned countries which marked the entry of Non-alignment into the final stage of its emergence.

- **The First Summit of NAM:** The Belgrade Summit, 1961: The first NAM Summit was held from 1st to 6th of September 1961, at Belgrade,

formerly the capital of Yugoslavia. In this Summit non-aligned nations outside Asia and Africa also participated. The Summit took up burning issues of international politics like Cold war, imperialism, racialism in all forms, colonialism, nuclear weapons etc.

- **Second Summit of NAM:** The Cairo Summit, 1964: The Second Summit was held at Cairo, Egypt, from 5th to 10th October 1964.The summit aimed at reducing international tension, ending colonialism, peaceful resolution of international disputes and disarmament.
- **Third Summit of NAM:** The Lusaka Summit, 1970: It was held at Lusaka, the capital of Zambia from 6th to 10th September 1970.The main focus of this Summit was the relevance of Non-alignment in international relations. The Conference called upon all countries in general and the Super powers in particular to resolve their conflicts through peaceful methods only.
- **Fourth Summit of NAM:** The Algiers Summit, 1973: The fourth Summit was held from 5th to 9th September 1973 at Algiers, the capital of Algeria. The Conference took upon important international issues like recognition of revolutionary government of Vietnam, support to Egypt, Syria and Jordan vis-à-vis Israel. The Summit further declared that the non-aligned states would not join any military bloc and not allow any super power to establish its military bases in the territory of the non-aligned states.
- **Fifth Summit of NAM:** The Colombo Summit, 1976: This was the first non-aligned summit held in Asia from August 16th to 19th, 1976. This Conference, held in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka laid more stress on economic problems relating to the Third World countries. It recommended for reorganization of international trade, production system, monetary system etc. The Summit also wanted to have a new political order in which the concepts like balance of power, area of influence etc. should be redefined. It made it clear that the tension in the world could not end as long as race for armament and military alliances was not brought to an end.
- **Sixth Summit of NAM:** The Havana Summit, 1979: It was held at

Havana, the capital city of Cuba from September 3rd to 9th 1979. After prolonged discussions and debates on various important issues, the Conference ended by issuing a declaration containing some important features like—— a call for strengthening the NAM; a condemnation of the hegemonistic policies of the super powers; a call for dissolving military alliances and bases and a call for taking up steps in order to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor nations.

- **Seventh Summit of NAM:** The New Delhi Summit, 1983: It was held in New Delhi from March 7th to 11th,1983. The New Delhi Summit identified the growing armament race among the super powers and the fast increasing economic gap between the developed and developing nations as the fundamental issues of contemporary international relations which needed attention.
- **Eighth Summit of NAM:** The Harare Summit, 1986: The Eighth NAM Summit was held in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. The Harare Summit was held from 1st to 6th September 1986. This Summit also emphasized on mutual economic cooperation among the non-aligned nations.
- **Ninth Summit of NAM:** The Belgrade Summit, 1989: The Ninth NAM Summit was held in the Yugoslavian capital Belgrade in the early part of September 1989. The major focus of discussion at this Summit was economic issues dominating relations between the North and the South.
- **Tenth Summit of NAM:** The Jakarta Summit, 1992: This Summit took place in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia from 1st to 6th September 1992. In this Summit the NAM countries had demonstrated not only the continued relevance of Non-alignment but also the ability of NAM to manage crisis as well as to arrive at a consensus on several key issues and problems of international relations.This Summit was the first NAM Summit to be held after the end of Cold War.
- **Eleventh Summit of NAM:** The Cartagena Summit, 1995: The 11th Summit of NAM was held at Cartagena in Colombia. The Summit

gave a call for the establishment of nuclear-weapon free zones in different parts of the world, as a necessary first step towards attaining the objective of eliminating nuclear weapons. Regarding the financial problems faced by the developing countries, The NAM issued a call for the reform of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

- **Twelfth Summit of NAM:** The Durban Summit, 1998: It was a two days' Summit held at Durban in South Africa, on the 4th and 5th September 1998. This Summit discussed ways and means of tackling the problem of international terrorism, holding of an international conference for discussing the issue of elimination of nuclear weapons. The Summit further emphasized the need for a positive dialogue between the developed and the developing countries for promoting better trade relations and for creating a just international economic system.
- **Thirteenth Summit of NAM:** The Kuala Lumpur Summit, 2003: The 13th Summit was held at Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia, in February 2003. The member countries resolved to promote a multipolar world, to strengthen the United Nations and to continue the fight against international terrorism. This Summit demonstrated the continued presence and relevance of this largest ever international movement.
- **Fourteenth Summit of NAM:** The Havana Summit, 2006: The Havana Summit was held on the16th and 17th of September, 2006. This Summit endorsed India's stand on terrorism and the assertion of the right of the developing nations to develop and use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. NAM countries were called upon to refrain from extending political, diplomatic, moral and material support to terrorism and act under the commands of the UN Charter.
- **Fifteenth Summit of NAM:** The Sharm-el-Sheikh (Egypt) Summit, 2009: The 15th NAM Summit was held at Sharm-el-Sheikh Summit in Egypt from 11th -16th July, 2009. During this summit, the Heads of Government of 118 developing nations discussed issues related

to the global economic downturn, terrorism, climate change and food security. Other summit themes included issues relating to development, human rights and social issues.

- **Sixteenth Summit of NAM:** The Tehran, Iran Summit, 2012:The 16th NAM Summit was held from 26 to 31 August 2012 in . During this summit, the Heads of Government of 120 developing nations deliberated on a host of issues pertaining to nuclear disarmament, human rights and regional issues.
- **Seventeenth Summit of NAM:** The 17th NAM summit was held in September 2016 in Venezuela. During this summit, the Heads of the developing nations delibarated on a host of issues including global warming, sustainable development, international peace and security, UN peace keeping force, etc.

The Eighteenth summit of NAM is scheduled to be held in June, 2019 in Boku, Azerbaijan.

6.5.1 Relevance of NAM in the 21st Century

Non-alignment emerged in the era of Cold War and was adopted by the newly independent states for keeping away from Cold war, security alliances and super power politics. Between1961-90,NAM worked as a very active actor in international relations. However, when the Cold war ended, the critics of NAM began arguing that since the main motive of NAM was to eliminate the division of the world into blocs and with the end of the Cold War, NAM no longer has any relevance. They further argued that NAM should wind up or get transformed into a new movement.

The members of NAM, however, regarded this as a short sighted view. They are of the opinion that the main objective of NAM was to exercise independence of judgement and action in international relations. Non-alignment was designed as a principle of independent foreign policy in the era of Cold War and bipolarism. This principle objective still continued to be valid and hence, a fully relevant movement.

The new momentum towards democracy, multiparty system, respect of human rights and opening up of economies and their integration with the global economy, are perfectly in tune with the spirit of non-alignment. The new emphasis upon peaceful coexistence, cooperation and peaceful resolution of conflict doubly justifies the relevance of Non-alignment.

NAM continues to be a global movement, a movement of all the developing countries. It has all along been a movement against neo-colonialism. Since the rich and powerful nations are continuing their control over the economies and the policies of the Third World countries, there continues to be every reason for the continuance of NAM, which stands designed to fight the Third World battle against neo- colonialism. Furthermore, NAM is yet to win the fight against international terrorism, armament race, nuclear weapons etc. in world politics. No doubt some progress has been made in this direction, yet the battle is still to be won against these evils.

In the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, NAM still continues to be very popular. There has been a steady and continuous growth in the membership and popularity of NAM, hence, the relevance of NAM cannot be denied. The objectives of NAM are long term objectives, such as establishing New International Economic Order(NIEO) and democratization of the international system and its functioning. To achieve these objectives a longer period is required. Therefore, NAM is destined to remain alive, active and relevant in the 21st century.

However, it is important for us to remember that for its survival and strength NAM has to formulate and adopt new orientations, policies, and decisions regarding the international system. NAM has completed 48 years of its life. Even after the end of the Cold War and decline of power politics, it continues to remain the largest international movement of contemporary times. By successfully holding the last six Summits after the end of the Cold War, NAM has silenced the critics who were arguing that the

end of Cold War has made NAM non-relevant and quite redundant.

NAM entered the 21st century in its traditional form and got engaged in setting its future tasks. It has the potential to act as a strong movement against international terrorism and therefore must continue to live as the movement of the developing countries engaged in the pursuit of international peace, security and development.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: Where was the first NAM Summit held ?

.....

.....

Q 8: The Seventh Summit of NAM, 1983, was held in which city?

.....

.....

Q 9: Where was the 15th NAM Summit , 2009, held ?

.....

.....



6.6 LET US SUM UP

- The term “non-alignment” was coined by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru during his speech in 1954 delivered in Colombo, Sri Lanka. It was after him that the term non-alignment was adopted to describe the policy of keeping away from alliances, cold war and power-politics among the two super powers and their blocs.
- Non-alignment is opposed to military alliance with the Super Powers. It may be noted here that in the post World War II period, security alliances like the NATO, Warsaw Pact etc. evolved, which was opposed by NAM because such alliances were used as linstruments by the Super Powers to establish their control. Non-alignment as such stands for keeping away from all types of military, political and

security alliances.

- Non-alignment was in favour of adopting a policy of equidistance from both the super powers, namely the USA and USSR. It was of the view that for a developing nation, the most important requirement is financial aid for its development.
- Non-alignment was opposed to all colonial influences and supported a policy of de-colonisation. The policy of de-colonisation wants to liberate the countries of Asia and Africa from the control of the colonial powers. It is important here to note that it is particularly because of the support provided by NAM that a large number of countries were liberated from colonial influence in Asia and Africa.
- Promotion of Racial Equality- Another feature of Non-alignment is the promotion of racial equality amongst the nations. That is why this movement was opposed to any kind of racial inequality like the system of Apartheid in South Africa.
- Sometimes non-alignment is confused with isolationalism. But the fact is that, non-alignment rejects isolationalism and accepts the right to fully participate in international politics. It stands for full and bold participation in world politics and for freely expressing one's views on all international issues and problems.
- In the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, NAM still continues to be very popular. In the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, NAM still continues to be very popular. There has been a steady and continuous growth in the membership and popularity of NAM, hence, the relevance of NAM cannot be denied.



6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash & Arora, Prem. *Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.

2) Ghai, K.K. *International Relations – Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.

3) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.

4) Pant, Pushpesh. *International Relations in the 21st Century*. McGraw Hill Education.



6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Jawaharlal Nehru

Ans to Q No 2: (i) Rejection of Military and Security Alliances

(ii) Equidistance from the Super Powers

Ans to Q No 3: Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the President of Egypt and Marshal Tito, the President of Yugoslavia

Ans to Q No 4: True

Ans to Q No 5: (i) Non-alignment has been criticized as an unrealistic and idealistic Policy.

(ii) Non-alignment has been criticized as a principle of inaction

Ans to Q No 6: (i) Non-alignment involves full action and participation in international relations

(ii) Non-alignment has enabled the new states to act out their desired roles in international relations

Ans to Q No 7: Belgrade

Ans to Q No 8: New Delhi

Ans to Q No 9: Sharm-el-Sheikh, Egypt



6.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention any two points of justification of NAM.

Q 2: Mention any two points of criticism of NAM.

Q 3: Who coined the term "non-alignment" ?

Q 4: Where was the sixteenth Non-Aligned Summit held?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Briefly explain the factors which contributed to the growth of NAM.

Q 2: Explain the relevance of NAM in the 21st century.

Q 3: Write short notes on the following:

(i) The First Summit of NAM- The Belgrade Summit, 1961

(ii) Tenth Summit of NAM- The Jakarta Summit, 1992

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the meaning of Non-alignment in international politics. What are the characteristics of Non-Alignment?

Q 2: Write a note on NAM conferences and summits.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 7 : REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 European Union (EU)

- 7.3.1 Formation of EU
- 7.3.2 Structure of EU
- 7.3.3 European Union and India

7.4 South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

- 7.4.1 Formation of SAARC
- 7.4.2 Key Institutions of SAARC
- 7.4.3 Problems faced by SAARC

7.5 Association of South East Asian Nations

- 7.5.1 Formation of ASEAN
- 7.5.2 Objectives and Principles of ASEAN
- 7.5.3 Role of ASEAN

7.6 Let Us Sum up

7.7 Further Reading

7.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.9 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the formation and structure of EU
- explain the formation of the SAARC
- discuss the objectives of the SAARC
- examine the problems faced by the SAARC
- describe the formation of the ASEAN
- discuss the objectives of the ASEAN
- explain the role of the ASEAN

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Regional organisations are playing very important role in international politics. These regional organisations represent several countries of a region. In fostering regional cooperation these organisations are playing active role.

The end of World War II brought in many changes in world politics. During this time a process of formation of regional cooperation was visible; such cooperation was made for economic as well as security reasons. All over the world, nations began to realize the importance of interdependence and cooperation. This movement began in Europe but it soon spread to other parts of the world.

In this unit we will deal with three very important regional organizations in the world, namely, the European Union (EU) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

7.3 EUROPEAN UNION (EU)

7.3.1 Formation of EU

French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand is credited to be the first leading politician to propose a European Federal Union in 1929. Subsequently, in 1949 Jean Monnet, the French Planning Commissioner proposed a scheme to Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister. This scheme became popular as the Schuman Plan. It was the basis for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) that was established in 1951. Six countries, namely, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany signed the Treaty of Paris in 1951 which brought into existence the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). All these six countries agreed to pool their coal and steel resources to create a common market for coal and steel. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome established the European Economic Community (EEC)

and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom). Under the ECC, attempts were made towards economic integration of Europe. Britain was admitted into the EEC in 1973. Denmark and Ireland also joined the organization. Subsequently, more and more European countries including Greece, Portugal, Spain and the former East Germany joined the EEC one after another. Talking of the Euratom, it aims at achieving cooperation in developing nuclear energy. Accordingly, these three organizations, namely, the ECSC, EEC and the Euratom aimed at European integration in different fields and all three together constituted what is known as the European Communities or EC. On November 1, 1993, the Maastricht Treaty came into force. Under this treaty the European Union (EU) was formally established in 1993. The EU was now to have three pillars: (i) The European Communities or EC (ii) Common Foreign and Security Policy (iii) Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters. Subsequently, this pillar division was abolished following the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009 whereby the all powers and functions of the EC were fully transferred to and merged with the European Union. At present, the EU is composed of 28 member nations.

On January 1, 1999, the EU achieved a major milestone in the field of monetary union with the launching of a European single currency called the Euro. At present 19 member nations of the EU have adopted this common currency. The area of the countries adopting the Euro is officially called the euro area and commonly referred to as the eurozone.

The main objectives of the EU may be outlined as follows:

- To work towards economic and political integration of European states
- To build up a framework for unified action by member countries in security and foreign policy and for cooperation in matters of police and justice
- To assert the identity of the EU on the international scene

- Introduction of European citizenship. As a matter of fact, citizenship of the European Union was introduced by the Maastricht Treaty, 1992. It came into force in 1993. Now, every person holding the nationality of a member state of the EU shall be a citizen of the Union. However, citizenship of the Union shall be additional to national citizenship and will not replace the latter.
- To promote social and economic progress
- To strive towards freedom, security and justice

The Headquarters of the EU are at Brussels, Belgium. The EU today is the world's largest economic bloc.

7.3.2 Structure of EU

- **Executive bodies:**
  - **The European Commission:** The European Commission consists of 20 members who are appointed by the member states to serve for 5 years. The European Commission is the executive body of the European Union. It is responsible for proposing legislation, implementing decisions, upholding the Union's treaties and the general day-to-day running of the Union. The Commission acts independently of any country in the interest of the EU as a whole.
- **Legislative Bodies:**
  - **The Council of the European Union:** The Council of the European Union popularly known as the Council of Ministers is the principal decision-making institution of the European Union (EU).The Council is one of the two legislative bodies in the EU, the other being the Parliament. The Council is composed of twenty-seven national ministers.
  - **The European Parliament:** The European Parliament is the directly elected parliamentary institution of the European Union (EU). Together with the Council of the

European Union (the Council), it forms the bicameral legislative branch of the EU. The Parliament and Council form the highest legislative body within the Union. The Parliament is composed of 736 members who are known as Members of the European Parliament or MEPs. All EU citizens can contest or vote in their adoptive country of residence.

- **Judicial body:**
  - **The Court of Justice of the European Union:** The Court of Justice of the European Union encompasses the whole judiciary of the European Union (EU). Seated in Luxembourg, it has three sub-courts; the European Court of Justice, the General Court and the Civil Service Tribunal.

    It may be mentioned here that the UK decided to leave the European Union in a referendum held on June 23, 2016. The move has been popularly called “Brexit” or “British exit”.

7.3.3 European Union and India

It was in 1962 that the diplomatic relationship between India and EU were set up. Initially this relationship was confined to economic and trade matters only. Gradually the relationship between the two diversified from trade and industry to scientific research and environmental issues. Treaties like the Commercial Corporation Agreement (1973) and Economic and Commercial Co-operation Agreement (1975) were testimony to the growing ties between the EU and India. More recently, the Cooperation Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of India on partnership and development, 1994 was reached. The agreement provides the current legislative framework for cooperation between EU and India. Moreover, annual summit meetings and regular ministerial and expert level meetings are

also held between the EU and India. The first summit level talks between EU and India were held in June 2000 at Lisbon, Portugal.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: In which year was the European Union (EU) formally established?

.....

.....

Q 2: What constituted the three pillars of EU before the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009.

.....

.....

Q 3: The headquarters of EU are located at ..... Belguim. (Fill in the blank)

Q 4: The European single currency is called the ..... (Fill in the blank)

7.4 SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION OF REGIONAL COOPERATION (SAARC)

The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is one of the most important regional organisations of South Asia. The SAARC was the outcome of long history of cooperation between the nations of South Asia. The members of the SAARC are India, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Afghanistan became the eighth member of SAARC in 2005.

7.4.1 Formation of SAARC

The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation, popularly known as SAARC was established on 8th December 1985. However, initiatives for its formation began many years ago. The idea of SAARC was conceived in the latter part of 1970s by the then President of Bangladesh late Ziaur Rehman. It was President Rehman who for the first time felt that the seven South

Asian nations namely, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka need to come together in a common platform. As a step towards initiating the process, a document called 'Bangladesh working paper on South Asian Regional Cooperation' pointed out the following broad areas for cooperation.

- Tele communication
- Meteorology
- Transport
- Shipping
- Tourism
- Agricultural research
- Joint ventures
- Market promotion
- Scientific and technical cooperation
- Educational and cultural cooperation

This was followed by several rounds of meetings and studies conducted at various levels by the seven nations. Another important phase in the formation of SAARC came in 1983 when the foreign ministers of the seven nations met at New Delhi and signed the 'South Asian Regional Co-operation Agreement'. Subsequently, in Dhaka the heads of governments of the seven nations adopted the SAARC Charter. The key institutions of the SAARC are:

- Summit Meetings
- Council of Ministers Meeting
- Technical Committees
- Committee on Economic Cooperation (CEP)

In 1987, the SAARC Secretariat was established at Kathmandu in Nepal. The Secretariat comprises a Secretary General, seven directors and general service staff. Its role is to coordinate and monitor the implementation of SAARC activities, organise the meetings of the Association and serve as the channel of communication between SAARC and other international organisations.

The Headquarters of the SAARC Secretariat are in Kathmandu, Nepal.

7.4.2 Objectives of SAARC

The following objectives are mentioned in the SAARC Charter:

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

7.4.3 Problems faced by SAARC

SAARC represents more than one fifth of the world population and this makes it the largest regional organization (in terms of human resource) in the world. Though the SAARC has been playing important role in solving some issues associated with the region South Asia, yet it has not been able to foster meaningful and true cooperation among the countries of the region to the greatest extent. The working of the Organisation becomes comparatively slow. There are several reasons behind the slow progress of SAARC as a regional organization. Some of the reasons are:

- Firstly, the political atmosphere in the region is not conducive to the smooth functioning of the organization. Mutual tensions and conflicts between the member nations and their political differences have often stood in the way of effective functioning of SAARC. The bitter relations between India and Pakistan are a case in point.
- Secondly, the region is a very diverse one in terms of language, culture, religion and ethnicity. This diversity often makes it difficult for the countries of South Asia to adapt themselves to the idea of political and economic cooperation and integration.
- Thirdly, certain institutional and procedural shortcomings have also proved to be hindrances in the way of effective functioning of SAARC. For instance, the "unanimity rule" requires that all decisions of the organization require the affirmative vote of all heads of state/ government who have to be personally present in a meeting. However, there should be some amount of flexibility in this regard. If the head of a state is not able to be personally present at a summit, he or she should be allowed to send his representative to take decisions on behalf of the former. Subsequently, such decisions could be ratified by the head of state.

From the above discussion we can see that what is lacking in SAARC is the mutual goodwill among its nations, in creating an environment for mutual trust and goodwill. South Asia must develop a framework in which both the big and small countries of the region can work harmoniously aiming at collective benefits. It is time to consider the principle of unanimity and modify it so that it does not cause obstacles in the smooth functioning of SAARC. The most essential and effective way of making SAARC successful is to check any kind of development which has the potential of damaging SAARC, and for this, political will and vision is a must.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Who initiated the idea of establishing SAARC?

.....

Q 6: The total number of members of the SAARC is seven. (True/ False)

.....

Q 7: The Headquarters of the SAARC Secretariat are located at ..... (fill in the blank)

Q 8: Mention any four objectives of the SAARC.

.....

.....

.....

Q 9: Write about any two problems which are responsible for the slow progress of the SAARC's progress.

.....

.....

7.5 ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH-EAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an important regional organisation of South-East Asia. The ASEAN has been playing an important role in promoting cooperation among the nations of this region in various fields. At present the total number of members of the organisation is 10.

