PG PS S2-03 (DSC)

TWO YEAR MARSTER'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - II

CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE



Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The fourth course of the Second Semester of MA Programme in Political Science of KKHSOU is titled as "Contemporary International Relations". It is designed to help the learners to have a deep understanding of the various dimensions of the International Relations. It is supposed that the learners of the Master Degree Programme in Political Science should have thorough knowledge about various aspects of the International Relations around the world. Keeping in view of the above, the course begins with one of the important concept of International Relations i.e. cold war.

The first unit of the course deals with the meaning and nature of cold war. In this unit, we have also discussed about the various phases of cold war including end of cold war. The second unit of the course discusses about the emerging world order. In this unit, various dimensions of the emerging world order are discussed including their features. In the third unit, we have discussed about the United Nations. Through this unit, the learners will be familiar with the structure and functions of the United Nations, its role in maintaining world peace and UN Peace Keeping Missions. The fourth unit is related with meaning and nature of South-South cooperation. Various regional groupings like NAM, G-77, ASEAN etc. are also discussed in this unit. The foreign policies of India are discussed in the fifth unit. Through this unit, the learners will be able to explain the meaning, objectives and basic principles of India's foreign policy.

The sixth and seventh units discuss India's relations with Russia and the US elaborately. India's relationships with its neighbouring countries namely- Pakistan, China and Bangladesh are explained in the eighth, ninth and tenth units respectively. The eleventh unit is related with Neo-colonialism and Dependency Theory. Here, detailed discussions are made regarding meaning and nature Neo-colonialism including the Dependency Theory in International Relations. The twefth unit deals with another burning issue of the present world i.e. International Terrorism. In this unit, discussions are made on the meaning and nature of terrorism and the strategies to combat terrorism.

The thirteenth unit focusses on the importance of globalization and its impact on international politics. Finally, the fourteenth unit deals with various aspects of international environmental concerns and sustainable Human Development.

While going through the units of the course, you will find that unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Again, the units carry certain *activities* after a particular section where needed. 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. You may then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit. The section “FURTHER READING” in each unit contains the names of a few books which you might want to consult if you are intereted in learning more elaborately about the concepts discussed in a particular unit. Furthermore, the category called “POSSIBLE QUESTIONS” is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: COLD WAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1. Learning Objectives

1.2. Introduction

1.3. Nature and Causes of Cold War

1.4. Phases of Cold War

1.5. End of Cold War

1.6. Let Us Sum Up

1.7. Further Reading

1.8. Answers to Check Your Progress

1.9. Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of cold war
- explain the causes of cold war
- discuss the phases of cold war
- explain the nature of cold war
- describe about the end of cold war.

1.2 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.

The term “Cold War” as popularized by the columnist, Walter

Lippmann and it came into common use by 1947. It came to acquire a special meaning, signifying that the relations between the East and the West, though bad and war like, and strained but had not reached the point of hot war. It symbolized intense competition in political economic fronts and even on ideological grounds but never assumed the stature of hot war or actual armed conflict between the two blocs. Calvocoressi observes that Cold War was not an episode like other wars, which had beginnings and ends, winners and losers. It signified a state of affairs.

Whatever may be the different perspectives on the origin of Cold War, it can be said that the cold war broke out because of ideological confrontation, post Second World War complications and irreconcilability of vital interests of USA and the Soviet Union.

1.3 MEANING, NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR

According to Hartman, “Cold War is a state of tension between countries in which each side adopts policies designed to strengthen it and weaken the other by falling short by actual war”. In fact, cold war is a kind of verbal war which is fought through newspapers, magazines, radio and other propaganda methods. It is a propaganda to which a great power resorts against the other power. It is a sort of diplomatic war. The cold war, in one sense, was a power struggle between the two nuclear military giants of the age, the United States and the Soviet Union. But on a more basic level, the cold war was a contest between two opposing ways of life. One was democratic capitalism, lead by the United States and other Western European nations. The other side was represented by Totalitarian Communism, led by the Soviet Union and its "satellite" nations of Eastern Europe. Despite constant tensions and an alarming build-up of nuclear arms on both sides, the United States and the Soviet Union officially remained at peace—hence the name the "cold war”. Yet it was hardly a peaceful era.

Causes of Cold war

Various causes are responsible for the outbreak of the cold war-

- The difference between Soviet Russia and USA led to the cold war. The United States of America could not tolerate the Communist ideology of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, Russia could not accept the dominance of United States of America upon the other European Countries.
- The race armament between the two super powers was another cause for the cold war. After the Second World War, Soviet Russia had increased its military strength which was considered a threat by the Western Countries. So America started to manufacture nuclear bombs like the Atom bomb, Hydrogen bomb and other deadly weapons. The other European Countries did not lag behind and also started participating in this race. So, the whole world got divided into two power blocs which paved the way for the cold war.
- The ideological differences was another cause of the cold war. When Soviet Russia spread Communism, America propagated Capitalism. This propaganda ultimately accelerated the cold war.
- Russian Declaration was another cause of the cold war. Soviet Russia highlighted Communism in mass-media and encouraged the labour revolution. On the other hand, America helped the Capitalists against Communism.
- The Nuclear Programme of America was another cause for the cold war. After the bombardment by America on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, made Soviet Russia think about her existence for which they also embarked on a nuclear programme to combat the growing power of USA. This led to the growth of cold war.
- The enforcement of Veto by Soviet Russia against the western countries made them to hate Russia. When the western countries forwarded any view in the Security Council of the UNO, Soviet Russia would immediately opposed it through her veto power. The western countries were not too please with Russia's activities. This is also one factor for the growth of cold war.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The term ……..was popularized by the columnist, Walter Lippmann and it came into common use by 1947. (Fill in the blank)

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Q 2: The difference between Soviet Russia and USA led to the Cold War. (True/False)

.....

.....

Q 3: The enforcement of Veto power by Soviet Russia against the western countries made them to hate Russia. (True/False)

.....

.....

1.4 PHASES OF COLD WAR

The Cold War did not occur in a day. It had passed through several phases. It is discussed below.

Phase - I:

The first phase of cold war continued from 1946 to 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 Organization (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.

Phase II:

The second phase of cold war continued from 1949 to 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.

Phase III:

The third phase of cold war continued from 1953 to 57. This phase witnessed the continuation of the American policy of military and economic offensive against the eastern bloc. During this period, two new US sponsored treaties, namely, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Middle East Defence Organisation (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.

Phase IV:

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 and American 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.

Phase V:

The fifth phase of cold war continued from 1962 to 69.This phase was marked by a deep appreciation of the futility of nuclear weapons between both the blocs. A worldwide 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 (PTB) 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 Khrushchev 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.

Phase VI:

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-I Agreement. This agreement included the treaty on the limitation of Anti-Ballistic 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 a 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 normalization 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.

Phase VII (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 Brezhnev, 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. 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."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: The Fifth Phase began from 1962. (True/False)

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Q 5: Russia signed WARSAW PACT in 1956.(True/false)

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Q 6: In ..... America boycotted the Olympic held at Moscow. (Fill in the Blank)

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1.5 END OF COLD WAR

The ascendancy of Gorbachev as the President of the Soviet Union marked a new era in the East-West relationships. His ascendancy

to the presidency paved the way for agreements on nuclear and conventional forces. The Geneva Summit of 19-21 November 1985 was the first Soviet-American summit held after the Afghanistan crisis. Here both USA and the Soviet Union focused on the need for preventing any sort of war-nuclear or conventional between them. After the Reykjavik summit of 1986 and Washington summit of 1987 Gorbachev travelled to the united states and signed the INF. Gorbachev and Reagan meet at the Moscow summit held in the year 1988 and the Malta summit of 1989 which marked a new beginning not only in the US and USSR relations, but also in international politics. The Bulgarian and Romanian communist governments collapsed by the end of 1989. The climax was reached in November 1989 when thousands of ordinary citizens broke the Berlin wall and the security guards stood there as mere spectators. In July 1991, President Bush and Gorbachev signed the START for deep cuts in their strategic arsenals.

Gorbachev's new thinking reflected in his GLASNOT and PERESTROIKA unleashed such forces which ultimately became the reason of destruction of the Soviet Union. Internally there were several reasons which led to the collapse of communism. Francis Fukuyama came up with 'The End of History' and the 'Last Man' a thesis where he elucidated the victory of liberalism over all other ideologies and the globalisation of liberal capitalism. The other thesis which became very popular was Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilization. This changed scenario would induce the world community to set a new agenda for international relations.

- **Result of the Cold War**

The Cold War had far-reaching implications in the international affairs.

- It gave rise to a fear psychosis which resulted in a mad race for the manufacture of more sophisticated armaments. Various alliances like NATO,SEATO, WARSAW PACT, CENTO, ANZUS etc. were formed only to increase world tension.
- Cold War rendered the UNO ineffective because both super powers tried to oppose the actions proposed by the opponent.

The Korean Crisis, Cuban Missile Crisis, Vietnam War etc. were the bright examples in this direction.

- Due to the cold war, a Third World was created. A large number of nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America decided to keep away from the military alliances of the two super powers. They wanted to remain neutral. Hence, Non-Alignments Movement was the direct outcome of the cold war.
- Cold War was designed against mankind. The unnecessary expenditure in the armament production created a barrier against the progress of the world and adversely affected a country and prevented improvement in the living standards of the people.
- The principle 'Whole World as a Family', was shattered on the rock of frustration due to the Cold War. It divided the world into two groups which was not a healthy sign for mankind.
- The cold war created an atmosphere of disbelief among the countries. They questioned among themselves how unsafe were they under Russia or America.
- The cold war disturbed the World Peace. The alliances and counter-alliances created a disturbing atmosphere. It was a curse for the world. Although Russia and America, as super powers, came forward to solve international problems, yet they also failed in their endeavour to establish perpetual peace in the world.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: the cold war did not disturb world peace. (True/False)

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Q 8: full form of NATO

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.....

Q 9: ..... was designed against mankind. (Fill in the Blank)

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.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

- The difference between Soviet Russia and USA led to the Cold War.
- According to Hartman, “Cold War is a state of tension between countries in which each side adopts policies designed to strengthen it and weaken the other by falling short by actual war”.
- The Cold War, in one sense, was a power struggle between the two nuclear military giants of the age, the United States and the Soviet Union.
- The Race of Armament between the two super powers served as a cause for the Cold War.
- The Ideological Difference was another cause for the Cold War.
- Russian Declaration made another cause for the Cold War.
- The Nuclear Programme of America was responsible for another cause for the Cold War.
- The Enforcement of Veto by Soviet Russia against the western countries made them to hate Russia.
- Cold War was designed against mankind.
- In 1980 America boycotted the Olympic held at Moscow.
- Russia signed WARSAW PACT in 1955.
- In 1955 America formed MEDO in Middle East.



1.7 FURTHER READING

1) Khanna, V.N. (2007) Foreign Policy of India. Vikas Publication, Delhi.
2) Ghosh Peu. (2009) International Relations PHI Learning pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.
3) Comparative Politics and International Relations- Prakash Chander

and Prem Arora.

4) International Relations- Vinay Kumar Malhotra.

5) International Relations (A Simple Study of International Politics) - K.K. Ghai.

6) International Relations – Since 1919- R.K. Pruthi.

7) International Relations and World Politics since 1919- S. N. Dhar.



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q No 1: Cold War

Ans. to Q No 2: True

Ans. to Q No 3: true

Ans. to Q No 4: true

Ans. to Q No 5: false

Ans. to Q No 6:1980

An.s to Q No 7: False

Ans. to Q No 8: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Ans. to Q No 9: Cold War.



1.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: What is cold war?

Q. 2: Write the full form of NATO.

Q. 3: Mention a result of cold war.

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

Q. 1: Define cold war.

Q. 2: What were the causes of cold war?

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

Q. 1: Discuss the phases of cold war.

Q. 2: Discuss the end of cold war.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: EMERGING WORLD ORDER

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Historical Background: Emergence of Cold War

2.3.1 Meaning of World Order

2.3.2 End of Cold War

2.4 Features of the Emerging World Order in the Post-Cold War Period

2.5 Let Us Sum Up

2.6 Further Reading

2.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.8 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of World Order
- analyse the elements of Contemporary Emerging World Order
- discuss the trends regarding Shifting Pole and Emerging World Order

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Order plays a very significant role in the present day world politics. From the past to the present day world politics order has been shifted from one pole to the other pole. Pole determines the typology of order. Now a day in the age of globalization, order is being pulled in a number of different directions. We have seen different types of order in the world in different forms with different commonalities, such as—international order, world order, global order etc. The World order has become global in character in the age of globalization. Lots of development took place during cold war as well as post-cold war period at the international arena. Different elements of pre and post-cold war period determine the path where the order proceeds.

Soviet power in Eastern Europe during cold war and dissolution of Soviet Union in post-cold war period has lots of impact in the paradigmatic shift of world order after 1990's. Similarly bipolar competition between USA and USSR during cold war and unipolar peace-making initiative by USA in the post-cold war period also plays a significant role in shifting polarity from one dimension to the other dimension as well. There are certain other ideological issues like rival ideology and supremacy of liberal capitalism in the cold war and post-cold war era respectively have far reaching phenomena in the history of international politics to define world order.

2.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: END OF COLD WAR

2.3.1 Meaning of World Order

The 'World Order' is considered to be a wider category of order in perspective in comparison to 'International Order'. It is a comprehensive order covering each and every categories of world cluster than the idea of 'international'. John Baylis and Steve Smith conceptualize the idea of 'World Order' by putting emphasis upon its viability. Instead of states, the present world order takes individual human beings as its units. According to Baylis and Smith the contemporary world order assesses the degree of order on the basis of the delivery of certain goods to each and every corner of human society in the form of security, human rights, basic needs, justice etc. Since the idea of world order basically centring on the units of humanity, so it basically focuses on human rights, social justice and needs of the human society. So, etymologically the idea of world order visualises the spirit of humanity and sustainability. But this world order takes different shapes in different historical circumstances. For example, in the age of globalization, the world order become global in character which is also considered as globalized order where the basic unit is the global system characterised with end of national polities, societies and economies. The relationship between economic and political dimensions, non-

traditional dimension of human security, debates about the consequences of globalization, human rights norms, process of human emancipation, environmental issues, cultural pluralism etc. are some of the significant development that take place in this present emerging world order.

2.3.2 End of Cold War

When we look back for historical realities about the order, we must be specific in terms of specifying order for whom—whether states, peoples, groups, or individuals. Historically the order prevailed at international level which is considered as international order basically focuses on stable and peaceful relations between states primarily based on military security. There are different typologies of order that prevailed in the world in different historical circumstances. The typologies of order are—globalized order, international order, world order and globalized international order. In the context of world politics, order varies according to the changing nature of politics at the international arena. In 18th and 19th century world politics, the kind of order prevailed was international in character where the states were the primary concern based on balance of power. This kind of order was basically concern with the agenda of sovereignty and stability. The idea of balance of power occupied a predominant position in international politics during 18th and 19th century and continued even in the 20th century as well. But due to the failure of theory of balance of power to address the issues and problems of 20th century world politics, the entire world had experienced with two devastating world war where human values and dignity had undermined and treated everyone as a hostile opponent. Due to the prevailing dominance of balancer and balancing authority, the whole idea of balance of power in Europe proved to be futile by the end of 19th century and subsequently it resulted in anarchy in the world politics on the eve of the 20th century. Of late it turned out to be a world war by experiencing with saga of violence in all over the world

which raises lots questions in front of the academicians, statesman, and political practitioners to find out solution of the same.

Both the first and second world war left lots of unfolding contradictions in international arena which invites debates and discourses to the 20th century world politics. As a part of those discourses, shifting dimension of world order and polarity came into existence. After the end of World War II, the entire world was divided into bi-polar world by creating two power blocks, i.e. USA and USSR on the basis of capitalist and socialist ideas respectively. The post-world war world politics which was characterised by the competition and suspicion between USA and USSR left the entire world under the scourge of darkness and violence. Both the power blocks on the basis of their ideology and power tried to dominate the world politics by assisting and terrorising the rest of the world. Both the military wings namely NATO and WARSAW also showed arrogance and status quo position in order to influence the changing politics at the international level after the end of World War II. The entire world had divided into two blocks and the politics of that period was defined in terms of bi-polar world order. This bi-polar world order prevailed till 1990's. After the breakdown of USSR, the order became unipolar in character under the leadership of USA. The entire 20th century was more or less considered as American century and USA became successful in establishing US Hegemony in the entire 20th century. In the post-cold war phenomena US established unipolar world order through neo-liberal state structure. The era of triumphalism got started which was well depicted by R. Lebow and J. Stein in 1990's in their book "We All Lost the Cold War". The new millennium has been experiencing with both the crux of unipolar world order and the paradoxes of multipolar world order. In this critical juncture, the debate arises on the ground reality and changing element which evaporated the process of emergence of a new world order based on global dimension.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write briefly about the meaning of world order .

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Q 2: Write briefly about the world order prevailing during 18th and 19th century.

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2.4 FEATURES OF THE EMERGING WORLD ORDER IN THE POST-COLD WAR PERIOD

Let us now discuss the world order that arose in the aftermath of the Cold War :

- Uniipolarity vs Multi-Polarity- Emerging Trends :

  A new world order has developed in the post-cold war period which basically signifies the predominance of neo-liberal institutionalism where there was a competition between west and the rest on the basis of capacity of resource mobilization. The continuous spread of US hegemony in the entire 20th century and even 21st century and the parallel development of multipolar world order invite lots of debates and discussion in the field of international relation as an academic discipline. After the end of world war, US remain the only major industrial power not devastated by the war. As a result, slowly and gradually it became one of the dominant economies in the entire world and after the end of cold war US became successful in creating a unipolar world. Of late, the activities on the part of USA increased frustration in the minds of newly developed countries and they went for the creation of a multipolar world. As a part of it, China in 1992 during the time of then premier Jiang Zemin introduced the word “Multipolarity” in their foreign policy initiatives.

Post cold nationalist movements and clash of civilizations came into existence in the last decade of 20th century and became more prevalent in the 21st century as well. Each and every region got evaporated and moves forward in order to gain more at the international level. The communist china becomes more dominating in the post-cold war period by following liberalism as an economic principle. It is due to their dominant economic and military position, China is able to dictate an order where they also invited India, Brazil, Russia and South Africa as well. But nevertheless the dominance of USAontinues even in the 21st century. If we look at the wealth of economically powerful countries, we can find the answer as to how USA continues to be dominant in the 21st century as well. In terms of wealth, USA continuously occupies the predominant position at present with approximately $19.39 trillion.

When Time Magazine declared 20th century as American century, USA became more pronounced in highlighting their activities in different parts of the world in order to establish US hegemony. Being the sole remaining dominant economy in the capitalist West after World War II and in the entire world after the end of cold war, USA proved 20th century as American Century and tried to glorify the era of triumphalism. But suddenly there were certain genuine changes in international politics and the entire world witnessed a general shift in power from a US-led West to Asia, and especially to China. China emerged as the new global hegemon. This notion is frequently captured in the image of the twenty-first century as the “Chinese Century”. The kind of impression that have been shown by China due to their remarkable record of sustained economic growth since 1980’s placed China in the second position in the world economy eventually by 2010 and supposed to reach USA after some years from now. According to IMF database, by the end of 2025, China will surpass USA and will become the largest economy in the world. The growing diplomatic self-confidence on the part of China is considered to be fruitful for their dominant

economic and strategic position for the last two decades. This inexorable rise of China in the 21st century has significantly increases the demand in terms of multipolar world order which alter the idea and presumption of US hegemony to be continued even at the new millennium as Well.

But in this 21st century, there is an increasing debate between unipolarity and multi-polarity in the age of globalization and developed different sorts of extension programme to establish global hegemony by themselves. Both USA and China increases their differences in this new century in order to control the global market. Militarism plays a very significant role for both USA and China, with the help of which they are able to dictate the order. In the last few decades both USA and China became more indifferent in terms of their foreign policy, bi-lateral relationship and strategic partnership. For instance, U.S. has not opposed the creation of the BRICS' New Development Bank (NDB), which will invest in infrastructure and sustainable development, but it has actively opposed the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to the point of pressuring Australia, Korea, and Indonesia not to join the Bank. The entire western society is facing increasing competition with the emerging countries like China, Brazil and India in this new millennium. The lingering economic crisis in the US is also seen as a signal of the beginning of the end of US hegemony and subsequent dominance of Communist China in the post- cold war phenomena compel the newly developed countries to belief that China is the most likely challenger to US dominance. It was China who for the first time during the then premier Jiang Zemin officially incorporated the concept of multipolar world (duoji shijie) into Chinese foreign policy at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1992. According to communist party of China, a fair, just and peaceful world is only possible through multi-polarity and they raised questions regarding singular and unchecked superpower exercised by USA which is very dangerous as exemplified by the US invasion of Iraq

without a UN sanction and the US/NATO actions in Kosovo. China's increasing prominence along with the other BRICS countries in the field of resource mobilization and foreign direct investment form the bases for the new thinking in terms of emerging world order where pole has been shifted from one dimension to other dimension. For example, till 2005, India was the largest holder of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), but after 2005 to till date China occupies the first position in terms of FDI. But these newly emerging countries are still lacking in terms of human security. For instance, China and India are in 120th and 170th position in the global human security index.

The G20 development agenda which was launched in the year 2009, G20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth (G20 Framework) also shows lots of promising inputs and act as vital component for the proper development in the 21st century. This development agenda firmly determined to achieve sustainable growth by putting emphasis upon addressing the development issues. The G20 group are in favour of joint cooperation in terms of global economic challenges and focussing certain specific issues like economic growth, job creation, investment, climate and poverty reduction. According to G20 leaders, efforts to narrow the development gap and reduce poverty will contribute to a stronger, more sustainable, inclusive and resilient global recovery.

So from the above analysis we can establish a common truth that we are residing in a world of dynamism where pole has been shifted from one dimension to the other. But nevertheless the present emerging world order under the banner of some emerging countries like China, Brazil, India etc. form the bases for the creation of a multipolar world order where the newly developed countries plays the dominant role. As a part of new emerging world order, China has appeared on the world stage as a "Global Power" with military might and the world's fastest growing economy. In the age of globalization, especially in this new millennium the idea of new emerging world

order in the form of multipolar world came into existence as counter-hegemony to US led order. As a result, this new emerging world order carries lots of unfolding contradictions. But instead of indifferences among the dominant countries, this new emerging world order represent a picture of prominence and sustainability by putting emphasis upon different mechanisms of inclusive growth. Subsequently this emerging order become more vibrant in this new millennium and increases its capability in taking decisive and positive action in the field of international politics.

- Some other significant feartures of the emerging world order:
  - **Issue of Identity and the idea of nation-state:** One of the significant features of contemporary world order is the issue of identity that has become prevalent since 1990s. Emergence of new ethnic assertions manisfested in terms of ethnic separatism, regional identities, new social movements etc. became visible in different parts of the globe, often ledaing to protracted conflicts at the regional and international levels.
  - **Polarity and the collectivization of security:** After the end of cold war, polarity has shifted from bi-polar world to unipolar world. Along with shifting dimension of polarity, the idea of collectivisation of security came into the forefront which is quite different from collective security. For e.g., US initiative of 'war on terror' was a glaring example of Collectivisation of security.
  - **The social-state relationship in the age of globalization:** In the era of globalization, the states have performed a range of social functions that distinguish them from the states in the earlier period, i.e. in 18th, 19th century. The contemporary state mechanism must adopt best practices in terms of economic competitiveness and efficiency and also in delivering facilities in order to conform to certain standard of civil, political and economic rights to the individual residing within the parameter of state structure.

- **Issue of governance:** The Contemporary forms of international governance (through regimes, international organizations and international non-governmental organizations etc.) play a significant role in identifying the hierarchy of the order. The multilateral management system at the international level is considered to be one of the remarkable aspects of contemporary order.
- **The process of political economy:** Another important dimension of contemporary emerging order is the process of production and exchange. This process at the international level managed by organizations like IMF, WB, WTO etc.
- **Regionalism:** In the post- cold war era, each region gain more autonomy and they accelerated their process of development in the age of globalization. The contemporary development of regionalism and the role played by each and every kind of region in the politics of present day world is considered to be a significant factor in the emerging world order. After the end of cold war, different sorts of identity politics developed in different regions due to greater degree of security autonomy seemingly enjoyed by the regions. Subsequently, regionalism becomes a dominant factor in identifying order at the international level.
- **Neo-liberalism and liberal rights order:** The entire cold-war period has been characterised with liberal rights order and the post-cold war world politics with neo-liberalism. The issues of human rights, secularism, social justice etc. spread to each and every categories of society in order to transform human values and self –fulfilment of every individual. In maintaining the international order in the 21st century, effort must be upon the realisation of democratic practices, establishment of international peace and security.

- **Conflicting world order:** Continuous development of US hegemony and the emerging multipolar world order is of one of important character of contemporary world order. The difference between

industrialised north and marginalised south in the 20th century and the resurgence of the rest of the world under the crux of west is a crucial development in this new emerging world order. The monolithic credo of north and the resilient south made the post-cold war world politics into the heights of indifference and subsequently the order shifted along with the shifting of pole in the age of globalization.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Write about polarity and the collectivization of security as a feature of the emerging world order.

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Q 4: Write about multipolar world order in the present context.

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2.5 LET US SUM UP

- The World order has become global in character in the age of globalization. Lots of development took place during cold war as well as post-cold war period at the international arena. Different elements of pre and post-cold war period determine the path where the order proceeds.
- In the 18th and 19th century world politics, the kind of order that prevailed was international in character but the states were the primary concern. It was based on balance of power and continued well till 20th century. But due to the failure of theory of balance of power to address the issues and problems of 20th century world politics, the entire world had to experience two devastating world war where human values and dignity was undermined and treated everyone as a hostile opponent.

- Both the first and second world war left lots of unfolding contradictions in international arena which invites debates and discourses to the 20th century world politics. As a part of those discourses, shifting dimension of world order and polarity came into existence. After the end of World War II, the entire world was divided into bi-polar world by creating two power blocks, i.e. USA and USSR on the basis of capitalist and socialist ideas respectively. After the breakdown of USSR, the order became unipolar in character under the leadership of USA.
- The entire 20th century was more or less considered as American century and USA became successful in establishing US Hegemony in the entire 20th century.
- There are some important elements of emerging world order, such as- issue of identity and the idea of nation-state, polarity and the collectivization of security, social-state relationship in the age of globalization, issue of governance, the process of political economy etc.
- A new world order has developed in the post-cold war period which basically signifies the predominance of neo-liberal institutionalism where there was a competition between west and the rest on the basis of capacity of resource mobilization. The continuous spread of US hegemony in the entire 20th century and even 21st century and the parallel development of multipolar world order invite lots of debates and discussion in the field of international relation as an academic discipline.
- The present emerging world order under the banner of some emerging countries like China, Brazil, India etc. form the bases for the creation of a multipolar world order where the newly developed countries plays the dominant role. Along with these countries some other Institutions and organisations have been also playing very effective role in the present context.



2.6 FURTHER READING

1) Khanna, V.N. (2007) Foreign Policy of India. Vikas Publication, Delhi.
2) Ghosh Peu. (2009) International Relations PHI Learning pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.



2.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No.1: The 'World Order' is considered to be a wider category of order in perspective in comparison to 'International Order'. It is a comprehensive order covering each and every categories of world cluster than the idea of 'international'. John Baylis and Steve Smith conceptualize the idea of 'World Order' by putting emphasis upon its viability. Instead of states, the present world order takes individual human beings as its units. According to Baylis and Smith the contemporary world order assesses the degree of order on the basis of the delivery of certain goods to each and every corner of human society in the form of security, human rights, basic needs, justice etc.

Ans. to Q. No.2:

The idea of balance of power occupied a predominant position in international politics during 18th and 19th century and continued even in the 20th century as well. But due to the failure of theory of balance of power to address the issues and problems of 20th century world politics, the entire world has experienced with two devastating world war where human values and dignity had undermined and treated everyone as a hostile opponent. Due to the prevailing dominance of balancer and balancing authority, the whole idea of balance of power in Europe proved to be futile by the end of the 19th century and subsequently it resulted in anarchy in the world politics on the eve of the 20th century.

Ans. to Q. No.3: After the end of cold war, polarity has shifted from bi-polar world to unipolar world. Along with shifting dimension of polarity, the idea of collectivisation of security came into the forefront which is quite different from collective security. For e.g., US initiative of 'war on terror' was a glaring example of Collectivisation of security.

Ans. to Q. No.4:

In the 21st century, there is an increasing debate between unipolarity and multi-polarity in the age of globalization and developed different sorts of extension programme to establish global hegemony. Both USA and China increases their differences in this new century in order to control the global market. Militarism plays a very significant role for both USA and China, with the help of which they can able to dictate the order. In the last few decades both USA and China became more indifferent in terms of their foreign policy, bi-lateral relationship and strategic partnership.

The G20 development agenda which was launched in the 2009 G20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth (G20 Framework) also shows lots of promising inputs and act as vital component for the proper development in the 21st century. This development agenda firmly determined to achieve sustainable growth by putting emphasis upon addressing the development issues. The G20 group are in favour of joint cooperation in terms of global economic challenges and focussing certain specific issues like economic growth, job creation, investment climate and poverty reduction. According to G20 leaders, efforts to narrow the development gap and reduce poverty will contribute to a stronger, more sustainable, inclusive and resilient global recovery. We are residing in a world of dynamism where pole has been shifted from one dimension to the other. But nevertheless the present emerging world order under the banner of some emerging countries like China, Brazil, India etc form the bases for the creation of a multipolar world order where the newly developed countries plays the dominant role. As a part of new emerging world order, China has appeared on the world stage as a "Global Power" with military might and the world's fastest growing economy.



2.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write briefly about the meaning of "order" in Contemporary International Relations.

Q. 2: Explain any two features of the emerging world order.

Q. 3: Write about neo-liberalism and liberal rights order as a feature of the emerging world order.

Q. 4: Write briefly about unipolarity vs multipolarity as a feature of the emerging world order.

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UNIT 3: UNITED NATIONS

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Principal Organs of the United Nations
3.4 Role and Significance of United nations in Maintenance of World Peace
3.5 UN Peace Keeping Missions
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Further Reading
3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
3.9 Possible Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- discuss about United Nations
- discuss about role and significance of UN
- analyse about UN and Global Security.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

The League of Nations was the first attempt made by the world community to establish world peace through an international organization but it met a sudden death with the outbreak of the Second World War. However, the idealism of international peace and security was there which ultimately led to the establishment of United Nation.

It was during the period of Second World War that the necessity of a general and comprehensive organization for maintaining peace and promoting international cooperation was felt. The failure of the League was held to be a passing phenomenon. The need soon emerged for a universally acceptable international platform for meeting, discussing and deciding all issues related to global concern. Though the League of Nations had failed to provide security to humanity, yet the idea for an international organization to prevent war and to promote peace was not abandoned.

The United Nations officially came into existence on 24th October, 1945. The name United Nations was devised by US President Roosevelt and was first used in the Declaration of the United Nations on 1st January 1942, when representatives of 26 nations pledged their governments to continue fighting together against the Axis powers.

Steps that led to the formation of UN

- Atlantic charter of 1941
- The UN declaration 1942
- The Casablanca conference of January 1943
- The food and agriculture conference, 1943
- The Moscow conference, October 1943
- The Tehran Conference, November-December 1943
- Bretton Woods Conference,1944
- Dumbarton oaks proposals, 1944
- Yalta conference 1945
- The San Francisco Conference 1945
- Signing of the UN Charter
- The Birth of the UN

3.3 PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

- **The General Assembly:** It is the most popular and the largest organ of the U.N. It is termed as the "Town meeting of the whole world" where all the members of the UNO, large or small, are heard in debates and discussions. All the members of the UN are members of the General Assembly. Chapter IV of the UN Charter provides that each member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly. However each state shall have only one vote. The General Assembly can be called the legislature of the UNO. It acts as a forum for raising matters of grievances and injustice
- **Security Council:** It is the executive organ of the UN which stands entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Upon the Security Council rests the final responsibility of the success or failure of the UN as it deals with

the implementation of the decisions of General Assembly and the Charter of the UN.