7.5.1 Formation of ASEAN

Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was set up on 8th August 8, 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand. The countries which took the initiative for setting up this organisation were- Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. However prior to the ASEAN, attempts for establishing regional organisation among the countries of South East Asia was started

during 1959-65. Out of these efforts the Association of South East Asia was set up in 1959 by Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. However this organisation was broke out due to conflict between Philippines and Thailand. Apart from this, foreign ministers of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia proposed for another regional organisation in 1963 which was to be known as Maphilindo. But this proposal was failed due to disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia. However effort for establishing regional organisation was still going on and finally the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established on 8th August, 1967. The members of the ASEAN are- Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia. The key institutions of the ASEAN are–

- ASEAN Summit
- ASEAN Coordinating Council
- ASEAN Community Council
- ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies
- Committee of Permanent Representatives
- National Secretariats
- Committees Abroad

7.5.2 Objectives and Principles of the ASEAN

The Charter of the ASEAN states "the Association represents the collective will of the nations of to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessings of peace, freedom, and prosperity (The ASEAN Declaration, Bangkok, 8 August 1967). The Charter of the ASEAN has mentioned the following objectives of the organisation:

- To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint efforts in the spirit of partnership and equality in order to strengthen the foundation of peaceful South Asian region.

- To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter.
- To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields;
- To provide assistance to each other nation in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres;
- To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilisation of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communications facilities and the raising of the living standards of their peoples;
- To promote Southeast Asian studies and research; and
- To maintain close and beneficial cooperative relation with existing international and regional organisations.

Apart from this, in 1995 the Head of the State and Government of the member states further affirmed that "Cooperative peace and shared prosperity shall be the fundamental goal of ASEAN". In the political sphere the ASEAN maintained that its political and security dialogue and cooperation should aim to promote regional peace and stability by enhancing regional unity. Regional unity shall be achieved by cooperating in all fields based on the principles of self-confidence, self-reliance, mutual respect, cooperation, and solidarity. During the First ASEAN Summit held in 24 February, 1976, the Association provided that all the members should follow the following principles:

- Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations;
- The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion, or coercion;

- Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another
- Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful manner;
- Renunciation of the threat or use of force;
- Effective cooperation among themselves; and
- Maintaining a healthy partnership and creating stronger bonds among the member nations.

7.5.3 Role of ASEAN

The ASEAN since its inception has been playing a very positive role in promoting regional cooperation among the member countries. The ASEAN works mainly for economic development and better coordination for regional economies. In 1992 Framework Agreement on Enhancing ASEAN Economic Cooperation was adopted. To promote trade and free flow of goods between the member-states the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) was signed on 28th January, 1992. By the end of 2015 the ASEAN plans to establish a common market which will be marked by the presence of free flow of goods, services, investment and skilled labour and the free flow of capital. The ASEAN Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in its report in 2000 suggested that the Association should take a leading role in creating better financial cooperation. The Group also suggested that the ASEAN economies should work closely with International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and Asian Development Bank. Apart from the cooperation among the member states the ASEAN is also working for removing trade barriers and developing economic ties with major Asian states, such as India, China, Japan, South Korea.

In the political sphere the ASEAN has come to a number of agreements for enhancing self reliance, mutual respect, regional cooperation and solidarity. Some of these agreements are–

- Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration, Kuala Lumpur, 27 November 1971;
- Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Bali, 24 February 1976;

- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Bali, 24 February 1976;
- ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea, Manila, 22 July 1992;
- Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone, Bangkok, 15 December 1997;
- ASEAN Vision 2020, Kuala Lumpur, 15 December 1997;
- Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism, 5 November 2001;
- Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, Bali, 7 October 2003;

In the security sphere also it has achieved success.

In 1993 the ASEAN Regional Forum was established for political and security dialogue and cooperation. In the fifth Summit of ASEAN held in 1995 arrived at a major agreement that was a treaty banning nuclear weapons in the South East Asian region to create the “South East Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone”. The Ninth ASEAN Summit held in Bali in 2003 formed the ASEAN Security Community which emphasised that ASEAN’s political and security cooperation must achieved a higher level to ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another and with the world at large in a democratic and harmonious environment. Since 2014, ASEAN has issued several declarations in its successive summits on the issue of extremism and terrorism. Some of these include- 2014 ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Statement on 'the Rise of Violence and Brutality Committed by Terrorist/Extremist Organizations in Iraq and Syria' , 2015 Special ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on the Rise of Radicalization and Violent Extremism, etc.

From the above discussion it can be said that the ASEAN has been playing a very active role in fostering regional cooperation among its members in various spheres like trade, economy, political and security.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 10: Which countries took the initiative for setting up of the ASEAN?

.....

.....

Q 11: At present the total number of the members of the ASEAN is ..... (fill in the blank)

Q 12: In which year the ASEAN Regional Forum was established?

.....

.....

Q 13: Write any two objectives of the ASEAN.

.....

.....

Q 14: Mention any two principles of the ASEAN.

.....

.....

Q 15: Write briefly about the role of the ASEAN in promoting trade and economic cooperation among the nations of the region.

.....

.....



7.6 LET US SUM UP

- Regional organisations are playing very important role in international politics. These regional organisations represent several countries of a region. Three such very important regional organisations are- European Union (EU), South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).
- After witnessing two world wars, nations throughout the world felt the need for co-operation, and this feeling was instrumental in the

formation of regional blocs. EU today, is one of the most successful regional blocs of the world. It had a modest beginning in 1951 as European Coal and Steel Community but gradually developed into the world's largest economic bloc.

- The main objectives of the EU may be outlined as follows: To work towards economic and political integration of European states, to build up a framework for unified action by member countries in security and foreign policy and for cooperation in matters of police and justice, to assert the identity of the EU on the international scene, iIntroduction of European citizenship, to promote social and economic progress, to strive towards freedom, security and justice.
- The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established on 8th December 1985. The members of the SAARC are India, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan.
- The Headquarters of the SAARC Secretariat are in Kathmandu, Nepal. The key institutions of SAARC are- Summit Meetings, Council of Ministers Meeting, Technical Committees, Committee on Economic Cooperation.
- The major objectives of the SAARC are- to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life, to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region, to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia, to contribute to mutual trust and understanding among member states, to promote cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields, to strengthen cooperation with other developing countries, to cooperate with international and regional organisations with similar aims and purposes etc.
- The reasons behind the slow progress of the SAARC as a regional organization are- the political atmosphere in the region which is marked by the presence of tension and conflict between nations is not conducive to the smooth functioning of the organization. Secondly,

the diversity of the region in terms of language, culture, ethnicity etc, makes it difficult for the countries of South Asia to adapt themselves to the idea of political and economic cooperation and integration. Thirdly, certain institutional and procedural shortcomings have also proved to be hindrances in the way of effective functioning of SAARC.

- Another important regional organisation the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established on 8th August, 1967. The members of the ASEAN are- Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia.
- The key institutions of the ASEAN are- ASEAN Summit, ASEAN Coordinating Council, ASEAN Community Council, ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies, Committee of Permanent Representatives, National Secretariats, Committees Abroad.
- The main objectives of the ASEAN are- to accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint efforts, to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law, to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields, to provide assistance to each other nation in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres, to promote Southeast Asian studies and research; and to maintain close and beneficial cooperative relation with existing international and regional organisations.
- The main principles which the member states of the ASEAN follow are- mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations; the right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion, or coercion; non-interference in the internal affairs of one another; settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful manner; renunciation of the threat or use of force; effective cooperation among themselves; and maintaining a healthy partnership and creating stronger bonds among the member nations.

- The ASEAN has been playing a very important role in promoting regional cooperation in various spheres like trade, economy, political and security. The Association has formed various Forums and concluded various agreements for the purpose of fostering regional cooperation.



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7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1993

Ans to Q No 2: (i) The European Communities or EC
(ii) Common Foreign and Security Policy
(iii) Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters.

Ans to Q No 3: Brussels

Ans to Q No 4: Euro

Ans to Q No 5: President of Bangladesh late Ziaur Rehman

Ans to Q No 6: False

Ans to Q No 7: Kathmandu

Ans to Q No 8: (i) To promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life.

(ii) To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potentials.

(iii) To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia.

(iv) To contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems.

Ans to Q No 9: (i) The political atmosphere in the region is not conducive to the smooth functioning of the organization. Mutual tensions and conflicts between the member nations and their political differences have often stood in the way of effective functioning of SAARC. The bitter relations between India and Pakistan are a case in point.

(ii) The region is a very diverse one in terms of language, culture, religion and ethnicity. This diversity often makes it difficult for the countries of South Asia to adapt themselves to the idea of political and economic cooperation and integration.

Ans to Q No 10: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand

Ans to Q No 11: ten

Ans to Q No 12: 1993

Ans to Q No 13: (i) To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint efforts in the spirit of partnership and equality in order to strengthen the foundation of peaceful South Asian region.

(ii) To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Ans to Q No 14: (i) Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations;

(ii) The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion, or coercion.

Ans to Q No 15: The role of the ASEAN in promoting trade and economic cooperation is very positive. The ASEAN works mainly for economic development and better coordination for regional economies. In 1992 Framework Agreement on Enhancing ASEAN Economic Cooperation was adopted. To promote trade and free flow of goods between the member-states the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) was signed on 28th January, 1992. By the end of 2015 the ASEAN plans to establish a common market which will be marked by the presence of free flow of goods, services, investment and skilled labour and the free flow of capital. The ASEAN Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in its report in 2000 suggested that the Association should take a leading role in creating better financial cooperation. The Group also suggested that the ASEAN economies should work closely with International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and Asian Development Bank. Apart from the cooperation among the member states the ASEAN is also working for removing trade barriers and developing economic ties with major Asian states, such as India, China, Japan, South Korea.



7.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: In which year the SAARC was established?

Q 2: In which year the ASEAN was established?

Q 3: Mention the names of the member states of the SAARC.

Q 4: Mention the names of the member states of the ASEAN.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Trace the history of the formation of European Union.

Q 2: Write a note on the structure of EU.

Q 3: Write briefly about the formation of the SAARC.

Q 4: Write about the reasons responsible for the slow progress of the SAARC.

Q5: Write about the background leading to the formation f the ASEAN.

C) Long Question (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Write a note on the European Union.

Q 2: What are the key institutions of the SAARC? Explain the objectives of the SAARC.

Q 3: Examine the objectives and principles of the ASEAN.

Q 4: Discuss the role of the ASEAN in promoting regional cooperation.

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UNIT 8: WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION, IMF AND WORLD BANK

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 World Trade Organization (WTO)

- 8.3.1 History of WTO
- 8.3.2 Membership of WTO
- 8.3.3 Principles of WTO
- 8.3.4 Functions of WTO
- 8.3.5 Role of WTO

8.4 International Monetary Fund(IMF)

- 8.4.1 Background of the IMF
- 8.4.2 Objectives of the IMF
- 8.4.3 Structure of the IMF
- 8.4.4 Functions of the IMF
- 8.4.5 Capital of the IMF
- 8.4.6 Role of the IMF

8.5 The World Bank

- 8.5.1 Background of the World Bank
- 8.5.2 Structure of the World Bank
- 8.5.3 Functions and Objectives of the World Bank
- 8.5.4 Guiding Principles of the World Bank
- 8.5.5 Capital of the World Bank
- 8.5.6 Role of the World Bank

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.9 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the different aspects of the World Trade Organisation (WTO)
- explain the different aspects of the IMF
- explain the different aspects of the World Bank
- analyse the role of WTO, IMF and World Bank

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In the post-Second World War period, it was increasingly felt that there was a need to bring about financial stability and address the economic problems of the world, which had led to political instability culminating in the outbreak of the Second World War. The result was the establishment of global financial institutions like the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank so as to ensure fair trade practices among nations, global monetary cooperation and reconstruction and development of the economies of developing nations. In this unit, we shall discuss three important international financial organizations, namely, the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

8.3 WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO)

8.3.1 History of the WTO

The birth of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on January 1, 1995 holds a great promise for the globalization of the world economies in respect of international trade. The World Trade Organization or the WTO is an intergovernmental organization. It regulates international tradeby providing a framework for negotiating trade agreements among nations and a dispute resolution process so that the participating nations adhere to certain rules and regulations in order to ensure fair trade practices across the world. It was officially constituted on January 1, 1995under the Marrakesh Agreement, signed by 123 nations on 15 April 1994 therebyreplacing

the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which used to govern international trade from 1946 until the establishment of the WTO in 1995.The WTO has its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

The WTO agreements cover trade in goods as well as services, to facilitate international trade.

8.3.2 Membership of the WTO

At present, there are at present 164 member countries of WTO and all the members are required to adopt laws and policies framed under WTO rules.

8.3.3 Principles of the WTO

The principles of WTO are as follows:

- **Non-discrimination:** A country should not discriminate between its trading partners and it should not discriminate between its own and foreign products, services or nationals. The WTO seeks to promote world trade in a manner that benefits every country.
- **More open:** The WTO seeks to lowering trade barriers as a means to encouraging trade; these barriers include customs duties (or tariffs) and measures such as import bans or quotas that restrict quantities selectively.
- **Predictable and transparent:** Foreign companies, investors and governments should be confident that trade barriers should not be raised arbitrarily. With stability and predictability, investment is encouraged, jobs are created and consumers can fully enjoy the benefits of competition - choice and lower prices.
- **More competitive:** Discouraging 'unfair' practices, such as dumping of products at below cost to gain market share.The rules try to establish what is fair or unfair, and how governments can respond in order to compensate for damage caused by unfair trade.

- **More beneficial for less developed countries:** Over three-quarters of WTO members are developing countries. The WTO givesthem more time to adjust to WTO provisions, greater flexibility and special privileges.
- **Protect the environment:** The WTO's agreements permit members to take measures to protect not only the environment but also public health, animal health and plant health. However, these measures must be applied in the same way to both national and foreign businesses. In other words, members must not use environmental protection measures as a means of disguising protectionist policies.

(source:https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/what_stand_for_e.htm):

The objectives of the WTO are more or less similar to the objectives of GATT. However, under the WTO these are sought to be achieved following a more rigorous and tougher enforcement of the policy of export competition, market access and free trade.

8.3.4 Functions of the WTO

As per the preamble of the World Trade Organization declared by the member nations, it has to perform five important functions, as under:

- WTO is to facilitate multilateral trade agreements, and their implementation. WTO is to act as a facilitator withregard to the administration, operations and implementation of multilateral trade agreements.
- WTO shall facilitate the administration, implementation, and operationalization of plurilateral (between more than two countries) trade agreements.
- WTO is to negotiate all matters of the member countries relating to multilateral trade. Thus, it is to provide a negotiation platform to its members for solving their trade-related problems.
- WTO is to administer rules and procedures concerning



Articles of Agreement: It is the founding document of on organisation setting forth its aims, purposes, etc.

settlement of disputes among the trading partners.

- WTO is to work in tandem with IMF, World Bank and their affiliated organizations for achieving better results in the area of international trade.

8.3.5 Role of the WTO

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is playing an important role for administering the new global trade rules in the following manner:

- WTO oversees the implementation of the significant tariff cuts and reduction of non-tariff measures (such as quotas, levies, etc.) agreed in the trade negotiations.
- It acts as a watch dog of international trade and regularly examines the regimes of individual members.
- It provides several reconciliation mechanisms for finding an amicable solution to trade conflicts that can arise among members.
- Trade disputes that cannot be solved through bilateral talks are adjudicated under the WTO Dispute Settlement Court.
- WTO is a management consultant for world trade. Its economists keep a close watch on the global economy and provide studies on the trade issues of the day.
- WTO is to work in tandem with IMF, World Bank and their affiliated organizations for achieving better results in the area of international trade.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention any two objectives of the WTO.

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Q 2: Mention any two functions of the WTO.

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8.4 INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)

International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international monetary institution established by different countries after World War - II with the objectivesto fosterglobal monetary cooperation,secure financial stability,facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world. (source: www.imf.org)

8.4.1 Background of the IMF

The IMF came into existence in December 1945 and started functioning on March 1, 1947. It is an autonomous organization and is affiliated to the United Nations. It has its main office in Washington. Presently, it has 189 countries as its members.

Various historical conditionsand events that led to the establishment of IMF are summarized below:

- Gold standard functioned with reasonable success and provided a medium of international payments before World War- I. A gold standard is a monetary system whereby a country's currency has a value, whichis linked to gold.Under the gold standard, countries could convert paper money into a definite amount of gold.
- The onset of World War I forced most of the countries abandon gold standard and put restrictions on the movement of gold as well as goods.
- After the World War -I, some countries came back on the gold standard but the gold standard could not work well between the periodof 1919-1931.
- The world faced the Great Depression between 1929 to 1936. Price, profits, share prices, production, employment and income of the leading countries fell very low.
- World War II (1939-45) further disrupted the pattern of international trade and dislocated the economies of the world.

8.4.2 Objectives of the IMF

The Fund started functioning on the March 1, 1947, with the following objectives:

- To promote international monetary co-operation,
- To ensure stability in foreign exchange rates (aforeign exchange rate is the price of the domestic currency stated in terms of another currency),
- To eliminate exchange control(governmental restriction on the movement of currency between countries).
- To establish a system of multilateral trade and payment system,
- To promote international trade,
- To help member-nations to achieve balanced economic growth,
- To eliminate or to reduce the disequilibrium in the balance of payments (the difference in total value between payments into and out of the country over a definite period of time)and
- To promote investment of capital in backward and underdeveloped countries.

8.4.3 Structure of the IMF

Presently, the IMF has 189 countries as its members as mentioned earlier. The **Board of Governors** is the highest decision-making body of the IMF.Each member country appoints two governors to the IMF. The IMF Board of Governors is advised by two **Ministerial Committees**, namely,the International Monetary and Financial Committee (IMFC) and the Development Committee.The IMF Executive Board conducts the daily business of the IMF and exercises the powers delegated to it by the Board of Governors, as well as those powers conferred on it by the ***Articles of Agreement***.The IMF is led by a **Managing Director**, who is head of the staff and serves as Chairman of the Executive Board.The Board of Governors reports directly to the Managing Director.

8.4.4 Functions of the IMF

Following are three important functions of the Fund:

The IMF's fundamental mission is to ensure the stability of the international monetary system. It performs three functions in this regard: (a) keeping track of the global economy and the economies of member countries(economic surveillance); lending to countries with balance of payments difficulties; and giving practical help to members (capacity development).

- **Economic Surveillance:** The IMF oversees the international monetary system and monitors the economic and financial policies of its 189 member countries. As part of this process, the IMF highlights possible risks to stability and advises on needed policy adjustments.The Fund tenders advice to the members-countries on economic and monetary matters, because it is in a position to do so in view of its special status. Thus, the fund helps the member countries to stabilize their economies.
- **Lending:** The IMF provides loans to member countries to help them rebuild their international reserves, stabilize their currencies, continue paying for imports, and restore conditions for strong economic growth, while resolving underlying problems.
- **Capacity Development:** The IMF works with governments around the world to modernize their economic policies and institutions, and train their people. This helps countries strengthen their economy, improve growth and create jobs.

(Source: https://www.imf.org/en/About)

8.4.5 Capital of the IMF

The capital of the I.M.F. consists of the aggregate of the quotas allotted to members-countries. Each member pays either 20 percent of the quota or 10 percent of its entire gold holding

whichever is less, in gold. The balance of the quota is paid to the Fund in the national currency of the member-country.

8.4.6 Role of the IMF

The role IMF can be assessed from its advantages and disadvantages.

- **Advantages of the IMF:** Following are the main advantages which have accrued to the world from the functioning of the IMF :
  - **Establishment of a Monetary Reserve Fund:** Under this system, the Fund is able to accumulate a sizeable stock of the national currencies of different countries. It is out of this stock that the Fund meets the foreign exchange requirements of the member-countries.
  - **Setting up of a Multilateral Trade and Payments System:** The establishment of the Fund has given stimulus to the setting up of a multilateral trade and payments system.
  - **Improvement in Short-term Disequilibrium in Balance of Payments:** By lending foreign currencies to members-countries against their national currencies, the Fund helps them to eliminate short-term disequilibrium in their balance of payments.
  - **Stability in Foreign Exchange Rates:** Till 1971, the Fund had succeeded in attaining a certain amount of stability in foreign exchange rates. The rates of exchange under the IMF had not fluctuated as much as they used to do before its establishment. This stability in foreign exchange rates had the effect of promoting the flow of international trade among different countries.
  - **Check on Competitive Currency Devaluation :** Before the establishment of the Fund, different countries of the world often resorted to competitive currency devaluation

with a view to boosting their exports. This naturally produced strains in their economic and political relationships. But the situation has now totally changed after the coming into existence of the I.M.F.

- **No Interference in Domestic Economic Affair:** The Fund does not interfere in the internal economic affairs of member-countries, nor does it try to influence their economic and monetary policies in any way.
- **Gains of Gold Standard:** The I.M.F. has been able to secure for its members all the advantages of gold standard without its disadvantages. In fact, the Fund has laid the foundations of an international gold standard by making gold as a measure for the par values of national currencies. Moreover, the new system is less expensive and more flexible than the old gold standard. But under the recent reforms initiated in 1947, gold has been dethroned from the pre-eminent position which was accorded to it earlier.

➢ **Disadvantages of the IMF:** The functioning of the I.M.F. has been subjected to criticism on the following grounds:

- **Fixation of Unscientific Quotas:** The quota of the various member-countries has not been fixed on any scientific basis. In Fact, these quotas were fixed keeping in mind the economic and political interests of the U.S.A. and the U.K. the Fund has been continuously dominated by these two countries since its origin.
- **Discriminatory treatment:** Another complaint is that the Fund discriminates in favour of certain countries in its day-to-day functioning. Is gives special concessions to western countries while neglecting the genuine interests of backward and underdeveloped countries. It is on account of this that the new nations of Africa have referred to the Fund as the "Richmen's club."

- **Inadequate Representation to Developing countries:** About 90 percent of the members of the IMF are developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but they have been given only 38 percent of the total voting powers in the affairs of the Fund. That explains the reason why the interests of the developing countries are neglected by the fund.
- **Provision of Inadequate Resources to Developing Countries:** The developing countries needed adequate financial resources from the IMF for the twin purpose of (i) development, (ii) repayment of debts. For both these purposes, the financial resources made available to them were far from adequate.



LET US KNOW

the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference commonly known as the Bretton Woods Conference, was held from July 1-22, 1944 in Mount Washington Hotel, situated in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, United States. The conference was attended by delegates from all 44 Allied nationsafter the end of World War II with the objective of regulating the international monetary and financial order. The outcome was the establishment of theInternational Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Mention any two historical conditions and events that led to the establishment of IMF .

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Q 4: Mention any two functions of IMF.

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ACTIVITY 8.1

Find out the name of the present Managing Director of IMF.