- **International Court of Justice:** The idea of having a World Court has been a very old one. It was greatly felt by statesman, masses and various national and international organisations that international disputes should be settled peacefully and amicably. The need of having an international court that would settle international disputes was accepted by all the states. It was in 1899 that "permanent Court of Arbitration" (PCA) was set up. On April 18, 1946, the Permanent Court of International Justice was dissolved and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) was set up.
- **The Trusteeship Council:** Art. 7 of the UN Charter includes the Trusteeship Council among its six principal organs. Although it has been given a position of dignity in the UN, yet it is a subordinate body, because it functions as an auxiliary organ of the General Assembly in supervising the administration of the non-strategic trust territories and to the Security Council in the case of strategic areas. The Trusteeship Council is constituted quite differently from the old Mandate Commission of the League of Nations. Trusteeship Council is composed of member states, where as the members of the Mandate Commission were experts appointed by the League of Nation's Council and were not representatives of their governments.
- **UN Economic and Social Council:** The aim of the UN is not only to prevent war and maintain peace but also to look for the social and economic welfare of all the nations. The framers of the UN Charter were aware of the fact that international peace and security could not be maintained without the uniform social and economic progress in the world. According to Art I of the Charter "One of the purposes of the UN is to achieve co-operation among the nations in solving the problems of social, economic, cultural and humanitarian nature and to encourage and promote respect for the basic human rights and freedoms of the people without any reference to race, language, sex and religion.

- **The Secretariat and the Secretary General:** It is one of the principal organs of the UN. It is also the headquarter of the UN which administers and co-ordinates the policies and programmes which are laid down by other agencies or the UN.

3.4 ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE

The role of the UNO can be summarised on the basis of its purposes which are embodied under Article 1 of the Charter.

- To maintain international peace and security.
- To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.
- To cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- To be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

In the 1990s, with the end of the cold war, intense changes have become apparent in international relations. It is clear that the world is in a state of flux. The political restraints inherent in the cold war no longer exist. Technological change like telephone, air travel, the internet, electronic money transfers, world trade and the consequent economic integration - drive the need for cross border regulation and international cooperation. This process of globalisation is not so much a policy that individual governments can choose to adopt, promote or stop, but a fact of modern life with which national governments must deal. The UN is not so much a source of globalisation but a response to it on behalf of the nation states that belong to the organisation.

Meaningful solutions to complex cross-border problems such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological), epidemic diseases like AIDS, crime, illicit drugs and the whole gamut of issues raised by the Internet and information technology (such as Internet child pornography and Internet gambling), pollution and environmental degradation, can only be found through international and

regional cooperation. The United Nations is the best vehicle for such cooperation and, therefore, an indispensable player in world affairs.

The main tasks of the UN in the twenty-first century includes the eradication of global poverty, the institution of sustainable development, the abolition of third world debt, the institution of the treaties developed in the twentieth century and civics education. The effective maintenance of international peace and security is a necessary precursor to these goals and as such should also continue as one of the UN's highest priorities.

- It is an organisation of equal sovereign states and indeed all states in the General Assembly have one vote regardless of size or wealth; however, in the Security Council, which is the only organ with binding powers, some states are more equal than others.
- The UN is not an autonomous agent making decisions separate from the power politics of the world. The Permanent Five, the victorious powers and allies of World War II, have a veto power and therefore their interests are supreme when decisions are made on what actions the UN will take and how well resourced such action will be.
- Difference between ideal and reality: On the one hand, the hope that the UN might provide a solution to the problems of war and injustice has been dashed for many people. On the other hand, there is confusion over the UN's role and the place of the nation state within it.
- Disillusionment with the UN: It was claimed that the UN was a world government and that this resulted in the destruction of our national sovereignty.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The Atlantic charter was signed in the year 1942. (True/False)

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.....

Q 2: The United Nations officially came into existence on …….. (fill in the blank)

.....

Q 3: The end of the Cold War was in..... ……..(fill in the blank)

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3.4.1 UN and global security

Global security includes military and diplomatic measures that national and international organizations such as the United Nations and NATO take to ensure mutual safety and security. The United Nations was formed in 1945 with the major purpose of promoting and ensuring international peace and security. Since then it has formed the major forum for the negotiation and management of major treaty regimes, become central to international law relevant to security, promoted normative and analytical innovation in international security, and – with bodies like the Security Council, the Department of Peacekeeping, the High Commissioner for Refugees, and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – taken on a direct operational and coordinating role in the governance of international security.

- **UN ORGANS FOR GLOBAL SECURITY**

- **Security Council**

  The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or an act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement. Under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council can take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such measures range from economic sanctions to international military action. The Council also establishes UN Peacekeeping Operations and Special Political Missions.

- **General Assembly**

The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN. Through regular meetings, the General Assembly provides a forum for Member States to express their views and find consensus on different and difficult issues. It makes recommendations in the form of General Assembly Resolutions.

- **UN measures for global security:**

- The United Nations plays an important role in conflict prevention, using diplomacy, good offices and mediation. Among the tools, the Organization uses to bring peace are special envoys and political missions in the field.
- One of the most effective tools available to the UN is to assist host countries navigate the difficult path from conflict and move towards peace.
- Peace building activities are aimed at assisting countries emerging from conflict, reducing the risk of relapsing into conflict and at laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development. The UN peace building architecture comprises the Peace Building Commission, the Peace Building Fund and the Peace Building Support Office.
- The United Nations is being increasingly called upon to coordinate the global fight against terrorism. Eighteen universal instruments against international terrorism have been elaborated within the framework of the United Nations system relating to specific terrorist activities.
- The General Assembly and other bodies of the United Nations, supported by the Office for Disarmament Affairs, work to advance international peace and security through the pursuit of the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the regulation of conventional arms.

The UN has operational limitations. It lacks adequate funds to meet all its objectives. Behind it lie the deeply embedded narrow

nationalism, love for sovereignty, nation- state-psychology and also the perversities of the human race. It is an established fact that the veto power of the five permanent members of the Security Council has been a great handicap in the way of maintaining international peace and security. Any one of the 'Big Five' can stop the U.N. from taking steps against an aggressor. In the post-cold war and the post-U.S.S.R. era, the U.S.A. has been trying to dominate the proceedings of its most vital organ, the Security Council.

The UN also does not possess any coercive power to punish an offending nation. It does not possess any force of its own which may help the innocent and aggrieved states against an aggression and war. Further, it cannot take any action against big powers who have armed themselves to the teeth and believe that this 'great peace organizations' shall have no authority over them. They make several general promises of good behaviour but remain free to do as they like.

The United Nations needs several reforms in the light of past experiences as well as on the basis of the future needs and projections. There is every need for reforming the United Nations for securing as further democratizations of its structure and decentralization of its functions.

- **Certain specific criticisms:**

(a) It is an organisation of equal sovereign states and indeed all states in the General Assembly have one vote regardless of size or wealth; however, in the Security Council, which is the only organ with binding powers, some states are more equal than others.

(b) The UN is not an autonomous agent making decisions separate from the power politics of the world. The Permanent Five, the victorious powers and allies of World War II, have a veto power and therefore their interests are supreme when decisions are made on what actions the UN will take and how well resourced such action will be.

(c) Difference between ideal and reality: On the one hand, the hope that the UN might provide a solution to the problems of war and injustice has been dashed for many people. On the other hand, there is confusion over the UNs role and the place of the nation state within it.

(d) Disillusionment with the UN: It was claimed that the UN was a world government and that this resulted in the destruction of our national sovereignty.

3.5 UN PEACE KEEPING MISSIONS

United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping missions play a pivotal role in helping nations grappling with conflict to establish conditions conducive to lasting peace. UN peacekeeping may be defined as the utilization of multinational forces under UN command to contain and resolve conflicts between hostile states. This approach, pioneered by the UN, views soldiers as catalysts for peace rather than instruments of war (Source: Basu Rumki, "The United Nations: Structure and Functions of an International Organisation," 1993).

The UN has undertaken many peacekeeping operations in different parts of the globe. Some major peacekeeping operations launched by the UN include United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I), United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), United Nations Operation in Somalia, United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR), United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS),United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA), United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM), United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL), United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM), United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG), United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM), etc.

The main responsibility for peacekeeping lies in the Security Council which alone can authorise peace keeping operations.The UN Charter states that when the Council determines the existence of any threat to the peace, breaches of peace ,or act of aggression , it shall decide what the UN should do to maintain or restore for international peace or security. The Security Council first look for peaceful settlement of the dispute like negotiation. If its recommendations are not followed by the parties involved, it can call for action by the international community, which might send peacekeeping force.

For the UN Security Council to adopt a proposal for peacekeeping operation, there should not be a negative vote from any of its five permanent members. The UN Secretary-General reports to the Council on how the operation can be launched and executed. After securing the approval of the Security Council, the Secretary-General must then make the required arrangements in terms of military or other civilian personnel.

Since the advent of UN peacekeeping, for the first time military forces have been used not to wage war, or to establish domination or to serve the interest of any power or group of powers but rather to control and resolve conflicts between states or communities within states.

The UN peacekeepers are also known as "Blue Helmets" because of the light blue helmets that they wear. The peacekeepers could include soldiers, police officers, and civilian personnel.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 The main responsibility for peacekeeping lies in the Security Council which alone can authorise peace keeping operations. (True/False)

.....

Q 5 UN peacekeepers are also known as what ?

.....

.....

Q 6 Mention any two Peacekeeping Missions of the UN.

.....

.....

Q 7 UN peacekeeping may be defined as the utilization of …… forces under UN command to contain and resolve conflicts between hostile states. (Fill in the blank)

.....

.....



3.6 LET US SUM UP

- The League of Nations was the first attempt made by the world community to accomplish world peace through an international organization but it met a sudden death with the outbreak of the Second World War.
- The United Nations officially came into existence on 24th October, 1945.
- The name United Nations was devised by US resident Roosevelt and was first used in the Declaration of the United Nations on 1st January 1942.
- The United Nations is being increasingly called upon to coordinate the global fight against terrorism.
- Global security includes military and diplomatic measures that nations and international organizations such as the United Nations and NATO take to ensure mutual safety and security.
- The United Nations was formed in 1945 with the major purpose of promoting and ensuring international peace and security.
- The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or an act of aggression.
- Under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council can take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security.
- The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN.
- The General Assembly is the most popular and the largest organ of the U.N. It is termed as the “Town meeting of the whole world” where all the members of the UNO, large or small, are heard in debates and discussions.

- On April 18, 1946, the Permanent Court of International Justice was dissolved and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) was set up.
- The aim of the UN is not only to prevent war and maintain peace but also to look for the social and economic welfare of all the nations.
- Art. 7 of the UN Charter includes the Trusteeship Council among its six principle organs.
- The United Nations plays an important role in conflict prevention, using diplomacy, good offices and mediation.
- Peace keeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace.
- The Food and Agriculture Conference was held in Virginia.
- The Bretton Woods conference, 1944 also contributed to the formation of the UN.
- The Moscow conference, was signed on 30th October 1943.
- Peace building activities are aimed at assisting countries emerging from conflict, reducing the risk of relapsing into conflict and at laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development.
- The UN is not an autonomous agent making decisions separate from the power politics of the world.
- The United Nations needs several reforms in the light of past experiences as well as on the basis of the future needs and projections.
- The UN has operational limitations. It lacks adequate funds to meet all its objectives.



3.7 FURTHER READING

1) Khanna, V.N. (2007)Foreign Policy Of India. Vikas Publication, Delhi.
2) Ghosh Peu. (2009) International Relations PHI Learning pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.
3) Ghai. K. K., (2010) International Relations – Theory And Practice Of International Politics. Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi.

3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: False

Ans to Q No 2: 24th October, 1945.

Ans to Q No 3: 1990

Ans to Q No 4: True

Ans to Q No 5: Blue Helmet

Ans to Q No 6: United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), United Nations Angola Verification Mission I

Ans to Q No 7: Multinational



3.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: When was the UN formed?

Q 2: In which year was the Atlantic charter signed?

Q 3: Mention any two points embodied in the UN Charter.

Q 4: Mention any two UN Peace Keeping Missions.

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

Q 1: Mention any two measures adopted by the UN for global security.

Q 2: Mention any two specific critisims against the UN.

Q 3: Mention two functions of the UN General Assembly.

Q 4: Mention two functions of the UN Security Council.

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

Q1: Discuss the role and significance of the United Nations.

Q2: Discuss the role of UN in global security.

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UNIT 4: SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning and Definition of South-South Cooperation

- 4.3.1 Features of South-South Cooperation (SSC)
- 4.3.2 Principles of South-South Cooperation
- 4.3.3 Evolution of South -South Cooperation

4.4 Regional groupings and South-South cooperation (NAM AND G77, ASEAN, OPEC)

- 4.4.1 NAM and G77
- 4.4.2 ASEAN and South-South Cooperation
- 4.4.3 OPEC and South-South Cooperation

4.5 Challenges to South-South Cooperation

- 4.5.1 Recommendations and Conclusions

4.6 Let Us Sum Up

4.7 Further Reading

4.8 Answers To Check Your Progress

4.9 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to

- learn about the concept of south-South cooperation
- to evaluate the contribution of the regional organization towards South-South effort.
- to look into the advantages and challenges of South-South Cooperation.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

South, the erstwhile colonies of the North is signified by its underdeveloped economy and dependency syndrome. In the post-World

War II period these nations have been seen to come forward collectively to make a cooperative effort in social, political and economic field. The Southern collaboration which started almost half a century ago was started with a fund assistance from Kuwait fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) in 1961 with Islamic Development Bank and Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA). Since then the cooperative efforts of the South has grown immensely to encompass not only the economic collaboration but also health, education, communication research and development. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has defined South-South Cooperation in the context of achieving the goals set at the ICPD and the MDG's. UNFPA Defines South-South Cooperation in its policy and procedure Manual as, "a means of development by an exchange of knowledge , experience, technology and information and capacity development between and among developing countries through government, civil society organizations, academic institutions, national institutions and networks to accelerate the implementation of the ICPD agenda and achievement of MDG's in participating Countries". So, the present unit will try to explore the history and evolution of the South-South Cooperation (SSC), its achievements and challenges and the role of regional groupings like NAM, G-77. ASEAN and OPEC.

4.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOUTH SOUTH COOPERATION

South-South Cooperation is a concept which has not been clearly defined by any institution or individuals till date. However, it is best understood as an exchange between government, organization and individuals in developing countries. Through this they help each other with knowledge, technical assistance and investments. The Countries of the South tries to help each other's in all prospective fields. It is a sort of wider collaboration among developing nations. It tries to augment self-sufficiency among southern nations. It tries to solve common development problems and challenges. That is why UNDP defines SSC as, "a means of promoting effective development by learning and sharing best practices and technology

among developing nations". South-South Cooperation refers to cooperative activities of southern countries which the newly industrialized and lesser developed nations of southern hemispheres. So, it means closer technical and economic cooperation among developing countries of the south.

4.3.1 Features of South-South Cooperation

- South-South Cooperation focus on capacity development as a process of technical cooperation.
- It tries to augment horizontal partnerships for development of the South.
- It tries to provide for cost effective regional cooperation.
- South-South Cooperation is more aligned with recipient priorities and needs.
- South-South Cooperation diversifies knowledge and expertise beyond industrialized models.
- It is not supplementary to North South Cooperation but is complementary to North South Cooperation.
- Depending on its types it may be in the form of bilateral development cooperation or Triangular Development cooperation.

4.3.2 Principles of South-South Cooperation

As reaffirmed in the Minister Declaration of the 33RD Annual meeting of the Minister of foreign affairs of the Member States of the Group 77 and China, in September 2009, New York, USA, the principles of SSC are:

- SSC is a common endeavor of peoples and countries of the South and must be pursued as an expression of South-South solidarity and an expression of South-South solidarity and a strategy for economic independence and self-reliance of the south based on their common objectives and solidarity.
- The Agenda of SSC must be driven by the countries of the south.

- It must be seen as a replacement for North South Cooperation. Strengthening SSC must not be measure of coping with the receding interest of the developed world in assisting developing countries.
- Cooperation between countries of the south must not be analyzed and evaluated using the same standard as used for North South relation.
- Financial contributions from other developing countries should not be seen as official development assistance from these countries of the south. These are merely expressions of solidarity and cooperation borne out of shared experiences and sympathies.
- SSC is a development agenda based on premises, conditions and objectives that are specific to the historic and political context of developing countries and to their needs and expectations SSC deserves its own separate and independent promotions.
- It is based on a strong, genuine broad based partnership and solidarity.
- It is based on equality, mutual respect and mutual benefits.
- It respects national sovereignty in the context of shared responsibility.
- It strives for strengthened multilateralism in the promotion of an action oriented approach to development challenges.
- It promotes the exchange of best practices among developing countries in the common pursuit of their broad development objectives.
- SSC is based on the collective self-reliance of developing countries.
- It seeks to enable developing countries to play a more active role in international policy and decision making processes in support of their efforts to achieve sustainable development.
- The modalities and mechanisms for promoting SSC are based on bilateral, sub-regional, regional and interregional cooperation and integration as well as multilateral cooperation.

4.3.3 Evolution of South-South cooperation

Starting somewhere fifty years back the concept of South-South cooperation is still relevant in context of trade and investment. It all started with coming together of the oppressed, post-colonial underdeveloped states of the south. An understanding of their common interests and of the material benefits of cooperation was the seed which led to the creation of institutional frameworks for South-South Cooperation.

The post-colonial states which were exploited to the maximum came out together and decided to collaborate and work out developing strategies rather than working as allies of the north and developing nations. They were fed up with the economic policies of the north. As a result they decided to work out together which resulted in the form of NAM 1961 and G 77 IN 1964 as a drive towards self-reliance. Formation of NAM and G77 boosted and pressurized for formation of NIEO and on new forms for technology transfer between countries. The UN established the UNCTAD to assist the south in the area of trade policy and promotion followed by formation of the commission for science and technology and the UN fund for Science and Technology in development (UNFSTD). In 1972, the UN General Assembly set up a working group to examine ways to intensify Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC). This led to the establishment in 1974 of a special unit within United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to promote TCDC through its resolution 3251(xxix). From 1973 to 1977, UN General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions to assist the South. These efforts resulted in UN Conference TCDC held in Buenos Aires in 1978 (BAPA) which provided a comprehensive recommendation for SSC. This was all done to enhance local capacity in developing countries by supporting local capabilities, institution and human resources.

However the most concrete step towards SSC was taken at the Bandung Conference where the African and Asian states had gathered. This conference prepared the ground for creation of the

Nonaligned movement (1961), the organization of African Unity (1963) and the Group of 77(1964).Though these groups were primarily political in nature but they could initiate the era of collective action within the south towards a broad common interest. They discussed about the domination of the North and their effort at development which resulted in the numerous bilateral, regional and sub-regional meets to augment a different development pattern for the south. Latin American and Caribbean nations lead the way in creating commercial and development group. There after the Latin American Free Trade Area was set up by six nations in 1960 which later on became LAFTA and consequently ALADI in 1981. Meanwhile, in Africa, the East African Economic Community, the Central African Customs AND Economic Union (UDEAC) and the Maghreb Permanent Consultative Committee had taken form. Leaders like Nasser, Nehru and Tito produced the Tripartite Trade Expansion and Economic Cooperation Agreement among their three countries while other leaders like Sukarno and Bandaranaike followed. So the claim that north makes that the idea of economic cooperation comes from NAFTA does not hold any truth. The only problem with the south was that they had only raw and primary materials and a narrow market to operate. However, the first oil shock of 1973 paved the way for the south to come to the forefront with bargaining power in international trade. The NAM and the G77 gained power enough to pressurize the UN General Assembly to pass a resolution to form the New International Economic Order.

Post 70's showed increased trade and finance within the south as well as new forms of cooperation in Africa like the West African Economic Community (ECOWAS), and the Economic Community of Central African States (CCEEAC) etc. In other parts of south like Latin America and the Gulf development had become the watch ward. But, by the last part of 1980's there was seen a decline in the trade within southern nation largely due to internal disturbances within the southern hemisphere. This process continued till 1990's due to

reasons like formation of new world order, reduced aid flow from the north, inability of the south to act together, weakening of regional and sub-regional organizations like NAM and G77, marginalization of General Assembly, ascendency of IMF and World Bank. Another reason may be the establishment of the World Trade Organization which changed the discourse on debt and inequalities in trade engulfing the whole south with rivalries. May be ASEAN evolved more as political institutions than economic and SAARC began to explore new opportunities in response to globalization. However despite challenges the concept has been increasingly accepted and been seen to have flourished.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1. Define South-South Cooperation?

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Q.2. Write two features of South-South Cooperation?

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Q.3. Write one important principle followed by South-South Cooperation?

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.....

4.4 REGIONAL GROUPINGS AND SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION (NAM AND G77, ASEAN, OPEC)

4.4.1 NAM and G77

In 1949, the then US President Henry Truman spoke on 'Underdeveloped regions of the world' and felt the need to assist them and urged for lumping the countries bringing together who were neither industrialized nor socialist. There were countries that were struggling to overcome their colonial heritage and were being pressed to take

sides in the cold war. The understanding of their common interest and of the mutual benefits of cooperation was the seed for the creation of South-South Cooperation, such as NAM and G77.

NAM and G77 were instances of joint political mobilization and collective bargaining, wherein propositions such as a new international order were advanced. The 1970's and 1980's 'debt crisis' reduced mutual cooperation efforts between countries of the South and made them very parochial. This mobilization period lasted for 20 yrs. towards 1990's the failure of Structural Adjustment Programme followed by a central concern about how to deal with its consequences such as increased poverty and inequality, the dismantling of social senses and the increasingly uncontrollable movement of international financial flows. This led to formation of a number of regional cooperative effort within South, starting with NAM, G77 and consequently other forums like SAARC, BRICS etc.



LET US KNOW

BRICS is the acronym coined for an association of five major emerging national economies founded in the year 2006 namely- Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Originally the first four were grouped as 'BRIC', before the induction of South Africa in 2011.

4.4.2 ASEAN and South-South Cooperation

ASEAN was established on August 8th 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration). The Declaration was signed by the founding members of ASEAN, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. ASEAN was established with a view to promote regional peace and stability. In the beginning it was conceived as a loose regional platform that upholds the respect and equality of the members. Over the Years the ASEAN member states progressively strengthened the Association culminating in creation of an ASEAN

community. Along the way several instruments were created to strengthen the association.

Regional cooperation arrangements made between developing countries such as ASEAN are inherently vehicles of South-South Cooperation for translating a common vision into reality and for sharing common goals in the process of doing so. South-South Cooperation is implemented mainly in the form of a "Development Compact" which works through five different modalities, namely, capacity building, grants, concessional finance, and technology transfer and trade linkages.

ASEAN has been a strong South-South Cooperation institution over last five decades. One of the founding ASEAN member states, Indonesia was the host of the Bandung Conference in 1955. The Bandung Conference is generally perceived to be the birth place of technical cooperation among developing Countries, a precursor to South-South Cooperation. It is therefore not surprising that the under-pins of ASEAN reflected South-South Cooperation principles. The principles of South-South Cooperation in the ASEAN Charter, for example, "respect for sovereignty and diversity, noninterference, shared commitment and collective responsibility to regional peace, security and prosperity". The ASEAN logo of ten brown sheaves of rice stalks, captures the essence of South-South Cooperation in ASEAN that ten sheaves are stronger than one.

In ASEAN, 'Consensus provides grounds for cooperation that mirror those of South-South Cooperation. Basically no hat fits all approach is imposed. This is clear in the trade and investment field ASEAN has tailor made the formula of cooperation to align with various needs of its members, e.g. implementation of tariff reduction and ASEAN comprehensive Investment Agreement are phased out according to ASEAN Member States' capacities.

Success points of ASEAN - South-South Cooperation

- South-South Cooperation benefits countries by instilling in them a sense of ownership of the activities and projects undertaken

e.g., Campaign against river blindness in West Africa, which started in 1974 and ended in 2002. It was a success because participating countries willingly shared information, expertise and research facilities and took responsibility for the campaign activities by contributing to implementation that led to more donation. In the process the participating countries begun to feel that they were partners in the war to eradicate river blindness.

- A second major advantage of South-South Cooperation is participant's willingness to share experiences and best practices with neighbours and other countries within the South, e.g. During the fourth High level forum on Aid Effectiveness held Busan, Republic of Korea, in 2011, several Case Studies of South-South Cooperation represented where Costa Rican Farmer got idea from their colleagues in Benin which proved to be effective.
- It is advantageous where countries face common problems. This applies regardless of the relationship between the countries in questions, e.g. An outbreak of a communicable disease or of a pest infection such as locusts or army worms, has forced neighbouring countries to come together and solve the problem.
- It is advantageous in terms of technical assistance. Following the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the country badly needed secondary school science teachers and sought assistance from Kenya. The government of Rwanda and Kenya agreed on a memorandum of understanding to help them implement the teaching assistance programme. It was cost effective effort for Rwanda.
- It has boosted South-South trade. According to Kwa (2010) exports from the South reaches US $ 4.5 trillion in 2006 or 37% of world trade. South-South Cooperation trade increased due to regional integration of normal trade channels elimination of tariffs etc.

4.4.3 OPEC and South-South Cooperation

The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is an intergovernmental organization founded in 1960. OPEC consists of 13 member countries, primarily oil-producing nations, aimed at coordinating and unifying their petroleum policies. The member countries are Algeria, Angola, Gabon, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Congo, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Equatorial Guinea, and Venezuela. The organization plays a crucial role in the energy sector and has a significant impact on the global economy due to its influence on oil markets.

The OPEC has a fund for the socioeconomic development of its member countries and other developing countries for supporting projects in the fields of infrastructure, agriculture, social services, healthcare, and education are supported by the OPEC Fund. Typically, the OPEC Fund provides grants, loans, and other financial instruments to support sustainable development and assist in addressing development difficulties. Its initiatives support the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations as well as the larger international development agenda. In recipient nations, the fund contributes to lowering poverty, promoting economic growth, and raising living standards.

In a recent development, the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC) and the OPEC Fund for International Development (OPEC Fund) entered into a Memorandum of Understanding to enhance their joint efforts in September, 2023. The collaboration aims to advance South-South and triangular cooperation initiatives, partnerships, and activities, with a focus on contributing to the accomplishment of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals.

4.5 CHALLENGES TO SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

- South-South Cooperation being an effort to cooperative economic effort among the middle income countries and low income countries

in a nontraditional way. It is an learning effort for the countries to set a upward development path other than that it is struggling within itself with multiplicity of problems like management problem, lack of harmony or implementation of the recommendations of commercial policy, lack of well-defined national policies, uneven shared benefits among developing countries, limited documented information on South-South success stories, resources scarcity, trade barriers and political problems.

- Another important dimension of South-South cooperative effort is due to lack of unanimously accepted definition. It is not focused, clear and lacks definiteness in its definition.
- Another challenge, mainly for South-South Cooperation is that it has failed to take into account the conflicting interest among the developing countries. A more pragmatic procedural tactic needs to be implemented by addressing the distinctive magnitudes of local agendas and fit them into South-South priority.
- Southern contributors are expressing an ever increasing reliance on the multilateral system as much as that the total use of this system represents 40% of the gross ODA. The multilateral system is growing in complexity, with many types of organizations delivering assistance in a variety of forms. Multilateral systems are utilized by the government and contributors to invest and channel out large amount of money for development of the countries with a responsibility to ensure that the people they are targeting, reap the benefit which is actually a difficult task.

4.5.1 Recommendations and Conclusion

The task team on South-South Cooperation has put strong focus:

- on enriching the aid effectiveness agenda.
- to produce and implement on how to build horizontal partnership for development cooperation.
- on finding complementariness and promoting convergence between North South.

- on measuring progress and provide a clear evaluation framework.

Throughout 1950's, 60's and 70's events like the Bandung Conference of 1955, the creation of UNCTAD, NAM and NIEO, which started almost a revolution like resurgence among the southern countries to refuse Northern way of life and development. So aid flow started within and outside Southern nation for cooperative development. Gradually , other third world economic organization like ECOWAS(Economic Community of West African States), OAU (Organization of African Unity), OAS (Organization of American States), SAARC and BRICS. With some of these organization a limited success in some of the areas of cooperation has been recorded, although a closer integration such as that of the European Community has not been achieved by most Third World regional organization. However in some cases, the extent of success as a result of attempts towards integration; makes them a valid option for third world countries.

There are scope of promoting trade through Latin American Free Trade Association and SAARC. Other regional organization have been less successful but may gain benefit from the experience of more successful organization. These areas of potential cooperation need to be further examined.

Another new development is aid flow from non-oil producing countries. There is an effort towards development of a right based 'non-development assistance committee' , 'emerging donors', 'new donors', or 'new development partners'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4. Write a brief note on ASEAN – SSC relation.

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Q.5. Write one success point of ASEAN – SSC relation.

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.....

Q.6. What are the four pillars of multilateral South-South support of UNO?

.....

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Q.7. Mention two recommendations for better working of South-South cooperation.

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.....



4.6 LET US SUM UP

- South-South Cooperation refers to a cooperative activity of southern countries which the newly industrialized and lesser developed nations of southern hemisphere. It is a closer technical and economic cooperation among developing countries of the south.
- It is featured by horizontal partnerships, co-effective regional cooperation expertise beyond industrialized models through bilateral and triangular development policies.
- It is a result of post-colonial effort of the underdeveloped south. The most concrete step towards South-South Cooperation was taken at the Bandung Conference where the landmark gathering of the African and Asian states had taken place.
- NAM and G77 were instances of joint political mobilization and collective bargaining, where propositions such as NIEO were advanced.

- ASEAN is inherently vehicles of South-South Cooperation for translating a common vision into reality and for sharing common goals in the process of doing so.
- Advantage of South-South Cooperation lies in the fact that it provide highest technical assistance to the countries of the South.
- Lack of unanimous definition of the concept has made it less focused, unclear and indefinite. That which has made the whole concept to a large extent non relevant.



4.7 FURTHER READING

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

2. Malhotra, Vinay Kumar (2006). International Relations. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

3. Ghai, K.K. (2005) International Relations – Theory and Practice. New Delhi : Kalyani Publishers.



4.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: UNDP defines South-South Cooperation as, 'a means of promoting effective development by learning and sharing best practices and technology among developing nations.

Ans to Q No 2: Two features of South-South Cooperation are :

i. South-South Cooperation focus on capacity development as a process of technical Cooperation.

ii. It tries to provide for cost effective regional cooperation.

Ans to Q No 3: The Agenda of South-South Cooperation must be driven by the countries of the south.

Ans to Q No 4: Regional cooperation arrangements made between developing countries such as ASEAN are inherently vehicles of

South-South Cooperation for translating a common vision into reality and for sharing common goals in the process of doing so. South-South Cooperation is implemented mainly in the form of a "Development Compact" which works through five different modalities, namely, capacity building, grants, concessional finance, and technology transfer and trade linkages. ASEAN has been a strong South-South Cooperation institution over last five decades.

Ans to Q No 5: South-South Cooperation is participant's willingness to share experiences and best practices with neighbours and other countries within the South, e.g. During the fourth High level forum on Aid Effectiveness held in Busan, Republic of Korea, in 2011, several Case Studies of South-South Cooperation were presented in which Costa Rican Farmers got ideas from their colleagues in Benin which proved to be effective.

Ans to Q No 6: The four pillars of multilateral South-South support of UNO are:

a) The High level committee on South-South Cooperation of the General Assembly.
b) The Global South-South Development Academy.
c) The Global South-South Development Expo.
d) The South-South Global Assets and the Technology Exchange.

Ans to Q No 7: Two recommendations for better working of South-South Cooperation are.

a) Enriching the aid effectiveness agenda.
b) Produce and implement on how to build horizontal partnership for development cooperation.



4.9 POSSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: State the meaning and definition of South-South Cooperation.

Q. 2: Write a note on the evolution of the South-South Cooperation.

Q. 3: Discuss the relationships between ASEAN and South-South

Cooperation.

Q. 4: Write briefly about OPEC and South-South Cooperation.

Q. 5: Examine the challenges faced by South-South Cooperation in the contemporary world.

Q. 6: Describe the role of UNO in the functioning of South-South Cooperation.

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UNIT 5: INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 India's Foreign Policy: Basic Principles

5.4 Objectives of India's Foreign Policy

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 Further Reading

5.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.8 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know the meaning and definition of foreign policy
- describe the determinants of foreign policy
- discuss about Indian foreign policy
- basic principles and Characteristics of Indian Foreign Policy.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Every sovereign country has its own foreign policy. Foreign policy refers to the principles, interests and objectives which a country promotes while dealing with other countries. Even though there are several basic features of a foreign policy, it does not have any fixed concept. The thrust of different foreign policy changes according to various changing international conditions. Foreign policy is formulated by every state so as to serve its national interests.

Hugh Gibson has defined foreign policy as "a well rounded comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation."

Modelski defined foreign policy as "the system activities evolved by

communities for changing the behaviour of the other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. He adds that the most important task of foreign policy must be to throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change, and succeed in changing, the behaviour of other states."

There are various **determinants** of foreign policy. Some of them are discussed below:

Foreign policy making is always a dynamic process for every state. Firstly, geographical situation is a basic determinant of all foreign policies. The size and topography, natural resources and size of population contribute to the power of the state. Secondly, history and traditions have significant influence on foreign policy making. Historical ties and traditional values play important role on determining foreign policy of a country.

Thirdly, the possession of raw materials and natural resources and compulsions of economic development also determine the course of a country's economic strength. Fourthly, political organization, political tradition, structure of government and enlightened leadership also contribute to the shaping of effective foreign policy. Similarly, military strength of a country has direct impact on its foreign policy.

Sixthly, public opinion has lately become an important factor in the shaping of foreign policy. It has often been seen forging changes in foreign policy and its implementation. Another determinant is the international system which has immense impact on determining foreign policy.

Foreign policy is the basis of all international relations. According, to Legg and Morrison, a rational policy-making process to a large extent is the process of organising clear and reliable, (i.e., the means actually lead to the desired end) means-ends chain, controlling the tendency of means to become ends in themselves and seeing that the original and more fundamental objectives are kept in perspectives.

Holsti identifies objectives of the states, which he arranges according to the priorities depending upon a variety of external circumstances and domestic pressures as:

- Security
- Autonomy
- Welfare in the broadcast sense
- Status and prestige

Not all the states pursue similar kinds of priorities and there may be options between 'guns' and 'butter'. Foreign policy objectives can, therefore, be described as "the discovery of goals as much as it involves using decisions to achieve particular outcomes". The objectives, may include projecting "image of future state of affairs and future conditions that governments through individual policy maker aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing or sustaining the behavior of other states". Objectives may be immediate, concrete or abstract, long-term or less concrete. Expansion of territory like China's aim in Tibet, or China's boundary tussles with India, and the wars fought and persisting animosity over the border issues, several wars in the Middle East like the Iran-Iraq war over the control of Shatt al –Arab, or Iraq's attack on Kurdistan may be seen as involving concrete objectives. Promotions of specific set of values like "making the world safe for democracy", creating a new world order, such as the demand for New International Economic Order, or " War on Terror" may be visualized as long- term and abstract objectives. Sometimes governments pursue incompatible objectives, either incompatible with the objectives of another state as was the case during the Cold War days between the United States and the Soviet Union, or incompatible with their domestic objectives.

Like any other country, India's foreign policy is shaped by several factors including its history, geography, culture and economy. Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, gave a definite shape to the country's foreign policy. It is discussed below in detail.

5.3 BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

There are various objectives of India's foreign policy. These objectives are sought to be achieved through some principles viz.

- Panchsheel
- Non alignment

- Anti - colonialism
- Anti-imperialism
- Anti-racism, and
- Strengthening of the UN
- Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

- **PANCHSHEEL**

Nehru was a believer in world peace. He understood the linkage between peace and development for survival of mankind. In his policy planning, Nehru gave utmost importance to world peace. India desired peaceful and friendly relations with all countries. While signing an agreement with China, on April 28, 1954, India advocated adherence to five guiding principles known as Panchsheel for the conduct of bilateral relations.

It includes the following principles:

- 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 Panchsheel agreement enumerates the best principles of peaceful co-existence with neighbours. It is an important component of India's foreign policy.

- **NON-ALIGNMENT**

Non-alignment has been regarded as the most important feature of India's foreign policy. Non alignment mainly aimed to maintain national independence in foreign affairs by not joining any military alliance formed by the USA and Soviet Union in the aftermath of the Second World War. Non-alignment was neither neutrality nor non-involvement nor isolationism. It was a dynamic concept which meant not committing to any military bloc but taking an independent

stand on international issues. The policy of non-alignment won many supporters in the developing countries as it provided an opportunity to them for protecting their sovereignty as also retaining their freedom of action during the tension ridden cold war period. India played an important role in shaping the non-aligned movement (NAM).

- **Anti-Imperialism, Anti Colonialism and Anti-Racism**

  India has always opposed colonialism. The roots of India's anti-colonial and anti-imperialism principles lies in her own experience of British imperialism. Anti racialism was another major principle of India's foreign policy. India has always raised her voice against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the infamous apartheid policy in South Africa. India fully supported inclusion of communist China in the United Nations. Like imperialism, racialism can also be traced in India's historical experiences.

- **Strengthening of UN**

  India has always viewed UN as a vehicle for peace and for peaceful change in world politics. India has always expected UN to actively involve itself to settle disputes through talks or negotiations between or among countries. Further, India has advocated active role for UN in development effort of Third World countries and has pleaded for a common united front of the third world countries in the UN. In the early 1950s India linked the reduction of armaments with the larger goal of development. The UN has in fact played a crucial role in preserving world peace by helping in the decolonization process.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1. The Panchsheel agreement was signed between _____ and _____. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

.....

Q.2. NAM stands for_____. (Fill in the blank)

.....

.....

Q.3. ……was a believer in world peace. (Fill in the blank)

.....

.....

Q.4. Write three principles of Panchsheel.

.....

.....

5.4 OBJECTIVES OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of a country is determined by a number of historical and domestic factors. The primary goal of India's foreign policy has always been the maintenance and promotion of world peace and security. According to former foreign secretary of India, Muchkund Dubey: "the primary purpose of any country's foreign policy is to promote its national interest, to ensure its security, safeguard its sovereignty, contribute to its growth and prosperity and also to enhance its influence and role in the international arena". Basically a country's foreign policy should be able to serve the broader purpose of promoting peace, disarmament and development and of establishing a fair and stable global order. The purpose of peace, disarmament and an equitable global order may at times be in conflict with national security, sovereignty and development.

The primary and overriding goal has always been the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. 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. The ideals and objectives of our domestic as well as foreign policy are enshrined in the constitution. India's foreign policy, designed mainly by Nehru, combines national interest with broader objectives mentioned above.

India had to determine its foreign policy keeping in mind its relation with Pakistan after independence as well as the international situation marked by cold war. India's message to the world has been to solve all problems through peaceful means. Peace meant not only avoidance of war, but also reduction of tension and if possible end of the cold war. An important objective of India's foreign policy is the elimination of nuclear weapons and reduction of conventional armaments. The pursuit of peace became a primary objective of the foreign policy. India's goal of peace was not only directed by its self interest, but also by idealism imbibed from Mahatma Gandhi.

Another objective of India's foreign policy was elimination of want, disease and illiteracy. Lastly, India's objective has been to maintain friendly relations with all, avoid military alliances, follow non- alignment as a moral principle, seek peaceful settlement of international disputes and promote universal brotherhood and humanism as enshrined in the Panchsheel.

In this present world of fast communication and information exchange, there has been an increased consciousness among the people at large, and there is also an extensive people-to-people contact, all of which have facilitated the generation of world public opinion on issues such as human rights, environment, war and peace and other related issues.

The foreign policies of the states have to operate taking into consideration the external environment also. The first and the most important factor that constrains or influences the making of the foreign policies is the presence of international laws, international treaties, pacts, trading blocs and various international and regional organizations.

The external environment of a state consists of the presence of other states. Therefore, the formation and the operation of foreign policy of a

particular state has to take into consideration the behaviour of their states as well as their foreign policy choices. Foreign policy objectives of a state have to be state specific in the sense that it should manoeuvre its foreign policy choices according to its relations with states those that are friendly and those that are hostile. Ultimately, it is the reaction of the states that matter most. Therefore, foreign policy has to be engineered to get the desired result.

The coexistence of separate political units necessities a certain degree of contact among them. There is a need for communication between governments, and the business of communicating between governments is technically termed as diplomacy. In the broadest sense, diplomacy is often used to mean both the making and execution of the foreign policy. Diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy is nothing new and can be traced to antiquity.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5. India's objective is to maintain friendly relations with all nation. (True/False)

.....

.....

Q.6. Another important objective of India's foreign policy was elimination of want, disease and illiteracy. (True/False)

.....

.....

Q.7. :……., was designed mainly by Nehru (Fill in the blank)

.....

.....

Q.8. Write two major objectives of India's foreign policy.

.....

.....



5.5 LET US SUM UP

- Foreign policy refers to the principles, interests and objectives which a country promotes while dealing with other countries.
- The foreign policy of a country is determined by a number of historical and domestic factors. Geographical situation is a basic determinant of all foreign policies.
- The thrust of different foreign policy changes according to various changing international conditions. The possession of raw materials and natural resources and compulsions of economic development also determine the course of a country's economic strength.
- The pursuit of peace became a primary objective of the foreign policy.
- The primary goal of India's foreign policy has always been the maintenance and promotion of world peace and security.
- There are various objectives of India's foreign policy. These objectives are sought to be achieved through some principles viz. Panchsheel, Non alignment, Anti – colonialism etc.
- The ideals and objectives of our domestic as well as foreign policy are enshrined in the constitution.
- An important objective of India's foreign policy is the elimination of nuclear weapons and reduction of conventional armaments.
- India's goal of peace was not only directed by its self interest, but also by idealism imbibed from Mahatma Gandhi.
- India's another main objective is to maintain friendly relations with all nation.
- Non-alignment has been regarded as the most important feature of India's foreign policy.
- Foreign policy making is always a dynamic process for very state.



5.6 FURTHER READING

1) Khanna, V.N. (2007) Foreign Policy of India. Vikas Publication, Delhi.

2) Ghosh Peu. (2009) International Relations PHI Learning pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.



5.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: India and China

Ans. to Q No. 2: Non Alignment Movement

Ans. to Q No. 3: Nehru

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Three principles of Panchsheel are:

- Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- Mutual non-aggression, and
- Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Ans. to Q No. 5: True

Ans. to Q No. 6: true

Ans. to Q No. 7: India's foreign policy

Ans. to Q. No. 8:

a) The primary and overriding goal has always been the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security.

b) Another important objective of India's foreign policy is the elimination of nuclear weapons and reduction of conventional armaments.



5.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: What is foreign policy?

Q. 2: Define foreign policy.

Q. 3: Name the architect of India's foreign policy.

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

Q. 1: Write a short note on Panchsheel agreement.

Q. 2: What are the objectives of India's foreign policy?

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

Q. 1: Discuss the basic tenets of India's foreign policy.

Q. 2: Discuss the relevance of the policy of non-alignment.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 6 : INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Background of Indo-Russia Relations

6.4 Stages and Recent Trends

6.5 Issues shaping India-Russia relations

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the background of India's relations with Russia
- discuss the stages of and recent trends in India-Russia relations.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

India and Russia's relations have matured over the years and both countries seem determined to preserve their spirit of cooperation and trust for each other. However, there are several challenges and several issues where this strategic partnership has been strained from time to time. This unit will try to give a brief account of the diplomatic relations between India and Russia till the cold war. It will subsequently highlight the trajectory and issues that shape the bilateral relations between the two nations.

6.3 BACKGROUND OF INDIA-RUSSIA RELATIONS

The early 19th century witnessed the expansion of the Russian control over Central Asia. Essentially, it made the Britishers uncomfortable and they were determined to stop Russian expansionism beyond Central Asia. The Anglo Afghan War resulted in making the regions of Afghanistan a

buffer to British India territory. The 'Great Game' led to the Anglo Russian Convention (1907) where in both Russia and Britain agreed to respect each other's interests. The Russian Revolution of 1905 inspired many Indian freedom fighters. Mahatma Gandhi developed a close relationship with Russia and was in communication with Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian author. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 also inspired many freedom fighters from India. Russian communist leader V I Lenin encouraged India to become independent. In 1927, Nehru visited Russia in 1927 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution and was deeply inspired by the Soviet model of development. However, till the end of the Second World War, the relations between India and Russia remained limited.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mahatma Gandhi was in communication with which Russian author ?

.....

Q 2: Mention the name of a Russian communist leader who encouraged India to become independent.

.....

Q 3: The Bolshevik Revolution took place in which year?

.....

Q 4: The …….. resulted in making the regions of Afghanistan a buffer to British India territory. (Fill in the Blank)

6.4 STAGES AND RECENT TRENDS

- **Indo-Soviet relations 1947-1962**

  After independence, India adopted a policy of non-alignment to pursue its foreign policy goals and it was based on domestic imperatives as well. Accordingly the 'decision to adopt non-alignment was thus not merely an idealistic dream of neutrality, but was rather based on a realistic assessment of India's geopolitical situation. Nehru intended to give India room to manoeuvre according to its own interests rather than allowing it to become confined within the

limitations of a Cold War alliance.' However for Stalin, the idea of neutrality was not looked upon favourably as 'national liberation movements were thought to belong to the same camp as Soviet Union and neutrality was condemned as an imperialist project'. However several issues brought India and Russia closer. On one hand , the opposition of India to extend the Korean War north of the 38th parallel and later on the support for the People's Republic of China to UN; on the other hand, the role of US in formation of SEATO in 1954, the Baghdad Pact of 1955 and American support to Pakistan, led to transformation of India Russia relations. It must be recalled that Soviet Union started showing more support for India's stand on Kashmir and Goa. During the Suez Crisis (1956) India also condemned the Anglo French aggression and adopted a more muted response to Hungarian invasion by Soviet Union. These factors helped converge India's and Russia's national interest.

- **Indo-Soviet relations: 1962 to the end of Cold War**

  The deterioration of Russia -China relations and the Sino-India war of 1962 made Russia adopt a more favourable policy towards India and subsequently it aggressively pushed forward strengthening of defence ties with India . By the late 1960s, Soviet Union emerged as the biggest defence supplier for India. The 1965 India -Pakistan war and effort of the Soviet government in pushing forward the Tashkent declaration was well appreciated by India. The Tashkent meeting signaled a new phase of relations between India and the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Shastri felt that it had achieved 'tangible results' and maintenance of the 'status quo'; 'the most important being steps towards the restoration of genuine peaceful relations between India and Pakistan'. For the Tashkent Declaration provided 'the renunciation of the use of force and the settlement of disputes through peaceful means'. Again this declaration was significant from a Soviet perspective because it heralded the 'entry of the Soviet Union into international relations as a peace-maker between two leading Asian nations - and what is incredible, between a country aligned with the

West and a non-aligned country'.

In the ensuing years, The Beijing -Washington -Islamabad axis only led to frantic development of Indo-Soviet relations which culminated in the 1971 India-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship. The support from Soviet Union helped India overcome external threats and helped safeguard its national interest and maintain its territorial integrity. In 1974 India conducted its first nuclear blast at Pokhran, a so-called "Peaceful Nuclear Explosion," which 'took many in the United States and beyond by surprise.' The Soviet Union did not condemn such an act and rather went on to supply heavy water needed for the nuclear programme. Likewise, India also responded by abstaining from vote against the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan. This was a period where Soviet Union supported India with its defence deals, and India continued to provide strategic support to the Soviet Union. This strategic support for the Soviet Union can be judged by the fact that 'India never used 'condemnatory language' against Moscow in any of the three major crises faced by Russia - the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, the Prague Spring in 1968 and the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.'

- **India-Soviet Relations: After the end of the Cold War**

  The end of the Cold war signaled a new phase in Indo-Soviet relations. It signaled an era where new strategic threats had emerged and Russia was undergoing economic as well as political transformation. The first few years after the Soviet disintegration saw a downturn in the Indo-Russian relations, there were calls for a 'pragmatic renewal' of ties with India based on 'realistic possibilities and legitimate interests of both sides with an emphasis on economic stimuli'. However 'barring a fleeting hiccup during Boris Yeltsin's term as Russia's president, New Delhi and Moscow have been extraordinarily successful in nurturing a friction-free relationship that harks back to the Soviet era'. It was under the leadership of Vladimir Putin that India-Russia relations received a new fillip and it led to the establishment of a strategic partnership with India in 2000. It was

hoped that Putin's re-election to the Russian Presidency in March 2012 would help in sustaining continuity in Indo-Russian relations, especially as Putin has described India as a "key strategic partner in the Asia-Pacific region." In 2013 visit to Russia, Dr. Manmohan Singh said, 'Russia has stood by India at moments of great international challenge when our own resources were limited and our friends were few... Friendship with Russia enjoys complete political consensus and enormous public good will and support in India'.

The Modi-Putin era has led to deepening of relations between the two countries. Prime Minister Modi remarked "If you ask anyone among the more than one billion people living in India who is our country's greatest friend, every person, and every child knows that it is Russia." The two leaders in a joint statement, Druzhba-Dosti: A Vision for Strengthening the Indian-Russian Partnership Over the Next Decade stated that 'the two countries have resolved to strengthen this partnership over the next decade through concrete initiatives in diverse areas and to make the bilateral institutional dialogue architecture more result-oriented and forward-looking'.

India Russia relations are now facing strains of different magnitude. The growing assertion of China, changing dynamics of US India relations, and Russia's growing international isolation has made this relationship more fragile. Russia continues to be focused on 'establishing a sphere of influence throughout the former Soviet Union, and further afield, when possible, in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East, as evidenced by its intervention in Syria'. Russia has also supported C-PEC initiative and has conducted military exercises with Pakistan, which has led the Indian government to rethink about the 'depth' of the relationship between the two countries.

Key Bilateral agreements and Summit Meetings between India and Russia
● The Indo-Soviet Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, signed in August 1971, established the special relationship between India and the then USSR, and both nations "believed that the further development of friendship and

cooperation meets the basic national interests of both the States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world"; Again the treaty reaffirms that both the nations are "determined to promote the consolidation of universal peace and security and to make steadfast efforts for the relaxation international tensions and the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism" ,as well as "upholding their firm faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between States with different political and social systems."

- The framework of Russian-Indian relations is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between India and the Russian Federation of 28 January 1993. It states

  "Proceeding from a desire to further consolidate their traditionally close and friendly ties to mutual benefit; drawing upon their rich and fruitful tradition of cooperation in various fields accumulated over half a century since their establishment of diplomatic relations; emphasizing the fundamental and lasting importance of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation of 28 January 1993 which was a continuation of the bilateral Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation of 9 August 1971, of the Declaration on the Further Development and Intensification of Cooperation between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation of 30 June 1994, and of the Moscow Declaration on the Protection of the Interests of Pluralistic States of 30 June 1994; convinced that the further comprehensive development of their bilateral ties would promote progress and prosperity in both states and the consolidation of positive trends in the world as a whole; seeking to impart a qualitatively new character and long-term perspective to their multi-faceted bilateral relations and to actively develop them in political, economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields, in the years ahead and into the 21st century."

- Between 1993 to 2000 several high level bilateral meeting have taken place where in Russian dignitaries have visited India, which includes-
  - Boris Yeltsin , President - January 1993
  - Viktor Chernomyrdin, Prime Minister - December 1994

- Yevgeny Primakov, Foreign Minister- March 1996
- Yevgeny Primakov, Prime Minister - December 1998

Likewise, Head of Government and Ministers from India too have visited Russia on numerous occasions. These include-

- P.V.Narsimha Rao, Prime Minister -July 1994
- Pranab Mukherjee ,External Affairs Minister - May 1995
- Pranab Mukherjee, External Affairs Minister - August 1995
- I.K.Gujral , External Affairs Minister - February 1997
- H.D. Deve Gowda, Prime Minister - March 1997
- Jaswant Singh, External Affairs Minister - May 1999
- Jaswant Singh, External Affairs Minister - June 2000

- Relations with Russia are a key pillar of India's foreign policy, and Russia has been a longstanding time-tested partner of India. Both countries signed "Declaration on the India-Russia Strategic Partnership" in October 2000.
- President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin also visited India in December 2002. Recalling the, 'Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation of 28 January 1993 and the Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation of 5 October 2000', the Delhi Declaration on Further Consolidation of Strategic Partnership between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation laid down that strategic partnership between the two countries 'provides a solid framework for long-term and all-round development of relations. Mutual security, development and prosperity of our peoples are core objectives of this partnership. It also contributes to countering global challenges and threats and promoting strategic stability at the international level." It further states that 'both countries reaffirm that now more than ever before there is a need for the international community to commit itself to the UN and multi-lateralism. Both countries favour strengthening of UN's central role in promoting international security in a multi-polar world.' Again, 'both the countries reiterate their commitment to work towards a new cooperative security order that recognizes the legitimate security interests of all countries and promotes global peace and stability at lower levels of armaments, and strengthens non-proliferation and disarmament goals.' It reaffirms that 'terrorism cannot be justified on any grounds and must be condemned

unambiguously wherever it exists. Both the countries strongly condemn those who support terrorism or finance, train, harbour or support terrorists. States that aid abet or shelter terrorists are as guilty of the acts of terrorism as their perpetrators.

- During President Vladimir Putin's visit, 'Joint Declaration by The Russian Federation and The Republic of India' was signed in December 3, 2004 in New Delhi, where in 'sides recognize that their cooperation strengthens strategic stability in Asia and the world as a whole', and 'attention will be paid to coordination of efforts through the Joint Working Group on Combating Global Challenges and the Joint Working Group on Combating International Terrorism.'
- In 2010 , President Dmitry Medvedev visited New Delhi and hailed India as a 'Privileged Strategic Partner' and Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, paid an official visit to the Russian Federation on 20-22 October 2013. In the 14th India-Russia Annual Summit: Deepening the Strategic Partnership for Global Peace and Stability, both 'sides agreed that investment collaboration was an important component of economic cooperation, which could also help in increasing bilateral investment and trade.'
- Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Goa from 15-16 October 2016 for the 17th Annual Summit, which resulted in 19 documents related to cooperation in defence, space, information security, foreign policy, trade & investment, hydrocarbons, shipbuilding, railways, and science and technology. Prime Minister Modi and President Putin also adopted a Joint Statement "Partnership for Global Peace and Stability" and a "Roadmap of Events" to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between India and Russia in the year 2017. On the 70th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between the two nation, the Saint Petersburg Declaration by the Russian Federation and the Republic of India: A vision for the 21st century in June 2017, clearly stated "Indian-Russian special and privileged strategic partnership is a unique relationship of mutual trust between two great powers. Our relationship covers all areas of cooperation, including in the spheres of political relations, security, trade and economy, military and technical field, energy, scientific, cultural and humanitarian exchanges, and foreign policy, and helps promote national interests of both countries, and contributes to the establishment of a more peaceful and just world order."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Write briefly about Indo-Soviet relations 1947-1962.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 6: The "Declaration on the India-Russia Strategic Partnership" was signed in which year ?

.....

6.5 ISSUES SHAPING INDIA -RUSSIA RELATIONS

- **Economic ties**

The Soviet Union played a key role in India's industrialization programme as 'it also supplied military equipment and other key commodities like oil, fertiliser, and metal, among others. The Soviet assistance helped India on its path towards economic self-reliance, critical for a country having just achieved independence. Some of India's well-known public sector companies like Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL), Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC), and Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), as well as the steel industry, were also set up with Soviet cooperation'. According to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India:

> In December 2014, the leaders of the two countries set a target of US $ 30 billion bilateral trade by 2025. According to Russian Federal Customs Service data, bilateral trade during in 2016 amounted to US$ 7.71 billion (decline of 1.5 % over 2015), with Indian exports amounting to US$ 2.39 billion and imports from Russia amounting to US$ 5.32 billion. Major items of export from India include pharmaceuticals,

tea, coffee and tobacco, machinery and mechanical appliances, organic chemicals, and electrical machinery and equipment. Major items of import from Russia include pearls, precious and semi-precious stones & metals, nuclear power equipment, electrical machinery and equipment, mineral oil & products, iron & steels, and optical, precision and surgical equipment. India and Russia are exploring various ways for enhancing bilateral trade.

According to a report of the ORF, 'The economic ties, however, remain the weak link in the relationship. While India and the Soviet Union shared robust economic relations, India-Russia trade today is dismally low.' According to reports, both governments have 'set a trade target of $25 billion by the year 2025. However, according to Indian commerce ministry data, bilateral trade has been just above $6 billion in the last few years, with Indian exports accounting for just about $2 billion.' Economic ties: India and Russia aim to increase bilateral investment to $50 billion and trade to $30 billion by 2025. Bilateral trade was $8.1 billion in FY 2020, with India exporting $2.6 billion and importing $5.48 billion from Russia. The pandemic caused a 19.5% decline in 2020 trade, but it rebounded by 54% from April to August 2021. Major exports from India include machinery, chemicals,and apparel, while imports from Russia include defense equipment and minerals. Bilateral investments surpassed the $30 billion target in 2018, with a new goal of $50 billion by 2025, primarily in sectors like oil, gas, and banking.

Russia launched a significant attack on Ukraine in 2022, marking a major escalation of the conflict that started in 2014, known as the Russo-Ukrainian War. India remains neutral in this matter. Global sanctions were imposed on Russia due to the war, leading to caps on oil prices. India, benefiting from cheaper Russian oil, now imports about 45% of its daily needs. This economical oil aids India's economy and refining industry, allowing exports to regions like the EU.

- **Defence ties**

According to Vinay Shukla, "Perhaps the most important element of Indo-Russian bilateral relations is the defense ties between the two countries. Not only is Russia the biggest supplier of defense products to India, but the India-Russia defense relationship also encompasses a wide range of activity, including joint research, design, development, and coproduction." According to the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) , Government of India, India continues to have strong ties with Russia and has 'evolved from a buyer - seller framework to one involving joint research, development and production of advanced defence technologies and systems'. Several key defence initiatives had been on the pipeline have now become a reality. The MEA states-

> BrahMos Missile System as well as the licensed production in India of SU-30 aircraft and T-90 tanks, are examples of such flagship cooperation. During the 17th Annual Summit, the sides concluded agreements on supply of S-400 air defence systems, construction of frigates under Project 1135.6 and shareholders agreement on the formation of joint venture to manufacture Ka-226T helicopters in India. The two countries also hold exchanges and training exercises between their armed forces annually. The joint military exercise 'Indra 2016' was held in the Ussuriysk District in Vladivostok from 22 September -02 October 2016. The annual bilateral naval exercise 'Indra - Navy' took place off the coast of Vishakhapatnam on 14-21 December 2016. Both sides have also decided to hold the first ever tri-services exercised in the year 2017. A roadmap for the development of bilateral defence cooperation was signed during the 17th Meeting of the IRIGC-MTC.

It must be recalled that In June 2014, the Prime Minister dedicated

to the nation the Russian-built aircraft carrier INS Vikramaditya at a special ceremony off the coast of Goa. Despite challenges, reports suggest that 'despite the diversification in India's defence procurements, Russia remains and will remain a critical supplier of defence equipment to India for a long time. According to SIPRI, Russia accounted for 68% of India's arms import during 2012-16 as compared to 14% from the US and 7.2% from Israel.'

- **Nuclear Energy**

Russia is the only country in the last four decades to have actively assisted India in its nuclear power generation programme and recognizes the fact that it is a country with advanced nuclear technology which possesses an impeccable non-proliferation record. Unlike other conventional civil nuclear power agreement that India has signed with the United States, France, Canada, Britain, Australia, Kazakhstan, Mongolia and Japan which have 'termination clauses', if India should test a nuclear weapon, the absence of such a clause makes the civil nuclear power agreement with Russia is slightly different. According to Nandan Unnikrishnan, Vice President at the Observer Research Foundation, 'Russia is a signatory to the NPT (Non-proliferation Treaty) and the NSG (Nuclear Suppliers Group) and other regulatory regimes, but it has never sought to curb Indian aspirations.' The cooperation in nuclear energy sector has taken giant strides. According to the MEA several important initiatives have been taken which has strengthened relations between the two nations.

In December 2014, Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) and Russia's Rosatom signed the Strategic Vision for strengthening cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy between India and Russia. Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant (KKNPP) is being built in India with Russian cooperation. KKNPP Units 1 and 2 have already become operational. PM Modi and President Putin jointly dedicated Units 1 & 2 to

the nation on separate occasions through videoconferencing. They also initiated the concrete pouring for Units 3 &4 through videoconference on October 15, 2016. An agreement on localization of manufacturing of nuclear equipment in India was also concluded during the Annual Summit on 24 December 2015. The agreement for KKNPP Units 5 & 6 was concluded during the 18th Annual Bilateral Summit in St. Petersburg in June 2017.

In 2018, India has signed an agreement with Bangladesh for civil nuclear cooperation, under which India has extended expertise and project support for its Rooppur Nuclear Power Plant (NPP) which will be built with Russian technology.

- **Issues of terrorism**

The security situation in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan has brought the two nations together. Prime Minister Narendra Modi said 'India and Russia are 'natural partners' in fighting terrorism and the two countries must strive to broaden their ties which have 'withstood the test of time'.' The joint declaration at St. Petersburg in 2018 titled 'A vision for the 21st century' stated "We strongly condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and stress that there can be no justification whatsoever for any acts of terrorism, whether based upon ideological, religious, political, racial, ethnic or any other reasons" and 'urged all countries and entities to work sincerely to disrupt terrorist networks and their financing, and "stop cross-border movement of terrorists".

There is little doubt that both the nations need to step up their relations because in spite of all the potential, the 'depth' of the relationship continues to be rather shallow. Trade and investment, defence ties, cooperation in the energy scenario remain rather limited. Russia is 'working to become a major independent centre of power and is positioning itself as the linchpin of Eurasian integration' and India is making its presence felt as a 'rising power'. World politics is

in a flux and new forces are threatening old relationships as well as presenting new opportunities. India Russia relations will have to step up its existing relations to newer heights where in global threats should not be able to cloud this time tested relationship but rather cement the ties further.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: Write briefly about economic ties between India and Russia.

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Q 8: Write briefly about defence ties between India and Russia.

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6.6 LET US SUM UP

- The early 19th century witnessed the expansion of the Russian control over Central Asia. Essentially, it made the Britishers uncomfortable and were determined to stop Russian expansionism beyond Central Asia. The Anglo Afghan War resulted in making the regions of Afghanistan a buffer to British India territory.
- The 'Great Game' led to the Anglo Russian Convention (1907) where in both Russia and Britain agreed to respect each other's' interests. It must be highlighted that the Indian National Movement was not looked upon favourably by the Russian communist leaders and till the end of the Second World War, the relations between India and Russia remained limited.
- After independence, India adopted a policy of non-alignment to pursue its foreign policy goals and it was based on domestic imperatives as

well. Accordingly the 'decision to adopt non-alignment was thus not merely an idealistic dream of neutrality, but was rather based on a realistic assessment of India's geopolitical situation. Nehru intended to give India room to manoeuvre according to its own interests rather than allowing it to become confined within the limitations of a Cold War alliance.

- Several issues brought India and Russia closer. On one hand , the opposition of India to extend the Korean War north of the 38th parallel and later on the support for the People's Republic of China to UN; on the other hand, the role of US in formation of SEATO in 1954, the Baghdad Pact of 1955 and American support to Pakistan, led to transformation of India Russia relations. It must be recalled that Soviet Union started showing more support for India's stand on Kashmir and Goa.
- During the Suez Crisis (1956) India also condemned the Anglo French aggression and adopted a more muted response to Hungarian invasion by Soviet Union. These factors helped converge India's and Russia's national interest.
- The deterioration of Russia -China relations and the Sino-India war of 1962 made Russia adopt a more favourable policy towards India and subsequently it aggressively pushed forward strengthening of defence ties with India .
- By the late 1960s, Soviet Union emerged as the biggest defence supplier for India. The 1965 India -Pakistan war and effort of the Soviet government in pushing forward the Tashkent declaration was well appreciated by India. The Tashkent meeting signaled a new phase of relations between India and the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Shastri felt that it had achieved 'tangible results' and maintenance of the 'status quo'; 'the most important being steps towards the restoration of genuine peaceful relations between India and Pakistan'.
- The end of the Cold war signaled a new phase in Indo-Soviet relations. It signaled an era where new strategic threats had emerged and Russia was undergoing economic as well as political transformation. The first

few years after the Soviet disintegration saw a downturn in the Indo-Russian relations, there were calls for a 'pragmatic renewal' of ties with India based on 'realistic possibilities and legitimate interests of both sides with an emphasis on economic stimuli'.

- However 'barring a fleeting hiccup during Boris Yeltsin's term as Russia's president, New Delhi and Moscow have been extraordinarily successful in nurturing a friction-free relationship that harks back to the Soviet era'.
- It was under the leadership of Vladimir Putin that India-Russia relations received a new fillip and it led to the establishment of a strategic partnership with India in 2000. Putin's re-election to the Russian Presidency in March 2012 will help in sustaining continuity in Indo-Russian relations, especially as Putin has described India as a "key strategic partner in the Asia-Pacific region."
- In 2013 visit to Russia, Dr. Manmohan Singh said, 'Russia has stood by India at moments of great international challenge when our own resources were limited and our friends were few... Friendship with Russia enjoys complete political consensus and enormous public good will and support in India'.
- The Modi-Putin era has led to deepening of relations between the two countries.
- India Russia relations are now facing strains of different magnitude.
- However, the Soviet Union has played a key role in India's industrialization programme as 'it also supplied military equipment and other key commodities like oil, fertiliser, and metal, among others.
- The Soviet assistance helped India on its path towards economic self-reliance, critical for a country having just achieved independence.
- According to the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) , Government of India, India continues to have strong ties with Russia and has 'evolved from a buyer - seller framework to one involving joint research, development and production of advanced defence technologies and systems'. Several key defence initiatives had been on the pipeline have now become a reality.