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8.5 WORLD BANK

8.5.1 Background of the World Bank

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development- the IBRD or World Bank, in short- was founded at the International Economic Conference held at Bretton Woods in July 1944 and began its operation in June 1946. The bank is an international cooperative organization associated with the United Nations having the status of a specialised agency. Its aim is to assist the economic development of its member-countries and to raise the standard of living of the people of the world.

The World Bank is a world-wide effort to guide international investments into productive channels.

8.5.2 Structure of the World Bank

The World Bank is like a cooperative body.The members of the IMF automatically become the members of the World Bank. Accordingly, there are 189 countries as members of the World Bank at present. If any country resigns its membership of the IMF, it can no longer remain the member of the Bank.

The member countries are represented by a Board of Governors who are the ultimate policymakers at the World Bank. Generally, the governors are the ministers of finance or ministers of development of the member countries. They meet once a year

at the Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors of the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund.The governors delegate specific duties to 25 Executive Directors.The President of the World Bank is responsible for chairing the meetings of the Boards of Directors and for overall management of the Bank. The President is selected by the Board of Executive Directors for a five-year renewable term

8.5.3 Functions and Objectives of the World Bank

The World Bank is a sister institute of the IMF. The objectives of the Bank, as set forth in the Articles of Agreement. The various objectives of the World Bank are such as:

- To assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes including the restoration of economies destroyed or disrupted by war (hence the name : Bank for Reconstruction) and the encouragement of the development of productive facilities and resources in less-developed countries (hence the name : Bank for Development) ;
- To encourage the development of productive resources in developing countries by supplying them investment capital;
- To promote private foreign investment by direct loans from its own capital for productive purposes;
- To promote the long-term balanced growth of international trade and the maintenance of equilibrium in the balance of payments of member-countries by encouraging long-term international investment ; and
- To help in raising productivity, the standard of living and the conditions of labour in member-countries.

The World Bank advances loans to member-countries primarily to help them to lay down the foundations of sound economic growth. The loans made by the Bank either directly or through guarantees are intended for certain specified projects of reconstruction and development in member-countries.

8.5.4 Guiding Principles of the World Bank

In its lending operations, the Bank is guided by certain policies which have been formulated on the basis of the Articles of Agreement.

- The Bank should assess properly the repayment prospects of the loans. For this, it should consider the availability of natural resources and existing productive plant capacity to exploit the resources and operate the plant and the country's past debt record.
- The Bank should lend only for specific projects which are economically and technically sound and of high priority nature and must stimulate economic growth such as power and transport, which are pre requisites for economic development. Besides, the Bank puts much emphasis upon the proper management of the projects.
- The Bank lends money only to meet foreign exchange component of any project cost; it normally expects the borrowing country to mobilise its domestic resources.
- It is the Bank's policy to maintain continuing relations with borrowers so as tomonitor the progress of the projects and to keep in touch with financial and economic development in the borrowing countries. This also helps in solving any problem which may arise in the technical and administrative fields.
- Finally, the Bank indirectly places special importance on the promotion of local private enterprise.

8.5.5 Capital of the World Bank

The subscription of a member-country in the capital of the Bank is divided into three parts: (i) 2 percent of the subscription is payable in gold, or U.S. dollar and is freely available for lending purposes. (ii) 18 percent of the subscription is payable by the member-countries in their own national currencies. (iii) The remaining 80 percent of the subscription can be called up by the

Bank whenever it requires it to meet is obligations.

The capital of the World Bank has been increased from time to time with the consent of the member-countries.

8.5.6 Role of the World Bank

The World Bank advances loans to members in the following three ways:

- Loans out of its own funds: If the loan is to be given to a member-country in terms of the national currency of another country, out of its own fund, then it is obligatory on the part of the Bank to secure the prior consent of the latter member-country.
- Loans out of Borrowed Capital: Sometimes, the Bank borrows funds from another member-country for the purpose of giving loans to the needy members. The Bank pays interest to the member-country from which it has borrowed funds for a specified period of time.
- Loans through Bank's Guarantee: Sometimes, the Bank encourages the private investors of a country to lend their funds to another country by guaranteeing the repayment of loans and interest thereon.

The Bank has been lending to the member-countries for specific development projects in the fields of agriculture, irrigation, power, transport, industry, water-supply and education, etc. The Bank extends medium and long-term loans to member-countries.

Technical Assistance by the Bank: In this context, the Bank sends to the member-countries its economic experts to carry out the general survey of their physical resources. In addition, the bank helps member-countries in solving their economic problems.

The World Bank has lent billions of dollars to member-countries for various development projects since the time of its inception. These loans were made for development projects relating to electricity, transport and communication, agriculture, water-supply, education, etc.

Loans granted for productive purposes: The World Bank grants loans strictly for productive purposes; particularly for agriculture, irrigation electric power and transport. Without this infrastructure, no country can develop economically. Hence, the Bank gives priority to these enterprises for lending purposes. The bank has also extended loans in the fields of development projects relating to electricity, transport and communication, agriculture, water-supply, education, etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Mention any two purposes of the World Bank.

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Q 6: Mention any two objectives of World Bank.

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8.6 LET US SUM UP

- The birth of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on January 1, 1995 holds a great promise for the globalization of the world economies in respect of international trade. WTO was established to replace General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) set up in 1948 by 23 countries.
- The WTO agreements cover trade in goods as well as services, to facilitate international trade. At present, there are at present 164 member countries of WTO and all the members are required to adopt laws and policies framed under WTO rules.
- The primary aim of WTO is to implement the new world trade system as visualized in the agreement, to promote world trade in a manner that benefits every country, to ensure that developing countries secure

a better balance in the sharing of the advantages resulting from the expansion of international trade corresponding to their development needs, to demolish all hurdles to an open world trading system and usher in international economic renaissance because the world trade is an effective instrument to foster economic growth, etc.

- These objectives of the WTO are more or less similar to the objectives of GATT. However, under the WTO these are sought to be achieved following a more rigorous and tougher enforcement of the policy of export competition, market access and free trade.
- WTO is to facilitate multilateral trade agreements, and their implementation. WTO is to act as a facilitator in regard to the administration, operations and implementation of multilateral trade agreements.
- WTO is to work in tandem with IMF, World Bank and their affiliated organizations for achieving better results in the area of international trade.
- The World Trade Organization (WTO) is playing an important role for administering the new global trade rules.
- WTO is to work in tandem with IMF, World Bank and their affiliated organizations for achieving better results in the area of international trade.
- International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international monetary institution established by different countries after World War - II with the objectives to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability,facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world. (source: www.imf.org)
- Various historical conditions and events that led to the establishment of IMF .
- The IMF came into existence in December 1945 and started functioning on March 1, 1947. It is an autonomous organisation and is affiliated to the United Nations. It has its main office in Washington. Presently, it has 189 countries as its members.

- The Fund started functioning on the March 1, 1947, with the objectives of promoting international monetary co-operation, ensuring stability in foreign exchange rates, eliminating exchange control(governmental restriction on the movement of currency between countries), establishing a system of multilateral trade and payment system, etc.
- The Fund helps the member-countries to eliminate or at least to minimize the short-period disequilibrium in their balance of payments; the Fund also helps the members-countries to remove the long-period disequilibrium in their balance of payments ; the Fund tenders advice to the members-countries on economic and monetary matters, because it is in a position to do so in view of its special status; the fund helps the member countries to stabilize their economies.
- The capital of the I.M.F. consists of the aggregate of the quotas allotted to members-countries. Each member pays either 20 percent of the quota or 10 percent of its entire gold holding whichever is less, in gold. The balance of the quota is paid to the Fund in the national currency of the member-country.
- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development-the IBRD or World Bank, in short- was founded at the International Economic Conference held at Bretton Woods in July 1944 and began its operation in June 1946. The bank is an international cooperative organization associated with the United Nations having the status of a specialised agency. Its aim is to assist the economic development of its member-countries and to raise the standard of living of the people of the world.
- The World Bank is a world-wide effort to guide international investments into productive channels. The purposes of the Bank, as set forth in the Articles of Agreementare to assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes including the restoration of economies destroyed or disrupted by war (hence the name : Bank for Reconstruction) and the encouragement of the development of productive facilities and resources in less-developed countries (hence the name : Bank for Development) ; promoting private foreign

investment; to promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade and the maintenance of equilibrium in balance of payments.

- In its lending operations, the Bank is guided by certain policies which have been formulated on the basis of the Articles of Agreement.
- The World Bank is a sister institute of the IMF. The various objectives of the World Bank are such as : to assist in the reconstruction and development of member-countries by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes; to encourage the development of productive resources in developing countries by supplying them investment capital; etc.
- The members of the IMF automatically become the members of the World Bank. Accordingly, there are 189 countries as members of the World Bank at present. If any country resigns its membership of the IMF, it can no longer remain the member of the Bank.
- The subscription of a member-country in the capital of the Bank is divided into three parts: (i) 2 percent of the subscription is payable in gold, or U.S. dollar and is freely available for lending purposes. (ii) 18 percent of the subscription is payable by the member-countries in their own national currencies. (iii) The remaining 80 percent of the subscription can be called up by the Bank whenever it requires it to meet is obligations.
- The capital of the World Bank has been increased from time to time with the consent of the member-countries.
- The Bank advances loans to members in the following three ways: Loans out of its own funds; Loans out of Borrowed Capital; Loans through Bank's Guarantee.



8.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash & Arora, *Prem. Comparative Politics and International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.

2) Paul R.R. (1992) Kalyani Publication, New Delhi- Chapter 8, *"Monetary Economics."*

8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: (a) The primary aim of WTO is to implement the new world trade system as visualized in the agreement.

(b) To promote world trade in a manner that benefits every country.

Ans to Q No 2: (a) WTO is to facilitate multilateral trade agreements, and their implementation. WTO is to act as a facilitator in regard to the administration, operations and implementation of multilateral trade agreements.

(b) WTO shall facilitate the administration, implementation, and operationalization of plurilateral trade agreements.

Ans to Q No 3: (a) Gold standard functioned with reasonable success and provided a medium of international payments before World War- I. A gold standard is a monetary system whereby a country's currency has a value, which is linked to gold. Under the gold standard, countries could convert paper money into a definite amount of gold.

(b) The onset of World War I forced most of the countries abandon gold standard and put restrictions on the movement of gold as well as goods.

Ans to Q No 4: (a) The Fund helps the member-countries to eliminate or at least to minimize the short-period disequilibrium in their balance of payments. The Fund does this either by selling or by lending foreign currencies to the members concerned.

(b) The Fund also helps the members-countries to remove the long-period disequilibrium in their balance of payments.

Ans to Q No 5: (a) To assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes including the restoration of economies destroyed or disrupted by war and the encouragement of the development of productive facilities and resources in less-developed countries.

(b) To promote private foreign investment by means of guarantees or participation in loans and investments made by private investors and to supplement private investment by its own finance.

Ans to Q No 6: (a) To assist in the reconstruction and development of member-countries by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes.

(b) To encourage the development of productive resources in developing countries by supplying them investment capital.



8.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development-the IBRD or World Bank was founded at which conference held at Bretton Woods ?

Q 2: The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in which year ?

Q 3: In which year did the IMF come into existence in December 1945?

Q 4: What is the total number of members in the World Bank at present?

B) ShortQuestions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the guiding principles of the World Bank.

Q 2: Write about the objectives of the World Trade Organization.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the functions of the World Trade Organization. Write about the role of the World Trade Organization.

Q 2: Discuss the objectives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Explain the advantages of the IMF.

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UNIT 9: EMERGING WORLD ORDER

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Disintegration of the USSR and End of Cold War

9.4 Emerging World Order : Present Trends

9.5 Let Us Sum Up

9.6 Further Reading

9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.8 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the background of the emergence of a new world order
- explain the disintegration of USSR and end of Cold War
- discuss the emerging world order in the post -Cold War period
- discuss the various emerging trends such as emergence of a unipolar world, visibility of a multi-polar world, the threat of international terrorism, role of the United Nations, concern over environmental issues, etc.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In the second unit we learnt about the cold war implying the hostile relations between the two blocs- Western Capitalist bloc headed by the United States of America and the Eastern Communist bloc headed by the former Soviet Union or the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) USSR. The end of the cold war marked the beginning of a new phase. In this unit, we shall discuss the world order emerging in the post-Cold War period.

9.3 DISINTEGRATION OF USSR AND END OF COLD WAR

The cold war implied the strained and hostile relations that existed between two rival blocs or groups of countries. The main rival blocs were the Western Capitalist Bloc headed by United States and the Eastern Communist Bloc led by the former Soviet Union or the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Each bloc wanted to carry forward its own respective ideology as a result of which there prevailed mutual suspicion and rivalry between the two blocs. Neither peace nor war prevailed during this cold war period.

As a matter of fact, after the Second World War, the world became divided into two distinct blocs, each led by a rival superpower. While the Western capitalist bloc was headed by the United States, the Eastern communist bloc was headed the Soviet Union. The eastern bloc consisted of the communist countries in general, particularly the Soviet Union and its political and military allies in Eastern Europe. The western bloc consisted of the non-communist countries which included the United States and the advanced industrialized countries of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This bipolarisation or division of the world into two blocs led to the emergence of a situation of cold war, marked by constant mutual hostility and suspicion.



Unipolar World: A world dominated by a single nation or superpower

Beginning from the early 1985, the Soviet Union began to decline. Years of military build up led to a stagnant economy. At the same time, several Soviet Socialist Republics began to resist central leadership. Significantly, the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev introduced a political movement aimed at restructuring the Soviet political and economic system in the second half of the 1980s. All this resulted in the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 which marked the end of the Cold War.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Which country led the eastern Communist bloc during the Cold War ?

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Q 2: Which Soviet President introduced a political movement aimed at restructuring the Soviet political and economic system in the second half of the 1980s ?

.....

.....

Q 3: Mention the names of any two countries of the Western bloc during the cold war.

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9.4 EMERGING WORLD ORDER: PRESENT TRENDS

- **Emergence of a Unipolar world:** The Cold War ended in the early 1990s. The end of superpower ideological rivalry ushered in a new hope of democratization. In the post-Cold War period, although the United States of America is the sole reigning superpower, major emerging powers like India and China are also expected to play a balancing role in the years ahead. The old bipolar international system invariably gave way to a near ***unipolar*** (single power centre) world dominated by the sole super-power in the form of the United States of America. The United States enjoys immense political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural influence across the globe. The United States has forces in Europe, the Middle East, Persian Gulf and South East Asia and has naval bases in all the oceans of the world. Often, the United States has used its military superiority to vigorously in pursuance of its national interests. American influence is seen in all parts of the globe and is in the forefront of technological innovations. The United States is the largest economy in the world and plays a decisive role in determining the shape of the global economy. In the Middle East, US has vastly enhanced its influence since the end of the Cold War. With the launch of military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, US engagement in the region has become all the more intense. At

the same time, the post Cold War period saw the expansion of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to involve countries of Eastern Europe- a region previously under Soviet influence. Thus, it is seen that in the post Cold War period, the outlines of a unipolar world dominated by a single power, namely, the United States of America became increasingly visible.

- **Trends of a multi-polar world are also becoming visible:** However, from a broader politico-economic point of view, a close observation of the evolving trends in the realm of international relations would indicate that a growing trend towards a multi-polar (more than one power centre) world is also increasingly noticeable in the international system during the post-Cold War period.

  Although, the predominance of the United States, military and otherwise, is markedly visible, yet at the same time other power centres such as the European Union, Russia, India, China, Brazil and ASEAN nations (Association of South East Asian Nations) are emerging as significant actors as well, promising to influence the course of international politics in the coming decades. The European Union enhanced its sphere of influence in terms of expanding to erstwhile communist countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, etc. At one level, no single power can act arbitrarily in today's world, as growing interdependence among nations for trade and other reasons ensures that even superpowers have to harmonise relations with other nations effectively or groups of nations effectively.

  Therefore, although it is true that in the post-cold war period the United States still remains the sole super-power, yet other power centres have also emerged as key players in terms of their growing economic and political influence. Thus, apart from the United States, other important powers or groupings such as the European Union, China, Japan, Russia as well as India and Brazil have in the recent years, come to assume centre-stage in the global political and economic scene.

- **Threat of international terrorism:** The threat of international terrorism is another scourge that looms large over the world today. Terrorism fuelled by religious fundamentalism has become an important cause of concern for the nations of the world today. Terrorist groups today have an international character. Their fund-flows transcend national boundaries, even as they are engaged in unlawful activities like arms and drug trafficking, the latter being an important source of funds for many of these terrorist groups. Rapid advancements in the field of communication technology have also enabled terrorist groups to plan, train and execute acts of political terrorism, which they are able to do with greater ease and pace. Accordingly, in recent years, the sphere of activity and networking of terrorist groups have expanded globally, enabling them to strike anywhere, anytime transcending national boundaries. National governments of various countries should collaborate and coordinate among themselves, in terms of intelligence sharing, joint operational exercises and policing, thereby, building up a strong and effective network to anticipate and respond to any terrorist activity in any part of the world. At the same time, a multi-pronged strategy has to be mapped out and implemented so that conditions of conflict, such as ethnic or sectarian, do not arise on the ground, for such conditions potentially breed and foster terrorist activities. Institution building, good governance and promotion of a culture that is based on tolerance and is respectful of basic human rights are factors which all nations must emphasise on to deal with the menace of terrorism.
- **Role of the United Nations and Regional organisations:** The United Nations today is the most representative inter-governmental organisation of the world today. The United Nations has made significant positive contributions in the field of international peace and security. It has made efforts to promote cooperation among states and international development. The challenges of global and regional issues can only be tackled with the help of international cooperation and no other organisation other than the United Nations

can play a leading and positive role in this regard. The UN has convened several global conferences to address many important global economic and social issues. These include a conference on environmental issues held in Rio de Janeiro (1992) and again in 2012, a conference on human rights held in Cairo (1994) and a conference on women's issues held in Beijing (1995), a conference on Climate Change held in Lima (2014), etc. These conferences reflect a growing sense of interdependence among nations with regard to several global issues and interests. In 2000, the UN convened a Millennium Summit in which the heads of states of all member states of the UN committed themselves to help achieve eight international development goals known as Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. These goals include eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, universal primary education, gender equality, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, etc. Since 2000, the UN has been guided by the MDGs in all its development activities at the country level. The role of the UN in peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction has increased since the 1990s. It is imperative that the United Nations is able to play a pivotal role in promotion of a global order where all nations of the world could engage with one another on equal terms. The role of the United Nations in terms of the principle of Collective Security and maintenance of peace in the world along with promoting sustainable socio-economic development is more relevant today than ever. The UN today is the only organisation which is capable of bringing together all member states on a common platform to address issues of peace and security and socio-economic development.

At the same time, in today's world, several issues and concerns call for joint action on the part of the nations of the world at local and regional levels. Such cooperation may be bilateral (i.e., between any two countries), or multilateral (i.e., among several countries). Regional organisations such as the European Union, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), South Asian Association for Regional

Cooperation (SAARC), BRICS nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) are important platforms where relevant regional issues such as economic growth and prosperity, territorial integrity, regional peace and stability, good neighbourly relations, etc. are discussed and differences are sought to be resolved peacefully.

- **Concern over Environmental Issues:** In the contemporary world, environmental issues have made a major impact on the course of international relations. There has been a growing concern among the nations of the world with regard to the issue of environmental degradation. Climate change and global warming, ozone layer depletion, greenhouse effect, biodiversity conservation and use etc. and measures to tackle these problems are major issues and concerns of the world community today with both national and international ramifications. Human efforts to control nature have led to the destruction and loss of equilibrium of the environment resulting in massive environmental problems. It is our duty and responsibility to conserve and protect the environment we live in by being aware of our activities and the issues and factors which affect the environment. Governments have a major role here to preserve the natural resources by formulating and implementing effective rules and regulations and environmental laws. The world is encountering enormous environmental problems and therefore environmental protection has become a major issue in national and international conferences and seminars. The world's natural resources are depleting day by day and the quality of water, land and forest is declining. Some of the major environmental issues which mankind is facing are– ozone layer depletion, climate change, global warming, acid rain, deforestation, soil degradation, desertification, smog due to automobile and industrial pollution, greenhouse effect and discharge of toxic wastes by industrial units into rivers and oceans.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Mention the names of any two important countries constituting a multi-polar world.

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.....

Q 5: Mention the factors which all nations must emphasise on to deal with the menace of terrorism.

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.....

Q 6: Mention any four environmental issues which mankind is facing today.

.....

.....

Q 7: In which year did the UN convene a Millennium Summit ?

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9.5 LET US SUM UP

- The cold war implied the strained and hostile relations that existed between two rival blocs or groups of countries. The main rival blocs were the Western Capitalist Bloc headed by United States and the Eastern Communist Bloc led by the erstwhile Soviet Union or the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Each bloc wanted to carry forward its own respective ideology as a result of which there prevailed mutual suspicion and rivalry between the two blocs. Neither peace nor war prevailed during this cold war period.
- As a matter of fact, after the Second World War, the world became divided into two distinct blocs, each led by a rival superpower. While the Western capitalist bloc was headed by the United States, the

Eastern communist bloc was headed the Soviet Union.

- The bipolarisation or division of the world into two blocs led to the emergence of a situation of cold war, marked by constant mutual hostility and suspicion.
- Beginning from the early 1985, the Soviet Union began to decline. Years of military build up led to a stagnant economy. At the same time, several Soviet Socialist Republics began to resist central leadership.
- Significantly, the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev introduced a political movement aimed at restructuring the Soviet political and economic system in the second half of the 1980s. All this resulted in the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 which marked the end of the Cold War.
- In the post-Cold War period, although the US is the sole reigning superpower, major emerging powers like India and China are also expected to play a balancing role in the years ahead.
- The old bipolar international system invariably gave way to a near unipolar (single power centre) world dominated by the sole super-power in the form of the United States of America. The United States enjoys immense political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural influence across the globe. The United States has forces in Europe, the Middle East, Persian Gulf and South East Asia and has naval bases in all the oceans of the world.
- However, from a broader politico-economic point of view, a close observation of the evolving trends in the realm of international relations would indicate that a growing trend towards a multi-polar (more than one power centre) world is also increasingly noticeable in the international system during the post-Cold War period.
- Although, the predominance of the United States, military and otherwise, is markedly visible, yet at the same time other power centres such as the European Union, BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China),ASEAN are emerging as significant actors as well, promising to influence the course of international politics in the coming decades.