- Russia is the only country in the last four decades to have actively assisted India in its nuclear power generation programme and recognizes the fact that it is a country with advanced nuclear technology which possesses an impeccable non-proliferation record.
- Prime Minister Narendra Modi said 'India and Russia are 'natural partners' in fighting terrorism and the two countries must strive to broaden their ties which have 'withstood the test of time'.
- There is little doubt that both the nations need to step up their relations because in spite of all the potential, Russia is 'working to become a major independent centre of power and is positioning itself as the linchpin of Eurasian integration' and India is making its presence felt as a 'rising power'.
- World politics is in a flux and new forces are threatening old relationships as well as presenting new opportunities. India Russia relations will have to step up its existing relations to newer heights wherein global threats should not be able to cloud this time tested relationship but rather cement the ties further.



6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem.(2005). Comparative Politics and International Relations. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Ghai, K.K. (2010): International Relations - Theory and Practice. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Singh, Pavneet. (2018). International Relations. Mc Graw Hill Education.
4) Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2011). International Relations. Anmol Publisher, New Delhi.

6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Leo Tolstoy

Ans to Q No 2: VI Lenin

Ans to Q No 3: 1917

Ans to Q No 4: Anglo-Afghan war

Ans to Q No 5: After independence, India adopted a policy of non-alignment to pursue its foreign policy goals and it was based on domestic imperatives as well. Accordingly the 'decision to adopt non-alignment was thus not merely an idealistic dream of neutrality, but was rather based on a realistic assessment of India's geopolitical situation. Nehru intended to give India room to manoeuvre according to its own interests rather than allowing it to become confined within the limitations of a Cold War alliance.' However for Stalin, the idea of neutrality was not looked upon favourably as 'national liberation movements were thought to belong to the same camp as Soviet Union and neutrality was condemned as an imperialist project'. However several issues brought India and Russia closer. On one hand , the opposition of India to extend the Korean War north of the 38th parallel and later on the support for the People's Republic of China to UN; on the other hand, the role of US in formation of SEATO in 1954, the Baghdad Pact of 1955 and American support to Pakistan, led to transformation of India Russia relations. It must be recalled that Soviet Union started showing more support for India's stand on Kashmir and Goa. During the Suez Crisis (1956) India also condemned the Anglo French aggression and adopted a more muted response to Hungarian invasion by Soviet Union. These factors helped converge India's and Russia's national interest.

Ans to Q No 6: 2000

Ans to Q No 7: The Soviet Union played a key role in India's industrialization programme as 'it also supplied military equipment and other key commodities like oil, fertiliser, and metal, among others. The Soviet

assistance helped India on its path towards economic self-reliance, critical for a country having just achieved independence. Some of India's well-known public sector companies like Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL), Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC), and Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), as well as the steel industry, were also set up with Soviet cooperation'.

In December 2014, the leaders of the two countries set a target of US $ 30 billion bilateral trade by 2025. According to Russian Federal Customs Service data, bilateral trade during in 2016 amounted to US$ 7.71 billion (decline of 1.5 % over 2015), with Indian exports amounting to US$ 2.39 billion and imports from Russia amounting to US$ 5.32 billion. Major items of export from India include pharmaceuticals, tea, coffee and tobacco, machinery and mechanical appliances, organic chemicals, and electrical machinery and equipment. Major items of import from Russia include pearls, precious and semi-precious stones & metals, nuclear power equipment, electrical machinery and equipment, mineral oil & products, iron & steels, and optical, precision and surgical equipment. India and Russia are exploring various ways for enhancing bilateral trade.

According to a report of the ORF, 'The economic ties, however, remain the weak link in the relationship. While India and the Soviet Union shared robust economic relations, India-Russia trade today is dismally low.' According to reports, both governments have 'set a trade target of $25 billion by the year 2025. However, according to Indian commerce ministry data, bilateral trade has been just above $6 billion in the last few years, with Indian exports accounting for just about $2 billion.'

Ans to Q No 8: According to the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) , Government of India, India continues to have strong ties with Russia and has 'evolved from a buyer - seller framework to one involving joint research, development and production of advanced defence technologies and systems'. Several key defence initiatives had been on the pipeline have now become a reality. The MEA states- BrahMos

Missile System as well as the licensed production in India of SU-30 aircraft and T-90 tanks, are examples of such flagship cooperation. During the 17th Annual Summit, the sides concluded agreements on supply of S-400 air defence systems, construction of frigates under Project 1135.6 and shareholders agreement on the formation of joint venture to manufacture Ka-226T helicopters in India. The two countries also hold exchanges and training exercises between their armed forces annually. The joint military exercise 'Indra 2016' was held in the Ussuriysk District in Vladivostok from 22 September -02 October 2016. The annual bilateral naval exercise 'Indra - Navy' took place off the coast of Vishakhapatnam on 14-21 December 2016. Both sides have also decided to hold the first ever tri-services exercised in the year 2017. A roadmap for the development of bilateral defence cooperation was signed during the 17th Meeting of the IRIGC-MTC.

It must be recalled that In June 2014, the Prime Minister dedicated to the nation the Russian-built aircraft carrier INS Vikramaditya at a special ceremony off the coast of Goa. Despite challenges, reports suggest that 'despite the diversification in India's defence procurements, Russia remains and will remain a critical supplier of defence equipment to India for a long time. According to SIPRI, Russia accounted for 68% of India's arms import during 2012-16 as compared to 14% from the US and 7.2% from Israel.'



6.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Examine Indo-Russia relations in the pre-independence period up to the Cold War period.

Q. 2: Examine Indo-Russia relations after the end of the Cold War.

Q. 3: Discuss the issues shaping India-Russia relations.

Q. 4: Write briefly about India-Russia relations from the 1947 upto the present.

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UNIT 7: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH US

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Background of Indo-US Relations

8.4 Stages and Recent Trends

8.5 Significance of Indo-US Bilateral Relations

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.9 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- to explain the history of the relations between India and U.S
- to discuss the course of development of India-US bilateral relations.
- to explain how the relations between the two countries are improving at present
- to analyse the cooperation between India and U.S. in the economic, political, diplomatic and educational spheres.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Relations between India and the US have evolved over a long period of time. The US and India are two of the world's largest democracies. The relations between the two countries have largely been determined by changes in the geopolitical environment. However, being major democracies , the two countries are also guided by some shared values in terms of maintenance of peace and stability both at the international and regional levels. As such, it is important to discuss the relations between India and the US over the years.

7.3 BACKGROUND OF INDO-US RELATIONS

Indo-US relations refer to the international relations that exist between the Republic of India and the United States of America. The relationship between India and US in the days of the British Raj were quite strong. It may be mentioned here that Swami Vivekananda promoted Yoga and Vedanta in Chicago, America. Mahatma Gandhi also had an important influence on the philosophy of non-violence promoted by Martin Luther King, Jr. in the 1950s. 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. America under the Truman administration leaned towards favouring India in the late 1940s because most US planners viewed India diplomatically more valuable than its neighbour Pakistan. However, during the Cold War, Nehru's policy of neutrality was not acceptable to many American observers and they perceived India's policy of non-alignment negatively. But gradually, the relations between the two nations started improving in many respects. For example, regarding trade it may be stated that US is India's second largest trading partner, and India is its ninth largest trading partner. Major items imported from India include Information Technology services, textiles, machinery, gems and diamonds, chemicals, iron and steel products, coffee, tea, and other edible food products. Major American items imported by India include aircraft, fertilisers, computer hardware, scrap metal, and medical equipment.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: President Roosevelt fully supported the idea of self-determination of all colonies under British rule. (True /False)

.....

7.4 STAGES AND RECENT TRENDS

- **From 1947 to the 1960s**

Britain declared the end of its colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent and accordingly passed the Indian Independence Act, in the year 1947. Immediately after the independence of the country, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru met U.S President Truman. This meeting led to the formal proclamation of India's neutrality in Cold War, in which it took the leading role within the Non-aligned movement.

Dwight D. Eisenhower was the first US President to visit India in 1959. During the presidency of John F. Kennedy(1961-63), India was considered a strategic partner and counterweight to the rise of Communist China. While defining the relations between India and United States, it is important to mention about the 1962, Indo-China war. The war broke out between India and China over a disputed frontier. PM Nehru requested to the then U.S President John F. Kennedy for support during the war. The Kennedy administration extended open support to India during the 1962 Sino-Indian war. The US described the Chinese action as "blatant Chinese Communist aggression against India". Washington supported India in the conflict, recognizing the Mc Mohan line as the border as well as provided air assistance and arms.The United States Airforce even sent in arms, ammunition and clothing supplies to Indian troops.

However, following the assassination of Kennedy in 1963, Indo-US relations gardaully statered declining. While Kennedy's successor Lyndon Johnson sought to maintain relations with India to counter Communist China yet at the same time he also sought to strengthen ties with Pakistan.

- **From the early 1970s to the late 1980s**

In the early 1970s, Indio-US relations hit an all-time low under the Nixon administration. Richard Nixon started aiding Pakistan

militarily and economically as India was seen leaning more towards the Soviet Union. He considered Pakistan as a very important ally to counter Soviet influence in the Indian subcontinent. During the 1971 Indo-Pak war the US sided with Islamabad.

On May 18, 1974, India completed its first nuclear test, becoming the first nation outside the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to declare nuclear capabilities. This step finally resulted in an estrangement between the two countries i.e. India and U.S which lasted over two decades. The test was opposed by the US. India had also refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as the treaty would have restricted India from undertaking nuclear tests and hampered India's security interests. However, the US later concluded that the Pokhran test did not violate any agreement which is why it also allowed the June 1974 shipment of enriched uranium for the Tarapur nuclear reactor.

With the coming to power of the Janata Party government led by Moraji Desai as the Prime Minister in the late 1970s, Indo-US relations started improving.

In the 1980s the relations between the two countries continued to improve gradually. Although India did not support the United States in its role in the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, the Reagan Administration provided limited assistance to India. In 1984 Washington approved the supply of selected technology to India. These include gas turbines for naval frigates and engines for prototypes for India's light combat aircraft.

In the 1980s the relations between the two countries continued to improve gradually. Although India did not support the United States in its role in the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, the Reagan Administration provided limited assistance to India. In 1984 Washington approved the supply of selected technology to India. These include gas turbines for naval frigates and engines for prototypes for India's light combat aircraft.

- **From the mid-1990s to the first decade of the 21st Century**

In 1995, the Defence Policy Group was set up to develop cooperation between the defence forces of India and the US. However, Indo-US relations again touched a new low after India carried out the Pokhran II nuclear tests in 1998. The United States strongly condemned the tests and promised sanctions. It voted in favour of a United Nations Security Council Resolution condemning the tests. President Bill Clinton imposed economic sanctions on India, including cutting off all military and economic aid. However, the sanctions were soon lifted. Subsequently, the Clinton administration and Prime Minister Vajpayee exchanged representatives to help restore cordial relations.

In March 2000, U.S. President Bill Clinton visited India. Fruitful discussions took place between the two countries on a range of issues. Significantly, during the visit, the Indo-US Science & Technology Forum was established.

During the tenure of the George W. Bush administration, relations between India and the United States improved greatly. The two countries began to work together closely on a range of common issues and concerns including the threat of terrorism and counter terrorism initiates, energy security , climate change, education, trade, space among others. In 2004, the US decided to grant Major non-NATO ally (MNNA) status to Pakistan. The US extended the MNNA strategic working relationship to India but the offer was declined by India.

The Indo-US Civil Nuclear Agreement was signed in 2008. This Agreement recognised India as a nuclear weapon power. The main objective of this agreement was to establish and increase cooperation between India and US in the fields like civilian nuclear activities, civilian space program, high technology trade and missile defence.

- **From 2010 to the present**

In November 2010, President Barack Obama visited India. He

addressed a joint session of the Indian Parliament where he supported India's bid for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. President Barack Obama decribed the Indo-US partnership as "one of the defining partnerships of the 21st century." U.S and India held its first strategic dialogue in the year 2010 during which India was considered as an "indispensable partner" of the US.

After the coming of the BJP led NDA government at the centre in India in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited America with the aim of attracting investment and to strengthen the U.S-India strategic partnership. In Washington, Modi and President Obama reached an agreement in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding between the Export-Import Bank of the United States (EXIM Bank) and an Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency (IREDA). The joint-statement released from Washington touched upon several issues including tackling terrorism, climate change, promoting clean energy, trade facilitation and expanding defence ties between the two countries including inviting US defence companies to manufacture in India.

The Trump administration considers India to be an important strategic ally. Ties between India and the US have deepened during the regime of President Donald Trump. While unfolding his National Security Strategy, Trump has described India as a "leading global power". The Trump administration has also renamed the US Pacific Command (PACOM) in Hawaii to the "US Indo-Pacific Command" signifying the increased level of importance that India has been accorded by the US in its security formulation.

It may be mentioned that India and the US has been "strategic partnership" since 2004 based on shared values and security interests. In 2005, the United States and India signed a ten-year Defence Framework Agreement. The two countries have taken part in several combined military exercises. The India-US Defence Framework Agreement which was renewed for 10 years in 2015.

The agreement focusses on shared interests maintaining security and stability; defeating terrorism and violent religious extremism; preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and associated materials, data, and technologies; and protecting the free flow of commerce via land, air and sea lanes. The Agreement further says "In pursuit of this shared vision of an expanded and deeper U.S.-India strategic relationship, our defense establishments shall: conduct joint and combined exercises and exchanges; collaborate in multinational operations when it is in their common interest; strengthen the capabilities of our militaries to promote security and defeat terrorism; expand interaction with other nations in ways that promote regional and global peace and stability; enhance capabilities to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;" The Agreement goes on to say " in the context of our strategic relationship, expand two-way defense trade between our countries. The United States and India will work to conclude defense transactions, not solely as ends in and of themselves, but as a means to strengthen our countries' security, reinforce our strategic partnership, achieve greater interaction between our armed forces, and build greater understanding between our defense establishments."
(source: https://idsa.in/resources/documents/Ind-US-Def-Rel-28.06.05).

Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited the United States on June 2017 at the invitation of the new President of the United States Donald trump. The meeting provided a valuable opportunity to the two leaders to establish a warm, comfortable and respectful working relationship between the two countries.

The biggest takeaway in substantive terms was the stern language against Pakistan and the 'supreme commander' of the Kashmiri militant outfit Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist. Pakistan has been mentioned twice by name in the Joint Statement issued at the end of the visit, once to ensure that its territory is not used to launch terror strikes against other countries,

and the second to expeditiously bring to justice the perpetrators of the 26/11 Mumbai, and other cross-border terrorist attacks perpetrated by Pakistan-based groups. The Joint Statement also named terrorist groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba and others, and exhorts the international community to take united action against them.

Regarding the subject of regional connectivity and the South China Sea, India's position has been clearly highlighted. The Joint Statement declares the necessity of transparent development of infrastructure, use of responsible debt financing practices, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, rule of law, and environmental protection, etc. This reaffirms that India and USA are on the same page with respect to dealing with the rapidly growing influence and presence of China.

Trade was a significant part of the discussions. The two sides agreed to a comprehensive review of bilateral relations and to further expand free and fair trade. Trump, in his statement to the press, referred to a fair and reciprocal trading partnership between the two countries, i.e, India and U.S.

Indo-U.S relations have seen several ups and downs from the beginning. USA views India as a growing world power and recognizes India as a key to its strategic interests. It can be said that in strategic, political, security, defence and economic terms, relations between India and US will continue in a positive direction in the years to come.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 2: Who was the first US President to visit India in 1959 ?

.....

Q 3: In which year was the first U.S and India strategic dialogue held ?

.....

7.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF INDO-U.S BILATERAL RELATIONS

India and the United States have maintained a strong and strategic bilateral relationship and continues to contribute to the stability and prosperity of the world. India is an indispensable partner for the United States.India is an important US partner in international efforts to prevent the further spread of weapons of mass destruction. Further, India's position against radicalism and terrorism corresponds with that of the United States.

U.S firms can benefit immensely by providing expertise and technology that India will need to carry out the transformation in modernizing the infrastructure, transportation, energy production and distribution, and defence hardware. India and U.S also cooperate with each other in global action against climate change.

India matters to the United States so much in the present day because of the following factors :

1. (a) India is genuinely committed to a world order based on multilateral institutions and cooperation and believes in the norms of international law.
   (b) Indian culture and diplomacy have generated goodwill in its extended neighbourhood.
   (c) Indian democracy has prospered despite the challenges of endemic poverty; extraordinary ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversities; and foreign and internal conflicts.

On the other hand, United States matters to India so much because of the following reasons:

a. America remains the critical stabilizing force in Asia through its military and diplomatic power projection and commitments to the region.
b. India will be better able to protect its national interests in Pakistan and Afghanistan in coordination with the United States.
c. The United States will continue to be important for India's economic success.

d. The United States has also remained one of the top sources of foreign direct investment in India, bringing important managerial expertise, capital, and technology with it to the dynamic Indian market.

e. As India seeks a larger role in the UN Security Council and international monetary institutions, US support for India is critical in this regard.

- **India-U.S: Cooperation in Energy and Climate Change**

  The Indo-U.S energy dialogue was launched in May,2005 to promote trade and investment in the energy sector.

  The U.S. Department of Energy and the Government of India have established the Joint Clean Energy Research and Development Center, under the initiative of PACE (Partnership to Advance Clean Energy), which is designed to promote clean energy innovations by teams of scientists from India and the United States, with funding from both Governments.

- **India-U.S: Cooperation in Education**

  India has learned much from the U.S. experience with regard to the demands for skill-development. It has been agreed to collaborate with U.S. institutions in the area of Technology Enabled Learning and Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) to extend the reach of education in India. Under the Global Initiative of Academic Networks (GIAN) launched by India, up to 1000 American academics will be invited each year to teach in Indian universities at their convenience.

- **India-U.S: People to people contact**

  It may be stated that the Indian American community is an important ethnic group in U.S., which constitutes about 1% of the total population of the country. Indian American community includes a large number of professionals, business entrepreneurs and educationalists with increasing influence in the society. The two countries have been working together to facilitate travel of their respective citizens, and to this end, an MoU has been signed in June 2016 to facilitate India's joining of the Global Entry Programme for expedite the immigration process for eligible Indian citizens at

U.S. airports.

It can be said that in strategic, political, security, defence and economic terms, relations between India and the USA are expected to continue their upward trajectory under the presidentship of Donald Trump. Geopolitical manoeuvres can have significant impact on India-USA relations, however, bilateral relations between the US and India would continue to remain multi-faceted based on an "indispensable partnership".

It is worth mentioning here that the US is India's oldest and most important 2+2 ministerial dialogue partner wherein the Defence Minister and the Defence Secretary of India and the US respectively and the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State of India and the US respectively meet. The first 2+2 ministerial dialogue between the two countries was held during the Trump Administration in 2018.

India and the US have signed four foundational defence agreements signaling deeper military ties between the two countries :

1. General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA): The GSOMIA agreement was signed in 2002 and aims to facilitate the sharing of military intelligence between India and the USA.
2. The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA): The LEMOA agreement, signed in 2016, permits India and the USA to utilize each other's military bases for repair and resupply operations.
3. Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) : The COMCASA agreement was signed in 2018 after the first 2+2 dialogue between the US and India. The agreement enables secure communication sharing during training exercises and operations between the two nations facilitating real-time information exchange between their respective military forces.
4. Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA): This agreement was signed between India and the US after the 2+2 ministerial dialogue in 2020. The BECA agreement provides for a framework for the exchange of classified data between the two countries. It would enable both India and the US to obtain an extensive range of geospatial information from one another, encompassing detailed maps, nautical

and aeronautical charts, and imagery. Under the agreement, India will be supplied high-quality GPS to navigate and missiles to precisely target the adversary.

As a matter of fact, India's active military cooperation with the US could be traced back to 1992 when the first Malabar Naval Exercise between India and the US took place with the participation of the navies of both countries involving aircraft carriers, anti-submarine warfare, amphibious operations, counter-piracy operations, etc. In due course of time, this bilateral military excise between India and the US expanded to include Australia and Japan too. This was in sync with the formation of the "Quadrilateral Security Dialogue", commonly known as the Quad– an informal diplomatic and strategic partnership between India, USA, Australia and Japan aimed at ensuring stability and maritime security in the Indo-Pacific region, especially, in the wake of China's unilateral actions in the region - The Malabar exercises are being held annually with India and the US being the regular participants. Notably, as members of the Quad, India and the US along with Australia and Japan are cooperating with one another and their efforts towards ensuring that the Indo-Pacific region always remains free and open for regional peace and prosperity.

More recently, during Prime Minister Modi's visit to the US in June 2023, five major defence deals were reached between India and the US. Of them, the most notable one was the collaboration between General Electric (GE) and Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) for the co-production of F414 engines. These engines will power India's Tejas Mark 2 aircraft. India also decided to procure SeaGuardian drones from the US which would enhance India's defence capabilities. India shall also provide repair facilities for US Navy ships. The U.S. Navy concluded a five-year Master Ship Repair Agreement (MSRA) with L&T in June 2023. Besides defence cooperation, technology partnership also constitutes a cornerstone of Indo-US relations. Accordingly, during the June 2023 visit of the Indian PM to the US, it was decided that both India and the US would fund joint research projects in computer and information science and engineering, trustworthy cyberspace, cyber security, sustainability and green technologies and

intelligent transportation systems among others.

Source: https://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/36711/IndiaUSA+Joint+Statement+during+the+Official+State+visit+of+Prime+Minister+Shri+Narendra+Modi+to+USA



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Mention any two factors as to why India matters to the United States.

.....

.....

Q 5: Write briefly about India-US cooperation in education.

.....

.....



7.6 LET US SUM UP

- Indo-US relations refer to the international relations that exist between the Republic of India and the United States of America.
- The relationship between India and US in the days of the British Raj were too strong. It may be mentioned here that Swami Vivekananda promoted Yoga and Vedanta in Chicago, America. Mahatma Gandhi also had an important influence on the philosophy of non-violence promoted by Martin Luther King, Jr. in the 1950s.
- In the 1930s and early 1940s, the United States extended very strong support to the Indian independence movement in defiance of the British Empire.
- America under the Truman administration leaned towards favouring India in the late 1940s because most US planners viewed India diplomatically more valuable than its neighbour Pakistan.
- However, during the Cold War, Nehru's policy of neutrality was not acceptable to many American observers and they perceived India's policy of non-alignment negatively. But gradually, the relations between

the two nations started improving in many respects.

- Britain declared the end of its colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent and accordingly passed the Indian Independence Act, in the year 1947. Immediately after the independence of the country, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru met U.S President Truman. This meeting led to the formal proclamation of India's neutrality in Cold War, in which it took the leading role within the Non-aligned movement.
- Dwight D. Eisenhower was the first US President to visit India in 1959. During the presidency of John F. Kennedy(1961-63), India was considered a strategic partner and counterweight to the rise of Communist China. While defining the relations between India and United States, it is important to mention about the 1962, Indo-China war. The Kennedy administration extended open support to India during the 1962 Sino-Indian war.
- However, following the assassination of Kennedy in 1963, Indo-US relations gardaully statered declining. While Kennedy's successor Lyndon Johnson sought to maintain relations with India to counter Communist China yet at the same time he also sought to strengthen ties with Pakistan. In the early 1970s, Indio-US relations hit an all-time low under the Nixon administration. Richard Nixon started aiding Pakistan militarily and economically as India was seen leaning more towards the Soviet Union. He considered Pakistan as a very important ally to counter Soviet influence in the Indian subcontinent. During the 1971 Indo-Pak war the US sided with Islamabad.
- On May 18, 1974, India completed its first nuclear test, becoming the first nation outside the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to declare nuclear capabilities. This step finally resulted in an estrangement between the two countries i.e. India and U.S which lasted over two decades. The test was opposed by the US.
- India had also refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as the treaty would have restricted India from undertaking nuclear tests and hampered India's security interests. However, the US later concluded that the Pokhran test did not violate any agreement which

is why it also allowed the June 1974 shipment of enriched uranium for the Tarapur nuclear reactor.

- With the coming to power of the Janata Party government led by Moraji Desai as the Prime Minister in the late 1970s, Indo-US relations started improving. In the 1980s the relations between the two countries continued to improve gradually. Although India did not support the United States in its role in the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, the Reagan Administration provided limited assistance to India.
- In 1995, the Defence Policy Group was set up to develop cooperation between the defence forces of India and the US.
- Indo-US relations again touched a new low after India carried out the Pokhran II nuclear tests in 1998. The United States strongly condemned the tests and promised sanctions. It voted in favour of a United Nations Security Council Resolution condemning the tests. President Bill Clinton imposed economic sanctions on India, including cutting off all military and economic aid. However, the sanctions were soon lifted.
- Subsequently, the Clinton administration and Prime Minister Vajpayee exchanged representatives to help restore cordial relations.
- In March 2000, U.S. President Bill Clinton visited India. Fruitful discussions took place between the two countries on a range of issues. Significantly, during the visit, the Indo-US Science & Technology Forum was established.
- During the tenure of the George W. Bush administration, relations between India and the United States improved greatly. The two countries began to work together closely on a range of common issues and concerns including the threat of terrorism and counter terrorism initiates, energy security , climate change, education, trade, space among others.
- In November 2010, President Barack Obama visited India. He addressed a joint session of the Indian Parliament where he supported India's bid for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. President Barack Obama decribed the Indo-US partnership as "one

of the defining partnerships of the 21st century."

- U.S and India held its first strategic dialogue in the year 2010 during which India was considered as an "indispensable partner" of the US.
- After the coming of the BJP led NDA government at the centre in India in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited America with the aim of attracting investment and to strengthen the U.S-India strategic partnership.
- The Trump administration considers India to be an important strategic ally. Ties between India and the US have deepened during the regime of President Donald Trump. While unfolding his National Security Strategy, Trump has described India as a "leading global power". The Trump administration has also renamed the US Pacific Command (PACOM) in Hawaii to the "US Indo-Pacific Command" signifying the increased level of importance that India has been accorded by the US in its security formulation.
- It may be mentioned that India and the US has been "strategic partnership" since 2004 based on shared values and security interests.
- In 2005, the United States and India signed a ten-year Defence Framework Agreement. The two countries have taken part in several combined military exercises. The India-US Defence Framework Agreement which was renewed for 10 years in 2015. The agreement focusses on shared interests maintaining security and stability; defeating terrorism and violent religious extremism; preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and associated materials, data, and technologies; and protecting the free flow of commerce via land, air and sea lanes.
- The Agreement further says "In pursuit of this shared vision of an expanded and deeper U.S.-India strategic relationship, our defense establishments shall: conduct joint and combined exercises and exchanges; collaborate in multinational operations when it is in their common interest; strengthen the capabilities of our militaries to promote security and defeat terrorism; expand interaction with other nations in ways that promote regional and global peace and stability; enhance

capabilities to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;"

- Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited the United States on June 2017 at the invitation of the new President of the United States Donald trump. The meeting provided a valuable opportunity to the two leaders to establish a warm, comfortable and respectful working relationship between the two countries.
- India and the US have signed four foundational defence agreements signaling deeper military ties between the two countries , namely, GSOMIA, LEMOA,COMCASA and BECA. The June 2023 visit of the Indian PM to the US further bolstered ties between India and the US in terms of defence cooperation and technological partnership.
- Indo-U.S relations have seen several ups and downs from the beginning. USA views India as a growing world power and recognizes India as a key to its strategic interests. It can be said that in strategic, political, security, defence and economic terms, relations between India and US will continue in a positive direction in the years to come as both the two countries are in fact "natural allies" with common interests in terms of international and regional peace and security.



7.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem.(2005). Comparative Politics and International Relations. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Ghai, K.K. (2010): International Relations - Theory and Practice. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Singh, Pavneet. (2018). International Relations. Mc Graw Hill Education.
4) Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2011). International Relations. Anmol Publisher, New Delhi.

7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Dwight D. Eisenhower

Ans to Q No 2: 2004

Ans to Q No 3:

(a) India is genuinely committed to a world order based on multilateral institutions and cooperation and believes in the norms of international law.

(d) Indian culture and diplomacy have generated goodwill in its extended neighbourhood.

Ans to Q No 4:

India has learned much from the U.S. experience with regard to the demands for skill-development. It has been agreed to collaborate with U.S. institutions in the area of Technology Enabled Learning and Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) to extend the reach of education in India. Under the Global Initiative of Academic Networks (GIAN) launched by India, up to 1000 American academics will be invited each year to teach in Indian universities at their convenience.

7.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write about Indo-US relations up to the 1980s.

Q. 2: Write about India-US Cooperation in Energy and Climate Change

Q. 3: Explain the significance of Indo-US bilateral relations.

Q. 4: Discuss the relations between India and US in the post-independence period.

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UNIT 8: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 Background of India-Pakistan Relations
8.4 Stages and Recent Trends
8.4 Let Us Sum Up
8.5 Further Reading
8.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
8.7 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the historical background of India-Pakistan relations.
- analyse India's relations with Pakistan in the twentieth and twenty first centuries.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Relationship between India and Pakistan has been passing through various phases of tension ever since independence. The increasing tension and conflict between India and Pakistan has a historical background. During freedom movement itself the differences between the leaders of the Indian National Congress and Muslim League led to the partition of the country and creation of two independent sovereign states- India and Pakistan. Even after independence, tension between India and Pakistan continued to increase over a number of issues which further complicated the Indo-Pak relations. In the present time also, relations between India and Pakistan have been passing through several troubled phases.

8.3 BACKGROUND OF INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Both India and Pakistan share common historical and socio-cultural

legacies. Before partition, both the countries constituted a single economic and political entity for many centuries. During the time of freedom movement, people from both sides came close together and fought against the colonial ruler. The significant contribution of the people from the entire region ultimately compelled the British rulers to withdraw from India. Imperial policies to a large extent divided the two major communities , namely Hindus and Muslims by applying theory of British "divide and rule".

After the partition of India and creation of Pakistan through the Two-Nation theory, the experiences of partition gave rise to bitter feelings between the two countries. Immediately after partition, Pakistan readily tried to ensure its internal security and territorial integrity by joining the US sponsored military alliances to secure western arms and ammunition and continuously opposed India's policy of non-alignment. But, on the contrary, India tried to follow a policy of non-alignment in order to protect its national interests and promote international peace and security. Due to the differences in their approaches and ideological view points, both the countries always found each other at logger heads with each other. India's gestures for peace towards Pakistan is not always reciprocated by the latter in like manner.

In the post-independence period, differences increased between India and Pakistan. India always tried to maintain cordial and close relations with all its neighbouring countries. But, regarding the relations between India and Pakistan, a lot of difficulties keep arising which stand in the way of healthy development of bilateral relations between these two neighbouring countries.

8.4 STAGES AND RECENT TRENDS

The different stages in the course of the development of Indo-Pakistan relations may be discussed as below:

- **From 1947 to 1960**

  In the post-independence era especially from 1947 to 1960, the relationship between India and Pakistan passed through a very bad phase due to increasing hatred and suspicion in the wake of partition. But nevertheless, the leaders from both the countries had made

certain statements regarding their intentions to maintain cordial relations between India and Pakistan. There were lots of dilemmas which both the countries had to confront immediate after the end of the freedom movement. While analysing the relations between India and Pakistan during the early years after independence, some specific issues need to be discussed:

1. Disputed Boundary:

   On the eve of partition, the British Government had set up two Boundary Commissions- one for Bengal and the other for Punjab in which there were equal representatives from both India and Pakistan. But, there were a lot of problems in the proper demarcation of the boundaries between East Bengal and West Bengal and between East Bengal and Assam some of which still continue to persist. To look after these problems, one Boundary Dispute Tribunal was formed. Judge Algot Bagge from Sweden was the chairman of that Indo-Pakistan Boundary Dispute Tribunal.

2. Problems of Refugee:

   In the Post-independence period, the increasing violence and conflict (communalism) between the two countries gave rise to the problem of refugees. In the wake of partition, almost 12 million people were displaced from both sides who became refugees seeking shelter in India and Pakistan as the case may be. Various measures had been taken by both the countries as a result of which the problem was by and large solved by 1962.

3. Problems of Minority:

   The issue of religious minority has always been a matter of concern for both India and Pakistan. Even after partition, many Muslim people chose to stay in India and likewise some Hindu people chose to stay in Pakistan. The kind of treatment offered to both the minority religious communities in their respective countries was also a matter of left lots of unresolved question.

While the Constitution of India established a polity committed to safeguarding the interests of all religious communities, Pakistan opted for an Islamic Republic. After independence, the leaders from both sides highlighted the issue of religious minority and chose to apply certain policies. In 1950, Nehru signed an agreement on minorities with Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan. But, complaints regarding maltreatment of minorities in Pakistan continued and subsequently this issue worsened the relations between the two countries.

4. Dispute regarding Canal Water:

   The Canal Water dispute is one of the crucial areas of conflict between India and Pakistan. The division of Punjab and Bengal gave rise to the problem of sharing of river waters. The Standstill Agreement which was signed in the post-independence period between India and Pakistan continued to operate till 23 August 1950. But after that, Pakistan repudiated the agreement and made some controversial statement. But later in 1960, Indus Water Treaty was signed between the two which was facilitated by the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development).

5. Economic and Trade Relations:

   Proper development of economic and trade co-operation between the two countries were also hampered in the post-independence era. Due to partition, both India and Pakistan were confronted with serious economic and trade problems. Lack of cooperation and increasing hostilities between the two countries stand as impediments in the development of healthy economic and trade relations between the two. The border areas of Pakistan are endowed with soil fertile for producing cotton and wheat while the Indian side is endowed with soil suitable for rice, sugarcane and has vast reserves of coal and iron ore. But the differences between the two countries hinder

the process of utilising these resources for the benefit of both the parties.

6. Integration of Princely States:

One of the major issues that gave rise to the increasing tension between India and Pakistan was the process of integration of Princely States. The Indian Independence Act, 1947 provided freedom to all the Princely States to decide their future either with India or with Pakistan. In this crucial juncture, different problems had occurred regarding three regions namely- Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. Junagadh which was comprised of 80 percent Hindu population wanted to join Pakistan despite the fact that the state had no land linkage with Pakistan at all. This decision was taken by the then Muslim ruler Sir Mahabat Khan. But in 1948, through plebiscite, Junagadh was included under Indian domain. This had made Pakistan dissatisfied and they demanded the intervention of Security Council in this regard.

A similar situation also took place in Hyderabad where the Nizam, a Muslim ruler decided to remain independent by ignoring the fact that this region was a Hindu majority region. In fact, the then Muslim ruler also signed a Standstill Agreement with India. But in the later phases, the Nizam decided to accede to India and withdrew the complaint from the UN Security Council regarding the intervention of the Indian government.

The issue of Kashmir is considered to be the most sensitive issue in the relations between India and Pakistan. Since the time of partition till today, the issue of Kashmir remains unresolved. The problem of Kashmir basically arose at the initial stage. Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir decided to accede to India in the wake of aggression by Pakistan who sent tribesmen to take over the valley. In that critical situation, Indian Government came forward and assumed responsibility for the defence of Kashmir. But Pakistan strongly opposed the decision of

accession of Kashmir to India.

There were a series of discussions conducted immediately after the accession of Kashmir to India in order to satisfy both the parties. Subsequently, in December 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) suggested a programme of free and impartial plebiscite. But before that, both the parties agreed to accept a cease-fire agreement which was signed on 1st January, 1949. In July 1949, the two countries reached an agreement on demarcation of the cease-fire line. Despite these efforts on the part of both sides, the differences between two countries continued and the matter reached the floor of the Security Council of the UN.

- **India-Pakistan War of 1965 to the Tashkent Declaration**

  In 1965 Pakistan made a strategic technique by sending a band of trained infiltrators and later on by sending military troops to attack India. But, India had taken a strong position and controlled the situation with military power and also managed to capture some of the areas of Kashmir which were under illegal occupation of Pakistan. However, on September 20, 1965 the Security Council passed a cease-fire resolution to be obeyed by both the countries. Subsequently, USSR came into the forefront and initiated the settlement process by sending good offices. Both India and Pakistan accepted the offer of the Soviet Prime Minister and as a result discussions were held at Tashkent from 4-10 January 1966. The talk which was held at Tashkent between Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan ended with a series of developmental outcomes (a) to restore normal and peaceful relations, (b) to withdraw their respective armed forces, not later than 25 February, 1966 to the position they held before 5 August, 1965, (c) to repatriate captured prisoners of war, (d) to restore diplomatic relations as well as economic and trade relations, communications and cultural exchanges, (e) to end hostile propaganda; and (f) to deal with the question of refugees and illegal immigrants. After the signing of the Tashkent Declaration both India

and Pakistan agreed to move forwards by creating friendly relations in accordance with the U.N. Charter.

- **Aftermath of the Tashkent Declaration:**

  After the Tashkent Declaration, an environment of peace was seen and the situation revealed that both the countries would resolve the Kashmir issue through bilateral talks. But from 1969 onwards the problems of East Pakistan worsened the relations between India and Pakistan. From the liberation movement of Bangladesh to the creation of Bangladesh, Pakistan increased its hostilities towards India because the latter had offered a lot of help to East Pakistan during the time of their independence movement. India had strongly raised the issue of atrocities of East Pakistani people by the Urdu speaking people of West Pakistan. Infact , India called upon the peoples and the governments of the world to take urgent and necessary steps to rescue humanity in East Pakistan. Pakistan strongly opposed India's position and termed it as an interference in her internal matters.

  Of late on December 3, 1971, Pakistan conducted a sudden attack in the frontier areas of India namely Punjab, Rajasthan and Jammu and Kashmir following the process of formation of Provincial Government in Bangladesh on 14th April, 1971. In order to safeguard her territorial integrity and national glory, India also declared war against Pakistan. After a long war between India and Pakistan, finally on 6 December, 1971 India accorded recognition to Bangladesh. In this war the Indian Army took over 90,000 Pakistanis as prisoners of war. At last on 16 December, 1971 an unilateral cease-fire agreement was signed between both the countries.

- **Indo-Pak Peace Talks and the Shimla Agreement:**

  As a result of bilateral peace talks between the two heads of India and Pakistan held on 28th June, 1972 at Shimla culminated in the form of Shimla Agreement on 3rd July, 1972. For the establishment of durable peace in this region, both the countries agreed on several issues-(a) the relations between the two countries shall be governed

in accordance with the principles and purposes of the UN Charter, (b) two countries resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon by them, (c) in the interest of durable peace the two countries expressed faith in the principles of peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (d) the basic issues and causes of conflict which have hampered the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means, (e) to respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality, (f) to refrain from threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other, (g) to take steps to prevent hostile propaganda against each other and exchange all such information as would promote the cause of friendly relations between them, (h) steps would be taken to resume communications including postal, telegraphic, sea, land and air, (i) steps would be taken to provide travel facilities for the nationals of the other country, (j) to promote trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields, (k) to promote exchanges in the field of science and culture.

Regarding the issue of Kashmir, the Shimla agreement provided recommendations that both the countries would withdraw military forces to their side of the international border and would respect the Line of Control (LOC)

After Shimla Agreement, the people from both the sides expected improved relations between India and Pakistan. Infact, in 1973, both India and Pakistan wanted an amicable solution of the prisoners of war issue. In February, 1974, Pakistan finally accepted Bangladesh as an independent Nation and accorded recognition to Bangladesh. But in the later years in 1974, India's Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) at Pokhran-1 made Pakistan more frustrated and it became a stumbling block in the path of smooth relations between both the countries.

- **India's relations with Pakistan during the Janata Government (1977-79):**

  Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's PPP in Pakistan and Janata Dal in India gained political power which witnessed the improvement of relations between the two sides. As a consequence of improved relations, an agreement was signed over Salal Dam Project in April 1978. Through this agreement, India secured the right to build the Salal Dam and Power project on Chenab River in Jammu and Kashmir. Greater co-operation also took place in the field of culture and sports as well. In short, we can say that both the countries showed consistent improvements in their relationship during 1977-1979.

- **India-Pakistan relations in the 1980s:**

  A significant development took place in the 1980s after the establishment of Joint Indo-Pak Commission for promoting wide ranging economic, cultural and scientific co-operation between the two countries. The first meeting of this commission was held on 1st June, 1983 where it took certain crucial decisions which had lots of positive dimensions. The commission also set up four sub-commissions under its purview. These commissions dealt with (i) economic matters dealing with industry, agriculture, communication, health, science and technology; (ii) trade; (iii) education, information, culture, sports and social science; and (iv) travel, tourism and consular matters.

  Apart from this, a memorandum of understanding was signed in January, 1986 for increasing bilateral private trade. After the signing of this agreement, the Pakistani government permitted the private sector to import 42 items from India. Along with this MOU, in December 1986, Indian Home Minister led a delegation to Pakistan and discussed various issues relating to illegal border crossings, terrorism, smuggling of arms and narcotics across the border. Both sides reached a unanimous consensus after long discussion and agreed to strengthen their border security forces and take up joint surveillances of the border.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Summit meeting with Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in July 1989 was considered to be one of the significant deliberations held between India and Pakistan during 1980's. After this summit discussion both the parties agreed on reviving the Shimla spirit in order to establish cordial relations.

- **India Pakistan relations in the Post-cold war era**

Immediately after the breakdown of USSR, India moved forward with a new vision of cooperation in the sub-continent. As a part of this initiative, in May 1990, India proposed a package of confidence building measures (CBMs) for Pakistan. These CBMs basically focussed on areas like- exchange of information about military positions and army delegations, an agreement on non-violation of air space by military aircrafts, stopping of hostile propaganda aimed at inciting subversion and secession. But from 1991, certain sporadic events took place which again increased hostilities between the two countries. In 1991 Pakistani military troops attacked in Poonch sector along with Kashmiri militants which was successfully defended by India. Again in October, 1991, Pakistani troops attacked in Kargil. But this time also they faced a serious set-back in the hands of the Indian Army. In October, 1992 the issue of Azad Kashmir and the Ayodhya issue again increased tensions between the two sides.

With the assumption of power by Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan and United Front Government in India, it was expected that the relations between the two countries would improve. Subsequently India took certain positive steps to improve relations with Pakistan and announced certain unilateral concessions like easing of visa restrictions for Pakistani nationals, waiving of visa fee for senior Pakistani Citizens, increase in the number of religious shrines which could be visited by Pakistani pilgrims in India. By releasing 38 Indian children, Pakistan also showed a good gesture.

The second round of talks between India and Pakistan at the Foreign Secretary level was held at Islamabad in June 1997. The talks identified eight specific areas of concern where more needed to be

done by both the parties. These include- (i) Peace and Security, (ii) Confidence Building Measures, (iii) Jammu and Kashmir, Siachen, (iv) Wullar barrage project/ Tulbul Project, (v) Sir Creek dispute (vi) Terrorism and Drug trafficking, (vii) economic and commercial cooperation, (viii) promotion of friendly exchanges in various fields.

A series of nuclear explosions by both India and Pakistan in May, 1998 again complicated the relations between the two. All the P-5 members of the UN Security Council in their meeting held at Geneva reacted strongly and suggested that both the countries should not make any further tests and to accede to NPT and CTBT. In 1999, both the countries decided to improve relations by developing dialogue at various levels. The successful visit by the Pakistan Cricket Team to India and the newly started bus journey to Pakistan during the time of the NDA government had greatly contributed to the reduction of tension in Indo-Pakistan relations. India's then Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee took the bus journey to Pakistan and during his visit, Prime Minister Vajpayee said, "There is nothing which cannot be solved through goodwill and dialogue. There can be no greater legacy that we can leave behind than to do away with mistrust, to abjure and eliminate conflict, to erect an edifice of durable peace, amity, harmony and cooperation". In this special visit, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif signed the Lahore Declaration which basically dealt with reducing the risk of nuclear accidents and unauthorised use of nuclear weapons.

But the euphoria of the Lahore Declaration did not last long. In May, 1999, Pakistan backed intruders crossed the Indian side of the Line of Control in the north of Kargil. Subsequently, the Indian army along with Air Force fighter jets struck the intruders' camp. US president Bill Clinton strongly criticised Pakistan's action in Kargil and urged Pakistan not to support insurgent activities in Jammu and Kashmir. After continuous pressure from the US, the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif decided to withdraw from Kashmir for which he had a clash with the army chief Pervez Musharraf. As a result on 12 October,

1999, Musharraf led a bloodless army coup and assumed all powers as the new Chief Executive of Pakistan. The increasing cross-border terrorist activities basically aggravated the relations between India and Pakistan in the last decade of the 20th Century.

- **India-Pakistan relations in the 21st Century**

  In the new millennium, a new ray of hope arose in developing good relationship between India and Pakistan when Prime Minister A.B Vajpayee extended invitation to President Musharraf to visit India. The two leaders met in a summit level meeting which was held in New Delhi and Agra from 14-16 July, 2001. From the Indian side, the major issues discussed in that Summit were release of 54 Indian prisoners of war, the extradition of terrorists who had taken refugee in Pakistan, the upkeep of religious shrines, treatment of religious pilgrims, etc. On the contrary, Pakistan basically stressed on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. But nevertheless, India was very much concerned about the whole problem and worked hard to bridge the gap.

  Suddenly, the whole situation became more complex and both sides increased hostilities following the attack on India's Parliament by two Pakistan based terrorist groups on 13 December, 2001. As a result of this attack, India decided to recall its High Commission from Islamabad and also terminated the Delhi Lahore Bus Service and Samjhauta Express.

  There are some other factors which have caused tension between the two countries including trans-border illegal smuggling of drugs and weapons, Pakistan's growing links with religious fundamentalist forces, discriminatory trade barriers against India, etc.

  India has been interested in maintaining good relations with Pakistan and this is visible through the following instances:

  - India invited the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif for the swearing-in ceremony of the newly elected national government in May 2014;
  - The External Affairs Minister's (EAM) visited Islamabad in December

2015. A Comprehensive Bilateral Dialogue was also proposed by the EAM in December 2015.

However instances of severe violence have been witnessed against India like the cross-border terror attack on Pathankot Airbase on 2 January 2016, attack on Army Camp in Uri in August 2016 and terror attack on the convoy of Indian security forces in Pulwama by Pakistan based Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) on 14 February 2019.

India's agenda of maintain favourable relations with Pakistan is also manifested in its dedication towards being an active member of the Permanent Indus Commission (PIC). Meetings of the Permanent Indus Commission (PIC), a bilateral commission, are regularly held to discuss issues related to water sharing between the two countries and to resolve the conflicts amicably. The last meeting, that is, the 118th meeting of the PIC comprising of Indus Commissioners of India and Pakistan was held on 30-31 May 2022 in New Delhi.

The Bilateral Protocol on Visits to Religious Shrines, 1974 governs the visit to religious shrines in India and Pakistan. Commitment in ushering solidarity between the two countries is also seen in the case of facilitation of Sikh pilgrims from India to Pakistan's Gurudwara Darbar Sahib through the Kartarpur Corridor. The proposal for the initiation of the Kartarpur Corridor on the Indian side by the Government of India was formally conveyed to the Government of Pakistan on 22 November, 2018. The same was also concurred by the Government of Pakistan. Subsequently, several union ministers from India were present at the ceremony of Pakistan's part of Kartarpur Corridor on 28 November 2018 at Kartarpur Sahib. Government of India committed to operationalise Kartarpur Sahib Corridor by November 2019 to mark the 550th Anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. After several rounds of discussions and high level technical meetings related to construction related issues, the Corridor was subsequently opened by the Indian Prime Minister on 9 November 2019.

- **Critique on India-Pakistan relations**

  In the post-cold war period, Pakistan has utilized groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba (L-e-T) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (J-e-M) in its proxy war

with India, especially over the Kashmir dispute. There is ample evidence that Pakistan has officially fostered, supplied and trained such groups. The 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament was the most prominent and dangerous attack outside Kashmir till that time. In 2006, India and Pakistan established a bilateral panel at Additional Secretary-level for exchanging counter-terrorism information. But despite this effort, again one another incident took place which raised a lot of questions regarding Pakistan's intentions. The international community could no longer tolerate Pakistan's indulgence of terrorist groups like L-e-T after the Mumbai attacks of 26-29 November, 2008 which was referred to as 26/11 in India. Because, in this attack 26 foreigners also lost their lives. After this incident the then Home Affairs Minister, P. Chidambaram in a press conference made a statement that "nothing had been communicated to India officially by Pakistan and we have evidence of official Pakistani involvement."

Later on, the release of Hafiz Saeed, head of L-e-T by a Pakistani Court further increased India's dissatisfaction with Pakistan. The Uri attack in 2017 by Pakistan compelled India to go for surgical strikes by entering into the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) area thereby destroying several terrorist camps used by the militants to launch attacks in India. In this way, India-Pakistan relations have largely been marked by hostility rather than and peace.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Which Act provided freedom to all the Princely States to decide their future either with India or with Pakistan ?

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Q 2: Write briefly about the problem of minorities in the context of Indo-Pakistan relations immediately after independence.

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Q 3: Write a short note on the Indo-Pak relationship in the 1980s.

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Q 4: Mention any three critical areas identified by the second round of talks between India and Pakistan in Foreign Secretary level talks which were held at Islamabad in June 1997.

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Q 5: Write briefly about the relationship between India and Pakistan in the 21st century.

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8.5 LET US SUM UP

- Both India and Pakistan share common historical and socio-cultural legacies. Before partition, both the countries constituted a single economic and political entity for many centuries.
- In the post-independence period, differences increased between India and Pakistan. India always tried to maintain cordial and close relations with all its neighbouring countries. But regarding the relations between India and Pakistan, a lot of difficulties keep arising which stand in the

way of healthy development of bilateral relations between these two neighbouring countries.

- After the creation of Pakistan through the Two-Nation theory, the experiences of partition gave rise to bitter feelings between the two countries. Immediately after partition, Pakistan readily tried to ensure the internal security and integrity by joining the US sponsored military alliances to secure western arms and ammunition and continuously opposed India's policy of non-alignment. But, on the contrary, India tried to follow a policy of non-alignment in order to protect its national interests and promote international peace and security. Due to the differences in their approaches and ideological view points, both the countries always found each other at logger heads with each other. India's gestures for peace towards Pakistan is not always reciprocated by the latter in like manner.
- In the post-independence era especially from 1947 to 1960, the relationship between India and Pakistan had gone through a very bad phase due to increasing hatred and suspicion in the wake of partition. But nevertheless, the leaders from both the countries had made certain statements regarding their intentions to maintain cordial relations between India and Pakistan. There were lots of dilemmas which both the countries had to confront immediate after the end of the freedom movement.
- In the Post-independence period, the increasing violence and conflict (communalism) between the two countries gave rise to the problem of refugees. In the wake of partition, almost 12 million people were displaced from both sides who became refugees seeking shelter in India and Pakistan as the case may be. Various measures had been taken by both the countries as a result of which the problem was by and large solved by 1962.
- The issue of religious minority is always a boiling issue for both India and Pakistan. Even after partition, many Muslim people chose to stay in India and likewise some Hindu people chose to stay in Pakistan. The kind of treatment offered to both the minority religious communities

in their respective countries was also a matter of left lots of unresolved question. While the Constitution of India established a polity committed to safeguarding the interests of all religious communities, Pakistan opted for an Islamic Republic.

- After independence, the leaders from both sides highlighted the issue of religious minority and chose to apply certain policies. In 1950, Nehru signed an agreement on minorities with Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan. But, complaints regarding maltreatment of minorities in Pakistan continued and subsequently this issue worsened the relations between the two countries.
- The Canal Water dispute is one of the crucial areas of conflict between India and Pakistan. The division of Punjab and Bengal gave rise to the problem of sharing of river waters.
- One of the major issues that gave rise to the increasing tension between India and Pakistan was the process of integration of Princely States.
- The issue of Kashmir is considered to be the most sensitive issue in the relations between India and Pakistan. Since the time of partition till today, the issue of Kashmir remains unresolved.
- After the Tashkent Declaration, an environment of peace was seen and the situation revealed that both the countries would resolve the Kashmir issue through bilateral talks. But from 1969 onwards the problems of East Pakistan worsened the relations between India and Pakistan.
- Of late on December 3, 1971, Pakistan conducted a sudden attack in the frontier areas of India namely Punjab, Rajasthan and Jammu and Kashmir following the process of formation of Provincial Government in Bangladesh on 14th April, 1971. In order to safeguard her territorial integrity and national glory, India also declared war against Pakistan.
- After a long war between India and Pakistan, finally on 6 December, 1971 India accorded recognition to Bangladesh. In this war the Indian Army took over 90,000 Pakistanis as prisoners of war. At last on 16 December, 1971 an unilateral cease-fire agreement was signed

between both the countries.

- As a result of bilateral peace talks between the two heads of India and Pakistan held on 28th June, 1972 at Shimla culminated in the form of Shimla Agreement on 3rd July, 1972. For the establishment of durable peace in this region, both the countries agreed on several issues.
- Immediately after the breakdown of USSR, India moved forward with a new vision of cooperation in the sub-continent. As a part of this initiative, in May 1990, India proposed a package of confidence building measures (CBMs) for Pakistan. These CBMs basically focussed on areas like- exchange of information about military positions and army delegations, an agreement on non-violation of air space by military aircrafts, stopping of hostile propaganda aimed at inciting subversion and secession.
- But from 1991, certain sporadic events took place which again increased hostilities between the two countries. In 1991 Pakistani military troops attacked in Poonch sector along with Kashmiri militants which was successfully defended by India. Again in October, 1991, Pakistani troops attacked in Kargil. But this time also they faced a serious set-back in the hands of the Indian Army. In October, 1992 the issue of Azad Kashmir and the Ayodhya issue again increased tensions between the two sides.
- Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif signed the Lahore Declaration which basically dealt with reducing the risk of nuclear accidents and unauthorised use of nuclear weapons.
- In May, 1999, Pakistan backed intruders crossed the Indian side of the Line of Control in the north of Kargil. Subsequently, the Indian army along with Air Force fighter jets struck the intruders' camp. US president Bill Clinton strongly criticised Pakistan's action in Kargil and urged Pakistan not to support insurgent activities in Jammu and Kashmir.
- After continuous pressure from the US, the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif decided to withdraw from Kashmir for which he had a clash

with the army chief Pervez Musharraf. As a result on 12 October, 1999, Musharraf led a bloodless army coup and assumed all powers as the new Chief Executive of Pakistan. The increasing cross-border terrorist activities basically aggravated the relations between India and Pakistan in the last decade of the 20th Century.

- In the new millennium, a new ray of hope arose in developing good relationship between India and Pakistan when Prime Minister A.B Vajpayee extended invitation to President Musharraf to visit India. The two leaders met in a summit level meeting which was held in New Delhi and Agra from 14-16 July, 2001.
- Suddenly, the whole situation became more complex and both sides increased hostilities following the attack on India's Parliament by two Pakistan based terrorist groups on 13 December, 2001. As a result of this attack, India decided to recall its High Commission from Islamabad and also terminated the Delhi Lahore Bus Service and Samjhauta Express.
- There are some other factors which have caused tension between the two countries including trans-border illegal smuggling of drugs and weapons, Pakistan's growing links with religious fundamentalist forces, discriminatory trade barriers against India, etc.
- In the post-cold war period, Pakistan has utilized groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba (L-e-T) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (J-e-M) in its proxy war with India, especially over the Kashmir dispute. There is ample evidence that Pakistan has officially fostered, supplied and trained such groups. The 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament was the most prominent and dangerous attack outside Kashmir till that time.
- The Uri attack in 2017 by Pakistan compelled India to go for surgical strikes by entering into the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) area thereby destroying several terrorist camps used by the militants to launch attacks in India. In this way, India-Pakistan relations have largely been marked by hostility rather than and peace.



8.6 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem.(2005). Comparative Politics and International Relations. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2. Ghai, K.K. (2010): International Relations - Theory and Practice. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
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4. Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2011). International Relations. Anmol Publisher, New Delhi



8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The Indian Independence Act, 1947.

Ans to Q No 2: The issue of religious minority has always been a major issue for both India and Pakistan. Even after partition, many Muslim people chose to stay in India and likewise some Hindu people chose to stay in Pakistan. The kind of treatment offered to both the minority religious communities in their respective countries was also a matter of left lots of unresolved question. While the Constitution of India established a polity committed to safeguarding the interests of all religious communities, Pakistan opted for an Islamic Republic. After independence, the leaders from both sides highlighted the issue of religious minority and chose to apply certain policies. In 1950, Nehru signed an agreement on minorities with Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan. But, complaints regarding maltreatment of minorities in Pakistan continued and subsequently this issue worsened the relations between the two countries.

Ans to Q No 3: A significant development took place in the 1980s after the establishment of Joint Indo-Pak Commission for promoting wide

ranging economic, cultural and scientific co-operation between the two countries. The first meeting of this commission was held on 1st June, 1983 where it took certain crucial decisions which had lots of positive dimensions. The commission also set up four sub-commissions under its purview. These commissions dealt with (i) economic matters dealing with industry, agriculture, communication, health, science and technology; (ii) trade; (iii) education, information, culture, sports and social science; and (iv) travel, tourism and consular matters.

Apart from this, a memorandum of understanding was signed in January, 1986 for increasing bilateral private trade. After the signing of this agreement, the Pakistani government permitted the private sector to import 42 items from India. Along with this MOU, in December 1986, Indian Home Minister led a delegation to Pakistan and discussed various issues relating to illegal border crossings, terrorism, smuggling of arms and narcotics across the border. Both sides reached a unanimous consensus after long discussion and agreed to strengthen their border security forces and take up joint surveillances of the border. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Summit meeting with Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in July 1989 was considered to be one of the significant deliberations held between India and Pakistan during 1980's. After this summit discussion both the parties agreed on reviving the Shimla spirit in order to establish cordial relations.

Ans to Q No 4: (i) Peace and Security, (ii) Terrorism and Drug trafficking.

Ans to Q No 5: In the new millennium, a new ray of hope arose in developing good relationship between India and Pakistan when Prime Minister A.B Vajpayee extended invitation to President Musharraf to visit India. The two leaders met in a summit level meeting which was held in New Delhi and Agra from 14-16 July, 2001. From the Indian side, the major issues discussed in that Summit were release of 54 Indian prisoners of war, the extradition of terrorists who had taken refugee in Pakistan, the upkeep of religious shrines, treatment of religious pilgrims, etc. On the contrary, Pakistan basically stressed on the issue

of Jammu and Kashmir. But nevertheless, India was very much concerned about the whole problem and worked hard to bridge the gap.

Suddenly, the whole situation became more complex and both sides increased hostilities following the attack on India's Parliament by two Pakistan based terrorist groups on 13 December, 2001. As a result of this attack, India decided to recall its High Commission from Islamabad and also terminated the Delhi Lahore Bus Service and Samjhauta Express.

There are some other factors which have caused tension between the two countries including trans-border illegal smuggling of drugs and weapons, Pakistan's growing links with religious fundamentalist forces, discriminatory trade barriers against India, etc.



9.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write about the historical background that led to conflict between India and Pakistan in the post independent period.

Q. 2: Critically examine Indo-Pak relations in the post independent period.

Q. 3: Examine the issue of Kashmir in the context of Indo-Pak relationship.

Q. 4: Discuss the relationship between India and Pakistan in the 21st century.

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UNIT 9: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Background of India-China Relations

10.4 Stages and Recent Trends

10.5 India-China Border Disputes and Agreements signed

10.5 Let Us Sum Up

10.6 Further Reading

10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.8 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able:

- to explain the historical background of India-China relations
- explain the political, economic and cultural relations between China and India dating back to ancient times.
- discuss the dimensions of India-China bilateral defence cooperation
- to analyse the relations between contemporary China and India including the different aspects of border disputes between the two.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

The two most populous countries and fastest growing major economies in the world are China and India. The significance of their bilateral relationship has increased due to their growth in terms of diplomatic and economic influence. In spite of cordial relationship between the two countries, the border disputes and economic competition between the two have made their relations strained at times. However, both countries have attempted periodically to improve ties between themselves. In this unit, we will discuss various aspects of relations between India and China.

9.3 BACKGROUND OF INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

- **Historical Background**

  China's relations with India can be traced back to the ancient times. The Chinese empire was one of the leading centres of the civilized world. China was from the early times a leading centre of trade and made many interactions with the outside world through the Silk Road. For example, in the first or second century China came into contact with important leaders of the Roman Empire and during the thirteenth century in contact with Marco Polo via this Silk Road. China started its international relations with other countries, where not only goods were traded but also there took place an interaction among languages and cultures. India and China are two of the world's oldest civilizations. Even though there was little political contact before the 1950s, both countries have had wide-ranging cultural interactions which could be traced back to the first century, especially with the transmission of Buddhism from India to China through the Silk Road. In the present day, the two big neighbours have been competing with each other for leadership in Asia. They have, over the years, cultivated bilateral relations that have been marked by both rivalry and engagement. A number of irritants have severed the relations between the two. Long pending border disputes, territorial claims, Chinese incursions, the issue of Tibet and India's refuge to Dalai Lama, China's support to Pakistan, etc.

  In the present times, the dispute over Tibet and Arunachal Pradesh in North East India have been a great source of concern for the Government of India.

Of late, the Chinese claim over Arunachal Pradesh has become a source of headache. The dispute around Arunachal centres around the refusal of China to accept the Mc Mahon Line demarcating the boundary between the Tibetan region of China and the North Eastern region of India towards the northern boundary of Arunachal Pradesh. As opposed to China, India considers Mc Mohan Line as a permanent border. China also disputes

the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on the western boundary between India and China. There is also bitterness over Aksai Chin and again the dispute is regarding the acceptance of John Ardagh-Johnson Line and the Macartney-Mac Donald Line by one and the rejection by the other. The former puts Aksai-Chin within Indian territory and the later puts it outside the Indian territory. Such divergent perspectives have been complicating the relationship between the two countries.

Tibet has been a vexed issue since the Chinese started their mission to liberate Tibet in the late 1940s and completed its occupation by 1951. Following the Chinese suppression of the nationalist uprising in Tibet, the spiritual head of Tibetan Buddhism- the Dalai Lama fled to India in 1959 and while in exile established a government in Dharamshala in India. From then onwards the issue of Dalai Lama has been a vexed issue in Sino-Indian relations. China alleged the hands of Dalai Lama in inciting trouble in Tibet. China uses all means to integrate Tibet into mainland China. It has built roads and rail links like the Beijing-Lhasa road, and had plans for constructing a road up to Mount Everest. With the Chinese occupation of Tibet, India lost a buffer state between China and herself and every defence design of China involving Tibet has its impact on India because this connectivity between Tibet and China can be used by China to move troops up to the Indian border. Relations between China and India have been characterised by border disputes, resulting in three military conflicts - the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Nathu La and Cho La in 1967, etc. Incidentally, in 1962 China and India clashed with each other in what is known as the Sino-Indian War or the Sino-Indian Border Conflict. The war ended with China declaring a ceasefire and it withdrew its troops to its claimed Line of Actual Control.

In spite of the conflicts between the two countries, since the late 1980s, both countries have successfully rebuilt diplomatic and economic ties. In 2008, China became India's largest trading partner and the two countries have also extended their strategic and military relations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write briefly about the historical relations between India and China ?

.....

Q 2: There is also bitterness over Aksai Chin and again the dispute is regarding the acceptance of John Ardagh-Johnson Line and the Macartney-Mac Donald Line by one and the rejection by the other. (True/False)

.....

Q 3: The Nathu La and Cho La incidents happened in which year ?

.....

Q 4: Write briefly about the McMohan Line.

.....

9.4 STAGES AND RECENT TRENDS

The relations between India and China encompassing political, economic, cultural and defence relations over time could be analysed as follows:

- **Political Relations**

  The People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on October 1, 1949. India was the first non-communist country to establish an Embassy in People's Republic of China. On April 1, 1950, India and China established diplomatic relations. The two countries also jointly expounded the Panchsheel (Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence) in 1954. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited India in June 1954 and Prime Minister Nehru visited China in October 1954. Premier Zhou Enlai again visited India in January 1957 and in April 1960. High level of political contacts were revived with the visit of the then External Affairs Minister, A.B. Vajpayee. One important event took place when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China in December 1988, was that both sides agreed to develop and expand bilateral relations in all fields. The Agreement on the Maintenance of

Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the India-China Border Area was signed during this visit of Prime Minister Narashima Rao in the year 1993. The agreement provided for both sides to respect the status quo on the border. It is true that after the nuclear tests in May 1998, the relations faced a minor setback. External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh visited China in June 1999 and both sides reiterated that neither country is a threat to the other. India is a member of RIC (Russia, India, and China) group, which was established in 1998 with the goal of ending its capitulatory foreign policy that was directed by the US.