- Therefore, although it is true that in the post-cold war period the United States still remains the sole super-power, yet other power centres have also emerged as key players in terms of their growing economic and political influence.
- Thus, apart from the United States, other important powers or groupings such as the European Union, China, Japan, Russia as well as India and Brazil have in the recent years, come to assume centre-stage in the global political and economic scene.
- The threat of international terrorism is another scourge that looms large over the world today. Terrorism fuelled by religious fundamentalism has become an important cause of concern for the nations of the world today. Terrorist groups today have an international character.
- National governments of various countries should collaborate and coordinate among themselves, in terms of intelligence sharing, joint operational exercises and policing, thereby, building up a strong and effective network to preempt and respond to any terrorist activity in any part of the world.
- The United Nations today is the most representative inter-governmental organisation of the world today. The United Nations has made significant positive contributions in the field of international peace and security. It has made efforts to promote cooperation among states and international development. The challenges of global and regional issues can only be tackled with the help of international cooperation and no other organisation other than the United Nations can play a leading and positive role in this regard.
- Several key economic and social problems with global implications have been addressed by the UN by way of convening several global conferences.
- In the contemporary world, environmental issues have made a major impact on the course of international relations. There has been a growing concern among the nations of the world with regard to the issue of environmental degradation.

- Climate change and global warming, ozone layer depletion, greenhouse effect, biodiversity conservation and use etc. and measures to tackle these problems are major issues and concerns of the world community today with both national and international ramifications.



9.6 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem. *Comparative Politics and International Relations.* New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Ghai, K.K. *International Relations – Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. *International Relations*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt.Ltd.
4) Pant, Pushpesh. *International Relations in the 21st Century*. McGraw Hill Education.



9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Soviet Union or USSR

Ans to Q No 2: Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev

Ans to Q No 3: USA and Australia

Ans to Q No 4: India and China

Ans to Q No 5: Institution building, good governance

Ans to Q No 6: Climate change and global warming, ozone layer depletion,

Ans to Q No 7: 2000



9.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Which countries constituted the eastern bloc during the Cold War.

Q 2: Mention any four goals of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Q 3: Mention any four global conferences convened by the UN to address important global economic and social issues.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a note on the end of the Cold War and disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Q 2: Write briefly about the role of the United Nations and regional players in the contemporary world.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the emergence of a unipolar world in the post-cold war period. Explain how a multi-polar world is also becoming visible at the same time.

Q 2: Discuss the new world order that is emerging today in terms of the threat of international terrorism and a concern over environmental issues.

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UNIT 10: INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objective

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Determinants of India's Foreign Policy

10.4 Objectives of India's Foreign Policy

10.5 Basic Principles of India's Foreign Policy

10.6 Let Us Sum Up

10.7 Further Reading

10.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.9 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- explain the determinants or the factors that influence and determine India's foreign policy
- discuss the objectives of India's foreign policy
- describe the principles of India's foreign policy

10.2 INTRODUCTION

India achieved independence on August 15, 1947 and became a member of the international community comprising sovereign countries. It immediately necessitated the formulation or making of foreign policy by the independent India. However, India formally got the right to conduct her foreign policy in 1941, when an interim government was formed in the country. Even before the attainment of independence, India was given some voice in world affairs. This was done by the British Government on behalf of India and also by the Indian National Congress by way of adopting resolutions on various issues from time to time.

India's independence initiated the process of decolonization, and India decided to support all anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles. Yet,

India's foreign policy is basicallybased on her history, culture and tradition. Speaking in the Lok Sabha, the first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said in March 1950, "It should not be supposed that we are starting on a clean slate. It is a policy which flowed from our recent history, from our national movement and its development and from various ideals we have proclaimed."

Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of India from 1947 till his death in 1914. The foundations of India's foreign policy were primarily laid by him. Nehru emphasizedIndia's national interest as the basic guiding principle in making of India's foreign policy. Moreover, Nehru also emphasized on national security, promotion of international peace, rapid economic development, emancipation of colonial and dependent peoples, promotion of racial equality, and the protection of legitimate interests of people of Indian origin living abroad.

10.3. DETERMINANTS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy making is a dynamic process. Foreign policy of a nation is influenced and determined by a number of factors. Those factors that influence and determine the foreign policy of a country are its determinants. Some of these determinants are static or of unchanging nature whereas others are in a state of flux and their dynamics are continually adjusted to the changing circumstances.

According to former Foreign Secretary of India and a renowned writer J.N. Dixit, "Foreign policy of a country is a statement of what it stands for and the role that it takes upon itself and projects to the world at large". It is seldom static. Rather it remains in a 2state of constant flux. Nevertheless, there are crucial ingredients that remain significant for longer times.

The important factors or the determinants that influence India's foreign policy are discussed below-

- **Internal Factors:**
  - **Geography:** Geography is the one of the most persuasive factors of foreign policy. Rightly remarked by Napoleon

Bonaparte, "Any country's foreign policy is determined by its geography."

India's size, climate, location and topography have played a vital role in shaping its foreign policy. India is the gateway of both South-East Asia and the Middle-East. India's security and vital interests are closely tied with the future of the region. A natural frontier in the form of Himalayas in the North and Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal on the three sides has considerably influenced its foreign policy.

- **History and Tradition:** India's commitment to peace from time immemorial has significantly influenced the foreign policy. Her experience of colonialism in the modern period promoted India to take a firm stand on any form of imperialism. The impact of British rule in India and the influence of national movement and freedom struggle is clearly evident in the shaping of India's foreign policy. There has been constant emphasis on the aspect of world peace and spirit of brotherhood among nations because of the fact that Indians still pin faith in the dictum 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam'.
- **Impact of Ideology:** Shaping of foreign policies is generally influenced by the ideological commitment of the concerned leadership. Gandhi's idea of peace and non-violence is significantly important in making of India's foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru concretized the ideas of Gandhi into pragmatic form and channeled them into foreign policy. It was only because of the rich intellectual heritage of Indian leadership that India chose to have an independent stance with regard to her relations with other nations based on a policy of non-aggression and peaceful existence. Non-alignment, mixed economy, etc. are the outcome of the ideological base provided by Indian leaders.
- **Economic Factors:** The issue of economic development also is one of the vital factors in shaping the foreign policy of a nation. The stagnant economy at the time of independence

profoundly affected India's foreign policy. The problems of poverty, health, scarcity that was outcome of British imperialism convinced the country of futility of alignments. Instead it chose to welcome assistance from all the countries.

- **Military Factors:** Military strength of a nation plays a very influential role in shaping and implementing its foreign policy.After independence, India inherited a weak defense system. Her military was organized on British pattern, geared to serve the interest of an alien country. It was plagued by maladministration, lack of equipments and up to date technical knowhow. Lack of capital to modernize the army led India to pursue her economic interests at the cost of security issues. However, with the passage of time, India took cognizance of these lacunae in her security. Today Indian army is one of the ablest and strongest armies in the world.
- **Impact of Nehru:** Besides many other determinants, the personality of Jawaharlal Nehru had a deep impact on India's foreign policy. His leadership left its impact both on domestic policy and on foreign policy. He was a combination of patriotism and internationalism, of socialism and liberal democracy, and of Gandhian idealism and Churchill's realism. Nehru laid the foundation of India's foreign policy and formulated its basic principles. An outstanding contribution of Nehru was the shaping of a foreign policy, which has grown into the 'national policy'. The basic principles of peace, anti-colonialism and non-alignment have been supported by the entire country. Non-alignment with the power-blocs in the Cold War context was India's distinctive contribution to international relations. Nehru originated it, and within years attracted well over 100 States to this policy. Furthermore, Nehru's 'Panchsheel' approach towards international affairs was also accepted by all.

- **External Factors:**
  - **Cold War:** When India attained independence, the politics of cold

war and the polarization of the world into two blocs remained a dominant feature of international politics. Under such circumstances, India opted to remain outside the blocs and pursue a policy of non alignment. In fact, this stand was soon emulated by a large number of newly emerging independent countries from Asia and Africa. Though India remained outside the bloc politics, it welcomed aid and assistance from both the blocs and helped in slackening tension between them.

- **International Environment:** International environment prevailing in international politics, at the time of India's independence also greatly influenced its foreign policy. Besides Cold War, the process of decolonization began simultaneously with India's independence. India firmly supported the process of decolonization, and opposition to all forms of colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination. The Second World War had ruined the economies of several countries. So, India initiated for economic reconstruction and rapid economic development. Ideological conflicts were responsible for various disputes, aggression and wars after the World War II. India opted to remain out of these ideological conflicts of post-war period. Moreover, events of 1990s, particularly after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, also influenced the making of India's foreign policy.

Thus, the above are the important determinants of India's foreign policy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: What are the two important factors or the determinants that influence India's foreign policy?

.....

.....

Q 2: Ideology plays an important role in shaping of foreign policies. (True/False)

.....

10.4 OBJECTIVES OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of India has some basic aims and objectives. These aims and objectives of India'sforeign policy can be divided into three broad heads-

- The Central Objectives
- The Intermediary Objectives
- The Distant Objectives

- **Central Objectives:** The most important central objectives of India's foreign policy are the maintenance of national interest, national independence and sovereignty.
- **Intermediary Objectives:** The important intermediary objectives the foreign policy of India are the economic interest of the country and also to increase its power and prestige in the international politics.
- **Distant Objectives:** The important distant objectives of India's foreign policy are to shape an international system conforming toits dream and ideology.

The makers of India's foreign policy set out certain objectives before they proceed to lay down basic principles and formulate the policy. The objectives of India's foreign policy are so fundamental and generally accepted by the people and different parties that they are known as bases of a national policy. That has, therefore, resulted in continuity in India's foreign policy.

- **National Security, Interest and Independence:** The primary objective of India's foreign policy is to promote its national interest, to ensure its security, safeguard its sovereignty, contribute to its growth and prosperity and generally enhance its stature, influence, and role in international politics.
- **Economic Development:** The question of national development is also associated with the issue of national interest. One of the principal aims of India'sforeign policy is to ensure all pervasive national economic development and to expand the area of external trade as well as of accelerating the

pace of development. India is focusing on industrialization and trying to bring foreign capital in various sectors.

- **International Peace and Security:** Another objective of India's foreign policy is to maintain international peace and security. India is always eager to maintain international peace and hence always propagate for disarmament. India has regularly been requested the other States to stop arm competition and organize military groupings and alliances.
- **Settle International Disputes through Peaceful Means:** Another basic objective of India's foreign policy is to settle all international disputes through peaceful means and also politically. India always tries to solve international matters in a peaceful manner. Hence India has expressed her complete faith and allegiance to the policy and ideology declared by the United Nations. In all international conflicts that carried the possibility of the breach of peace and disturbances in the International system, India always endeavoured for the pacific settlement of them.
- **Peaceful Co-existence:** Another important objective of India's foreign policy is her faith on the policy of peaceful co-existence. India has tried to faithfully observe the ideals of non-interference and peaceful co-existence. Thus, India seeks peaceful settlement of international disputes and to promote universal brotherhood and humanism by following and advocating the five the five principles of 'Panchsheel'.
- **Policy of Non-alignment:** Another striking objective of India's foreign policy is her faith and maintenance of the policy of non-alignment in international politics.
- **Elimination of Want, Disease and Illiteracy:** One of the significant objectives of India's foreign policy is elimination of want, disease and illiteracy. It is closely related with the question of foreign aid and assistance. Therefore, India prefers to cooperate with various international agencies for fighting against

disease, starvation, poverty, illiteracy and famine.

Thus, India's foreign policy also aims at maintaining international peace and security, to oppose imperialism, to stand against the apartheid policy, to propagate the peaceful and political settlement of international disputes, to foster peaceful coexistence, to remain non-aligned and non- committed, and to maintain the unity and solidarity of the Third World.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Mention the central objectives of India's foreign policy.

.....

.....

Q 4: The important distant objectives of India's foreign policy are to shape an international system conforming to its dream and ideology. (True/False)

.....

10.5 BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Keeping in view the fundamental objectives of India's foreign policy discussed above, India has adopted and pursued certain basic principles to realize these objectives.The principles of India's foreign policy and its objectives are closely interlinked with each other. These principles have stood the test of time and are ingrained in the international law and India's foreign policy practice. Important principles of India's foreign policy are discussed below-

- **Non-alignment:** Non-alignment is one of the most significant principles of India's foreign policy. It is the most important contribution of India to international community. When India achieved independence, the world was divided into two blocs headed by two superpowers, Soviet Union and the USA. As India was eager to play an effective role in the

international arena, it decided not to join any of the power blocs. The core element of Non-alignment is to maintain independence in foreign affairs by not joining any military alliance formed by the USA and Soviet Union, which emerged as an important aspect of cold war politics after the Second World War. Non-alignment should not be confused with neutrality or non-involvement in international affairs or isolationism. It was a positive and dynamic concept. It postulates taking an independent stand on international issues according to the merits of each case but at the same time not committing to coming under the influence of any military bloc. Thus, keeping away from the military alliances and super power blocs was a necessary condition for the independence of foreign policy. India's policy of Non-alignment got many supporters in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as it provided them the opportunity for protecting their foreign policy independence amidst the cold war pressures and tensions. India played a lead role in popularizing and consolidating the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Apart from serving the national interest of the country, the policy of Non-alignment followed and advocated by India also went a long way in strengthening the cause of world peace.

- **Peaceful Co-existence and Principle of 'Panchsheel':** Another most important principle of India's foreign policy is peaceful co-existence and co-operation. It was in this spirit of peaceful co-existence and co-operation that India laid great emphasis on the settlement of disputes peacefully. Indian philosophy of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam' promotes the feeling of 'one world'. It means that nations of different ideologies, different religion and social systems can co-exist, live together in peace while following its own system. This basic Indian philosophy was formally recognized, when India and China signed the famous declaration of five principles or 'Panchsheel', on April 29, 1954.

  'Panchsheel' includes the following five principles of foreign policy-

  - Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
  - Non-aggression against each other
  - Non-interference in each other's internal affairs

- Equality and mutual benefit
- Peaceful co-existence

- **Anti-colonialism and Anti-imperialism:** One of the outstanding principles of India's foreign policy has been her strong opposition to colonialism and imperialism. Having been a victim of British imperialism for a long time, India decided to oppose all forms of colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, India decided to extend full support to the cause of freedom of dependent peoples of Asia Africa. It took up the cause of such people at the United Nations (UN) and played a significant role in the promotion of decolonization.
- **Opposition to Racialism:** Opposition to racialism is another important principle of India's foreign policy. India firmly believes in equality of all human beings. Its policy is aimed at opposition to all forms of discrimination based on race, culture etc. India was the first country to highlight the problem of racial discrimination at the international level and severely condemned the policy of racial segregation being pursued by the government of South Africa.

  India believes that racialism is one of the sources of conflict in the world and a threat to international peace and security. Therefore, India has consistently been supported the establishment of an egalitarian human society in which discrimination based on colour, race, class etc. does not exist.
- **Foreign Economic Aid and India's Independent Policy:** India firmly believed that economic development of the country was an urgent necessity. But at time of attaining independence, India was lacking adequate resources and technical know-how. India needed economic assistance as well as loans for numerous projects that it wanted to start in the process of multi-faceted development of the country. India tried to maintain independence in decision-making and foreign policy. It also did not want to compromise with the principle of Non-alignment, independence and sovereignty of the country. However, India began accepting aid from the World Bank and a number of other countries to accelerate the process of development of the country.

- **Faith in the United Nations (UN):** Extending support the UN is one of the basic principles of India's foreign policy. India is one of the founder-Members of the UN and many of its specialized agencies. India as a proponent of peace has shown great faith in UN. India firmly believes in international peace and security and continuously supported the efforts for universalization of the UN. It has been contributing military as well as other personnel for implementing the decisions of the UN.
- **Relations with Commonwealth:** Intimate relationship with Commonwealth has been another important principle of India's foreign policy. India sought the membership of Commonwealth even after adopting a Republican constitution, because it thought that the membership of Commonwealth shall be beneficial in the economic and other spheres.
- **Support for Disarmament:** Support for disarmament is also one of the important principles of India's foreign policy. India has been a staunch supporter of disarmament for two reasons. Firstly, India regarded disarmament as vital to end prevailing international tension. Secondly, the expenditure incurred on production of arms can be fruitfully utilized for socio-economic development. Therefore, India continuously supports various efforts of the UN and other agencies to bring about disarmament and arms control. It has also strongly supported nuclear disarmament, though India had not yet signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).
- **Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy:** Though India strongly opposes the nuclear arms race, it has been in favour of development of energy for peaceful purposes. It has been in favour of transfer of peaceful nuclear technology to developing countries to speed up the process of their development.
- **Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes:** Favouring for peaceful settlement of international disputes is another important principle of India's foreign policy. The framers of the Indian Constitution were keen to remind that India as a nation desired peaceful settlement

of international disputes. Article 51 of the Indian Constitution lays down that the State shall endeavour to seek peaceful settlement of international disputes. India does not believe in 'negotiation through strength', because it is illogical. Although India herself had to face wars imposed upon her, its faith in pacific means is not shaken.

- **Emphasis on Means:** Another distinctive principle of India's foreign policy is that it lays special emphasis on purity of means. India has always nourished very high ideals and consistently held that the means for the attainment of national interest must be pious.

Thus, these are the basic principles of India's foreign policy, which are based on high ideals.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Write about anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism as a principle of India's foreign policy.

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Q 6: Mention any two principles of India's foreign policy.

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10.6 LET US SUM UP

- India achieved independence on August 15, 1947 and it necessitated the formulation or making of foreign policy by the independent India.
- Even before the attainment of independence, India was given some voice in world affairs.
- India's foreign policy is basically based on her history, culture and tradition.
- Foreign policy of a nation is influenced and determined by number of factors. Foreign policy making is a dynamic process.It is seldom static.
- Geography, history and tradition, economic factors, military factors,

ideology, international situations etc. are the important determinants of India's foreign policy.

- India's foreign policy aims at maintaining international peace and security, to oppose colonialism and imperialism, to propagate the peaceful and political settlement of international disputes, to foster peaceful coexistence and to remain non-aligned.
- India has adopted and pursued certain basic principles to realize these objectives.The principles of India's foreign policy and its objectives are closely interlinked with each other.
- The basic principles of India's foreign policy are based on high ideals.



10.7 FURTHER READING

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10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1 : Internal factors and External factors

Ans to Q No 2 : True

Ans to Q No 3 : The most important central objectives of India's foreign policy are the maintenance of national interest, national independence and sovereignty.

Ans to Q No 4 : True

Ans to Q No 5 : One of the outstanding principles of India's foreign policy has been her strong opposition to colonialism and imperialism. Having been a victim of British imperialism for a long time, India decided to oppose all forms of colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, India decided to extend full support to the cause of freedom of dependent peoples of Asia Africa. It took up the cause of such people at the United Nations (UN) and played a significant role in the promotion of decolonization.

Ans to Q No 6 : Non-alignment and Faith in the United Nations.



10.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention any two external factors that influence India's foreign policy.

Q 2: What are the most important central objectives of India's foreign policy ?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain any four external determinants of India's Foreign Policy.

Q 2: Explain any five objectives of India's Foreign Policy.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the objectives of India's Foreign Policy.

Q 2: Discuss the principles of India's Foreign Policy.

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UNIT 11: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH USA

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objective

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Indo-US Relations : History, Phases and Present Status

- 11.3.1 History
- 11.3.2 Indo-US Relations during the Cold War Period
- 11.3.3 Indo-US Relations after 1962
- 11.3.4 Indo-US Relations after 1965
- 11.3.5 Indo-US Relations after 1971
- 11.3.6 Indo-US Relations since the End of Cold War
- 11.3.7 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Indo-US Relations
- 11.3.8 Issue of Human Rights and Indo-US Relations
- 11.3.9 Indo-US Relations in Contemporary Times
- 11.3.10 Indo-US Defence Partnership

11.4 Let Us Sum Up

11.5 Further Reading

11.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.7 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- outline the relationship between India and the USA
- know the history and the phases of Indo-US relations
- have an idea about the fluctuating relationship between India and the USA
- identify the issues or questions that have been determining the Indo-US relations
- make out the present status of Indo-US relations

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Both India and the US are two of the world's largest democracies. The United States is the only superpower in the present world. India has emerged as one of the world's leading global powers in the 21st century. Both countries share significant diplomatic, political, economic and strategic ties with each other. The relations between India and the US have passed through several phases over the years. In this unit, we shall try to discuss the relations between India and US over time.

11.3 INDO-US RELATIONS: HISTORY, PHASES AND PRESENT STATUS

11.3.1 Historical Background

The relationship between India and US dates back to the pre-independence period. In the 1930s and early 1940s, the United States extended very strong support to the Indian independence movement in defiance of the British Empire. President Roosevelt fully supported the idea of self-determination of all colonies under British rule. The Indian leaders acknowledged with gratitude the role played by the US President in exerting pressure on the British to grant independence to India. The democratic ideals of the Americans also greatly attracted the Indian leaders. They could also feel the close resemblance between the people and political systems of the two countries. India attained independence on August 15, 1947 and became a member of the international community comprising sovereign countries. India's relations with USA during the period immediately following her independence were rather friendly. However, in the subsequent periods, the relationship between India and the US has not been that warm. US policies regarding the Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir was one issue that deteriorated India-US relations since the US was supporting Pakistan over India. Even during the Sino-Indian war in 1962, when the US provided India with military support, the relationship did not improve much. During Cold War, the US was concerned about the neutrality of India because

India signed the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in 1971. During this period, the US viewed India as just a regional power with little global weight and concentrated more on supporting Pakistan.

After the Cold War, the US lessened assistance to Pakistan, leading to a better relationship with India. Furthermore, in 1991, India transformed the economy and opened the country to foreign investment. With rapid economic growth, India has become an emerging economic power in the world and has had opportunities for economic engagement with the US. The relationship between the two countries has been improving especially in the spheres of economic development, security, military and nuclear cooperation. However, the relations between India and USA have occasionally come under strain mainly because of the complication of the trilateral relationship: the US-India-Pakistan.