The Indo-China economic relations constitute an important element of the strategic and cooperative partnership between the two countries. In 2006 the Joint Economic Group (JEG) met in Delhi and made commitments to diversify India's exports and improve market access for Indian companies to China. China's recent strategy of 'strings of pearls' (China aims to increase its influence in the Indian Ocean region by creating a network of Chinese military bases and commercial facilities extending from the Chinese mainland to Sudan port so as to surround India), Belt and Road Initiative and the Indo-US nuclear deal are some drawbacks in the Sino-Indian relations among others.

In 2017 India joined Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) as a full member. India's SCO membership holds a strategic importance and also facilitates trade access to Central Asia, strengthens counterterrorism efforts, enhances regional influence, and aligns with connectivity goals. This membership enables India to shape geopolitics, address security concerns, and promote economic growth through multilateral cooperation. In 2019, Prime Minister Narendra Modi represented India at the 18th SCO summit in China. Bilateral agreements were signed between India and China during the visit. India and China, both members of BRICS, play crucial roles in driving economic growth, advocating for fair development, and fostering cooperation among southern nations. This enhances the group's influence on global issues. The 15th BRICS summit in 2023 resulted in inviting six new countries to join the group. These countries are Argentina,

Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates. They had all applied for membership. This expansion will increase the association's members to 11 and enhance its position as a global alternative to Western-dominated institutions.

- **Economic Relations**

  Bilateral trade fell by 20% in 2009 due to the global economic meltdown. India alleges China of 'dumping' Chinese goods and thus spoiling the domestic market in India. Since September 2008, India imposed a ban on milk and milk products from China on the ground that it contains a high amount of melamine. China on the other hand, tried to block U.S.$2.9 billion development fund for India out of which $60 million was meant for Arunachal Pradesh from the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in March 2009. China wanted that Arunachal should be removed from the development Project Plan. Earlier China also tried to block waiver by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) which cleared global nuclear trade for India.

- **Cultural Relations**

  The cultural relations between India and China is also a remarkable issue. Since long time back, both the countries have been bringing their people together through various structured Cultural Exchange Programmes. One of the important Indo-China cultural cooperation programmes was the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation signed in May 1988, which provides for an executive Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP) for implementation. The most recent Cultural Exchange Program was signed in October 2013 during the visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to China. This program provides for cooperation in various fields including exchange of visits of performing artistes, officials, writers, exchanges in the field of mass media, sports etc. It may be mentioned here that during the visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the leaders designated 2014 as the Year of Friendly Exchanges between India and China. To mark this special year, Glimpses of India Festival is being organized in twelve cities across China.

During the visit of the Chinese Premier to India in December 2010, the leaders of India and China agreed on a project involving compilation of an Encyclopaedia of India-China Cultural Contacts. The Encyclopaedia of India-China Cultural Contacts was released in both English and Chinese. Apart from these, several educational programmes were also signed between India and China. For example, the Education Exchange Programme (EEP) was signed between the two in 2006, which is an umbrella agreement for educational cooperation between the two countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Write briefly about India-China political relations.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 6: India was the first non-communist country to establish an Embassy in People's Republic of China. (True/False)

.....

Q 7: Write the full form of LAC.

.....

9.5 INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTES AND AGREEMENTS SIGNED

As mentioned earlier, relations between China and India have been characterised by border disputes, resulting in three military conflicts - the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Nathu La and Cho La in 1967, etc.

India is China's second largest neighbour, sharing about 2000 km land border. Sino-India border disputes are complex historical issues. The Sino-Indian border has never been officially drawn.

Recently the Doklam plateau, has gained much attention, which lies at a tri-junction between the India, China, and Bhutan. After the Indo-China war of 1962 also, there have been several instances of Chinese troops

entering the Indian side and Indian troops entering the Chinese side. Another incident occurred in 1967 when there were two incidents of armed conflict first at Nathu La and then at Cho La.

- **Agreements and initiatives to resolve the border disputes**

1) Simla Convention of 1914: To demarcate the boundary between Tibet and North East India, a convention was held at Shimla in 1914 wherein representatives of all three i.e. Tibet, China and British India participated. After the discussion, an agreement was signed by British India and Tibet but not by the Chinese officials whereby the McMahon line was recognised as the demarcation between India and China in the eastern part. Presently, India recognises the McMahon line, as agreed by the Simla Convention, as the legal boundary between India and China.
2) Panchsheel Agreement of 1954: The Panchsheel doctrine announced by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1954 clearly indicated "the willingness to "respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity".
3) Joint Working Group for Confidence building measures: In 1989, India-China formed a Joint Working Group for Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and agreed to mutually settle all border disputes.
4) In 2003, India and China signed a Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation . It may be stated that the India-China relations received a major boost in 2003. China recognised India's sovereignty over Sikkim.
5) In 2012 India and China agreed on the establishment of a working mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on India China borders.

The Doklam standoff refers to the military border standoff between the Indian armed forces and the People's Liberation Army of China over Chinese construction of a road in Doklam near a trijunction border area. On 16 June 2017, Chinese troops with construction vehicles and road-building equipment began extending an existing road in Doklam, a territory which is claimed by both China as well as India's ally Bhutan.. On 18 June

2017, Indian troops entered Doklam to stop the Chinese troops from constructing the road. Later, both India and China announced that they had withdrawn all their troops from the site in Doklam. 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. China's claim on Doklam is based on the 1890 Convention of Calcutta between China and Britain.

It may be mentioned in this context that on 29th June 2017, Bhutan protested against China constructing a road in the disputed territory. According to the Bhutanese government, China attempted to extend a road that is viewed as the border by China but as wholly within Bhutan by both Bhutan and India, which extends eastward approaching India's highly-strategic Siliguri Corridor. The Bhutanese border was reportedly put on high alert and border security was tightened as a result of the growing tensions. But on the same day, China Foreign Ministry released a map depicting Doklam as part of China.

Despite border disputes and economic competition, India and China have worked on improving their relationship. In 2019, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China for the 18th SCO summit. During this visit, three significant bilateral agreements were signed in Qingdao, China. These agreements are:

(1) "Memorandum of understanding between Ministry of Water Resources, The People's Republic of China and Ministry of Water Resources, River Development and Ganga, Rejuvenation, Republic of India upon provision of hydrological information of the Brahmaputra river in flood season by China to India". The Agreement enables the Chinese side to provide hydrological data in flood season from 15th May to 15th October every year. The Article also enables the Chinese side to provide hydrological data if water level exceeds mutually agreed level during non-flood season."

(2) "The Protocol between General Administration of Customs of the People's Republic of China and the Department of Agriculture, Cooperation and Famers Welfare of the Republic of India on

Phytosanitary requirements for Exporting rice from India to China"

In 2019, India's External Affairs Minister visited China and several Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) were signed during the visit. Here's the list:

- Plan of Action to Implement the Protocol between the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on Cooperation in Bilateral Relations, 2020.
- MoU on Sports Cooperation Between the General Administration of Sports of People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports of the Republic of India.
- Programme of Cultural Exchange between the Government of People's Republic of China and the National Museum, New Delhi, Government of India
- MoU Between National Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine of the People's Republic of China and Ministry of Ayush of the Republic of India concerning cooperation in Traditional Medicine
- MoU Between Hubei Provincial Museum, People's Republic of China and the National Museum, New Delhi, Government of India.

In 2019, China's President Xi Jinping visited India and had detailed discussions with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. They shared their approaches to national development, positively evaluated their bilateral relations, and talked about enhancing their global roles.

Both India and China agreed that keeping peace at the border is crucial for their overall relationship. However, in 2022, India's Ministry of External Affairs reported that their engagement with China is complicated due to border issues. The report mentioned that from April-May 2020, China made attempts to change the situation along the Line of Actual Control in the Western Sector, disturbing peace. Despite this, talks with China are ongoing to fully restore peace along the India-China Border Areas and remove tensions.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 8: In which year was the Simla Convention signed?

.....

Q 9: The Panchsheel doctrine was announced in which year ?

.....



9.6 LET US SUM UP

- India and China are two of the world's oldest civilizations. Even though there was little political contact before the 1950s, both countries have had wide-ranging cultural interactions which could be traced back to the first century, especially with the transmission of Buddhism from India to China through the Silk Road.
- In the present day, the two big neighbours have been competing with each other for leadership in Asia. They have, over the years, cultivated bilateral relations that have been marked by both rivalry and engagement. A number of irritants have severed the relations between the two.
- Long pending border disputes, territorial claims, Chinese incursions, the issue of Tibet and India's refuge to Dalai Lama, China's support to Pakistan, etc. China's strategy of 'strings of pearls' (China aims to increase its influence in the Indian Ocean region by creating a network of Chinese military bases and commercial facilities extending from the Chinese mainland to Sudan port so as to surround India) and Indo-US nuclear deal are some drawbacks in the Sino-Indian relations among others.
- In the present times, the dispute over Tibet and Arunachal Pradesh in North East India have been a great source of concern for the Government of India.
- Of late, the Chinese claim over Arunachal Pradesh has become a

source of headache. The dispute around Arunachal centres around the refusal of China to accept the Mc Mahon Line demarcating the boundary between the Tibetan region of China and the North Eastern region of India towards the northern boundary of Arunachal Pradesh.

- As opposed to China, India considers Mc Mohan Line as a permanent border. China also disputes the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on the western boundary between India and China.
- There is also bitterness over Aksai Chin and again the dispute is regarding the acceptance of John Ardagh-Johnson Line and the Macartney-Mac Donald Line by one and the rejection by the other. The former puts Aksai-Chin within Indian territory and the later puts it outside the Indian territory. Such divergent perspectives have been complicating the relationship between the two countries.
- Tibet has been a vexed issue since the Chinese started their mission to liberate Tibet in the late 1940s and completed its occupation by 1951. Following the Chinese suppression of the nationalist uprising in Tibet, the spiritual head of Tibetan Buddhism- the Dalai Lama fled to India in 1959 and while in exile established a government in Dharamshala in India. From then onwards the issue of Dalai Lama has been a vexed issue in Sino-Indian relations.
- Relations between China and India have been characterised by border disputes, resulting in three military conflicts - the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Nathu La and Cho La in 1967, etc. Incidentally, in 1962 China and India clashed with each other in what is known as the Sino-Indian War or the Sino-Indian Border Conflict. The war ended with China declaring a ceasefire and it withdrew its troops to its claimed Line of Actual Control.
- In spite of the conflicts between the two countries, since the late 1980s, both countries have successfully rebuilt diplomatic and economic ties. In 2008, China became India's largest trading partner and the two countries have also extended their strategic and military relations.
- Following the Doklam conflict and the BRICS Summit thereafter, both New Delhi and Beijing took some steps to stabilize the relationship.

But in spite of the bitterness that preceded the continuing competition between the two, it seems that the bilateral relations will improve significantly in a way that is sustainable for the future.

- Despite border disputes and economic competition, India and China have worked on improving their relationship. Both India and China agreed that keeping peace at the border is crucial for their overall relationship. However, in 2022, India's Ministry of External Affairs reported that their engagement with China is complicated due to border issues.



9.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem.(2005). Comparative Politics and International Relations. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.

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9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: China's relations with India can be traced back to the ancient times. The Chinese empire was one of the leading centres of the civilized world. China was from the early times a leading centre of trade and made many interactions with the outside world through the Silk Road. For example, in the first or second century China came into contact with important leaders of the Roman Empire and during the thirteenth century in contact with Marco Polo via this Silk Road.

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Indian territory and the later puts it outside the Indian territory. Such divergent perspectives have been complicating the relationship between the two countries.

With the Chinese occupation of Tibet, India lost a buffer state between China and herself and every defence design of China involving Tibet has its impact on India because this connectivity between Tibet and China can be used by China to move troops up to the Indian border. Relations between China and India have been characterised by border disputes, resulting in three military conflicts - the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Nathu La and Cho La in 1967, etc. Incidentally, in 1962 China and India clashed with each other in what is known as the Sino-Indian War or the Sino-Indian Border Conflict. The war ended with China declaring a ceasefire and it withdrew its troops to its claimed Line of Actual Control.

In spite of the conflicts between the two countries, since the late 1980s, both countries have successfully rebuilt diplomatic and economic ties. In 2008, China became India's largest trading partner and the two countries have also extended their strategic and military relations.

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: 1967

Ans to Q No 4: The dispute around Arunachal centres around the refusal of China to accept the Mc Mahon Line demarcating the boundary between the Tibetan region of China and the North Eastern region of India towards the northern boundary of Arunachal Pradesh. As opposed to China, India considers Mc Mohan Line as a permanent border.

Ans to Q No 5: The People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on October 1, 1949. India was the first non-communist country to establish an Embassy in People's Republic of China. On April 1, 1950, India and China established diplomatic relations. The two countries also jointly expounded the Panchsheel (Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence) in 1954. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited India in June

1954 and Prime Minister Nehru visited China in October 1954. Premier Zhou Enlai again visited India in January 1957 and in April 1960. High level of political contacts were revived with the visit of the then External Affairs Minister, A.B. Vajpayee. One important event took place when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China in December 1988, was that both sides agreed to develop and expand bilateral relations in all fields. The Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the India-China Border Area was signed during this visit of Prime Minister Narashima Rao in the year 1993. The agreement provided for both sides to respect the status quo on the border. It is true that after the nuclear tests in May 1998, the relations faced a minor setback. External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh visited China in June 1999 and both sides reiterated that neither country is a threat to the other.

The Indo-China economic relations constitute an important element of the strategic and cooperative partnership between the two countries. In 2006 the Joint Economic Group (JEG) met in Delhi and made commitments to diversify India's exports and improve market access for Indian companies to China.

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7: Line of Actual Control

Ans to Q No 8: 1914

Ans to Q No 9: 1954



10.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Explain the historical background of Indio-China relations

Q. 2: Explain the political, economic and cultural relations between China and India.

Q. 3: Write briefly about India-China bilateral defence cooperation

Q. 4: Write about any two agreements and initiatives to resolve the border disputes between India and China.

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UNIT 10: INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH BANGLADESH

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Background of India-Bangladesh Relations

10.4 Stages and Recent Trends

10.5 Let Us Sum Up

10.6 Further Reading

10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.8 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the historical background of India-Bangladesh relations
- analyse India's relations with Bangladesh in the twentieth and twenty first centuries
- discuss India-Bangladesh relations since 1971 till date.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

India had played a significant role in the emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign state on December 16, 1971. The whole independence movement in Bangladesh was initiated and led by the Awami League and the Mukti Bahini. The Indian Army helped a lot in this liberation movement of Bangladesh. The Bangla speaking East Pakistani people wanted their liberation from the Urdu speaking West Pakistani people due to the dominance of the latter upon the former. Subsequently, Bangladesh was created by carving out the eastern part of Pakistan. After the creation of Bangladesh, India tried to develop very cordial relations with her and continuously worked for strengthening the relations between the two.

10.3 BACKGROUND OF INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

The genesis of the liberation movement of Bangladesh can be traced back from the days of formation of the Awami League. At the initial stage, the Awami League was regarded as the All Pakistan Awami Muslim League. The All Pakistan Awami Muslim League was founded in Dhaka, 1949 by Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani. At the very beginning, this political party basically concentrated on the overall development of Bangla-speaking people residing in different parts of Pakistan. But later on, it became more pronounced in the matter of formation of separate independent state exclusively for Bangla speaking people of East Pakistan. Subsequently, the liberation movement get polarized and Awami League became more demanding with Mukti Bahini in the matter of secession of East Pakistan from West Pakistan through Six Point Demand. Seikh Mujibur Rehman led this liberation movement.

- **India's Role in the creation of Bangladesh**

  The role played by India in the liberation movement of Bangladesh is significant in the history of South Asia. The creation of Bangladesh is one of the important events in the politics of South Asia. Since the time of partition, there was vast difference between the people of West Pakistan and East Pakistan. After the elections of 1970, the people of East Pakistan increased their differences with the people of West Pakistan. In 1970, the then President of Pakistan Yahya Khan refused to transfer power to Awami League despite its decisive victory. Subsequently, the people of East Pakistan rose in revolt against the Pakistani Government. At the initial stage of the revolution, India completely maintained its neutrality. But when the refugees from East Pakistan crossed the international border and took shelter in India in order to escape the atrocities of the Pakistani army, India raised its voice for protection of human rights of the people of East Pakistan (presently Bangladesh). In this context, differences took place between India and Pakistan and the Pakistani Government

criticised India for interfering in their internal matters. In the later phases, India extended its support to the revolutionaries and Mukti Bahini in their liberation movement for which Indo-Pak War of December, 1971 started. After the end of war, India was the first country to accord recognition to Bangladesh and established diplomatic and trade relations with it.

10.4 STAGES AND RECENT TRENDS

India provided enormous help in the economic reconstruction of Bangladesh in the post-liberation movement period. In January 1972, a secretary level discussion took place between India and Bangladesh where they discussed the issues like withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangladesh, trial of Pakistani Prisoners of War, supply of food items etc. In 1972 the then Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rehman visited India and both the countries expressed their determination for the promotion of peace and establishment of security and cooperation in the region.

- **India-Bangladesh Relations in the aftermath of Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace, 1972**

  After the visit of the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to Dhaka in March, 1972, both the countries-India and Bangladesh, became closer towards each other. Both India and Bangladesh agreed to work together in the matters of economic, cultural, commercial, technical affairs and held discussions among the heads of ministries of foreign affairs, defence and Planning Commission, etc. A Joint River Commission was also proposed to set up for surveying and studying the shared river system for controlling flood and providing irrigation facilities. Apart from this, both the countries agreed to exchange information regarding peaceful uses of nuclear energy, technological and scientific research for industrial development and utilisation of future space research for commercial purposes. Signing of Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace for 25 years was one of the significant developments in the bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh which was signed on 19th

March, 1972. The treaty was designed to promote good relations with the two neighbours, to transform values beyond borders so that eternal peace could be attained, to follow and maintain the principle of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, to maintain and promote peace, stability and security in the region, to promote better relations by strengthening the existing relations of friendship and cooperation, to reaffirm faith in peaceful settlement of disputes and to uphold the principles of UN Charter.

In the post treaty years, relations between India and Bangladesh continued to be strengthened by developing mutual assistance programmes. The amount of trade between India and Bangladesh increased up to rupees hundred crores after the signing of a trade agreement between the two. In May, 1974 India signed a number of agreements with Bangladesh to promote economic and trade cooperation between the two. Both the countries also signed a Border Agreement on May 19, 1974 through which they tried to resolve the border issues.

India's relations with Bangladesh continued to be quite intimate and cordial until August 1975. In fact, in 1975, both the countries reached an interim agreement on the complex Farakka barrage issues as well. But, the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman diminished the entire process of peace and cooperation between these two countries which further complicated the bilateral issues in the Indo-Bangla region.

- **India-Bangladesh Relations after 1975**

The hostile attitude of the military leaders gave a serious setback to Indo-Bangladesh relations in the aftermath of the Mujib era. But, in the later phases, the relations between these two countries became more realistic and mature as India decided to keep away from the internal affairs of Bangladesh.

With the assumption of power by Janata Government in India, the relations between both the countries improved. As a part of these developments, India and Bangladesh reached an agreement in

November, 1977 which resulted in the formation of a Joint River Commission to find out the solution of the Farakka dispute. After long deliberations, both the countries reached an interim accord on Ganga water following the failure of Joint River Commission for any mutually satisfactory solution of Farakka issue. The Farakka Agreement of 1977 was terminated after the signing of Interim Accord on Ganga Water in 1982. Again, in January, 1983 another accord was signed between India and Bangladesh to make new arrangements for the sharing of Ganga water for next two years. Regarding the issue of Ganga water, in the year 1985 and 1986 two other accords were signed. But, both India and Bangladesh are yet to solve the crucial problem of water sharing.

Another sensitive issue that strained the relations between India and Bangladesh was the issue of Moore Island. This island was first discovered by India in 1971 and later on in 1978, Bangladesh also laid its claim to the island. There were several secretary level talks between both the two countries, but no settlement could be arrived at and the problem remained unresolved.

The influx of migrants from Bangladesh in the aftermath of the liberation movement caused tensions in the relations between India and Bangladesh. The presence of large numbers of Chakma refugees from Bangladesh and their settlement in different North East Indian states have also created problems between India and Bangladesh. A huge portion of the immigrant population migrated to different states of North East India, namely, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Assam, Tripura and Mizoram which share border areas with Bangladesh. This has posed serious social, economic and political problems for the people of these Indian states.

The issue of sharing of waters of Ganga, Teesta and Brahmaputra and delimitation of the maritime boundary between India and Bangladesh has also continued to cause tensions in the relationship between the two neighbouring countries. There were a lot of allegations by both the parties against each other. Anti-India

propaganda was also carried out by certain sections of the people of Bangladesh and the press. Certain army leaders also encouraged anti-India propaganda. For example, in May 1983, Lt. General Ershad himself accused India of holding back Bangladesh's share of Ganga water.

- **Indo-Bangladesh Relations in 1990s**

The National Front Government of India had played a very significant role in strengthening the relationship between India and Bangladesh. In November 1989 the National Front Government took a serious step by visiting Dhaka under the visionary leadership of the then External Affairs Minister I.K Gujral. This visit was basically with a view to resolving the bilateral issues so that better cooperation could be attained. In this particular visit, the main discussions centred on the issues of illegal border crossing and smuggling. Both the countries also agreed to revive the Indo-Bangladesh Joint River Commission for undertaking proper arrangements for sharing of the river waters.

After the National Front Government, under the Janata Party Government of Chandra Shekhar cordial relations between the two countries continued with positive initiatives from both sides. This journey continued during the time of the Narasimha Rao government as well. Thus, friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries continued and in this process several agreements were concluded by the two countries among which the Tin Bigha Corridor was noteworthy. Through this Tin Bigha Corridor agreement, India agreed to allow use of a strip of land for 6 hours a day for people in Dahagram enclave to cross over to mainland Bangladesh to buy goods, reach hospitals and send children for higher education. Both the countries also agreed to work for comprehensive arrangements for sharing of waters of Ganga, Teesta and other major rivers of the region. They also determined to stop illegal influx of people across the border and take effective measures for maintenance of peace along the border. As a part of cooperative measure, in June, 1992 the agreement regarding leasing of Tin Bigha Corridor was

implemented.

In 1994, the relations between the two countries became more cordial after the completion of the SAARC Summit in April 1993. Both the countries reached an agreement in 1994 regarding the repatriation of Chakma tribal refugees camping in South Tripura camps for the last eight years. Again in 1995, the Bangladesh High Commissioner to India indicated the willingness of his country regarding the receiving of Chakma refugees of Tripura. All these contributed positively towards the development of healthy relations between India and Bangladesh in the last decade of 20th century.

- **India-Bangladesh Relations under United Front Government**

India's relations with Bangladesh showed considerable improvement during the time of the United Front Government. In June, 1996 India initiated the policy of unilateralism under which it granted certain trade and other concessions to neighbouring countries. Apart from this, in December, 1996 in New Delhi both India and Bangladesh signed a 30 year water sharing treaty to resolve their age-old dispute over the matter of sharing the water of the Ganga river. The treaty provides that if the water level at Farakka drops sharply, the two sides will share the available quantum on 50:50 basis. An Indo-Bangladesh Joint Committee was also set up to oversee the implementation of 30 Years Water Sharing Treaty. During the time of the United Front Government, India also showed greater accommodation to Bangladesh with a view to reducing the trade gap between the two countries and decided to reduce tariffs on 13 items coming into the Indian market from Bangladesh. Regarding the issue of insurgency and militant activities as well, both the countries offered to collaborate jointly. The North Eastern region of India experienced with a lot of insurgency related problems and some of the prominent leaders of different militant groups used to take shelter in Bangladesh during those days. The then Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Hasina assured India that Bangladesh would "not allow any anti-India activity from her soil by any third party".

In order to promote good neighbourly relations in the sub-continent, former Prime Minister A. B. Vajpayee in June, 1999 introduced a Calcutta-Dhaka bus service. It was expected that the bus service would bring the people of the two countries closer and contribute to their social and economic prosperity.

- **India-Bangladesh Relations in the 21st century**

In the 21st century, India-Bangladesh relations witnessed a lot of ups and downs. In January, 2000, Ajit Panja, the then Indian Minister of External Affairs visited Bangladesh to strenghten the existing relations of unity and friendship between the two countries. In February, 2000 both the countries agreed to start a bus service between Agartala and Dhaka. The two countries also expressed their concern towards greater cooperation in the field of fisheries, jute production, animal husbandry, biotechnology, agriculture, science and technology, agriculture production and agro-processing. In the same year, India also announced a soft loan of Rs. 400 crores for upgrading the infrastructure of Bangladesh in the field of transport. Both the countries also showed their determination in terms of maintenance of border peace by discussing the issue in several meetings which were held in 2000 between the representatives of Border Security Force (BSF) and Bangladesh Rifles (BDR).

A significant development took place in India-Bangladesh relations when in February 2001, a meeting of the Joint Working Group (JWG) of India and Bangladesh was held in New Delhi where a major overhaul of visa regime between India and Bangladesh was agreed. Through this agreement, the diplomatic passport holders were assured visa free entry and multiple entry visas with unrestricted entry for a year were to be issued to businessmen, students, research scholars, etc. In the same meeting, India expressed concern over the issue of terrorist activity being orchestrated from Bangladesh.

The kind of treatment meted out towards the minorities in Bangladesh during and in the aftermath of the general election of Bangladesh in October, 2001 increased differences between India

and Bangladesh. The then Khaleda Zia Government in Bangladesh was not too friendly with India. But despite this, in November 2001, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh M. Morshed Khan emphasised on the need for closer relations between India and Bangladesh on account of their geographical location.

During the time of the first NDA Government in India, the then Deputy Prime Minister of India L.K Advani was very critical regarding the insurgent activities in India which were being operated and controlled from Bangladesh and Pakistan. In November 2002, he expressed his concern over the growing activities of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan and the Al Qaeda in Bangladesh. He also criticised the militant groups and alleged that the insurgent groups in the North East India were getting refugee in Bangladesh.

In recent developments, the relationship between India and Bangladesh have greatly improved as the present Sheikh Hasina government is favourably disposed towards India. , Both the countries signed 22 agreements and discussed water sharing in the year 2017. The present NDA government extended a lot of friendly gestures towards Bangladesh and offered a lot of aid and assistance to the present Sheikh Hasina government to resolve some problems confronted by the Bangladesh government. The present NDA government offered $5 billion in two separate lines of credit to Bangladesh. 22 agreements were signed by the Prime Ministers of both the countries in the summit meeting. All the 22 agreements were basically in the areas of defence, nuclear energy, cyber security and media. The Indian Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankar regarded this visit as most successful and he asserted that both the countries were willing to work together for 'fraternal friendship'.

India and Bangladesh adopted the Land Boundary Agreement on 7 May 2015. Under this agreement, India received 51 Bangladeshi enclaves (covering 7,110 acres (2,880 ha)) in the Indian mainland, while Bangladesh received 111 Indian enclaves (covering 17,160 acres (6,940 ha)) in the Bangladeshi mainland.

In conclusion, it can be said that efforts have been made to strengthen the relations between the two countries but still some difficulties arise on different occasions. In the present day context, some problems exist in their relations regarding the issue of large-scale illegal migrations and border demarcation. Nevertheless, in the field of trade and economic development, if these two countries are able to work together, then it will be fruitful for both the countries. Keeping in mind this potentiality, both the countries should maintain cordial relations with each other to the best possible extent.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write briefly about the economic aid provided by India to Bangladesh in the post-liberation movement period.

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Q 2: Write a short note on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace, 1972 signed between India and Bangladesh.

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Q 3: Write briefly about the problem of influx of migrants from Bangladesh to India which causes tension between the two countries.

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Q 4: State any one provision of the Tin Bigha Corridor Agreement.

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Q 5: Write briefly about the role of the meeting of the Joint Working Group (JWG) of India and Bangladesh, 2001.

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10.5 LET US SUM UP

- India had played a significant role in the emergence of Bangladesh as a Sovereign State on December 16, 1971. After the creation of Bangladesh, India tried to develop very cordial relations with her and continuously worked for strengthening the relations between the two.
- India provided enormous help in the economic reconstruction of Bangladesh in the post-liberation movement period. In January, 1972, a secretary level discussion took place between India and Bangladesh where they discussed the issues like withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangladesh, trial of Pakistani Prisoners of War, supply of food items etc. Of late in February, 1972 the then Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rehman visited India and both the countries expressed their determination for the promotion of peace and establishment of security and cooperation in the region.
- After the visit of the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to Dhaka in March, 1972, both the countries-India and Bangladesh, became closer towards each other. Both India and Bangladesh agreed to work together in the matters of economic, cultural, commercial, technical affairs and hold discussions among the heads of ministries of foreign affairs, defence and planning commission etc. A Joint River Commission was also proposed to set up for surveying and studying the shared river system for controlling flood and providing irrigation

facilities.

- On 19th March, 1972 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace for 25 years was signed by India and Bangladesh. The Treaty was signed mainly to promote cooperation between the both countries so that peace and stability could be maintained in the region.
- India's relations with Bangladesh continued to be quite intimate and cordial till August, 1975. However the hostile attitude of the military leaders gave a serious setback to Indo-Bangladesh relations in the aftermath of Mujib era. But in the later phases the relations between these two countries became more realistic and mature by following the decision of India to keep away from the internal affairs of Bangladesh.
- In November, 1977 a Joint River Commission was set up to find out solution of the Farakka dispute. After long deliberations both the countries reached an interim accord on Ganga water following the failure of Joint River Commission for any mutually satisfactory solution of Farakka issue. The Farakka Agreement of 1977 was terminated after the signing of Interim Accord on Ganga Water in 1982. Again in January, 1983 another accord was signed between India and Bangladesh to made new arrangements for the sharing of Ganga water for next two years. Regarding the issue of Ganga water in the year 1985 and 1986 other two accords were signed.
- Some important issues which cause tension between Indian and Bangladesh are issues of Moore Island, influx of migrants from Bangladesh to India, sharing of waters of Ganga, Teesta and Brahmaputra, delimitation of maritime boundary between India and Bangladesh etc.
- In the 1990s relationship between India and Bangladesh became more cordial. National Front Government of India had played a very significant role in strengthening the relationship between India and Bangladesh. Both the countries also agreed to revive the Indo-Bangladesh Joint River Commission for undertaking proper arrangements for sharing of the river waters. The Tin Bigha Corridor

Agreement was also signed between these two countries which also strengthened the relationship between the two.

- In the 21st century, India-Bangladesh relations proceed with allegations and contradictions amidst unity. A significant development took place in India-Bangladesh relations when in February 2001, a meeting of the Joint Working Group (JWG) of India and Bangladesh was held in New Delhi where a major overhaul of visa regime between India and Bangladesh was agreed. In the same meeting, India expressed concern over the issue of terrorist activity which they control from Bangladesh. The kind of treatment towards the minorities in Bangladesh during and the aftermath of the general election of Bangladesh in October, 2001 increased differences between India and Bangladesh. But despite this, in November 2001 Foreign Minister of Bangladesh M. Morshed Khan emphasised on the need for closer relations between India and Bangladesh on account of their geographical location.
- As a part of recent development in the relationship between India and Bangladesh, both the countries signed 22 agreements and discussed about water sharing in the year 2017.



10.6 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem.(2005). Comparative Politics and International Relations. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Ghai, K.K. (2010): International Relations - Theory and Practice. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Singh, Pavneet. (2018). International Relations. Mc Graw Hill Education.
4) Malhotra , Vinay Kumar (2011). International Relations. Anmol Publisher, New Delhi.

10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: India provided enormous help in the economic reconstruction of Bangladesh in the post-liberation movement period. In January, 1972, a secretary level discussion took place between India and Bangladesh where they discussed the issues like withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangladesh, trial of Pakistani Prisoners of War, supply of food items etc.

Ans to Q No 2: On 19th March, 1972 the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace for 25 years was signed between India and Bangladesh. The treaty was designed to promote good relations with neighbour, to transform values beyond borders so that eternal peace could be attained, to follow and maintain the principle of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, to maintain and promote peace, stability and security in the region, to promote better relations by strengthening the existing relations of friendship and cooperation, to reaffirm faith in peaceful settlement of disputes and to uphold the principles of UN Charter.

Ans to Q No 3: The influx of migrants from Bangladesh in the aftermath of liberation movement caused tension in the relations between India and Bangladesh. The presence of large numbers of Chakma refugees from Bangladesh and their settlement in different North East Indian State also created problem in their relationship. A huge amount of immigrant population migrated to different states of India, namely- West Bengal, Meghalaya, Assam, Tripura and Mizoram which share border areas with Bangladesh. These have posed serious social, economic and political problems for the people of these Indian states.

Ans to Q No 4: Through the Tin Bigha Corridor Agreement, India agreed to allow use of a strip of land for 6 hours a day for people in Dahagram enclave to cross over to mainland Bangladesh to buy goods, reach

hospitals and send children for higher education.

Ans to Q No 5: A significant development took place in India-Bangladesh relations when in February 2001, a meeting of the Joint Working Group (JWG) of India and Bangladesh was held in New Delhi where a major overhaul of visa regime between India and Bangladesh was agreed. Through this agreement the diplomatic passport holders were assured visa free entry and multiple entry visas with unrestricted entry for a year were to be issued to businessmen, students, research scholars etc. In the same meeting, India expressed concern over the issue of terrorist activity which they control from Bangladesh.



10.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write briefly about the role of India in the liberation movement of Bangladesh.

Q. 2: Write a short note on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace, 1972.

Q. 3: Examine the relationship between India and Bangladesh in the 1990s.

Q. 4: Discuss the relationship between India and Bangladesh in the 21st Century.

Q. 5: Critically examine the issues which cause tensions between India and Bangladesh.

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UNIT 11: NEO-COLONIALISM AND DEPENDENCY

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives
12.2 Introduction
12.3 Meaning and Nature of Neo-Colonialism
12.3.1 Methods of Neo-Colonialism
12.4 Dependency Theory in International Relations
12.4.1 Critical Evaluation of Dependency Theory
12.5 Let Us Sum Up
12.6 Further Reading
12.7 Answers To Check Your Progress
12.8 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning and nature of Neo-Colonialism
- discuss the methods of Neo-Colonialism
- critically discuss the theory of dependency.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the concepts of neo-colonialism and dependency. After the Second World War, more and more countries of the world started gaining independence from the former colonial powers to emerge as independent states. However, it is argued that even after gaining independence, these countries found themselves to be influenced by the developed countries, most of which were former colonial powers, in respect of their economic and even political matters. This is regarded as a new form of domination resembling the system of colonialism, but carried out through indirect means. Hence, the word "neo-colonialism". With neo-colonialism, the concept of dependency also came into discussion. In this unit we shall discuss neo-colonialism and dependency in detail.

11.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF NEO-COLONIALISM

In the second half of the 20th century, the newly independent countries, which were mostly under the colonial rule for a long time, found themselves living under a new form of dominance by the developed countries, mostly their former colonial masters. These new form of dominance is termed as Neo-Colonialism. Though these newly independent countries enjoyed the status of independence yet, they are indirectly controlled by the developed countries in the world.

In the era of Neo-Colonialism, the rich and the developed states (former colonial powers) continue to exploit the resources of the newly independent states (developing and less developed third world countries) through a number of means like foreign aid, loans, grants, tariffs, monopoly over international trade, exploitive price system, control over international economic institutions, multinational corporations etc. They have been successful in substituting their political domination by economic domination over the poor and developing states of the Third World. Such a system, in which the new sovereign states though politically independent continue to be economically dependent upon the former colonial powers, has come to be characterised as Neo-Colonialism. These Neo-colonial powers continue to exploit the resources and unduly influence the policies and decisions of the poor and developing Third World states. The term neo-colonialism was first coined by Kwame Nkrumah, former president of Ghana (1960-66), which appeared in the preamble of the 'Organisation of African Unity' Charter (1963), and also in his book 'Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism'(1965), in the context of African countries who got independence under the decolonization process during 1960's. According to Kwame Nkrumah, "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For this who practice it, it means power without responsibility, for these who suffer from it, it means

exploitation without redress". For Kwame Nkrumah, the neo-colonialism of today represented imperialism in its final and most dangerous stage. In the past, it was easy to convert countries into colonial territory. But today because of the presence of international laws and strong public opinion colonialism is no longer possible. Today colonialism has been replaced by what is known as Neo-Colonialism. Neo-Colonialism was also discussed by the Western thinkers like Jean-Paul Sartre in his book 'Colonialism and Neo-colonialism, (1964)' and Noam Chomsky in his book 'The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism, (1979)'.

The terminology was originally applied to European states' policies that were seen as schemes to maintain control over African and other dependencies. It is seen more generally as a coordinated effort by former colonial powers and other developed countries to exploit the developing countries as a vast market and source of cheap raw materials and labour. This effort was seen as closely associated with Cold War and in particular with the United States policy known as the Truman Doctrine. Under this policy, the U.S. Government offered financial help to any Government prepared to accept U.S. protection from communism. That enabled the U.S. Government to extend its sphere of influence and in some cases, to place foreign governments under its control.

Broadly, the Neo-Colonial dominance is seen as operating through indirect forms of control, more particularly by means of the economic, financial and trade policies of transnational corporations and multilateral institutions. In the opinion of the critics, in the Neo-colonial regime, the developed countries extended their control through the multinational corporations, by keeping the underdeveloped/developing countries in a situation of dependency. In that way they accused that the international financial institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank participating in the Neo-colonialism, provided loans as well as other forms of economic aids to the Third World/Developing countries on such conditions favourable to the countries represented by these institutions.

Denunciation of neo-colonialism gained momentum with some national independence movements. While they were still waging anti-colonial

armed struggle after they gained independence, they rejected both traditional colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the late 20th century, the western nations were often charged of perpetuating neo-colonialism. Proxy wars in many of the former colonised nations were funded during this period. Many of the earlier colonised countries, now forming independent African states, accused the United States of supporting regimes which they felt did not represent the will of their people.

11.3.1 Methods of Neo-Colonialism

a) **Through Interference in the Internal Affairs of Third World/ Developing countries:** One of the common features in the domestic/national politics of the newly emerged developing countries is existence of political instability due to extreme power struggle between the competitive groups. By taking the advantage of such situations, the Western developed countries entered in the national politics of the developing countries by supporting the loyal political groups and have started to interfere and influence the policy making of such countries. By supporting the puppet regimes and by securing desired military or civilian coups in Third World/Developing countries, former colonial powers are in a position to exercise control over the policies of these countries.

b) **Through the supply of Arms and Weapons:** The need for security has been a continuous and big need for the newly emerged developing countries. To ensure security the developing countries purchase the arms and military equipments from the developed countries. Their inability to become self-sufficient in respect of their military needs keeps them dependent upon the developed countries. The developed countries have always used the supply and sale of weapons and military equipments as means for exercising control over developing countries.

c) **Use of Foreign Aid and Loans:** The most common and forceful means adopted by the Neo-colonial powers have been the foreign aid and loans to the less developed and developing countries. The socio-economic underdevelopment of the less developed and developing countries has been a curse so far as it has kept them dependent upon their former colonial masters who happen to be the rich developed states of the world. The rich and powerful states always use their capacities for giving foreign aid and loans as the means for securing a desired change in the economies, policies and decisions of the dependent and poor new states of the Third World. While giving foreign aids or loans, the donor states impose a number of conditions like agreement co-operations, right to secure certain concessions, right to influence certain economic changes as pre-conditions for grant of aid or loan, lowering of trade barriers in favour of the donor country's goods and capital, laying down of manner of use of funds etc. The conditions are designed to secure a control over the economy and policies of the recipient countries.

d) **International Economic Institutions:** The international economy of the post-war period stands regulated and controlled by a number of international economic institutions like the IMF, World Bank, IBRD etc. The rich and developed countries have a monopolistic control over these institutions. The developing countries get aid and loans from these institutions on conditions set forth by the financing countries mostly the developed countries. The developed countries designed such conditions to secure favourable and desired economic policy decisions from the poor/developing countries. The Structural Adjustment Regimes put forward by the global financing agencies like IMF, World Bank are being accused as the manifestation of Neo-colonial policy of the Developed World. Thus the international economic institutions have been

acting as an instrument of Neo-colonialism as these are almost fully controlled and used by the developed states for maintaining their dominant positions in international relations.

e) **Multinational Corporation (MNCs):** MNCs are international business organisations mostly from the developed countries, operating in many countries simultaneously throughout the world. These MNCs are very rich and powerful in terms of their financial powers. Through several monopoly rights and international patents, these MNCs are in a position to secure huge profits for their owners and consequently for their states. The developing countries are heavily dependent on the MNCs for the investment in their countries in this globalised world. Most of the developing countries are suffering from the shortage of capital required to invest for the industrial growth. Therefore, the developing countries are heavily dependent on these MNCs to meet their needs of industrial growth. Consequently, with their profound financial power, the MNCs exercise a powerful influence over the political and economic policies of the developing countries, thus act as an agency of Neo-colonialism.

f) **By creating Economic Dependencies:** The Economic Dependencies are less developed and backward countries whose economy and key financial enterprises are controlled by a foreign power. The control over the economy of an economic dependency is exercised by both the government and the private investors of the neo-colonial power. The foreign powers control its imports and exports. The top managerial and technical personnel are all foreigners. Sometimes the Neo-colonial powers run the industries and other services for the poor and developing states and pay a fixed percentage of profits as royalty to the economic dependency. Thus, by creating economic dependencies the developed countries

exercise the Neo-colonialism in the developing countries.

g) **By creating satellite states:** When the economy and the political policy of a poor and backward state are fully dependent upon a foreign power, it is called as a satellite state. A satellite state enjoys considerably less independence in internal policies than an economic dependency. Satellite states are like the autonomous units of the foreign power which controls and regulates the policies and administration of its satellites. During 1917-90, the Soviet control over the policies and economies of the Eastern European Socialist states was so strong that latter virtually acted as satellites of the former.

h) **Cultural Device:** One theory of neo-colonialism suggests the existence of cultural colonialism, the alleged desire of the wealthy nations to control other nations' values and perceptions through cultural means, such as media, language, education and religion , ultimately for economic reasons. That is why they use the latest innovations in information and technology, mass media particularly television with multiple channels, movies, internet and other devices, to impose a sort of cultural domination on the people of the third world countries.

The Western Developed states have used all the above mentioned methods to continue a deep control over the affairs of the developing and less developed countries, thus maintaining Neo-colonial dominance.

From the above analysis it is clear that the Neo-colonialism is colonialism in disguise. It is as much an evil and harmful system as have been the systems of Colonialism and Imperialism. Under Neo-colonialism the position of the underdeveloped and developing countries - "The South" are continued to be low and backward as compared to the Western Developed States - "The North". In the

Neo-colonialism the developed North states basically control the less developed states - the South economically. Therefore, there is a demand for a New International Economic Order (NEO) to strike hard at the roots of Neo-colonialism of the developed countries. To achieve the NEO, the Third World countries must strengthen their economic, trade, business, industrial and technological co-operation and relation among themselves (The South-South co-operation). They must greatly expand South-South co-operation i.e. co-operation among the developing countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who wrote "Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism"?

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Q 2: Write briefly about the meaning of neo-colonialism.

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Q 3: Write briefly about any two methods of neo-colonialism.

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11.4 DEPENDENCY THEORY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dependency theory seeks to analyze international politics by concerning itself with the existing unequal relationship among nation-states

i.e. between the Developed and Underdeveloped Countries. The Dependency theory emerged as an alternative to the theories of modernization and development as formulated and supported by several Western and Marxist scholars. The Dependency theory begins with a study of the colonial impact on the indigenous socio-economic and political structures of the underdeveloped countries and analyses the characteristics of the new socio-economic structures in relation to the developments in the World Capitalist system. The main advocates of the Dependency theory are Andre Gunder Frank, Wallerstein, Osvaldo Sunkel, Celso Furtado, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Enzo Faletto and Frantz Fanon.

- **Definition of the Dependency Theory:**

Dependency theory explains that the under-development of the Third World countries was the consequence of capitalist development of the industrialized nations of the North. It is held by most of the leaders, statesmen, academicians that the backwardness of the Third World states was due to the rampant exploitation by the developed and wealthy nations. The dependency theory asserts that there is a close relationship between the developed and under-developed nations of the world. A large numbers of investigators, after a thorough research, have discovered the dependency of some countries upon the other countries. More specifically the under-development was due to the deliberate negligence of the wealthy nations.

The rapid industrialization and various manifestations of development of the countries of the North were chiefly due to the wealth they seized by force from the Third World states. The dependency theory thus states that both development and under-development were due to imperialism and capitalist exploitation made by the imperialist powers of Europe and America.

- **Central Idea: Periphery vs Metroplois**

The dependency theory divided the world mainly into two groups- the developed nations of the North are regarded as metropolis or center and the underdeveloped countries of South as the periphery.

The dependency theory analyses the internal dynamics of underdeveloped countries and relates their underdevelopment to their

positions in the international economic system.

The dependency theory believes on the proposition that the impoverishment of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand and the capitalist development along with the growth of wealth of Western Europe and North America took place simultaneously. According to this theory, the exploitation of the Third World countries helped the economic growth of the capitalist countries. In other words the growth of some countries depended upon the impoverishment of many countries. The under-development was due to the deliberate efforts and planning of some imperialist countries.

According to this theory, the imperialist powers made some efforts for the development of the Third World states. But in this process the full leadership was under the complete control of the imperialist states. The developing states had no say in the planning and development. The capitalist states through the creation of world market and the instrumentality of globalization began to monitor the development process. In other words, the development of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America depended on the leadership provided by the developed states of the North. Finally the periphery (under-developed Sates) and the metropolis (developed states) relationship describes that the economic structure and functions of the peripheral states are to be decided and controlled by the metropolitan states because the former have no infrastructure to make effective and successful economic process.

- **Dependency as the product of expansion of World Capitalism:**

According to the dependency theory, underdevelopment is a product of capitalist expansion which is accompanied by unequal exchanges and in which the Center/Metroplis exploits the resources and labour of the periphery for its advantage. The periphery/satellite lives in a state of dependency and is characterized by underdevelopment. Thus dependence is the relationship between the dependents and the developed countries. It is a situation which conditions the ability of the underdeveloped to develop. It is limited by the expansion of capitalism. Its traditional form was imperialism or colonialism

while its contemporary form happens to be Neo-colonialism, i.e. a state of dependency of the underdeveloped periphery upon the developed Center/ Metropolis. The dependency theorist use center-periphery paradigm for analyzing the nature and scope of international relations as well as the nature of underdevelopment which characterizes the political systems of underdeveloped.

The underdeveloped countries have been living as satellites of the metropolis developed countries. The industrialization thesis as advocated by the development theorists has failed to bring any change in the Third World countries. Their economies have become stagnant and increasingly dependent upon the economies of the developed countries. The dependency theorists believe that the only way open for the underdeveloped countries, to become developed was to overthrow the existing system of dependency. While some of the dependency theorists favoured a socialist revolution for achieving this goal, the others favoured liberal reforms involving the maintenance of a balance in trade, increasing the capacity to bargain through regional cooperation and assimilation of new techniques through macro-economic adjustments.

- **Views of Andre Gunder Frank:**

The dependency theory was popularized and elaborated by many and among them the most important figure was Andre Gunder Frank. He explained his views in his book "Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America" published in the year 1967. According to Frank, underdevelopment is largely a historical product of the relations between the underdeveloped satellites (peripheries) and the developed centers (metropolis). The world consists of a handful of 'metropolitan' economies which govern, hinder and distort the development of a rather large number of 'satellite' countries. He gives the examples of several Latin American countries in support of his argument. After analyzing the economies of Latin American countries Frank pointed out three contradictions of capitalism which were mainly responsible for creating underdevelopment of the Latin American States. These are-

First, expropriation/appropriation of the economic surplus. The monopoly structure of the world capitalist system appropriates surplus which is also extend the capitalist link between the capitalist world and the national metropolis, regional centers and from these to the local centers.

Second, Frank mentions the second contradiction of the capitalism is 'metropolis-satellite' polarization. Here each is structurally and qualitatively different from the other.

Third, the third contradiction of the capitalism is 'continuity in change'. It means, according to him, the capitalist system maintains its essential structure and contradictions intact in its expansion and development and in the process; it has been a source of continued underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries.

While analyzing the underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries, Frank holds that their satellite status vis-à-vis developed country is a source of their limited development. Further their underdevelopment will be consolidated as a result of their weak relationship with the metropolis (developed countries).

Suggesting the possible way in which the underdeveloped countries can get rid of the chronic problem of underdevelopment, Frank suggests that first the real enemy must be identified. He believes that though strategically, imperialism was the principal enemy, the enemy which is to be tackled immediately is the bourgeoisie living and acting within every 'dependent' country. It has been acting as an agent of imperialism (metropolis). Such social classes have to be taken care of at the domestic level.

According to Frank, the economic measures like industrialization, import substitution, etc. do not have the potential to break the cycle of underdevelopment and dependency. He advocates the overthrow of existing structure of metropolis-satellite relations both at the domestic and international levels through a socialist revolution. While not accepting fully the Marxist view of capitalism and socialism, Frank accepts the need for a socialist revolution for overthrowing the prevailing system. He believes that within the context of a capitalist world system, as it prevails now, there could be no alternative to underdevelopment. Only a socialist revolution

can eliminate underdevelopment. Frank is, as such, a neo-Marxist-Dependency theorist and not a revolutionary Marxist.

11.4.1 Critical Evaluation of Dependency Theory

The dependency theory presents a finest analysis of the state of underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries and also the nature of relationship between the developed and the underdeveloped countries. However the dependency theory has several inherent limitations which are as follows:

(a) Lack of unity among the dependency theorist:

The critics have pointed out that there is lack of uniformity among the dependency theorist about the exact nature of dependence and underdevelopment, the mechanism involved in dependency relations and the possible remedies. According to them, dependency is not a theory but only a collection of bunch of ideas. The dependency theorists do not constitute a coherent group. Some of them are Socialistic nationalists, others are radicalists, and also some are revolutionary socialists. While some of them advocate complete transformation either by a revolution or by other radical reformist means, others favor structural reforms and new forms of cooperation between the centers and peripheries.

(b) No clear definition of dependency:

The dependency theorists fail to clearly and categorically define and explain dependence and underdevelopment. They offer no acceptable standard for distinguishing between dependent and non-dependent countries.

(c) Fails to encompass different factors of underdevelopment:

The nature of underdevelopment among the underdeveloped countries is differing from country to country, continent to continent. If it is the product of the expansion of the World Capitalist System, it would have been uniform in nature and scope. The nature of under-development in Latin America has been different from the underdevelopment of Asia and Africa.

(d) Fails to define the concept of unequal exchange:

The critics argue that the concept of 'unequal exchange' which is being used by the dependency theorists, fails to objectively analyze the reasons behind the underdevelopment of the Third World countries.

(e) Ignored the internal contradictions of underdeveloped countries:

It is an established fact that the underdeveloped or third world countries have largely failed to formulate and follow a properly conceived and coordinated development policy. These countries have failed to exploit fully their resources. The very fact that some of the developing countries like India, Brazil and even Mexico have been successful to a large extent in making rapid industrial-technological development while others have failed to do so, tends to prove the point that the under-developed countries themselves and not the capitalist countries have been responsible for their dependency.

(f) Limitation of Center-Periphery model:

Critics of the dependency theory have argued that the division of the world into center and the periphery or the metropolis and the satellite is quite arbitrary and even misleading. It is indeed difficult to accept that all the underdeveloped countries including the states like India, Brazil, Mexico, South Africa etc. are equally dependent on the developed countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Who is the chief advocate of Dependency Theory?

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Q 5: Write briefly about dependency as a product of capitalist expansion.

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Q 6: Mention any two limitations of the dependency theory.

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11.5 LET US SUM UP

- In the second half of the 20th century, the newly independent countries, which were mostly under the colonial rule for a long time, found themselves living under a new form of dominance by the developed countries, mostly their former colonial masters. These new form of dominance is termed as Neo-Colonialism. Though these newly independent countries enjoyed the status of independence yet, they are indirectly controlled by the developed countries in the world.
- The most prominent personality to use the term "neo-colonialism" was Kwame Nkrumah, who became the first President of Ghana after leading it to independence in 1957. He gave a classical definition of neo-colonialism in his book "Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism" (1965). In his work he argued that in place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism, what we have today is neo-colonialism.

- Being economically dependent upon the developed countries, the developing and least-developed countries are not in a position to conduct their economic affairs independently. While framing and pursuing their respective economic policies, these countries are influenced and guided by the developed countries.
- There are certain methods of maintaining neo-colonialism, such as- through Interference in the internal affairs of third world/developing countries, through the supply of arms and weapons, use of foreign aid and loans, international economic institutions, Multinational Corporation (MNCs), by creating economic dependencies and satellite states, cultural device.
- Dependency theory seeks to analyze international politics by concerning itself with the existing unequal relationship among nation-states i.e. between the Developed and Underdeveloped Countries. The Dependency theory emerged as an alternative to the theories of modernization and development as formulated and supported by several Western and Marxist scholars. The Dependency theory begins with a study of the colonial impact on the indigenous socio-economic and political structures of the underdeveloped countries and analyses the characteristics of the new socio-economic structures in relation to the developments in the World Capitalist system.
- The dependency theory divided the world mainly into two groups- the developed nations of the North are regarded as metropolis or center and the underdeveloped countries of South as the periphery. The dependency theory analyses the internal dynamics of underdeveloped countries and relates their underdevelopment to their positions in the international economic system. According to this theory, the exploitation of the Third World countries helped the economic growth of the capitalist countries. In other words the growth of some countries depended upon the impoverishment of many countries. The under-development was due to the deliberate efforts and planning of some imperialist countries.

- According to the dependency theory, underdevelopment is a product of capitalist expansion which is accompanied by unequal exchanges and in which the Center/Metroplis exploits the resources and labour of the periphery for its advantage. The periphery/satellite lives in a state of dependency and is characterized by underdevelopment. Thus dependence is the relationship between the dependents and the developed countries. It is a situation which conditions the ability of the underdeveloped to develop. It is limited by the expansion of capitalism.
- There are certain limitations of the dependency theory.



11.6 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.(2005). Comparative Politics and International Relations. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
3) Ghai, K.K. (2010): International Relations - Theory and Practice. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
4) Singh, Pavneet. (2018). International Relations. Mc Graw Hill Education.



11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Kwame Nkrumah

Ans to Q No 2: In the second half of the 20th century, the newly independent countries, which were mostly under the colonial rule for a long time, found themselves living under a new form of dominance by the developed countries, mostly their former colonial masters. These new form of dominance is termed as Neo-Colonialism. Though these newly independent countries enjoyed the status of independence yet, they

are indirectly controlled by the developed countries in the world. In the era of Neo-colonialism, the rich and the developed states (former colonial powers) continue to exploit the resources of the newly independent states (developing and less developed third world countries) through a number of means like foreign aid, loans, grants, tariffs, monopoly over international trade, exploitive price system, control over international economic institutions, multinational corporations etc.

Ans to Q No 3:

a) Through Interference in the Internal Affairs of Third World/ Developing countries: One of the common features in the domestic/national politics of the newly emerged developing countries is existence of political instability due to extreme power struggle between the competitive groups. By taking the advantage of such situations, the Western developed countries entered in the national politics of the developing countries by supporting the loyal political groups and have started to interfere and influence the policy making of such countries. By supporting the puppet regimes and by securing desired military or civilian coups in Third World/Developing countries, former colonial powers are in a position to exercise control over the policies of these countries.

b) Through the supply of Arms and Weapons: The need for security has been a continuous and big need for the newly emerged developing countries. To ensure security the developing countries purchase the arms and military equipments from the developed countries. Their inability to become self-sufficient in respect of their military needs keeps them dependent upon the developed countries. The developed countries have always used the supply and sale of weapons and military equipments as means for exercising control over developing countries.

Ans to Q No 4: Andre Gunder Frank

Ans to Q No 5: According to the dependency theory, underdevelopment is a product of capitalist expansion which is accompanied by unequal exchanges and in which the Center/Metroplis exploits the resources and labour of the periphery for its advantage. The periphery/satellite lives in a state of dependency and is characterized by underdevelopment. Thus dependence is the relationship between the dependents and the developed countries. It is limited by the expansion of capitalism. Its traditional form was imperialism or colonialism while its contemporary form happens to be Neo-colonialism, i.e. a state of dependency of the underdeveloped periphery upon the developed Center/Metropolis. The dependency theorist use center-periphery paradigm for analyzing the nature and scope of international relations as well as the nature of underdevelopment which characterizes the political systems of underdeveloped. The underdeveloped countries have been living as satellites of the metropolis developed countries. The industrialization thesis as advocated by the development theorists has failed to bring any change in the Third World countries. Their economies have become stagnant and increasingly dependent upon the economies of the developed countries. The dependency theorists believe that the only way open for the underdeveloped countries, to become developed was to overthrow the existing system of dependency. While some of the dependency theorists favoured a socialist revolution for achieving this goal, the others favoured liberal reforms involving the maintenance of a balance in trade, increasing the capacity to bargain through regional cooperation and assimilation of new techniques through macro-economic adjustments.

Ans to Q No 6:

(a) No clear definition of dependency: The dependency theorists fail to clearly and categorically define and explain dependence and underdevelopment. They offer no acceptable standard for distinguishing between dependent and non-dependent countries.

(b) Fail to encompass different factors of underdevelopment:
The nature of underdevelopment among the underdeveloped countries is differing from country to country, continent to continent. If it is the product of the expansion of the World Capitalist System, it would have been uniform in nature and scope. The nature of under-development in Latin America has been different from the underdevelopment of Asia and Africa.



11.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Who coined the term Neo-colonialism first?

Q. 2: What is the main point of difference between the Neo-colonialism and Colonialism?

Q. 3: Who is the chief advocate of Dependency Theory?

Q. 4: Write briefly about the meaning of Neo-colonialism. Discuss the methods of maintaining neo-colonialism.

Q. 5: Critically Discuss the Dependency Theory. Discuss its importance in the understanding of international politics.

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UNIT 12: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM- ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning and Nature of Terrorism

12.2.1 Phases of Growth of International Terrorism

12.4 Theories of Terrorism

12.5 Strategies of Terror Groups

12.6 Campaign against International Terrorism

12.7 Let Us Sum Up

12.8 Further Reading

12.9 Answers To Check Your Progress

12.10 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of terrorism
- discuss the phases of growth of international terrorism
- examine the strategies used by the terror groups
- discuss the different measures adopted to combat terrorism.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary time terrorism has acquired a global character and there is hardly any part of the globe which has remained untouched by terrorism. Terrorism is a problem that mankind has been experiencing for many decades. In contemporary world terrorism has affected both developed and developing countries. In this unit we shall discuss the problem of terrorism in detail.

12.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF TERRORISM

The post 9/11 world has made nations and citizens across the world aware that the challenges posed by international or global terrorism are more eminent than ever before. New actors are challenging state authorities wherein innocent civilians have become victims in the power struggle. Terrorism essentially involves the use of violence and the aim of terror groups is to create fear in the opposition, it is 'asymmetrical warfare'. Terrorism is a 'contested' term and is widely associated with a 'strategy' employed by non-state actors who are involved in anti-state activities such as hijacking, assassinations, extortions and indiscriminate bombings wherein non-combatants are targeted for achieving a goal which may be 'political' or at times 'religious'. It must be highlighted that such violent acts are perpetuated by non-state actors as well as by state forces.

- **Distinguishing terrorism from other violent activities**

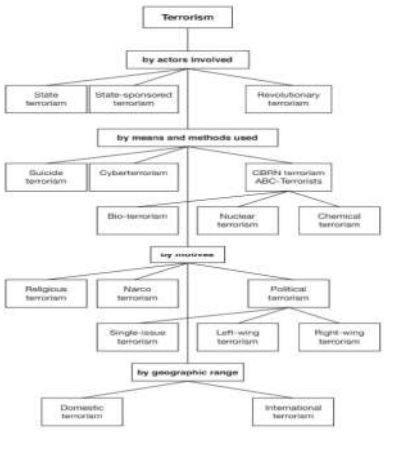
  Terrorism needs to be distinguished from other forms of violence. It may be an act indulged by state as well as non-state forces.

	Conventional war	**Guerrilla war**	**Terrorism**
Unit size in battle	Large (armies, corps, divisions)	Medium (platoons, companies, battalions)	Small (usually fewer than 10 people)
Weapons	Full range of military hardware (air force, armor, artillery)	Mostly infantry type light weapons but sometimes artillery)	Hand guns, grenades, assault rifles and specialized bombs
Tactics	Usually joint operations involving several military branches	Commando type	Kidnapping, assassinations, car bombing, hijacking etc.
Targets	Mostly military units, industrial and transportation infrastructure	Mostly military, police, and administration staff, as well as political opponents	State symbols, political opponents, and the public at large
Intended impact	Physical destruction	Mainly physical attrition of the enemy	Psychological coercion

Control of territory	Yes	Yes	No
Uniform	Yes	Often	No
Recognition of war zones	Limited to recognized geographical area	Limited to the country in strife	No, operations carried out world wide
International legality	If conducted by rules	If conducted by rules	No
Domestic legality	Yes	No	No

Source: "Adapted from Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," in Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (eds.), The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda, translated by Edward Schneider, Kathryn Pulver, and Jesse Browner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 26." In Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson , Looking for Waves of Terrorism, Terrorism and Political Violence, 21:28-41, 2009 , pg.29

Terrorism, domestic or international, is closely linked and several factors such as causes, means and goals overlap each other.



Source: 'G. Löckinger's typological tree of terrorism.' in Typologies of Terrorism and Political Violence Sarah V. Marsden and Alex P. Schmid, Alex P. Schmid (ed), *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, Routledge, USA , 2011, p.173

Many terror groups have linkages with foreign groups in terms of motivation, financing, training and goals. Hence the difference between domestic and international terrorism is more of degree rather than of kind.

- **Defining terrorism**

  The complex nature of the problem has made it very difficult for policy makers and academicians to clearly define terrorism. It is a violent act but it is the causes, means and goals which lead to problems of its definition.

Different definitions of terrorism
Walter Laqueur: "Terrorism is the use or the threat of the use of violence, a method of combat, or a strategy to achieve certain targets… [I]t aims to induce a state of fear in the victim, that is ruthless and does not conform with humanitarian rules… [P]ublicity is an essential factor in the terrorist strategy."(Laqueur, Walter (1987). The Age of Terrorism (2nd ed.). Boston: Little & Brown, p. 143)
Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman: "Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-)clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators."(Schmid, Alex, & Jongman, Albert (1988). Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature. Amsterdam: North Holland, Transaction Books, p. 28)
David Rapoport: Terrorism is "the use of violence to provoke consciousness, to evoke certain feelings of sympathy and revulsion."(Rapoport, David C. (1977, November 26). The Government Is Up in the Air over Combating Terrorism. National Journal, 9, 1853–1856.)
Yonah Alexander: Terrorism is "the use of violence against random civilian targets in order to intimidate or to create generalized pervasive fear for the purpose of achieving political goals." (Alexander, Yonah (1976). International Terrorism: National, Regional and Global Perspectives. New York: Praeger, p. xiv.)

Inspite of numerous attempts by policy makers and academicians, it remains a contested term. The cliché that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' is an understatement. The problem is that there is a moral connotation involved as terms as categorization of the term into good and bad terrorism, domestic and international terrorism have become popular. Often terrorism is linked with 'root causes' and issues of human rights abuse in counter terrorism operations have gained momentum.

David Rapoport: Terrorism is "the use of violence to provoke consciousness, to evoke certain feelings of sympathy and revulsion."(Rapoport, David C. (1977, November 26). The Government Is Up in the Air over Combating Terrorism. National Journal, 9, 1853-1856.)