11.3.2 Indo-US relations during the Cold War period

The emergence of independent India coincided with the emergence of the two Super Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union leading to the formation of two power blocs. When India attained independence, there was the option of joining either of the two power blocs. However, India decided to adopt the policy of non-alignment to keep away from bloc politics, maintain friendship with both, and military alliance with none, and evolve an independent foreign policy. Though India has always wanted to have a balanced relationship with both the Super Powers, it has not always succeeded in this mission. The US leadership did not appreciate India's policy of non-alignment and interpreted it as a positive leaning towards Soviet Union. The refusal of India to join the military alliance sponsored by USA and different stands taken by it on various international issues like grant of independence to Indonesia, and recognition of the Communist regime of China was quite annoying to the US leaders. On the other hand, the American

support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue in the UN Security Council and grant of military aid to Pakistan with a view to meet the Communist threats were quite irritating for India.

India did not approve of the American policy of containment of Communism against Soviet Union and China through a system of military alliances, and sought to promote an environment of peaceful co-existence and co-operation. Nehru's mild stand on the Chinese invasion of Tibet, disassociation with the American move to brand China as an aggressor in Korea and opposition to the US sponsored 'Uniting for Peace Resolution' of November 1950 in the UN General Assembly irritated the United States. India's attitude towards the Peace Pact between USA and Japan concluded at San Francisco in September 1951 also caused some bitterness in Indo-US relations. India did not attend the conference convened by the US for the conclusion of US-Japan Peace Treaty. It also criticized the US decision not to invite Soviet Union and China to the conference. Thus, as a result of all this, Indo-US relations continued to be tense.

However, the relations between the two countries in the economic, cultural and educational spheres continued to grow. The USA provided significant assistance to India under the Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1951. The USA also made available to India huge quantities of food grains to tide over the problem of food-shortage. India also received enormous assistance from various private foundations, like the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and Carnagie.

11.3.3 Indo-US Relations after 1962

The Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 introduced a new aspect in the Indo-US relations. India's relations with the USA became more intimate after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962. The USA provided India with the useful moral and material help during the conflict when she stood alone. A common element of China's hostility towards India

and the US introduced a new mood in the country. The US gave unconditional support to India and sent necessary war material. Voices were raised in India for an alliance with the US against China, and the drastic modification of the policy of Non-alignment. However, with the withdrawal of military forces by China from most of the Indian territory and generally pro-Indian stand of the Soviet Union, India returned to its earlier non-aligned position.

11.3.4 Indo-US Relations after 1965

The relations between India and the US deteriorated following Indian condemnation of USA for use of chemical substances in North Vietnam during the Vietnam War. US reacted against Indian action and postponed the visit of US President to India in 1965. Despite this move, India continued to be critical of US policy in Vietnam.

Again, the use of US arms by Pakistan during the Indo-Pak war of 1965 further embittered the relations between India and the USA. India strongly protested to the US Government that Pakistan was using these arms and asked America to prevent the use of American arms against India. However, the American leaders took no measure in this regard. This was naturally interpreted by the Indian leaders as a pro-Pakistan stand. The pro-Pakistan attitude of USA was further evident from the fact that USA withdrew six of its ships loaded with defense aid for India when they were barely fifteen miles away from the Indian coast.

In the subsequent years also India's relations with USA continued to be far from friendly because of USA's consistent support to Pakistan on Kashmir issue and US decision to provide shelter to the Naga rebel leader Phizo in the US in 1961. USA also considerably cut short her aid to India which adversely affected Indian plans. On the other hand, India also refused to bow to the American pressure and raised the status of Indian Embassy in North Vietnam in January 1970. It also closed down American

cultural centres in Calcutta, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Patna, etc.

11.3.5 Indo-US Relations after 1971

In the war of 1971 between India and Pakistan which resulted in the birth of Bangladesh, USA once again adopted a partisan stand and supported Pakistan. First of all USA sought to protect the interests of Pakistan by trying to secure cease-fire through the UN Security Council. First of all, USA sought to protect the interests of Pakistan through the Security Council. But when the Security Council resolutions could not be carried out due to the use of 'Veto' by the Soviet Union, USA moved her Seventh Fleet towards the Bay of Bengal on the plea of evacuating US citizens from East Pakistan. The dispatch of nuclear powered aircraft carrier Enterprise for the evacuation of US citizens was clearly a move for military blackmail of India. After that, the relations between the two countries continued to operate at a very low key.

India tested its first nuclear device in 1974 in the deserts of Rajasthan. India made it clear that its nuclear programme was entirely for peaceful purposes. However, USA was highly critical and felt that the explosion might lead to nuclear proliferation in South Asia.

The relations between India and USA showed an improvement after the formation of Janata Government in India and assumption of Presidency by Jimmy Carter in USA in 1977. US President Jimmy Carter visited India in 1978 and Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai also paid a return visit to the US in the same year. These visits helped in restoration of cooperation and friendship, though in a very limited way. But before much progress could be made Indira Gandhi came back to power in India and her Government refused to rally on the side of USA in its anti-Soviet crusade over Afghanistan. The election of Ronald Reagan as the President of US and his tough stand towards Soviet Union also

hampered the Indo-US relations. Despite strong protests from India, the decision of the US Government to provide arms aid and sell sophisticated weapons to Pakistan also contributed to the Indo-US tension. Moreover, a number of other factors also contributed to the straining of relations between the two countries. These included denial of the supply of enriched uranium to the Tarapur Nuclear Plant by the US and India's refusal to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

11.3.6 Indo-US Relations since the End of Cold War

The Cold War that had started soon after the termination of the Second World War ended in the year 1989. The two Super Powers gave up the path of confrontation, but the Soviet Union soon began to collapse. It finally disintegrated in December, 1991. India, like rest of the world, was not prepared for this development. This left the United States as the only Super Power. Thus, it became essential for most of the countries to review their foreign policies and diplomatic activities. It was natural that India's relations with the United States underwent extensive change. India agreed to increase military cooperation with USA by giving consent in principle to the Kickleighter proposals named after Lt Gen Claude M Kicklighter of the US who visited India and put forward the proposal for joint military exercises between India and USA and to boost defence cooperation between the two countries. This was a significant development in view of the fact that the proposals were a turning point in India-US defence cooperation. India also aimed at bringing about stability in the region through expanded cooperation with USA in all fields. However, USA continued to be unhappy with India for its refusal to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Despite India's continued resistance to sign the NPT on the plea of security threats both from Pakistan and China, USA continued to exert pressure on India to sign the Treaty. At the

same time, India continued to develop closer defense and military relations with USA. The two countries reached an agreement for holding joint naval exercises. The two policies of economic liberalization and market economies pursued by India also contributed to closer relations with USA.

With the disintegration of Soviet Union and end of bipolarity, the irritants in the Indo-US relations disappeared and the two countries were drawn closer to each other on account of common interests like promotion of democratic rule, preservation of regional and world peace, opposition to Islamic fundamentalism and furthering of mutual trade and investment. India was convinced of the need of cultivating good relations with US due to absence of Soviet Union. USA also decided to improve relations with India on account of its military might, population, size and strategic location.

11.3.7 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Indo-US Relations

India's decision not to suspend or terminate its nuclear programme was a major irritant in the Indo-US relations. India's clear policy was that it would stop its nuclear programme only if all the nuclear weapon states (NWS) made a commitment that they would, in course of time, bring about complete nuclear disarmament. This commitment should be time-bound so that the world knows by what time it would be free of nuclear weapons. But, India's views were not taken seriously by the US.

USA had always wanted that both India and Pakistan should sign the NPT. This policy was vigorously pursued by successive US Presidents, from Carter to Clinton. Pakistan had made it clear to President Bush as well as Clinton that it would sign NPT only after India signed it. India consistently refused to sign the NPT because it regarded the Treaty as discriminatory. India has always argued that three countries in its neighbourhood had nuclear weapons and,

therefore, it could not give up its nuclear option unilaterally. USA went on putting pressure on India not only to sign the NPT but also not to develop its missile programme. India's decision to test 'Prithvi' and 'Agni' missiles provoked serious criticism in USA and elsewhere.

India made no compromise on its stand on the question of signing of NPT and later on the proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). India succeeded in blocking the CTBT in the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva in 1996 and voted against it even in the UN General Assembly.

Thus, by 1991, Indo-US differences persisted on the question of NPT, CTBT, the missile programme as also the whole issue of Kashmir and human rights. However, for the first time in September 1991, President Clinton told Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that Kashmir question must be bilaterally tackled by India and Pakistan, and that the US had no intention to mediate between the two countries.

11.3.8 Issue of Human Rights and Indo-US Relations

There have been serious differences between India and USA on the issue of human rights also. The organizations like Amnesty International and Asia Watch, focused attention on violation of human rights by India's security forces. Not only have these organizations demanded repeal of laws like TADA, passed by the Indian Parliament, but even the US Congress had expressed its concern over the violation of human rights time and again. India did not permit representatives of Amnesty International for nearly 11 years to investigate the cases of alleged violations of human rights. This provoked in June 1990, the introduction of a bill in the American House of Representatives calling for suspension of developmental aid until India allowed Amnesty International to investigate the cases of alleged violations of human rights.

11.3.9 Indo-US Relations in Contemporary Times

During the subsequent years, Indo-US relations took a new turn due to combination of a number of factors. Growing terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist outfits pushed US closer to India which also became a victim of terrorism. Moreover, unlike China which had conducted a massive spying operation in the USA to steal US nuclear secrets, India never made any bid to develop nuclear arsenal clandestinely. Further, USA also appreciated India's commitment to free market economy. A large untapped market of India also greatly appealed to the US companies. Above all, pragmatically also it was desirable for USA to increase cooperation with India to counter the growing influence of China in the region.

President Bill Clinton's visit to India in March 2000 added a new chapter to Indo-US relationship. Clinton's visit to India helped a lot in bringing the two countries closer. The two countries continued the process of further consolidating their friendship. One very encouraging outcome of Clinton's visit was the US reappraisal of its policy towards South Asia. Clinton clearly told Pakistan that it must create conditions for a dialogue with India, stop trying to 'redraw' borders with blood and that the US was not going to mediate in the Kashmir dispute.

The Bush Administration also for the first time in September 2002 put India in the category of great powers. The process that was initiated by President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee was carried forward by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush. The two leaders met in Washington D.C. in July 2005 and in March 2006 in New Delhi. In 2005, the two leaders declared their resolve to transform the relationship of India and US 'to establish a global partnership'. As both are committed to values of human freedom, democracy and rule of law, the two countries would promote stability, democracy, prosperity and peace throughout the world. The two countries pledged to create an

international environment conducive to promotion of democratic values and to combat terrorism relentlessly. The pledge was also to support and accelerate economic growth through greater trade, investment and technology collaboration. Both the countries also resolved to strengthen energy security.

Indo-US relations have entered a new phase under President Donald Trump who assumed office in 2017. Under the Trump administration, Indo-US relations have touched a new high with increased cooperation between the two countries. India was the only country for which the Trump administration came out with a 100-year plan; an honour not accorded to even America's top allies. Trump administration also rechristened the Asia Pacific region as Indo-Pacific, much to the anxiety of China, giving a greater role and space for India in the entire region. The United States also stated in clear terms that India was a key player in Afghanistan. Further, in August 2017, for the first time a US president aligned himself with India's position that terrorism emanates from Pakistan. President Trump released his first National Security Strategy in 2018, which described India as a 'leading global power' and stressed on deepening USA's strategic partnership with India and support its leadership role in maintaining security in the Indo-Pacific region.

11.3.10 Indo-US Defence Partnership

As a mark of India’s increasing defence ties with the US, the latter has signed four foundational agreements with India signaling the fact that India has emerged as one of USA’s important defence partners in recent decades:

- GSOMIA: The 2002 General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA), laid the foundation of India-US defence cooperation facilitating the sharing of sensitive military information.
- LEMOA: The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) in 2016, established the framework for reciprocal logistical support between the two militaries.

- COMCASA : The Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) in 2018 gives India access to advanced communication technology used in U.S. defense equipment and allows real-time information sharing between the two countries' militaries.
- BECA: the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) in 2020 facilitated the sharing of geospatial data critical for military operations.

Besides these foundational agreements, India-US 2+2 dialogue, Indo-US joint military exercises, initiatives at co-producing defence systems, increasing cooperation among quad members (India, USA, Japan and Australia) as part of their Indo-Pacific strategy have all contributed towards deepening defence ties between India and the US.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Explain Indo-US Relations after 1962.

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Q 2: Explain Indo-US Relations since the end of Cold War.

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11.4 LET US SUM UP

- India's relations with USA during the period immediately following her independence were rather friendly.
- US policies regarding the Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir was one issue that deteriorated India-US relations since the US was supporting Pakistan over India.
- The decision of India to follow the policy of Non-alignment did not find favour with the US and it considered the Indian stand as an unfriendly posture towards USA.

- India's relations with the USA became more intimate after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962.
- But, the use of US arms by Pakistan during the Indo-Pak war of 1965 embittered the relations between India and the USA.
- In the war of 1971 between India and Pakistan which resulted in the birth of Bangladesh, USA once again adopted a partisan stand and supported Pakistan.
- The relations between India and USA showed an improvement after the formation of Janata Government in India and assumption of Presidency by Jimmy Carter in USA in 1971.
- The end of the Cold War and disintegration of the Soviet Union obliged India to develop closer relations with USA in view of the dominant role it was expected to play in the international arena.
- India's decision not to suspend or terminate its nuclear programme was a major irritant in the Indo-US relations.
- There have been serious differences between India and USA on the issue of human rights also.
- During the subsequent years, Indo-US relations took a new turn due to combination of a number of factors.
- President Bill Clinton's visit to India in March 2000 added a new chapter to Indo-US relationship.
- Indo-US relations have entered a new phase under President Donald Trump who assumed office in 2017. Under the Trump administration, Indo-US relations have touched a new high with increased cooperation between the two countries.



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11.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 introduced a new aspect in the Indo-US relations. India's relations with the USA became more intimate after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962. The USA provided India with the useful moral and material help during the conflict when she stood alone. A common element of China's hostility towards India and the US introduced a new mood in the country. The US gave unconditional support to India and sent necessary war material. Voices were raised in India for an alliance with the US against China, and the drastic modification of the policy of Non-alignment. However, with the withdrawal of military forces by China from most of the Indian territory and generally pro-Indian stand of the Soviet Union, India returned to its earlier non-aligned position.

Ans to Q No 2: The Cold War that had started soon after the termination of the Second World War ended in the year 1989. The two Super Powers gave up the path of confrontation, but the Soviet Union soon began to collapse. It finally disintegrated in December, 1991. India, like rest of the world, was not prepared for this development. This left the United States as the only Super Power. Thus, it became essential for most of the countries to review their foreign policies and diplomatic activities. It was natural that India's relations with the United States underwent extensive change. India agreed to increase military cooperation with USA by giving consent in principle to the Kickleighter proposals. This was a significant development

in view of the fact that the proposals were a turning point in India-US defence cooperation. India also aimed at bringing about stability in the region through expanded cooperation with USA in all fields. However, USA continued to be unhappy with India for its refusal to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

With the disintegration of Soviet Union and end of bipolarity, the irritants in the Indo-US relations disappeared and the two countries were drawn closer to each other on account of common interests like promotion of democratic rule, preservation of regional and world peace, opposition to Islamic fundamentalism and furthering of mutual trade and investment. India was convinced of the need of cultivating good relations with US due to absence of Soviet Union. USA also decided to improve relations with India on account of its military might, population, size and strategic location.



11.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: The USA provided significant assistance to India under which Act of 1951 ?

Q 2: Mention the name of two private foundations from which India received enormous assistance.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write about Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Indo-US Relations.

Q 2: Explain Indo-US Relations in the contemporary times.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the Indo-US relations from 1962 till the end of the Cold War.

Q 2: Discuss the Indo-US Relations since the End of Cold War up to the present period.

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UNIT 12: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objective

12.2 Introduction

12.3 India-China Relations: History, Phases and Present Status

- 12.3.1 History
- 12.3.2 The Problem of Tibet
- 12.3.3 The Panchsheel Agreement
- 12.3.4 Revolt in Tibet
- 12.3.5 The Sino-Indian Border Dispute
- 12.3.6 India-China War, 1962
- 12.3.7 The Colombo Proposals
- 12.3.8 Sino-Indian Relations after the 1962 War (1965-2000)
- 12.3.9 Sino-Indian Relations in Contemporary Times
- 12.3.10 Doklam Standoff, 2017

12.4 Let Us Sum Up

12.5 Further Reading

12.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.7 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- outline the relationship between India and China
- explain the history and the phases of Indo-Chinese relations
- analyse the fluctuating relationship between India and China
- identify the issues or questions that have been determining the Indo-Chinese relations
- discuss the present status of Indo-Chinese relations

12.2 INTRODUCTION

India and China are two of the world's emerging global powers, both with considerable ecomomic and political might and influence. Although the relationship between India and China have been largely cordial, there have been occasions where the relations between the two have come under strain, involving border disputes and other issues. In this unit, we shall discuss the relationship between India and China over the decades.

12.3 INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS: HISTORY, PHASES AND PRESENT STATUS

12.3.1 History

India's relations with China have been a most important aspect in India's foreign policy. India and China have maintained close relations since ancient times. The foundation for these relations was laid by the Buddhist preachers who went to China and spread this religion through the breadth and length of the country. A large number of Chinese Buddhist scholars also came to India in search of knowledge.

In modern times, India expressed full sympathy for China when she was subjected to Japanese aggression. After independence, the two countries could not develop very intimate relations on account of pre-occupation with their respective problems and their relations by and large remained formal.

During the period of the Nationalist Government of China, China took a stand on the Kashmir issue which was clearly pro-Pakistan and was greatly resented by the Indian leadership. On the issue of Indonesian independence also China adopted a posture which was in direct opposition to the Indian position.

However, with the emergence of the People's Republic of China under the Communist Party of China, the relations between the two countries started improving. The People's Republic of

China was proclaimed on October 1, 1949. India was among the first countries to have recognized the People's Republic of China. It was done on December 30, 1949. India also fully supported Communist China's claim for representation in the United Nations. In view of India's support to China, several non-Communist countries particularly the United States expressed their displeasure. But India showed keenness to develop friendly relations with China despite its military action in Tibet and avoided raising the issue at the international forum.

12.3.2 The Problem of Tibet

The relations between India and China suffered a setback when the Chinese leaders publically declared their intention to liberate Tibet. This was quite perturbing to India which considered the existence of Tibet as a buffer state as vital to her security. The government of newly established People's Republic of China announced on January 1, 1950 that one of the basic tasks of its army would be to liberate Tibet. In October 1950, India learnt that China had launched a full scale invasion of Tibet. India protested and expressed 'surprise' and 'regret' at the action, particularly in view of Chinese assurance that the issue would be peacefully resolved. The Chinese government rejected India's protest and accused India of being influenced by the imperialist Powers. India, in turn, recognized Chinese suzerainty and said that it had no intention of interfering in China's internal affairs. The Dalai Lama left Tibet and tried to raise the question of Tibet at the United Nations. But Dalai Lama was prevented from doing so by the major world Powers. Even India did not support this move because she did not want to condemn China at the international forum and seal all prospects of better relations with her. Ultimately, an agreement was signed by China and Tibet on May 23, 1951, which recognized full Chinese sovereignty over Tibet with limited Tibetan autonomy in certain matters.

India was criticized in several quarters both at home and abroad for having renounced its legitimate interests in Tibet and for having sacrificed the Tibetan autonomy in order to please the Communist rulers of China. India's Tibet policy has still remained an issue of severe criticism.

12.3.3 The Panchsheel Agreement

India was disappointed at China's Tibet policy. But, it did not allow its friendship with China to be adversely affected and continued to support China's demand for representation in the United Nations. Negotiations started for a comprehensive trade agreement between India and China. An agreement was signed between the two countries on 29 April, 1954 for a period of eight years. Under this agreement, India gave up all its extra-territorial rights in Tibet and recognized Tibet as a region of China. Thus, India accepted China's full sovereignty over Tibet.

But, the most important feature of the agreement was that it enshrined the five principles, popularly known as 'Panchsheel' to guide and regulate the bilateral relations between India and China. The five principles are-

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- Mutual non-aggression
- Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs
- Equality and mutual benefit
- Peaceful co-existence.

The four year period after signing the Panchsheel agreement has been described as the years of 'Sino-Indian Honeymoon' and of 'Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai'. During the period India's relations with China were very cordial and the leaders of the two countries exchanged numerous visits. This friendship culminated in close cooperation between the two countries at the Bandung Conference

of Afro-Asian Nations in April 1955. China also supported India's case on Goa during this period.

12.3.4 Revolt in Tibet

The relations between India and China became sour on account of the manner in which China handled the revolt that the Tibetans had organized against Chinese domination and interference in their religious matters.

In March 1959, there was a sudden uprising in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. It led to outbreak of hostilities between the Tibetans and the Chinese forces. The revolt was put down by China with a heavy hand. Dalai Lama, the religious leader of the Tibetans, fled from Tibet to India in 1959. He was followed by thousands of Tibetans. Political asylum was granted by India to the Dalai Lama, but he was advised not to organize any any-China resistance on Indian soil. However, Indian government refused to intervene in the affairs of Tibet because this would have meant violation of principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other as enshrined in the Panchsheel agreement. As a result of Indian inaction the Chinese forces entrenched themselves on the borders of India. Thus, Tibet lost her autonomy which was assured to her only a few years back.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was bitterly criticized for his 'inactivity' in the face of Tibetan events. Nehru said in the Indian Parliament that, "it is important for us to have friendly relations with the great country China; our sympathies go out very much to the Tibetans. … We want to have friendly relations with the people of Tibet and we want them to progress in freedom."

China did not appreciate India's sympathies to Tibetans, even though India fully supported Chinese legal position in Tibet. The grant of asylum by India to the Dalai Lama was described as an enemy-like act by China even imposed restrictions on Indian tourists and traders.

12.3.5 The Sino-Indian Border Dispute

The relations between India and China started deteriorating on account of the issue of Tibet and granting asylum to the Dalai Lama by India. Almost at the same time China started making incursions into the India's territory. China started claiming several thousand of miles of Indian territory as its own and was declaring the presence of Indian troops in their own territory as intrusion in 'Chinese territory'.

There is over 2200 mile long border between India and China. The boundary line was regulated by agreements and administrative arrangements. Besides, the natural dividing line is also so clear that there could hardly be any doubt regarding exact border between the two countries. The entire Sino-Indian border can be generally divided into three areas - (a) the border to the east of Bhutan, (b) the central border across Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, and (c) the border separating Jammu & Kashmir from Chinese territories of Sinkiang and Tibet.

The border dispute between India and China relates mainly to McMahon Line in North-East and Ladakh in North-West.



LET US KNOW

The McMahon Line: This is the boundary line between the two countries, east of Bhutan. India has always treated the McMahon Line as the lawfully demarcated border between India and China. But, China condemned it as 'imperialist line'.

The McMahon Line was determined in 1914 at a conference of the representatives of British India, Tibet and China, held at Shimla. The conference was held to sort out border differences between Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet. The Secretary of State for India (in British Cabinet) Arthur Henry McMahon represented India in Shimla Conference. The boundary between Outer Tibet and India

was demarcated at the high mountain peaks. The line was drawn on the suggestion of McMahon who himself drew a line by a red pen on the map. The line so drawn came to be known as the McMahon Line. It is in a way natural boundary also as it passes through Tibet Plateau in the north and Indian hills in the south. The map was signed by the representatives of British India, Tibet and China. But, the Chinese government did not ratify it. However, no government of China ever disputed this boundary line, while India always accepted it.



LET US KNOW

Ladakh: Ladakh is, and has always been, a part of the State of Jammu & Kashmir. The State was under British paramountcy till independence and later acceded to India, as an integral part of this country. Although Ladakh-China border was not demarcated by any treaty, yet India and China have accepted the boundary for centuries. The boundary was always shown by India in its map. It was made clear in a note sent by India to China in 1399 that Aksai Chin was a part of Indian territory. The revenue records of the State of Jammu & Kashmir also confirm that Aksai Chin was always a part of Ladakh region of Jammu & Kashmir.

The border dispute between India and China began when the Chinese built a road across the Aksai Chin area during 1956-57. The road was meant to open Western Tibet to Chinese immigrants and to divert its trade from its traditional southward direction into Western China and the Soviet Union.

In January 1959, Chinese Prime Minister Chou En Lai challenged the established boundary between India and China. In September of the same year he put forward a claim to 50,000 square miles of Indian territory. A month later the Chinese troops penetrated into Ladakh and opened fire on the Indian patrol, which

resulted in the death of some Indians. This incident was greatly resented by the people and there was a demand in certain quarters to cut-off diplomatic relations with Peking forthwith.

In view of the deteriorating relations between India and China, the Prime Ministers of the two countries held a meeting in April 1960, but nothing substantial could be achieved. However, the two leaders agreed that the relevant documents regarding the boundary should be examined by the officials of the two countries. In spite of exchange of number of visits by the official teams no agreement could be reached. On the other hand, the border incursions continued as usual.

12.3.6 India-China War, 1962

The situation took a serious turn in 1962 when China mounted a full-fledged attack on India in NEFA and Ladakh. India also ordered her forces to move to NEFA to push back the Chinese intruders. Soon this conflict took the shape of a full-fledged war, Indian army suffered heavy casualities, though Chinese losses were even heavier. Meanwhile, on urgent request of India, both Britain and United States rushed necessary war material needed by the India army. Suddenly on November 21, 1962 the Chinese announced unilateral cease-fire. Earlier China had made a three-point proposal for cease-fire on October 26, 1962. India declined to accept the proposal and insisted on restoration of the status quo on the border as on September 3, 1962. This was not accepted by China. Thus, a sort of stalemate ensued.

12.3.7 The Colombo Proposals

Soon after unilateral cease-fire by China, a conference of six non-aligned countries was convened by Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Colombo on December 10, 1962. The conference was attended by Sri Lanka, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Ghana and Cambodia. The recommendations of the

conference are called Colombo Proposals. These proposals were discussed by the Sri Lankan Prime Minister with the Prime Ministers of India and China. The Colombo Proposals were acceptable to India. But, China laid down certain conditions which were not acceptable to India. The Colombo Proposals could not be implemented. Thus, a sort of dead-lock was created in India-China relations which could not be resolved for many years. As a result of this dead-lock, China drifted closer to Pakistan, a bitter enemy of India.

12.3.8 Sino-Indian Relations after the 1962 War (1965-2000)

China developed close relations with Islamic Pakistan. China openly came in support of Pakistan during the Indo-Pak conflicts of 1965 and 1971. China also supplied huge quantities of arms and ammunition for use against India.

Several initiatives were taken to improve the relations between India and China during Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership, but it did not work. Two Chinese Embassy officials in Delhi were arrested for espionage in June 1967 and in September China attacked Indian position in Nathula. China attacked another Indian post at Cho La in October.

China demonstrated its continued hostility towards India, and support to Pakistan during Bangladesh crisis in 1971. Although, independence of Bangladesh could not be prevented, yet China blocked Bangladesh's admission to the United Nations by exercising its 'veto' in the UN Security Council.

India conducted a nuclear test in the desert of Rajasthan in May 1974. India made it clear that its nuclear programme was only for peaceful purposes and it was not going to manufacture nuclear weapons. But, China viewed India's nuclear test as a means to blackmail smaller neighbours and reiterated her support to Pakistan.

However, India has favoured negotiated settlement of the border dispute with China and supported China's entry into the United Nations. However, relations between India and China suffered a setback following the opening of the Khunjerab Pass in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. This 4,620 meter high pass at the terminus of the Chinese built Karakoram highway was opened for regular travel and trade. India has been repeatedly protesting to both China and Pakistan over this matter. This development certainly gave a serious setback to the process of normalization of relations between India and China.

In spite of all these, India has shown keenness to resolve the disputes with China amicably. The Chinese leaders also responded favourably. As a result several rounds of talks were held between the two countries to find out a solution of the border dispute. But, no solution could be found due to reluctance of China to withdraw from the present line of control in Ladakh, unless India made certain concessions on the McMahon line in the east.

In December 1933, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi paid a visit to Beijing with a view to improve relations with China. The two countries agreed to set up a Joint Working Group on Boundary Question and a Joint Group on Economic Relations, Trade, Science and Technology. The leaders of the two countries also reiterated their desire to conduct their relations on the basis of the five principles of Panchsheel.

In September 1993, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao paid a visit to Beijing and signed several agreements including Agreement on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control.

In June 1994, India and China signed a trade protocol for direct trade. It is noteworthy that the trade between the two countries increased to 1633 crores in April 1994 in comparison to 771 crores in 1991-92. In July 1994, both the countries signed an agreement for cooperation in oil sector also.

In October 1994, the Vice-President of India visited China and provided a new impetus to trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. During this visit both the countries concluded several agreements. The prominent among them were the agreement relating to simplification of visa procedure for diplomatic and official passport holders and resumption of direct banking relations between the two countries.

However, the Sino-Indian relations suffered a setback following the nuclear explosions at Pokhran in May 1993. China strongly condemned the tests and described them as 'outrageous contempt' for the international community.

India's relations with China showed some improvement in the beginning of 1999, when India sent a delegation to Beijing. This was followed by a meeting of the Joint Working Group, where the two countries agreed to take urgent steps to resolve the border dispute. The two countries also agreed to cooperate in the field of culture, human resources and environment. Both the countries reaffirmed their faith in the principles of Panchsheel and stressed the need of peaceful and cooperative relations. Consequently, during the Kargil conflict, China remained neutral.

12.3.9 Sino-Indian Relations in Contemporary Times

A new chapter of cooperation was introduced as a result of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to China in June 2003. During the visit, some progress was made in Chinese attitude towards Sikkim. Earlier, China was the only country in the world that did not recognize Sikkim as an Indian State. But, later when the Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao visted India in 2005, he categorically told the Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh that China regarded Sikkim as an inalienable part of India and that Sikkim was no more an issue between India and China. The joint statement signed in April 2005 by the two Prime Ministers clearly referred to Sikkim as a 'State of the Republic of India'. Thus,

Sikkim's status which had been disputed by China since 1975 was no more an issue between India and China.

Further in December 2006 Chinese President paid visit to India which marked a landmark in Sino-Indian relations and send a positive signal that China was committed to carrying forward the process of Sino-India relations. President's visit was to reiterate Chinese's view that a dynamic India-China friendship would lead to peace, stability and prosperity not only in Asia but the whole world as whole.

In 2003, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited China. During the visit India signed Shared Vision on the 21st Century and reached a broad consensus on the further pushing forward the Strategic Cooperative Partnership between the two countries in civil nuclear energy.

In 2010, Chinese Prime Minister visited India on invitation by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. He was accompanied by 400 Chinese business leaders who wished to sign business deals with Indian companies. In 2011, during BRICS summit, India and China agreed to restore defence co-operation. Then in 2012 BRICS summit held in New Delhi, Chinese President came in conversation with Indian Prime Minister and shares its notion that the China wants to develop Sino-Indian friendship, wants to deepen strategic cooperation and seek common development.

12.3.10 Doklam Standoff, 2017

Doklam is an area disputed between China and Bhutan located near their tri-junction with India. Unlike China and Bhutan, India does not claim Doklam but supports Bhutan's claim.

On 16 June, 2017, Chinese troops with construction vehicles and road-building equipments began extending an existing road southward in Doklam, a territory which is claimed by both China as well as India's ally Bhutan. On 13 June, 2017, around 270 Indian troops, with weapons and bulldozers, entered Doklam

to stop the Chinese troops from constructing the road. China insisted that Indian troops invaded Doklam to help Bhutan, and it was a violation of international law. This has led to an ongoing standoff between the two armies. On 23 August of the same year, both India and China announced that they had withdrawn all their troops from the face-off site in Doklam.

Events After 2017

* Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi convened for their second informal meeting in Mahabalipuram, Tamil Nadu, India, on 11 October 2019.
* In 2019, India restated its stance of not participating in the One Belt One Road initiative, citing concerns over territorial integrity as the reason.
* A significant clash took place between Indian and Chinese forces in Ladakh on the night of 15th June 2020, resulting in the loss of one Commanding Officer and two Indian soldiers. This incident marked the first combat fatalities on the disputed border since 1975, with a total of 20 Indian soldiers martyred. The Indian Army responded forcefully, reportedly causing significant casualties on the Chinese side.
* After a high-level meeting between commanding officers from both sides, the Chinese army agreed on June 9th, 2020, to retreat approximately 2-2.5 km from the disputed area, with the Indian army reciprocating at certain locations. Talks for further disengagement are set to continue.
* During the initial weeks of June 2020, there was a notable buildup of troops on both sides of the Line of Actual Control (LAC), with both Indian and Chinese forces matching each other's strength
* A clash between Chinese and Indian troops occurred on 10 May 2020 in Nathu La, Sikkim, resulting in 11 soldiers sustaining injuries. This incident escalated tensions between the two

nations, particularly in Ladakh, where troop presence increased at various points. Additionally, India and China commemorated the 70th anniversary of their diplomatic relations on 1st April 2020, which began in 1950.

* The COVID-19 pandemic introduced further complexities to China-India relations. While both countries cooperated on certain fronts, such as repatriating citizens and sharing medical resources, disagreements emerged, particularly regarding the virus's origin and the handling of the pandemic, leading to diplomatic tensions.
* In late October, 2024 India and China came to an agreement regarding patrolling arrangements enabling both countries to coordinate patrols along the Line of Actual Control (LAC), sparking fresh hope for disengagement.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: India was among the first countries to have recognized the People's Republic of China (True/False)

.....

Q 2: An agreement was signed by China and Tibet on May 23, ……., which recognized full Chinese sovereignty over Tibet with limited Tibetan autonomy in certain matters. (Fill in the Blank)

Q 3: Write about the historical background of India-China relations.

.....

.....

Q 4: Write about Sino-Indian relations from 2000-2012.

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12.4 LET US SUM UP

- India and China have maintained close relations since ancient times.
- The People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1, 1949. India was among the first countries to have recognized the People's Republic of China.
- The relations between India and China suffered a setback when the Chinese leaders publically declared their intention to liberate Tibet.
- An agreement was signed between the two countries on 29 April, 1954 which enshrined five principles, popularly known as 'Panchsheel' to guide and regulate the bilateral relations between India and China.
- The Tibetan revolt of 1959 was put down by China with a heavy hand. India granted political asylum to Dalai Lama.
- The relations between India and China started deteriorating on account of the issue of Tibet.
- China also started making incursions into the India's territory.
- The border dispute between India and China relates mainly to McMahon Line in North-East and Ladakh in North-West.
- In 1962, China mounted a full-fledged attack on India in NEFA and Ladakh.
- Suddenly on November 21, 1962 the Chinese announced unilateral cease-fire.
- After the 1962 War, China developed close relations with Islamic Pakistan and openly came in support of Pakistan during the Indo-Pak conflicts of 1965 and 1971.
- Several attempts were made to improve between India and Pakistan in contemporary times.
- A new chapter of cooperation between the two countries was introduced as a result of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to China in June 2003.
- India's relations with China showed some improvement on account of the visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to China in 2003 and

the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to India in 2010.

- The 2017 Doklam standoff had been eased as both India and China announced that they had withdrawn all their troops from the face-off site in Doklam.
- A clash between Chinese and Indian troops occurred on 10 May 2020 in Nathu La, Sikkim, resulting in 11 soldiers sustaining injuries. This incident escalated tensions between the two nations, particularly in Ladakh, where troop presence increased at various points.
- The COVID-19 pandemic introduced further complexities to China-India relations. While both countries cooperated on certain fronts, such as repatriating citizens and sharing medical resources, disagreements emerged, particularly regarding the virus's origin and the handling of the pandemic, leading to diplomatic tensions.
- In late October, 2024 India and China came to an agreement regarding patrolling arrangements enabling both countries to coordinate patrols along the Line of Actual Control (LAC), sparking fresh hope for disengagement.



12.5 FURTHER READING

1) Bandyopadhyaya, Jayantanuja (2003). *The Making of India's Foreign Policy*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

2) Biju, M.R. (2001). *New Horizons of Indian Foreign Policy*. Delhi: Authorpress

3) Chander, Prakash and Prem Arora (2000). *International Relations*. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.

4) Chhabra, H.K. (1989). *Foreign Policies of Major Countries*. Delhi: Surjeet Publications

5) Dutt, V.P. (2011). *India's Foreign Policy in a Changing World*. Noida: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

6) Khanna, V.N. (2001). *Foreign Policy of India*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

12.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: 1951

Ans to Q No 3: India's relations with China have been a most important aspect in India's foreign policy. India and China have maintained close relations since ancient times. The foundation for these relations was laid by the Buddhist preachers who went to China and spread this religion through the breadth and length of the country. A large number of Chinese Buddhist scholars also came to India in search of knowledge.

In modern times, India expressed full sympathy for China when she was subjected to Japanese aggression. After independence, the two countries could not develop very intimate relations on account of pre-occupation with their respective problems and their relations by and large remained formal.

During the period of the Nationalist Government of China, China took a stand on the Kashmir issue which was clearly pro-Pakistan and was greatly resented by the Indian leadership. On the issue of Indonesian independence also China adopted a posture which was in direct opposition to the Indian position.

However, with the emergence of the People's Republic of China under the Communist Party of China, the relations between the two countries started improving. The People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1, 1949. India was among the first countries to have recognized the People's Republic of China. It was done on December 30, 1949. India also fully supported Communist China's claim for representation in the United Nations. In view of India's support to China, several non-Communist countries particularly the United States expressed their displeasure. But India showed keenness to develop friendly relations with China despite its military action in Tibet and avoided raising the issue at the international forum.

Ans to Q No 4: A new chapter of cooperation was introduced as a result of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to China in June 2003. During the visit, some progress was made in Chinese attitude towards Sikkim. Earlier, China was the only country in the world that did not recognize Sikkim as an Indian State. But, later when the Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao visted India in 2005, he categorically told the Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh that China regarded Sikkim as an inalienable part of India and that Sikkim was no more an issue between India and China. The joint statement signed in April 2005 by the two Prime Ministers clearly referred to Sikkim as a 'State of the Republic of India'. Thus, Sikkim's status which was disputed by China since 1975 was no more an issue between India and China.

Further in December 2006 Chinese President paid visit to India which marked a landmark in Sino-Indian relations and send a positive signal that China was committed to carrying forward the process of Sino-India relations. President's visit was to reiterate Chinese's view that a dynamic India-China friendship would lead to peace, stability and prosperity not only in Asia but the whole world as whole.

In 2003, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited China. During the visit India signed Shared Vision on the 21st Century and reached a broad consensus on the further pushing forward the Strategic Cooperative Partnership between the two countries in civil nuclear energy.

In 2010, Chinese Prime Minister visited India on invitation by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. He was accompanied by 400 Chinese business leaders who wished to sign business deals with Indian companies. In 2011, during BRICS summit, India and China agreed to restore defence co-operation. Then in 2012 BRICS summit held in New Delhi, Chinese President came in conversation with Indian Prime Minister and shares its notion that the China wants to develop Sino-Indian friendship, wants to deepen strategic cooperation and seek common development.



12.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: The border dispute between India and China relates mainly to McMahon Line in North-East and Ladakh in North-West.

Q 2: The friendship between India and China culminated in close cooperation between the two countries at which Conference of Afro-Asian Nations in April 1955 ?

Q 3: In which year did the uprising in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet take place ?

Q 4: In which year dis India and China set up a Joint Working Group on Boundary Question and a Joint Group on Economic Relations, Trade, Science and Technology ?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the problem of Tibet with reference to India-China relations.

Q 2: Explain the Sino-Indian Relations after the 1962 War (1965-2000)

Q 3: Write about the Panchsheel Agreement.

Q 4: Write about the Colombo Proposals.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the relations between India and China from 1949 up to the present.

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UNIT 13: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objective

13.2 Introduction

13.3 India-Pakistan Relations: History, Phases and Present Status

- 13.3.1 Seeds of Conflict during Independence
- 13.3.2 The Kashmir Dispute
- 13.3.3 The Canal Water Dispute
- 13.3.4 The India-Pakistan War of 1965
- 13.3.5 India-Pakistan War of 1971: The Bangladesh Crisis
- 13.3.6 The Shimla Agreement, 1972
- 13.3.7 India-Pakistan Relations after Shimla Agreement
- 13.3.8 India-Pakistan Relations after 1998 Nuclear Test
- 13.3.9 The Lahore Declaration
- 13.3.10 The Kargil War
- 13.3.11 India-Pakistan Relations in Contemporary Times

13.4 Let Us Sum Up

13.5 Further Reading

13.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.7 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- outline the relationship between India and Pakistan
- explain the history and the phases of Indo-Pak relations
- analise the fluctuating relationship between India and Pakistan
- identify the issues or questions that have been determining the Indo-Pak relations
- discuss the present status of Indo-Pak relations

13.2 INTRODUCTION

The two dominions, India and Pakistan, were created by the India Independence Act, 1947 enacted by the British Parliament. The then British India was divided by this act and Pakistan came into being on 14 August and India came into being on 15 August in the year 1947.

Although for centuries Hindus and Muslims had lived together in the sub-continent, the partition created unprecedented hostility between secular India and Islamic Pakistan. The partition has been described as the most unfortunate fact of post-war international politics.

Relations between India and Pakistan have been complex and largely hostile due to a number of historical and political events. Relations between the two states have been defined by the violent partition of British India in 1947, the Kashmir Conflict and the numerous military conflicts fought between the two nations. Consequently, their relationship has been plagued by hostility and suspicion.

Soon after their independence, India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations but the violent partition and numerous territorial claims would overshadow their relationship. Since their Independence, the two countries have fought three major wars, one undeclared war and have been involved in numerous armed conflicts and military standoffs. The Kashmir Conflict is the main centre-point of all of these conflicts.

13.3 INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS: HISTORY, PHASES AND PRESENT STATUS

13.3.1 Seeds of Conflict during Independence

About half a million Muslims and Hindus were killed in communal riots following the partition of British India. Millions of Muslims living in India and Hindus and Sikhs living in Pakistan emigrated in one of the most colossal transfers of population in the modern era. Both countries accused each other of not providing adequate security to the minorities emigrating through their territory.

This served to increase tensions between the newly-born countries.

According to the British plan for the partition of British India, all the 680 princely states were allowed to decide which of the two countries to join. With the exception of a few, most of the Muslim-majority princely states acceded to Pakistan while most of the Hindu-majority princely states joined India. However, the decisions of some of the princely states would shape the India-Pakistan relationship considerably in the years to come.

13.3.2 The Kashmir Dispute

The erstwhile princely state of Jammu & Kashmir has been described as the 'heaven on earth'. But, unfortunately it has been the cause of hostile relations between India and Pakistan ever since the partition in 1947. This northern state was populated predominantly by Muslims and was ruled by a Hindu King, Maharaja Hari Singh. Maharaja Hari Singh did not take any decision regarding state's accession before, or immediately after, 15 August 1947. Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of the state, preferred to remain independent and did not want to join either the Union of India or the Dominion of Pakistan. He wanted both India and Pakistan to recognize his princely state as an independent neutral country.

Maharaja Hari Singh refused to accede to either of the countries and asked for a standstill agreement both with India and Pakistan, pending a final decision regarding accession. Though no such agreement could be concluded with India, Pakistan accepted the agreement. Simultaneously Pakistan also started applying economic pressure on the ruler of Kashmir to gain its accession to Pakistan. But when the economic pressure proved ineffective, Pakistan encouraged the tribesmen to invade Kashmir. These tribesmen were assisted by the regular troops of Pakistan army. They launched the attack on October 22, 1947 in a number of sectors. Within a short period of five days the invaders reached Baramula, just 25 miles away from Srinagar. As the King of Kashmir

was not able to meet the threat of the raiders, he appealed Government of India for assistance. However, India refused to send troops unless the King signed the letter of accession in favour of India. Ultimately, Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession in favour of India. The accession of Jammu & Kashmir to India was finalized by October 27, 1947 and the army was airlifted to clear the aggression by the Pakistan backed invaders.

Pakistan not only refused to recognize the accession of Jammu & Kashmir to India but also continued to assist the Azad Kashmir, an area of Kashmir forcibly occupied by Muslim tribesmen. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan said, "the accession of Kashmir to India is a fraud perpetrated on the people of Kashmir by its cowardly ruler with the aggressive help of the Government of India."

On January 1, 1948, India brought the matter to the notice of the United Nations under Article 35 of the Charter. India sought UN assistance to have Pakistan-supported aggression vacated. Meanwhile, Indian army had vacated about half of the area earlier taken by the tribesmen.

The Security Council, after much consideration, adopted a resolution calling on India and Pakistan to withdraw their troops and tribesmen respectively. It also favoured the establishment of an interim government containing representatives of the major political groups. It also suggested that a five-member Commission, known as the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) be sent to Kashmir for restoring peace and arranging a plebiscite. However, the resolution failed to satisfy both the countries. The UNCIP after working for about one month recommended a cease-fire and subsequent negotiations of a truce agreement. On August 13, 1948, the Commission submitted a plan for free and impartial plebiscite, after the peace had been restored in the state.

After initial reluctance, Pakistan accepted these proposals and a cease-fire agreement was signed. The agreement was to

come into force on January 1, 1949. However, the implementation of the agreement could not be effected due to disagreement between the two parties on the demarcation of cease-fire line and the whole issue came back to the Security Council.

The Security Council started fresh efforts to find a solution of the problem. It appointed General McNaughton of Canada as the informal mediator on behalf of the Security Council, but he failed to accomplish anything. In February 1950, the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon of Australia as a mediator. He came to the sub-continent in May 1950 and worked in India, Pakistan and Kashmir. Ultimately he proposed a plan which combined the twin principles of partition and plebiscite. However, his proposals were not acceptable to either India or Pakistan. He admitted the failure of his mission and tendered his resignation.

After the failure of Dixon, Dr. Frank P. Graham was appointed as a mediator. He initiated negotiations with both the countries in June 1951. He presented a series of proposals aimed at demilitarization of Jammu & Kashmir prior to holding the plebiscite. However, his efforts were failed as no agreement was reached on the quantum of forces to be retained on each side. Graham also, like his predecessor, admitted his failure in February 1953 and suggested direct negotiations between the two countries.

Meanwhile, certain important developments had taken place in Kashmir. The Constituent Assembly of Jammu & Kashmir, elected on the basis of adult franchise, confirmed its accession to India on February 6, 1954. On November 19, 1956, the Assembly adopted a Constitution by which the state was made an integral part of India. India finalized the accession on January 26, 1957.

Pakistan was not happy with these developments and continued to insist on plebiscite at the United Nations. Subsequently, India took the stand that Kashmir's accession to India was full, complete and final and it would not be desirable to review the same.

13.3.3 The Canal Water Dispute

The question of sharing of river waters has been an important factor in Indo-Pak relations. As a result of the partition of Punjab, the problem of division water of rivers cropped up. Under the Standstill Agreement India agreed to supply water to the canals in Pakistan from the headworks in India against payment till March 31, 1948. The agreement lapsed in April 1948 as Pakistan failed to renew it. However, a fresh agreement was concluded on May 4, 1948 which provided for progressive diminution of water supplies to Pakistan by India. This agreement worked for about two years before it was unilaterally repudiated by Pakistan in August 1950 saying that it was signed under 'duress'.

During the next decade, heated debates and negotiations continued regarding the distribution river waters. Ultimately, through the good offices of the World Bank, a treaty was signed by India and Pakistan in September 1960, which is popularly known as the Indus Water Treaty. According to the Treaty, India not only agreed to allot the water of three western rivers viz. Indus, Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan, but also agreed to supply water from the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej on the Indian side. Pakistan was to be assisted by India and other countries in the construction of canals for link purposes. Thus, the dispute over canal waters was amicably settled.

13.3.4 The India-Pakistan War of 1965

The India-Pakistan War of 1965 was a culmination of conflicts that took place between April 1965 and September 1965 between India and Pakistan. The conflict began following Pakistan's Operation Gibraltar, which was designed to infiltrate forces into Jammu and Kashmir to precipitate an insurgency against Indian rule. India retaliated by launching a full-scale military attack on West Pakistan. The war lasted for 23 days. The war caused

thousands of casualties on both sides and witnessed the largest engagement of armored vehicles and the largest tank battle since World War II. Hostilities between the two countries ended after a United Nations-mandated cease-fire was declared following diplomatic intervention by the Soviet Union and the United States, and the subsequent issuance of the Tashkent Declaration.

The cease-fire was in accordance with the Security Council resolution of September 20, 1965, was accepted by both the countries on 22nd and enforced on 23rd of September. India had the upper hand over Pakistan when the cease-fire was declared. Indian army's main objective in the war was to prove its superiority and destroy as much of Pakistani weaponry as possible. The war tired Pakistan a lot and the aim of Indian army was achieved.

13.3.5 India-Pakistan War of 1971: The Bangladesh Crisis

The revolt by the Bengalis in East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh contributed a lot towards the straining relations between India and Pakistan. Pakistan, since independence was geo-politically divided into two major regions - West Pakistan and East Pakistan. East Pakistan was occupied mostly by Bengali people. In December 1970 elections were held in Pakistan which resulted in absolute majority for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League in Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan. However, under pressure from Z.A. Bhutto, President Yahya Khan refused to summon the meeting of the National Assembly. Consequently in March 1971 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman started a civil disobedience movement. A people's army known as Mukti Bahini was also formed with a view to achieve freedom. The Pakistani military leaders resorted to suppression of people in East Bengal, which resulted in large influx of Bengali refugees to India. These refugees crossed over to India in large number to escape persecution. This not only caused serious strain on economy of India but also strained her relations with Pakistan. Pakistan started accusing India of instigating

the East Bengalis and actively helping them against Pakistan. Although India refuted these charges, Pakistan mounted an attack on India in the Western Sector. The Government of India acted promptly and dispatched her forces to meet the Pakistani challenge. India also sent her troops to help the Mukti Bahini forces. Eventually the war did begin on December 3, 1971, India decided to go ahead and recognition was granted to Bangladesh on December 6, 1971. After some fight, Pakistani forces surrendered before the joint command of Mukti Bahini and Indian Army. Pakistani surrender took place on December 16, 1971. During that 13-day war in the winter of 1971 nearly 20,000 Indian soldiers laid down their lives. The emergence of Bangladesh was described as an event of major importance in the Sub-continent.

13.3.6 The Shimla Agreement, 1972

The liberation of Bangladesh led to the fall of Yahya Khan in Pakistan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto assumed power on December 20, 1971. Soon he showed his willingness to improve relations with India and agreed to take part in a Summit Meeting at Shimla. The meeting was held from June 28 to July 2, 1972, which resulted in the conclusion of Shimla Agreement. The Shimla Agreement signed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan on July 2, 1972. Under this agreement both India and Pakistan agreed to settle their differences through bilateral negotiations in a peaceful manner. Both the countries expressed faith in the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. They also agreed to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each other. They were to withdraw their forces to their respective international border in Rajasthan and Punjab. In Kashmir, the position was to be maintained as agreed to work for the normalization of relations and to cooperate in the economic, cultural and scientific fields. In short, the Shimla Summit expressed the hope that in future the

relations of the two countries would take a normal course and the tension of the past years would end.

13.3.7 India-Pakistan Relations after Shimla Agreement

In the years after signing the Shimla Agreement the relations between India and Pakistan continue to be less hostile, though they could not be conducted in the spirit of the Accord. This was mainly due to the fact that the question of Kashmir still continued to defy a solution to the entire satisfaction of the two countries.

Pakistan did get a setback as India conducted its first nuclear test in Rajasthan desert in May 1974. Z.A. Bhutto was shocked at India's nuclear test and said that Pakistan would never succumb to India's 'nuclear blackmail'. He said that this test had put an end to the possibility of a no-war pact between India and Pakistan. But, India tried to convince the world that its nuclear programme was only for peaceful purposes.

Z. A. Bhutto was thrown out of power in 1977 in a military coup led by General Zia-Ul-Haq. In India also Janata Party came to power in the year 1977. The Prime Minister Morarji Desai government tried hard to improve India's relations with all neighbours, particularly Pakistan. Several welcome gestures were made by both sides. Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan in 1978 was highly successful and ice was broken. Pakistan later admitted that its relations with India were never better than those during 1977-79.

During Indira Gandhi's second tenure as Prime Minister (1980-84) and Rajiv Gandhi period (1984-89), several initiatives were taken, but the General Zia regime cleverly avoided building confidence. On the contrary, it was widely believed that Zia regime took upon itself the task of destabilizing India by encouraging and assisting terrorism in Punjab. Insurgency cost thousands of lives in India. Indira Gandhi was assassinated in 1984, and this was also related to insurgency in Punjab. The situation took a very serious

turn when Pakistan-sponsored insurgency disturbed peace in the state of Jammu & Kashmir. Rajiv Gandhi and General Zia and later Rajiv Gandhi and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto initiated direct negotiations. Both sides referred to the Shimla Accord and its commitment to bilateral approach. But, nothing concrete resulted.

13.3.8 India-Pakistan Relations after 1998 Nuclear Test

India's adversarial relations with Pakistan were worsened after the two countries conducted their nuclear tests in May 1998. In May 1998, India conducted its first nuclear bomb tests since 1974 at the Indian Army Pokhran Test Range. Known as Pokhran-II, the tests involved five detonations and were followed by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee declaring India a full nuclear state. Fifteen days after India's tests, Pakistan conducted six underground nuclear tests at the Chagai and Kharan test site. After these explosions, both countries were subjected to economic sanctions mainly by the United States. However, by the time the Prime Ministers of the two countries met on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly session in New York in September 1998. The Vajpayee-Sharif meeting broke the ice as informal confidence building measures were initiated and hostility had considerably subsided between India and Pakistan. It was agreed, among other things, that a regular bus service would be started between Delhi and Lahore to facilitate the peoples of two countries to travel easily and economically. Atal Bihari Vajpayee also decided to travel in the first bus to go to Lahore on February 20, 1999. He expected that Pakistani counterpart would come to India in a reciprocal gesture. However, that did not happen.

13.4.9 The Lahore Declaration

The Lahore Declaration is a bilateral agreement and a governance treaty signed between India and Pakistan. The treaty was signed on February 21, 1999, at the conclusion of the historic

Vajpayee-Sharif summit in Lahore and ratified by the parliaments of both the countries in the same year. The Lahore Declaration reaffirmed the two countries' desire to open a new chapter in their relationship. The Declaration emphasized on establishing peace and stability between India and Pakistan for progress and prosperity of the peoples of the two countries. The two Prime ministers reiterated the determination of both the countries to implement the Shimla Agreement in letter and spirit. They also agreed that their governments shall intensify their efforts to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu & Kashmir, and shall refrain from intervention and interference in each other's internal affairs. They reaffirmed their condemnation of terrorism in all its form and manifestations, and to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms. Thus, the Lahore Declaration contained all noble ideals of friendship, cooperation, non-interference, curbing terrorism and of good neighbors. However, Pakistan adopted the path of confrontation and aggression even before the ink of the Declaration became dry.

13.4.10 The Kargil War

The Kargil war, also known as the Kargil Conflict was an armed conflict between India and Pakistan that took place between May and July 1999 along the Line of Control (LOC) in the Kargil district of Jammu & Kashmir. The cause of the war was the infiltration of Pakistani soldiers disguised as Kashmiri militants into positions on the Indian side of the LOC. While apparently Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was giving 'warm welcome' to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, secretly Pakistani regulars and other intruders were busy occupying the Kargil heights on Indian side of LOC. It was not only an aggression against India, but was also unfaithful act by Pakistan.

Pakistan's aim was not merely to sit on the Kargil heights, but to cut the overlooking Srinagar-Leh highway so that the Ladakh region would have no connection with the valley. At least four

immediate objectives were set out by Pakistan for itself. These were - (i) to internationalize the Kashmir problem; (ii) to score a decisive military victory and permanently capture some locations on Indian side of LOC; (iii) to stimulate trouble on the Indian side of LOC; and (iv) to win support of the Muslims in India. But, Pakistan failed in its entire game plan as Indian army demonstrated unprecedented determination and courage and defeated the Pakistani intruders and the regulars. The Kargil Conflict received world-wide attention and Pakistan, for the first time, since its creation in 1947, was completely isolated. The international community gave full support to Indian position. Even Pakistan's closest allies United States and China also favoured Pakistan's withdrawal from Kargil and restoration of status quo, which meant complete vacation of Indian side of LOC by Pakistani intruders - militants as well as army regulars.

13.4.11 India-Pakistan Relations in Contemporary Times

After the Kargil War, Pakistan once again came under army rule in October 1999. General Parvez Musharraf had sacked Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and he declared himself to be the Chief Executive of Pakistan. India took the stand that it would not talk to Pakistan till democracy was restored in that country. However, setting aside his opposition to talk to a military ruler, Vajpayee decided to invite General Musharraf to India for talks. The talks between Vajpayee and Musharraf took place in Agra in July 2001. But, the talks failed, and even a joint declaration could not be issued.

Meanwhile, free and fair elections were conducted in the state of Jammu & Kashmir in 2002. Prime Minister Vajpayee described this as proof of determination and self-determination of the people of Kashmir. India has always been keen for friendship with Pakistan. In April 2003, Prime Minister Vajpayee once again extended his hand of friendship during his visit to Kashmir.

The UPA Government headed by Dr. Manmohan Singh also pursued the normalization process vigorously. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also initiated several measures for people-to-people contact, and for resolution of several outstanding problems between India and Pakistan, including the issue of Kashmir.

Both India and Pakistan have launched several mutual confidence building measures to ease tensions between the two countries. These include more high-level talks, easing Visa restrictions, and restarting of cricket matches between the two countries. The bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarbad has also helped bring the two sides closer. Both the countries have decided to cooperate on economic fronts too. But, the relations between India and Pakistan have regularly been adversely affected by several terrorist attacks backed by Pakistan, such as, Indian Parliament attack and Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly attack in 2001, Samjhauta Express bombing in 2007, Serial bombing in Mumbai in 2008, Uri attack in 2016 and Pulwama attack in 2019. Following the Pulwama attack, India launched airstrikes in Balakot, Pakistan. This action led to aerial clashes and resulted in the capture of an Indian pilot by Pakistan. The pilot was later released, preventing the situation from escalating further. The scrapping of Article 370 in 2019, which granted special status to Jammu and Kashmir, further increased tensions between India and Pakistan. In response, Pakistan suspended land and air links, trade, and railway services with India. Throughout 2020, sporadic ceasefire violations along the Line of Control (LoC) continued, causing military and civilian casualties. However, a significant development occurred in February 2021 when both countries agreed to a strict ceasefire along the LoC, which substantially reduced violence. Diplomatic gestures in 2021, including the exchange of letters between Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan, indicated a mutual desire for peace. In 2022, India provided assistance during devastating

floods in Pakistan, briefly improving relations. Both countries participated in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summit in 2023. Despite these positive steps, issues like terrorism, border disputes, and political distrust continued to pose significant challenges to the relationship between India and Pakistan.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write briefly about the India-Pakistan War of 1971.

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Q 2: Write about the Shimla Agreement, 1972.

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13.5 LET US SUM UP

- The two dominions, India and Pakistan, were created by the India Independence Act, 1947 enacted by the British Parliament.
- Soon after their independence, India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations but the violent partition and numerous territorial claims would overshadow their relationship.
- India and Pakistan have fought in numerous armed conflicts since their independence. There are three major wars that have taken place between the two countries, namely in 1947, 1965 and the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971. In addition to this was the unofficial Kargil War in 1999 and some border skirmishes.
- The question of sharing of river waters has also been an important factor in Indo-Pak relations.
- The Shimla Agreement signed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan on July 2, 1972. Under this agreement both India and Pakistan agreed to settle their differences through bilateral negotiations in a peaceful manner.

- In the years after signing the Shimla Agreement the relations between India and Pakistan continue to be less hostile, though they could not be conducted in the spirit of the Accord.
- India's adversarial relations with Pakistan were worsened after the two countries conducted their nuclear tests in May 1998.
- The Lahore Declaration is a bilateral agreement and a governance treaty signed between India and Pakistan. The treaty was signed on February 21, 1999.
- The Lahore Declaration emphasized on establishing peace and stability between India and Pakistan for progress and prosperity of the peoples of the two countries.
- The Kargil war, that took place between May and July 1999 along the Line of Control (LOC) in the Kargil district of Jammu & Kashmir.
- The cause of the Kargil war was the infiltration of Pakistani soldiers disguised as Kashmiri militants into positions on the Indian side of the LOC.
- The international community gave full support to India in Kargil Conflict and Pakistan was complete isolated.
- Pakistan once again came under army rule in October 1999 as General Parvez Musharraf had sacked Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and he declared himself to be the Chief Executive of Pakistan.
- Setting aside his opposition to talk to a military ruler, Vajpayee decided to invite General Musharraf to India for talks.
- The talks between Vajpayee and Musharraf took place in Agra in July 2001. But, the talks failed, and even a joint declaration could not be issued.
- Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also initiated several measures for people-to-people contact, and for resolution of several outstanding problems between India and Pakistan, including the issue of Kashmir.
- Both India and Pakistan have launched several mutual confidence building measures to ease tensions between the two countries.
- The relations between India and Pakistan have regularly been adversely affected by several terrorist attacks backed by Pakistan

- Following the Pulwama attack, India launched airstrikes in Balakot, Pakistan.
- Throughout 2020, sporadic ceasefire violations along the Line of Control (LoC) continued, causing military and civilian casualties. However, a significant development occurred in February 2021 when both countries agreed to a strict ceasefire along the LoC, which substantially reduced violence.
- In 2022, India provided assistance during devastating floods in Pakistan, briefly improving relations. Both countries participated in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summit in 2023.
- Despite these positive steps, issues like terrorism, border disputes, and political distrust continued to pose significant challenges to the relationship between India and Pakistan.



13.6 FURTHER READING

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13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The revolt by the Bengalis in East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh contributed a lot towards the straining relations between India and Pakistan. Pakistan, since independence was geo-politically divided into two major regions - West Pakistan and East Pakistan. East Pakistan was occupied mostly by Bengali people. In December 1970 elections were held in Pakistan which resulted in absolute majority for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League in Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan. However, under pressure from Z.A. Bhutto, President Yahya Khan refused to summon the meeting of the National Assembly. Consequently in March 1971 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman started a civil disobedience movement. A people's army known as Mukti Bahini was also formed with a view to achieve freedom. The Pakistani military leaders resorted to suppression of people in East Bengal, which resulted in large influx of Bengali refugees to India. These refugees crossed over to India in large number to escape persecution. This not only caused serious strain on economy of India but also strained her relations with Pakistan. Pakistan started accusing India of instigating the East Bengalis and actively helping them against Pakistan. Although India refuted these charges, Pakistan mounted an attack on India in the Western Sector. The Government of India acted promptly and dispatched her forces to meet the Pakistani challenge. India also sent her troops to help the Mukti Bahini forces. Eventually the war did begin on December 3, 1971, India decided to go ahead and recognition was granted to Bangladesh on December 6, 1971. After some fight, Pakistani forces surrendered before the joint command of Mukti Bahini and Indian Army. Pakistani surrender took place on December 16, 1971. During that 13-day war in the winter of 1971 nearly 20,000 Indian soldiers laid down their lives. The emergence of Bangladesh was described as an

event of major importance in the Sub-continent.

Ans to Q No 2: The liberation of Bangladesh led to the fall of Yahya Khan in Pakistan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto assumed power on December 20, 1971. Soon he showed his willingness to improve relations with India and agreed to take part in a Summit Meeting at Shimla. The meeting was held from June 28 to July 2, 1972, which resulted in the conclusion of Shimla Agreement. The Shimla Agreement signed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan on July 2, 1972. Under this agreement both India and Pakistan agreed to settle their differences through bilateral negotiations in a peaceful manner. Both the countries expressed faith in the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. They also agreed to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each other. They were to withdraw their forces to their respective international border in Rajasthan and Punjab. In Kashmir, the position was to be maintained as agreed to work for the normalization of relations and to cooperate in the economic, cultural and scientific fields. In short, the Shimla Summit expressed the hope that in future the relations of the two countries would take a normal course and the tension of the past years would end.



13.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: The Shimla Agreement was signed between which two leaders of India and Pakistan?

Q 2: Atal Bihari Vajpayee also decided to travel in the first bus to go to Lahore on February 20, 1999.

Q 3: In December 1970 elections were held in Pakistan which resulted in absolute majority for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League in Provincial Assembly of East Pakistan.

Q 4: Write the full form of Line of Control (LOC).

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the Kashmir Dispute.

Q 2: Explain India-Pakistan relations after Shimla Agreement.

Q 3: Write about India-Pakistan relations after 1998 Nuclear Test.

Q 4: Write about the Lahore Declaration.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss India-Pakistan relations from 1965 to the contemporary times.

Q 2: Explain India-Pakistan Relations after Shimla Agreement and India-Pakistan Relations after 1998 Nuclear Test.

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UNIT 14: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH BANGLADESH

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objective

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Indo-US Relations :History, Phases and Present Status

- 14.3.1 Emergence of Bangladesh
- 14.3.2 Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace, 1972
- 14.3.3 The Indo-Bangladesh Trade Agreement, 1972
- 14.3.4 Assassination of Mujibur Rahman and Indo-Bangladesh Relations
- 14.3.5 Sharing of Ganga Waters and Farakka Barrage
- 14.3.6 The New Moore Island Dispute
- 14.3.7 Other Bilateral Issues
- 14.3.8 Indo-Bangladesh Relations in Contemporary Times

14.4 Let Us Sum Up

14.5 Further Reading

14.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.7 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- outline the relationship between India and Bangladesh
- know the history of emergence of Bangladesh
- have an idea about the various phases of relationship between India and Bangladesh
- identify the issues or questions that have been determining the Indo-Bangladesh relations
- have an idea on various bilateral issues between India and Bangladesh
- make out the present status of Indo-Bangladesh relations

14.2 INTRODUCTION

India and Bangladesh are South Asian neighbours. With a population of nearly 170 million, Bangladesh is the eighth most populous country in the world. Even more important, it is one of the world's fastest growing economies and has been called the 'miracle in the east'.

India is a natural partner of Bangladesh. Both the countries have the longest common border over 4,000 km with each other. India's relations with Bangladesh have been quiteintimate.India's connections with Bangladesh are civilisational, cultural, social and economic. There is much that unites the two countries - a shared history and common heritage, linguistic and cultural ties, passion for music, literature and the arts.

The two nations were strong allies during the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971. India not only played the key role in the creation of Bangladesh, but also it was one of the first countries to accord recognition to the new State, and establish diplomatic and trade relations with it. The Bangladesh leadership also acknowledged the Indian help with gratitude and indicated its desire to work in close cooperation with India.

14.3 : INDO-US RELATIONS : HISTORY, PHASES AND PRESENT STATUS

15.3.1 Emergence of Bangladesh

India played a leading role in the creation of Bangladesh. The birth of Bangladesh in December 1971 was a direct outcome of the Indo-Pakistan war in which Pakistani troops surrendered unconditionally in erstwhile East Pakistan. Lt. General Niazi of Pakistan surrendered to Lt. General J.S. Aurora of Indian army. It was the result of the revolt of Bangladeshis against tyrannical Pakistani regime. The revolt had begun in March 1971, when the most popular leader of Awami League Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested and taken to a jail in West Pakistan. India had full sympathy with the people of East Pakistan in their struggle for

independence. An interim government of Bangladesh had been constituted in as early as March 1971, but India had refrained from giving recognition to it for fear of provoking Pakistan into a war. But, when eventually the war did begin on December 3, 1971, India decided to go ahead and recognition was granted to Bangladesh on December 6, 1971. Pakistani surrender took place on December 16, 1971. During that 13-day war in the winter of 1971 nearly 20,000 Indian soldiers laid down their lives. The emergence of Bangladesh was described as an event of major importance in the Sub-continent.

14.3.2 Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace, 1972

The Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's visit to India (Calcutta) was returned by the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's official tour of Bangladesh in March 1972. At the end of the Indo-Bangla summit talks the Treaty of Friendship and Peace was signed on March 19, 1972. The Treaty of Friendship and Peace was signed for a period of 25 years.The Preamble of the Treaty spoke of friendship between the two countries based on sacrifice by their peoples leading to emergence of Bangladesh. It was stated in the joint declaration that the Treaty was concluded to give concrete expression to the similarity of views, ideals and interests. It was inspired by the ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism. Both the countries pledged to strengthen world peace and security and fight against colonialism, racialism and imperialism. They also agreed to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other and to refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs. They also agreed to refrain from aggression against each other and not to allow the use of their territory for military purposes. It was also provided in the Treaty that in case of aggression, or threat of aggression, against either, India or Bangladesh, the two countries

would consult each other and try to find a solution to ensure security of both the countries. Both the countries expressed their faith in the principle of peaceful co-existence. They also agreed to cooperate with each other in economic, scientific and technological field. They would work together in areas such as irrigation and education, culture and sports. Thus, the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace covered a wide range of bilateral relations as also their commitment to international peace and security.

14.3.3 The Indo-Bangladesh Trade Agreement, 1972

The signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Peace was followed by the conclusion of a comprehensive trade agreement on March 25, 1972. The short-term agreement provided for the creation of duty-free zone up to 16 km on both sides of Indo-Bangla border. People could cross the border once a day and carry not more the Rs.100 with them to purchase their essential requirements of daily use. The second part of the agreement provided for rupee trade up to 50 crores in a year. This enabled Bangladesh to secure market for its product including fish, raw jute, hides and skinsand newsprint. India, on the other hand, could supply to meet Bangladeshi requirements of tobacco, cement, minerals, machinery etc. The third part of the Agreement dealt with trading in foreign exchange. Both the countries could purchase from each other any goods to be sold against foreign exchange.

14.3.4 Assassination of Mujibur Rahman and Indo-Bangladesh Relations

It was generally believed that the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was faltering economically and wobbling administratively. Prices were rising continuously. Mujibur Rahman declared emergency on December 24, 1974 and assumed all the powers himself. He failed to check corruption, hoarding etc. His style of functioning continued to be loose and disjointed, paternalistic

and easy going. He brushed aside the intelligence reports and refused to believe that his 'children' could do him any harm. But on August 15, 1975 a coup was staged by some army Majors. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the creator of Bangladesh, the 'Bangabandhu' was killed along with the members of his family.

A number of forces hostile to India were already active in Bangladesh andby this time anti-Indianism was clearly visible in the country. Fundamentalism had emerged and secularism became a victim in the new military regime. After a brief struggle, power was assumed by Lt. General Zia-ur-Rahman.

The period after Mujibur Rahman's assassination was quite disturbing for India. But, once General Zia consolidated his regime, efforts were made for some normalcy in Indo-Bangladesh relations.

However, the coup leaders made it clear that Bangladesh was no more secular, though Mujibur Rahman's Bangladesh was secular, democratic republic and there was no place for army in politics. Since 1975, Bangladesh came to be ruled by pro-Pakistani and anti-Indian forces. Bangladesh later became an Islamic Republic, when its Parliament (Jatio Sangsad)passed a constitutional amendment bill in 1988 declaring Islam to be the state religion of Bangladesh. Thus, Islamisation of Bangladesh begun by General Zia was completed during President Ershad's rule.

14.3.5 Sharing of Ganga Waters and Farakka Barrage

One of most difficult and irritating problems between India and Bangladesh relates to sharing of Ganga waters. The Ganga waters dispute between India and Bangladesh is mainly concerned with sharing of waters during lean season, January to May, particularly mid-March to mid-May, when the flow of Ganga reduces to minimum level.

The dispute over Farakka barrage was a legacy from the Indo-Pakistan relations, which continued to be a source of irritation between India and Bangladesh after the emergence of Bangladesh

as an independent nation. The Farakka Barrage was built by India, during 1962-71 when Bangladesh was still East Pakistan. The primary reason for the construction of this barrage was the preservation and maintenance of the Calcutta Port, which is vital for India's international trade. Once the barrage was constructed, Calcutta Port was protected, but diversion of water for the Port became an issu of international discord and misunderstanding.

In 1972, a Joint Rivers Commission was set up in accordance with Mujib-Indira agreement. After Mujibur Rahman's visit to India in 1974, an agreement was concluded on temporary basis for allocation of Ganga waters. The agreement was signed in 1975 and India agreed to about 80 percent of water to Bangladesh in six weeks of lean period. This was gesture of goodwill on the part of India. But, with the assassination of Mujibur Rahman in august 1975, India's attitude towards Bangladesh became hard as anti-Indian forces had become active and vocal in Bangladesh. Meanwhile, the temporary agreement expired in May 1975.

The Government of Morarji Desai in India accorded a high priority to the improvement of relations with India's neighbours. After negotiations between the two countries, a bilateral agreement for five years was concluded on sharing of Ganga waters in November 1977. The 1977 agreement offered partial solution as it dealt with only the sharing of water during the lean period.

The agreement of 1977 expired on May 30, 1982and a fresh agreement had to be concluded.A meeting between General Ershad, the then President of Bangladesh and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi opened new horizons in the bilateral relations. A fresh Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed in 1982 and the agreement of 1977 was extended for 18 months.The agreement was renewed in 1983 and again in 1986. It finally lapsed in 1988 and India began releasing water on adhoc basis.

14.3.6 The New Moore Island Dispute

There have been tensions between India and Bangladesh over certain territorial claims also. These include the dispute over New Moore Island, the problem related to Teen Bigha corridor, and the clash in Muhuni Char in the Belonia Sector.

Of the three, the dispute over New Moore Island in the Bay of Bengal persisted as a major problem. Both countries have claimed sovereignty over this island, which was first formed after the cyclone and tidal waves of 1970 and discovered by India in 1971. Bangladesh put forward its claims to the island in 1978. In 1979 both the countries agreed to conduct a joint survey to determine the location and ownership of the island. The controversy between the two countries was aggravated in May 1981 on account of despatch of certain gun boats which threatened the India ship 'Sandhyak' which went there to update the statistics for joint survey. India also sent a frigate to rescue its ships. This generated lot of tension between the two countries. The tension was somewhat defused as a result of meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the two countries. At this meeting it was decided to refer the issue to Secretary level talks to examine all available data of New Moore Island dispute. However, no settlement could be arrived at and the island controversy remains unresolved.

14.3.7 Other Bilateral Issues

There are various other bilateral issues also which caused tension between India and Bangladesh. The flow of migrants across Bangladesh boundary due to unstable conditions in Bangladesh has caused tension between the two countries. Large influx of such migrants across the boundary has posed serious social, economic and political problems for the people of Indian states bordering on Bangladesh, viz. West Bengal, Meghalaya, Assam, Tripura and Mizoram. India sought to check the problem of illegal

influx from Bangladesh by erecting barbed wire fence along the border, which was greatly resented by Bangladesh.

Among other problems in India-Bangladesh relationship is the problem of Chakma refugees who have mostly taken shelter in Indian state of Tripura. The presence of large number of Chakma refugees from Bangladesh caused tension in Indo-Bangladesh relations. The situation somewhat eased following assurance by President Ershad on July 15, 1986 that his government would soon initiate steps for return of Chakmas who had crossed into India and curb continuing influx of tribals. But the Bagladesh government failed to live up to its assurance and the influx of Chakmas across the border into Tripura and Mizoram continued. However, negotiations during 1994 led to the repatriation of Chakma refugees from Tripura to Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh.

Further tension in Indo-Bangladesh relations were generated as a result of declaration of Bangladesh as an Islamic Republic by President Ershad in June 1988. This raised serious doubts in the minds of minorities in Bangladesh about their future. Subsequently in the wake of demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya in December 1992, violent attacks were made on temples in Dhaka, Chittagong and other places. This led to exodus of non-Muslims into India, and caused lot of tension in Indo-Bangladesh relations. In such a situation of mutual distrust the bilateral talks on outstanding issues between the two countries were deferred.

Relations between the two countries were also embittered because they charged each other of providing sanctuary to rebels across the borders. Bangladesh accused India of harbouring and arming the tribal Shanti Bahini guerillas, who were demanding political, economic and cultural autonomy for Chittagong Hill tracts region. On the other hand, India charged Bangladesh with proving shelter to TNV guerillas of Tripura and ULFA of Assam.

Indo-Bangladesh relations were also adversely affected on account of dispute regarding Tin Bigha corridor. Dahagram and

Angorpota, the two enclaves of Bangladesh are separated from district Rangpur of Bangladesh by a small patch of an acre of Indian territory called Tin Bigha.This is the nearest point between Bangladesh mainland and her two enclaves. The prolonged dispute regarding transit of Bangladeshis via Tin Bigha was sought to be settled when Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Bangladesh President Ershad signed an agreement in 1982.

Despite these irritants the leaders of the two countries have repeatedly asserted their desire to improve relations.

14.3.8 Indo-Bangladesh Relations in Contemporary Times

India's relations with Bangladesh showed an improvement after the United Front Government initiated a policy of unilateralism and extended several trade and other concessions to Bangladesh. In December 1996, the Prime Ministers of both the countries signed a 30 years water sharing treaty to resolve their long standing dispute over the matter. The two countries also agreed to cooperate in dealing with the problem of insurgency and militancy. They pledged not to permit their territory to be used against each other. Yet another factor which contributed to improvement of relations between the two countries was conclusion of an agreement by the Bangladesh government and the Chakma refugees leaders which paved the way for the return of Chakma refugees to Bangladesh.

In June 1999, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in order to promote good neighbourly relations with the countries of sub-continent, introduced a Calcutta-Dhaka bus service. A hope was expressed that the bus service would bring people of the two countries closer and contributes to social and economic prosperity.

On 20 June 1999, the two countries signed another agreement under which India agreed to provide a credit of Rs.200 crore to Bangladesh for its infrastructural development. India also agreed to extend duty-free concessions on selected Bangladeshi

items without insisting on any reciprocal arrangement.

In July 1999, Bangladesh agreed to examine the issue of trans-shipment of Indian goods from one part of India to another part of India by Bangladesh land route and Bangladesh transport. This was a significant step in the direction of creating a regime of free goods movement within South Asia. The two countries also agreed to complete the work of border demarcation to curb smuggling, trafficking in women and children, smuggling of arms and ammunition.

In January 2000, India's State Minister of External Affairs Ajit Panja paid a visit to Bangladesh to reinforce the existing relations of goodwill and friendship between the two countries. Both the countries agreed to start a bus service between Agartala and Dhaka. They also agreed to increase cooperation in the field of fisheries, jute production and cultivation, animal husbandry, biotechnology, agriculture, science and technology, agriculture production and agro-processing.

In September 2011, the two countries signed a major accord on border demarcation to end the four-decade old disputes over boundaries. This came to be known as the Tin Bigha corridor. India also granted 24-hour access to Bangladeshi citizens in the Tin Bigha Corridor. The agreement included exchange of adversely held enclaves, involving 51,000 people spread over 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladesh enclaves in India.

From November 2013, a Wagah Border-like ceremony is being organized at Petrapole (in West Bengal, India)-Benapole (Bangladesh) border checkpoint. The ceremony which includes parades, march-past and lowering of the national flag of both the countries is now a daily routine, at sundown, on the eastern border. The relations between the countries are definitely moving in positive direction.

The year 2015 had been incredible for the Indo-Bangladesh relations. Both the countries achieved breakthroughs in many areas

of bilateral relations, including implementation of the Land Boundary Agreement(LBA), granting of transit facilities to India's isolated North Eastern states, broadening of cooperation in the energy sector, expansion of economic and security cooperation, increase of bilateral trade and signing of several agreements especially up gradation of cross-border connectivity and opening new bus routes.

During Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Bangladesh in June 2015, as many as 22 agreements were signed by the two countries. These agreements are related to road, railways, waterways, business, security, trade, infrastructure, communication, science and technology, and cultural cooperation. During the visit India extended a US$2 billion line of credit to Bangladesh and also pledged US$5 billion worth of investments.

At midnight on 31 July 2015, around 50,000 people became citizens of India or Bangladesh after living in limbo for decades. Ending a prolonged dispute, the two nations swapped 162 enclaves on the border region, allowing the people living there to stay or opt out to the other country.While 14,214 citizens of Bangladesh residing in 51 enclaves on the Indian side became Indians, a large number of people in the 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh preferred to stay with Bangladesh.

Again in April 2017, during Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's four-day visit to India, both the countries signed two defence agreements, the first such agreements between India and its neighbours. Under the agreements, the militaries of the two countries will conduct joint exercises and training.

In 2018, Russia, Bangladesh and India signed a memorandum on cooperation in the implementation of the Rooppur Nuclear power plant project, which is Bangladesh's first nuclear power reactor.

Bangladesh became India's largest trade partner in South Asia, with trade growing from USD 10.8 billion in 2020-21 to

USD 18 billion in 2021-22, though it declined in 2022-23 due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina inaugurated the India-Bangladesh Startup Bridge in March 2021. Bangladesh's first startup delegation visited India in May 2023, followed by an Indian delegation visiting Bangladesh for the first Bangladesh Startup Summit in July 2023.

Bangladesh is a key partner in India's ITEC (Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation) program. Annually around 800 participants avail benefits of the ITEC training courses. In March 2021, India announced 1,000 "Suborno Jayanti Scholarships" for Bangladeshi students, and in February 2022, launched a website for Bangladeshi students interested in studying at top Indian institutes like IITs and NIITs for undergraduate, postgraduate, M.Phil, and PhD courses. In 2022, India and Bangladesh completed a joint study on a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). This agreement is especially important for Bangladesh, as it is set to lose its Least Developed Country (LDC) status after 2026 and, with it, duty-free and quota-free access to the Indian market. In June 2022, India relaunched the Bangladesh Youth Delegation program to engage top young talent from Bangladesh. Youth from diverse disciplines were invited to visit India A 100-member delegation visited India in February 2024, exploring notable academic and cultural sites in New Delhi and other cities, and meeting with the President of India.

On November 1, 2023, Prime Ministers Narendra Modi and Sheikh Hasina inaugurated the 6th India-Bangladesh rail link, connecting Agartala (India) and Akhaura (Bangladesh) to provide an alternate route to India's North-East. The Haldibari-Chilahati, was reopened in August 2021, enhancing sub-regional connectivity. The other four rail links made operational between

India and Bangladesh include: Petrapole (India)-Benapole (Bangladesh), · Gede (India) – Darshana (Bangladesh), · Singhabad (India) - Rohanpur (Bangladesh), and · Radhikapur (India) – Birol (Bangladesh). Both countries have operationalised the Agreement for the usage of Chittagong and Mongla Ports in 2023. This will allow India to avail the services of these ports in Bangladesh for transit cargo between Northeast and mainland India. In March 2023, the Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh inaugurated the India-Bangladesh Friendship Pipeline to transport High Speed Diesel from India to Bangladesh. Bangladesh is India's largest trade partner in South Asia, and India is Bangladesh's second-largest trade partner in Asia. In Financial Year(FY) 2023-24, Bangladesh exported USD 1.97 billion worth of goods to India.

In early 2024, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina began her fourth consecutive term, strengthening ties with India. Following her re-election as Prime Minister of Bangladesh on January 8, 2024, Prime Minister Modi held a telephonic conversation and reaffirmed the two countries' people-centric cooperation. Newly appointed Bangladesh Foreign Minister Dr. Hasan Mahmud made his first official visit to India in February, meeting with Indian leaders to discuss key bilateral issues. India's Foreign Secretary visited Dhaka on May 8-9, 2024, to maintain active ties. On June 9, 2024, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina attended Prime Minister Modi's swearing-in ceremony in New Delhi, along with other leaders from the Indian Ocean region.

After Sheikh Hasina's resignation in August 2024, India-Bangladesh relations entered a phase of reassessment as both nations adjusted to the transitional government led by Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus. The interim government was formed amidst civil unrest and demands for democratic reforms. India's approach to Post-Hasina Bangladesh will be cautiously optimistic, aiming to maintain bilateral cooperation while

adapting to potential policy changes. With a focus on shared security, economic collaboration, and mutual respect for sovereignty, India hopes to foster a constructive relationship that adapts to Bangladesh's changing political landscape.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write briefly about the emergence of Bangladesh.

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Q 2: Write about the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace, 1972.

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14.4 LET US SUM UP

- India and Bangladesh are South Asian neighbours. India is a natural partner of Bangladesh.
- India played a leading role in the creation of Bangladesh.
- India not only played the key role in the creation of Bangladesh, but also it was one of the first countries to accord recognition to the new State, and establish diplomatic and trade relations with it.
- There is much that unites the two countries - a shared history and common heritage, linguistic and cultural ties, passion for music, literature and the arts.
- The Treaty of Friendship and Peace was signed between India and Bangladesh on March 19, 1972 for a period of 25 years.
- The Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace covered wide range of bilateral relations as also their commitment to international peace and security.

- On August 15, 1975 a coup was staged by some army Majors and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the creator of Bangladesh, the 'Bangabandhu' was killed along with the members of his family.
- The period after Mujibur Rahman's assassination was quite disturbing for India. But, once General Zia consolidated his regime, efforts were made for some normalcy in Indo-Bangladesh relations.
- One of most difficult and irritating problems between India and Bangladesh relates to sharing of Ganga waters.
- The dispute over Farakka barrage was also an issue of irritation of Indo-Bangladesh relations.
- There have been tensions between India and Bangladesh over certain territorial claims also. These include the dispute over New Moore Island, the problem related to Teen Bigha corridor, and the clash in Muhuni Char in the Belonia Sector.
- There are various other bilateral issues such as, illegal influx from Bangladesh, issue of Chakma refugees, providing shelter to the militants, declaration of Bangladesh as an Islamic Republic also caused tension between India and Bangladesh.
- Despite these irritants the leaders of the two countries have repeatedly asserted their desire to improve relations.
- The year 2015 had been incredible for the Indo-Bangladesh relations. Both the countries achieved breakthroughs in many areas of bilateral relations



14.5 FURTHER READING

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14.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: India played a leading role in the creation of Bangladesh. The birth of Bangladesh in December 1971 was a direct outcome of the Indo-Pakistan war in which Pakistani troops surrendered unconditionally in erstwhile East Pakistan. Lt. General Niazi of Pakistan surrendered to Lt. General J.S. Aurora of Indian army. It was the result of the revolt of Bangladeshis against tyrannical Pakistani regime. The revolt had begun in March 1971, when the most popular leader of Awami League Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested and taken to a jail in West Pakistan. India had full sympathy with the people of East Pakistan in their struggle for independence. An interim government of Bangladesh had been constituted in as early as March 1971, but India had refrained from giving recognition to it for fear of provoking Pakistan into a war. But, when eventually the war did begin on December 3, 1971, India decided to go ahead and recognition was granted to Bangladesh on December 6, 1971. Pakistani surrender took place on December 16, 1971. During that 13-day war in the winter of 1971 nearly 20,000 Indian soldiers laid down their lives. The emergence of Bangladesh was described as an event of major importance in the Sub-continent.

Ans to Q No 2: Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's visit to India (Calcutta) was returned by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's official tour of Bangladesh in March 1972. At the end of

the Indo-Bangla summit talks the Treaty of Friendship and Peace was signed on March 19, 1972. The Treaty of Friendship and Peace was signed for a period of 25 years. The Preamble of the Treaty spoke of friendship between the two countries based on sacrifice by their peoples leading to emergence of Bangladesh. It was stated in the joint declaration that the Treaty was concluded to give concrete expression to the similarity of views, ideals and interests. It was inspired by the ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism. Both the countries pledged to strengthen world peace and security and fight against colonialism, racialism and imperialism. They also agreed to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other and to refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs. They also agreed to refrain from aggression against each other and not to allow the use of their territory for military purposes. It was also provided in the Treaty that in case of aggression, or threat of aggression, against either, India or Bangladesh, the two countries would consult each other and try to find a solution to ensure security of both the countries. Both the countries expressed their faith in the principle of peaceful co-existence. They also agreed to cooperate with each other in economic, scientific and technological field. They would work together in areas such as irrigation and education, culture and sports. Thus, the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace covered wide range of bilateral relations as also their commitment to international peace and security.



14.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Bangladesh was born in which year?

Q 2: A bilateral agreement for five years was concluded on sharing of Ganga waters in which year?

Q 3: Which treaty was signed between India and Bangladesh on March 19, 1972 ?

Q 4: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the leader of which party?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain about the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace, 1972.

Q 2: Explain the issue of sharing of Ganga Waters and Farakka Barrage with respect to the relations between India and Bangladesh.

Q 3: Explain the New Moore Island Dispute.

Q 4: Explain India-Bangladesh relations in the contemporary times.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss India-Bangladesh relations from 1971 to the contemporary times.

Q 2: Explain the relations between India and Bangladesh with respect to the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship and Peace 1972, the Indo-Bangladesh Trade Agreement, 1972, sharing of Ganga Waters and Farakka Barrage and the New Moore Island Dispute.

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