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Why terrorism is difficult to define? **Boaz Ganor** has identified the following reasons:
1. because terrorism is a ‘contested concept’ and political, legal, social science and popular notions of it often diverge;
2. because the definition question is linked to (de-)legitimization and criminalization;
3. because there are many ‘ terrorisms’ with different forms and manifestations;
4. because the term has undergone changes of meaning in the more than 200 years of its existence
5. because terrorist organizations are (semi-)clandestine and the secrecy surrounding them makes objective analysis difficult

6. because the definition question is linked to whether or not terrorists work for or against one's own (national) interests, and, consequently, double standards tend to be applied
7. because the boundaries with other forms of political violence (e.g. assassination, [guerrilla] warfare) are hazy or unclear
8. because the state, with its (claimed) monopoly of the use of force and its legal definition power, can exclude any of its own activities (e.g. indiscriminate repression) from the definition
9. because it is linked to a discussion of primary responsibility for initiating a downward spiral of action–reaction violence and a discussion of root causes
10. because some authors use two different vocabularies (force vs. violence; terror vs. terrorism) for state- and non-state actors
11. because the conceptual and normative frameworks of the users of the term differ (e.g. criminal justice model, war model)
12. because the discussion on terrorism has been linked to issues regarding self-determination, and armed resistance against foreign occupation and racist regimes
13. because those who engage in acts of terrorism often also engage in other, more legitimate forms of armed conflict and/or engage in party politics
14. because the violence perpetrated by the terrorists' opponent might be as indiscriminate as, or worse than, that perpetrated by those who are deemed to be 'terrorists'
15. because the assessment of the terrorist act is intertwined with the discussion concerning the actor's goals and the status of the actor him- or herself
Source: 'Boaz Ganor, 'Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?' ICT Papers, 4, August 1998, pp. 22–23' in Alex P. Schmid, The Definition of Terrorism in Alex P. Schmid (ed), The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research, Routledge, USA , 2011, pg.43-44

The concept of terrorism becomes more complex especially when state itself perpetuates violence against innocent civilians. Weber argued that state is the entity that claims the monopoly of legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. The state faces numerous challenges to its national integrity and sovereignty from forces which may be 'domestic' or 'international'. Laqueur (1996) considers support for terrorist proxies an optimal strategy for contemporary states because traditional interstate "wars of aggression" are currently too costly and uncertain. States now use terrorist movements to "manage" their interstate rivalries by using them to exact real costs on rivals-the targeted state must spend resources on counterterrorism and often sustains casualties-while preventing higher stakes and more costly military conflict. The state indulges in acts which may be seen as legitimate from its own perspective, but it does result in violence wherein innocent civilians become casualties of such acts.

According to David Claridge, 'model of state terrorism that exhibits the following dimensions:

1. It is systematic;
2. It is actually or potentially violent;
3. It is political;
4. It is committed by agents of the state, or by proxies who operate with the resources of the state;
5. It is intended to generate fear;
6. It is intended to communicate a message to a wider group than the immediate victim(s); and
7. The victim(s) will not be armed and organised for aggression at the time of the incident.[2]

12.3.1 Phases of Growth of International Terrorism

Originating from the Latin word 'terrere' that means 'to frighten', it was during the French Revolution that the 'Reign of Terror' (1793-1794) led to the ascendancy of Jacobins under Maximilien Robespierre. Subsequently, in the nineteenth and twentieth century, state terrorism led by totalitarian and dictatorial regimes (eg-Nazi Germany, Communist rule in Russia and China, Pol Pot in Cambodia) led to persecution of millions of peoples. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand triggered a chain of events which culminated in the First World War (1914-18). The Munich massacre during the Summer Olympics of 1972 signaled a new phase of terrorism wherein terror groups began targeting opponents in territories beyond their homeland. The events of 11 September 2001 and the Arab Spring showed that terror groups (Al-Qaeda and ISIS) were indulging in 'new terrorism' and religion became a tool for recruitment of people into terror groups and terror networks became more global in operation.

In his key work, David Rapoport outlined four major waves of international terrorism in his seminal work on the history of international terrorism. The first ('anarchist') wave of modern terrorism began in Russia in the 1880s and lasted until the 1920s, the second

('anticolonial') wave began in the 1920s and ended in the 1960s, the third ('new left') wave began in the 1960s and continued through to the 1980s, and the fourth ('religious') wave emerged in 1979 and continues until today.[3]

Rapoport's four waves of terrorism

Focus	Primary strategy	Target identity	Precipitant	Special characteristics
Anarchists 1870–1910s	Elite assassinations Bank robberies	Primarily European states	Failure= slowness of political reform	Developed basic terrorism strategies and rationales
Nationalist 1920s–1960s	Guerrilla attacks on police and military	European empires	Post-1919 delegitimization of empire	Increased international support (UN and diasporas)
New Left= Marxist 1960s–1980s	Hijackings, kidnappings, assassination	Governments in general; increasing focus on U.S.	Viet Cong successes	Increased international training= cooperation= sponsorship
Religious 1970s–2020s	Suicide bombings	U.S., Israel, and secular regimes with Muslim populations	Iranian Revolution, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	Casualty escalation, Decline in the number of terrorist groups

Source: "Based on the discussion in David C. Rapoport, ''The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,''in Audrey K. Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a
Grand Strategy (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004)." In In Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson , Looking for Waves of Terrorism, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21:28–41, 2009 ,pg.31

What is very clear that terror groups and their tactics have evolved considerably. Traditional or 'old terrorism' was consisting of groups which was largely hierarchical and associated with nationalist agenda. Contemporary or 'new terrorism' may be in form of 'lone wolf' attacks, or more dispersed in nature, and have employed tactics which are transnational and religion plays a major role in motivating people to indulge in such violent activities. The use of social media by terror groups has led to greater fear, intimidation and led to growth of new followers as well.

"Old" vs. "New" Terrorism (Ideal Types)				
	"Old" Terrorism		**"New" Terrorism**	
Organizational Structure	Hierarchical	Traditional groups have a hierarchical structure,	Networked	It is more diffused and the support network is spread across the globe.
Operational Range	Within home region (territorial orientation)	It associated with a nationalist or separatist agenda and, hence, with the political situation in a specific country or region;	Outside home region (transnational orientation)	"New" terrorism has a much more expansive geographical agenda associated with a revision of the global status quo and the establishment of a new religious world order
Motives	Political/Nationalist Ideology	Traditional terrorist groups were motivated by secular concerns, stemming from political ideology, national-separatist aspirations and ethnic conflict, and rational political reasons, like the mobilization of working class masses or the independence for their ethnic group	Religious Fanaticism	Religion continues to motivate the recruitment process and goals of terror groups. Religious and cultural differences, as well as propagation of superiority of one's religion over others' have been stressed by terror groups

Tactics	Restrained Violence	It was considered to be more restrained and limited in scope and targets.	Extreme Violence	It is indiscriminate as well as adopts a more extreme form of violence and also seeks to publicise the same through the use of social media.
Attitude towards Westphalian System	System-Affirming	According to Zarakol, implicit in the traditional terrorism with an ethic-nationalist agenda was "a re-affirmation of the principles that organize the modern states system. Nationalist-secessionist terrorism derives its legitimacy claim from localized authority based on right to territory, which is similar to the organizing principles of the Westphalian system".[i]	System-Threatening	The political goals and the territorial claims advocated by terror groups based on religious grounds cannot be easily accommodated within the Westphalian order and as such it constitutes a direct threat to the nation state.
Source: Adapted from 'Old' vs. 'New' Terrorism: What's in a Name? ,Andreas GOFAS, *Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations* Vol. 8, No. 32, Özel Sayı: 11 Eylül'den 10 Yıl Sonra Terörizmi Tartışmak / Special Issue: Debating Terrorism 10 Years after 9/11 (Kış / Winter 2012), p.21-30				

'New terrorism' has given humankind a new challenge for it has assumed new dimensions. These are-

a. Terrorist organizations shift toward a more network form.
b. The identity of terrorist organizations becomes more difficult to identify
c. Terrorist demands become more vague, hazy, and nonexistent
d. Terrorist ideologies become more religious.
e. Terrorist targets are dispersed more globally.
f. Terrorist violence becomes more indiscriminate.[5]



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write briefly about the meaning of terrorism.

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Q 2: What are the four waves of terrorism?

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Q 3: Mention one difference between old terrorism and new terrorism.

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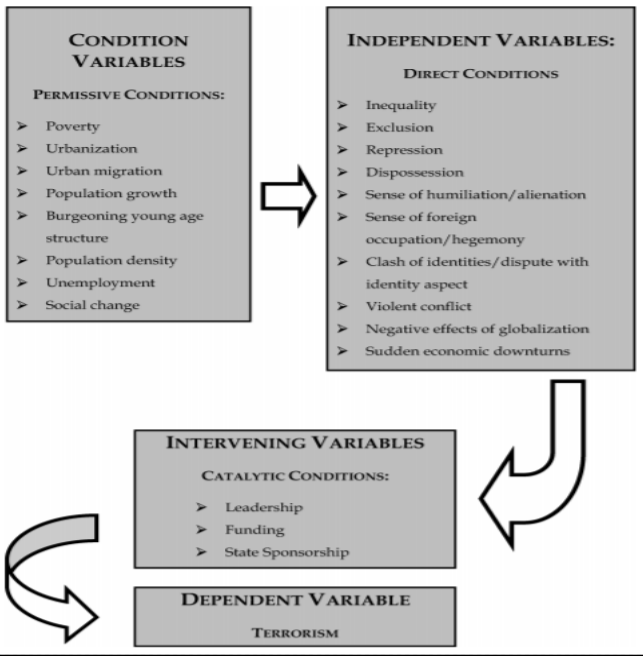
12.4 THEORIES OF TERRORISM

The basic concept of the root causes of terrorism is that certain conditions provide a social environment and widespread grievances that, when combined with certain precipitant factors, result in the emergence of terrorist organizations and terrorist acts. These conditions-such as poverty, demographic factors, social inequality and exclusion, dispossession, and political grievances-can be either permissive or direct.[6]

Permissive Structural Factors	Direct Root Causes
First, **poverty** is portrayed as the breeding ground for terrorism. Poor countries and failed states such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, Sudan, and Algeria—there is a political vacuum, and vast majority of the population live in poverty. These places have become hot beds of global terrorism.	Absolute poverty, social exclusion and discrimination can affect relations between social groups and so called 'horizontal inequalities'—is a breeding ground for conflict (Klugman 1999)

Second, rapid population growth rate and **changes in the demographic profile** in a region especially in countries where resources are scarce and employment opportunities are few, youths are influenced terror groups.	Abuse of human rights, alienation and sense of disposition as well as injustice can make ethnic/ religious group more violent and they make seek to rectify past injustices through bullets rather than through ballets.
Thirdly, **rapid urbanization** coupled with unemployment and poverty create conditions for unsatisfied youths , who are then exploited by terror groups and their networks.	Religious or cultural differences have led to tensions between peoples and cultural imperialism or imposition of cultural values over others has also led to terrorism.
Edward Newman (2006) Exploring the "Root Causes" of Terrorism, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29:8, 751-754	

Issues of relative deprivation, poverty, unemployment, exclusion, anomie and injustices will invariably be some of the factors which lead to terrorism and motivate people to join such terror groups. There is however no clear dominant root cause because there are multiple causes operating at multiple levels- individual, community and state. In each of the levels, the rewards and goals may be varied too.



Edward Newman (2006) Exploring the "Root Causes" of Terrorism, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 29:8, 749-772, Pg.764

In the above diagram, Crenshaw clearly demonstrates that there are certain permissive factors which directly impact and create conditions of inequality, repression, dispossession etc., which is explored and channelized by leaders and institutions and it leads to terrorism.

There are several indicators which affect the formation of terror groups and their campaigns. Root causes have to be supported by 'proximate causes' and there are accelerators which either precipitate terrorism or pave a path towards non -violent change.

Indicators Pointing towards the Formation of Terrorist Groups and the Occurrence of Terrorist Campaigns.	
Root Cause 1. Lack of democracy 2. Lack of rule of law 3. Lack of good governance 4. Lack of social justice 5. The backing of illegitimate regimes 6. High/rising distributive inequality 7. Historical experience of violent conflict waging 8. Support for groups using terrorist means 9. Vulnerability of modern democracies 10. Failed states / safe havens outside state control	**Accelerators** 1. Counter-terrorist campaign causing many victims “calling” for revenge and retaliation 2. Humiliation of the group or its supporters 3. Threat 4. Peace talks 5. Elections 6. Symbolic dates
Proximate Causes 1. Escalatory counter strategy 2. Expectations of support group (esp. regarding diaspora) 3. Declining support / rising support 4. Declining media coverage 5. “Successful” rival groups 6. Problems of internal group cohesion 7. Group’s leader’s personal image-strategy 8. De-escalating low intensity conflict 9. Escalating violent political conflict 10. Entrance of new actor in existing conflict situation	**De-celerators** 1. Moderate counter-campaign using legitimate means 2. Loss of charismatic leaders/ key resources / territory for retreat 3. Essential concessions towards the terrorist constituencies’ political demands 4. Responsible media coverage
	Precipitants 1. Risk assessments of attacks 2. Logistical preparations 3. De-legitimation of the enemy 4. Disappearance of key persons 5. Rising interest in potential targets 6. Increase of internal violence

"Source: adapted from Matenia P. Sirseloudi. Early Detection of Terrorist Campaigns. Forum on Crime and Society, Winter 2004/05 (Special Issue on Terrorism, edited by A. P. Schmid);partly based on PIOOM Checklists for Country Dispute and Tension Profiles; PIOOM Checklist for Country Conflict Escalation Profiles. In: Alex P. Schmid. Thesaurus and Glossary of Early Warning and Conflict Prevention Terms. London, FEWER, 2000, pp. A 2–A 43. For a discussion of these indicators, see M.P. Sirseloudi's forthcoming article in Forum" in Alex P. Schmid (2005) Root Causes of Terrorism: Some Conceptual Notes, a Set of Indicators, and a Model, *Democracy and Security*, 1:2,pg.133

12.5 STRATEGIES OF TERROR GROUPS

Terror groups have employed a variety of tactics and strategies to push forward their agenda. While terror groups and their networks have to tried to affect state and citizens' behavior through fear and by use of indiscriminate violence against non-combatants, it now encompasses a variety of means.

Five principle strategies	
Attrition	In an attrition strategy, terrorists seek to persuade the enemy that the terrorists are strong enough to impose considerable costs if the enemy continues a particular policy.
Intimidation	Terrorists using intimidation try to convince the population that the terrorists are strong enough to punish disobedience and that the government is too weak to stop them, so that people behave as the terrorists wish.
Provocation	A provocation strategy is an attempt to induce the enemy to respond to terrorism with indiscriminate violence, which radicalizes the population and moves them to support the terrorists.
Spoiling	Spoilers attack in an effort to persuade the enemy that moderates on the terrorists' side are weak and untrustworthy, thus undermining attempts to reach a peace settlement.
Outbidding	Groups engaged in outbidding use violence to convince the public that the terrorists have greater resolve to fight the enemy than rival groups, and therefore are worthy of support.
Adapted from Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter , The Strategies of Terrorism, *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 49–80, Pg.51	

Evident terrorist strategies are numerous, and often several are combined in particular campaigns or acts. According to C.C. Harmon, the leading strategies that are employed by terror groups are (1)creation of societal dislocation or chaos; (2) discrediting or destroying a particular government; (3) rendering economic and property damage; (4) 'bleeding' state security forces and doing other military damage; and (5) spreading fear for international effects.

The nature and strategies used by terror groups have changed over the years and states have become more vulnerable than before. Essentially, terror groups 'seek publicity and exploit the media and the internet to gain recognition, propagate their cause, glorify their attacks, win recruits, solicit donations, gather intelligence, disseminate terrorist know-how and communicate with their target audiences.' Terror attacks have taken place not only in weak and failed states but Europe and North America continue to remain vulnerable to more such attacks.

According to the Global Terrorism Index (2017) the ten countries most impacted by terrorism in 2016 were: 1. Iraq 2. Afghanistan 3. Nigeria 4. Syria 5. Pakistan 6. Yemen 7. Somalia 8. India 9. Turkey 10. Libya Groups like the Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Taliban and ISIS have indulged in gruesome terror acts and have actively used social media to gain publicity. Countries like Syria, Yemen, Somaila, Afghanistan and Iraq have all faced the wrath of terrorism and military intervention by foreign forces has resulted in unending cycle of violence.

12.6 CAMPAIGN AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

The efforts of the global community in combatting international terrorism have remained rather blunted. Countries like the USA and Russia have taken steps unilaterally and have targeted terror groups in foreign soil. While several conventions and treaties have been signed by many countries, the implementation process continues to remain rather weak and most states have taken initiatives unilaterally or through military alliance such as the NATO. Inspite of capture and key terror people like Osama Bin

Laden, terrorism continues to remain robust in weak states. Although the US led coalition has stricken ISIS targets in Iraq and Syria resulting in the considerable weaking of the terror outfit, yet the threat being posed by such international terrorist groups still remains. Indeed one terror group seems to replace another group and combatting terrorism continues to

Universal instruments
Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, 1963
International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, 1979
Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection, 1991
International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, 1997
International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, 1999
International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, 2005
Regional instruments
South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (RC) Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism, 1987
The Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, 1998
Treaty on Cooperation among the States Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Combating Terrorism, 1999
Organization of African Unity (U) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, 1999
Inter- American Convention against Terrorism, 2002
Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism, 2005
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Convention on Counter-Terrorism, 2007
United Nations Declarations
Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, 1994
Declaration to Supplement the 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, 1996
The United Nations Global Counter- Terrorism Strategy, 2006

remain an uphill task.

There are several treaties which seek to address the problem of international terrorism.

Inspite of having treaties and conventions passed by the United Nations as well as by other regional organizations, states and citizens continue to remain vulnerable. The Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT) still is yet to be taken seriously by the global community. Sushma Swaraj, Minister of External Affairs, Government of India, while addressing the 71st session of the UNGA in New York said, "The CCIT was proposed by India in 1996. In 2016, despite the passage of two decades, we are yet to come to a conclusion. As a result, we are unable to develop a norm under which terrorists shall be prosecuted or extradited. Therefore it is my appeal that this General Assembly acts with fresh resolve and urgency to adopt this critical Convention." Geopolitical consideration, inter-state rivalry, cross-border networks and linkages has made international terrorism a subject where there are no clear winners, and winning the 'war on terror' may come at a cost.

Conflicts across the globe especially Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and South Asia clearly reflect that terrorism has emerged as a tactic for non-state actors and state actors too. Civilians have become easily targets for both sets of actors. Women, children and marginalized communities have become targets for terror groups and state forces too. The fear of terror groups getting control over weapons of mass destruction, its technology as well as its proliferation, remains a threat for all. The global war on terror has yielded mixed results and the spread of conflict to MENA region has resulted in destruction of cities, violation of civil liberties and large-scale refugee crisis and migration. Laws on counter terrorism have had limited effect on the morale of the terror groups. The need to address 'root cause' of terrorism has always come back to trouble policy makers, but nobody is winning this war easily, for it will come at a cost for all the parties concerned.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Mention any two Declarations adopted by the United Nations to combat terrorism.

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Q 5: Mention any two permissive structural factors responsible for the emergence of terrorism.

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Q 6: According to C.C. Harmon what are the leading strategies adopted by the terror groups?

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12.8 LET US SUM UP

- Terrorism essentially involves the use of violence and the aim of terror groups is to create fear in the opposition, it is 'asymmetrical warfare'. Terrorism is a 'contested' term and is widely associated with a 'strategy' employed by non-state actors who are involved in anti-state activities such as hijacking, assassinations, extortions and indiscriminate bombings wherein non-combatants are targeted for achieving a goal which may be 'political' or at times 'religious'.
- Terrorism is different from other violent activities in many regards.
- There are many phases of growth of international terrorism.
- Issues of relative deprivation, poverty, unemployment, exclusion, anomie and injustices will invariably be some of the factors which

lead to terrorism and motivate people to join such terror groups. There is however no clear dominant root cause because there are multiple causes operating at multiple levels- individual, community and state.

- Terror groups have employed a variety of tactics and strategies to push forward their agenda. While terror groups and their networks have to tried to affect state and citizens' behavior through fear and by use of indiscriminate violence against non-combatants, it now encompasses a variety of means.
- The world community has adopted a number of measures to combat international terrorism. A number of Treaties, Declaration have been concluded in this regard.



12.9 FURTHER READING

1) Ghai, K. K.(2006). International Relations :A simple study of International Politics . Kalyani Publishers.
2) Gupta, Suman.The Replication of Violence Thoughts on International Terrorism after Sept 11th 2001. London: Pluto Press.
3) Koshy, Ninan. (2003). The War on Terror: Reordering the world. Leftwood Publishers.
4) Sen , Sankar. (2009). Terrorism Around the World- Challenges and Responses. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company



12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Terrorism essentially involves the use of violence and the aim of terror groups is to create fear in the opposition, it is 'asymmetrical warfare'. Terrorism is a 'contested' term and is widely associated with a 'strategy' employed by non-state actors who are involved in anti-state activities such as hijacking, assassinations, extortions and

indiscriminate bombings wherein non-combatants are targeted for achieving a goal which may be 'political' or at times 'religious'. It must be highlighted that such violent acts are perpetuated by non-state actors as well as by state forces.

Ans to Q No 2: David Rapoport mentioned four major waves of international terrorism in his seminal work on the history of international terrorism. The first ('anarchist') wave of modern terrorism began in Russia in the 1880s and lasted until the 1920s, the second ('anticolonial') wave began in the 1920s and ended in the 1960s, the third ('new left') wave began in the 1960s and continued through to the 1980s, and the fourth ('religious') wave emerged in 1979 and continues until today.

Ans to Q No 3: Traditional or 'old terrorism' was consisting of groups which was largely hierarchical and associated with nationalist agenda. On the other hand Contemporary or 'new terrorism' may be in form of 'lone wolf' attacks, or more dispersed in nature, and have employed tactics which are transnational and religion plays a major role in motivating people to indulge in such violent activities.

Ans to Q No 4: (i) Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, 1994

(ii) The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 2006

Ans to Q No 5: (i) Poverty and (ii) rapid population growth and change in the demographic profile .

Ans to Q No 6: According to C.C. Harmon, the leading strategies that are employed by terror groups are (1)creation of societal dislocation or chaos; (2) discrediting or destroying a particular government; (3) rendering economic and property damage; (4) 'bleeding' state security forces and doing other military damage; and (5) spreading fear for international effects.



12.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write briefly about the meaning of terrorism.

Q. 2: Write briefly about Rapoport's four waves of terrorism.

Q. 3: Explain the causes responsible for the emergence of terrorism.

Q. 4: Discuss the growth of international terrorism.

Q. 5: make a note on the strategies adopted by the terror groups.

Q. 6: Analyse the measures adopted at the international level to combat terrorism.

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UNIT 13: GLOBALIZATION (WTO) AND ITS IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning of Globalization

13.4 Globalization and International Politics

13.4.1 Historical Background of Globalization

13.4.2 Impact of Globalization on International Politics

13.5 IMF, World Bank and WTO

13.5.1 The Role of IMF, World Bank and WTO in Globalization

13.6 Let Us Sum Up

13.7 Further Reading

13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.9 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of globalization
- explain the historical background of globalization
- discuss the impact of globalization on international politics
- describe the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organization
- describe the role of International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organization in globalization.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

The concept of "globalization" has become very popular in recent times. Globalization is a multidimensional concept, which has political, economic and cultural manifestations. In this unit, we shall discuss the concept of globalization and discuss its various aspects. We shall also look

into the role of certain inter-governmental organizations and instruments, namely the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organization in globalization.

13.3 MEANING OF GLOBALISATION

"Globalisation is the process whereby social relations acquire relatively distance-less and borderless qualities." -Baylis and Smith

Globalization is a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through the movement of goods, services, and capital across borders. The term sometimes also refers to the movement of people (labour) and knowledge (technology) across international borders. There are also broader cultural, political, and environmental dimensions of globalization. The term "globalization" began to be used more commonly in the 1980s, reflecting technological advances that made it easier and quicker to complete international transactions-both trade and financial flows.

Globalisation is the ongoing process that is linking people, neighbourhoods, cities, regions and countries much more closely together than they have ever been before. This has resulted in our lives being intertwined with people in all parts of the world via the food we eat, the clothing we wear, the music we listen to, the information we get and the ideas we hold. This interconnectedness amongst humans on the planet is sometimes also referred to as the 'global village' where the barriers of national and international boundaries become less relevant and the world, figuratively, a smaller place. The process is driven economically by international financial flows and trade, technologically by information technology and mass media entertainment, and very significantly, also by very human means such as cultural exchanges, migration and international tourism. As one commentator remarked, we now live in a networked world. While globalisation is not a new process, it has accelerated rapidly since World War II, and is having many effects on people, the environment, cultures, national governments, economic development and human well-being in countries around the world. The aim of globalisation is to secure socio- economic integration and development of

all the people of the world through a free flow of goods, services, information, knowledge and people across all boundaries. Globalisation is seen as a conscious and active process of expanding business and trade across the borders of all the states. It stands for expanding cross-border facilities and economic linkages. This is to be done with a view to secure an integration of economic interests and activities of the people living in all parts of the world. The objective of making the world a truly inter-related, inter-dependent, developed global village governs the on-going process of globalisation.

Therefore, it is the concept of securing real social economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world. It represents the desire to move from national to a global sphere of economic and political activity. It seeks to transform the existing international economic system into a unified system of global economics. In the existing system, national economies are the major players. In the new system, the globalized economic and political activity will ensure sustainable development for the whole world.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: What is Globalisation?

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Q 2: What is Eonomic Globalisation? (within 50 words).

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13.4 GLOBALISATION AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

13.4.1 Historical Background of Globalization

In the 1991, the world was going through changes where the socialist economy, in particular, the Soviet economy and its political system was collapsing. Even Perestroika and Glasnost could not

save the USSR. It collapsed as a state. The weaknesses of the socialist economic model became fully clear. All the socialist countries of Europe began witnessing a process of overthrow of socialist systems. Liberalization of politics and economy came to be recognized as the necessity of the day. All countries of the world began realizing the merits of the market economy, free trade, privatization, liberalization, delicensing and deregulation of trade, industry and business. Even newly independent countries like India, for example, In July 1991 the Government of India decided to go in for liberalisation of economy. A new economic policy was formulated and implemented with an emphasis upon economic reforms. It was known as LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation).These were governed by the principles of liberalisation, privatisation, market economy, free trade, deregulation and de-licensing.

These reforms paved the way for initiating the process of liberalisation and globalisation of economy. It began developing as an outwardly open economy, with the aim of linking, integrating and unifying domestic economy with world economy. This changes were adopted by most of the states in the world.

13.4.2 Impact of Globalization on International Politics

Globalization is about interchange and movement of trade, about ideas, communication, economic and financial integration. It implies opening up of local and nationalistic perspectives to a broader outlook wherein there is greater interconnectedness and interdependence. Through free transfer of capital, goods and services, the local economy is connected to the global economy. Many of the economies in the world are now liberalized, thereby they have opened their economies for foreign Direct Foreign Investments. At present the world is inter dependent and interconnected.

Hence, globalization has provided whereby one country can make capital investments in and transfer technology to another country and the latter could then produce goods previously unavailable in that

country. Thus, the investing country gets the profit and the other country gets jobs for the local population. Globalization has made resources available to anyone anywhere. Again, due to the reduction of import duties and other tariffs due to globalization, countries began to trade for goods that were cheaper to import than to produce locally. This has led to nations becoming interdependent. So, when a country decides to commit aggression against another country, it might affect its trade with that country as well as its allies. In short, this has made war less attractive and established peace among nations.

One major political impact of globalisation is the transformation of sovereignty. Certain sections of scholars have opined that globalisation leads to the end of the nation state. National control over jurisdiction becomes problematic. According to this section of scholars, globalisation results in erosion of state capacity and all over the world, the old welfare state is now giving way to a more minimalist state that performs certain core functions such as maintenance of law and order and the security of the citizens. In place of the welfare state, it is the market that becomes the prime determinant of economic and social priorities. Transnational organisations like the World Bank, IMF have restricted the power of the state in terms of economic policies. The world wide links among the economic institutions and production operations have resulted in the dilution of national barriers to the movement of capital, services and people. However, the primacy of the state is still acknowledged as there is also a need for an authority to regulate the free market. As a matter of fact, free trade has made states interdependent on one another and broadened their perspectives. They have become more outward looking and liberal in their outlook.

The impact globalisation can be seen on the cultural side also. Our lifestyle has been tremendously affected by the new trends of globalisation. Globalisation leads to the rise of uniform culture or what is called cultural homogenisation. However certain segments of scholars have argued that the uniform culture is indeed the

imposition of Western culture on the rest of the world. The culture of politically and economically dominant society leaves its imprint on the less powerful society. It threatens to shrink the rich cultural heritage of the world.

However it would be wrong to assume that cultural impact of globalisation is negative only. Culture is a dynamic thing. It keeps on changing by accepting outside influences. We cannot call all outside influences as negative. These influences simply enlarge our choices. Globalization has united different cultures and made it into something different, one may say more cohesive one. It makes each culture more unique and distinct. This is called cultural heterogenisation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Write briefly about the impact of globalization?

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13.5 IMF, WORLD BANK AND WTO

- **International Monetary Fund**

International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international monetary institution established by different countries after World War - II at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 where delegates from all allied nations met to regulate the international monetary and financial order after the end of World War-II. The IMF was established with the objective of providing exchange stability throughout the world and increasing liquidity (whereby assets and securities could be quickly bought or sold in the market at stable prices) so that balanced multilateral trade is promoted through the cooperation of the member nations.

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

- **Objectives of IMF**

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

(i) To promote international monetary co-operation,
(ii) To ensure stability in foreign exchange rates,
(iii) To eliminate exchange control, (
(iv) To establish a system of multilateral trade and payment system,
(v) To promote international trade,
(vi) To help member-nations to achieve balanced economic growth,
(vii) To eliminate or to reduce the disequilibrium in the balance of payments and
(viii) To promote investment of capital in backward and underdeveloped countries.

- **World Bank**

The World Bank is an international financial institution that provides loans to countries of the world for capital projects. It was established at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 along with the IMF. The World Bank has two institutions- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). The World Bank was set up in July 1945 began its operations in June 1946. Like the IMF , 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 Agreement are as follows:

(i) 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) ;

(ii) 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 ; and

(iii) To promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade and the maintenance of equilibrium in balance of payments by encouraging international investment for the development of the productive resources of the members, thereby assisting in raising productivity, the standard of living and conditions of labour in their territories.

- **World Trade Organization**

The World Trade Organization or the WTO is an intergovernmental organization which regulates international trade by providing a framework for negotiating trade agreements 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, 1995 under the Marrakesh Agreement, signed by 123 nations on 15 April 1994 thereby replacing its predecessor, namely the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which was previously the only multilateral instrument governing international trade from 1946 to 1995.

The WTO has its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. The WTO has nearly 153 members accounting for over 97% of world trade. Around 30 others are negotiating membership. Decisions are made by the entire membership.

- **Objectives of WTO**

a) To improve the standard of living of people in the member countries.

b) To ensure full employment and broad increase in effective demand.

c) To enlarge production and trade of goods.

d) To increase the trade of services.

- **Functions of WTO**

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. The WTO acts as a forum for negotiating agreements with a view to reducing obstacles

to international trade, thereby ensuring a level playing field for all.WTO therefore, provides a legal and institutional framework for implementation, administration and operation of the multilateral agrrements (to which all WTO members are parties) and plurilateral agreements (to which only some WTO members are parties) of world trade as well as for settling disputes arising from the interpretation and application of such agreements. WTO provides a platform to member countries to decide future strategies related to trade and tariff. It even assists international organizations such as, IMF and IBRD for establishing coherence in determining a universal economic.

13.5.1 Role of IMF, World Bank and WTO in globalization

The IMF has played a key role in the age of globalization in the matter of fostering growth and economic stability. It has rendered valuable policy advice to the member countries and extended financial assistance to them enabling them to reduce poverty and achieve economic stability. The World Bank through its two institutions, namely, IBRD and IDA has extended loans and grants to middle and low income countries with a view to promoting financial growth in these countries, build institutions and alleviate poverty and achieve sustainable development. Economic stability and sustainable development in turn contribute towards achieving the goals of globalization in the true sense in terms of helping more and more people avail themselves of the fruits of globalization.

Thus the two institutions namely, IMF and World Bank has played a significant role in globalization by trying to promote global monetary cooperation, achieve financial stability, facilitate international trade while generating jobs around the world and reducing poverty across the globe.

At the Singapore Ministerial conference many euphoric statements were made about the achievements of globalization and the WTO's contribution to this process. Globalization is not only the result of technical innovations, capital flows, the geographic spread

of production processes and other company strategies to improve profit-making worldwide, but political decisions by governments to remove institutional barriers to international trade and capital flows and to provide incentives for companies have also supported the globalization process: at the national level through unilateral liberalization and structural adjustments for export-led growth, and through labour and social policy reform; at the regional and multilateral levels, through agreements on trade and investment liberalization.

The WTO is the most important regulator of trade at the international level and also sets the terms within which regional agreements can be signed. In this way, globalization is managed at world level from a trade perspective.

The WTO has played an important role in shaping out trade as an element for achieving higher development goals for all the developing countries, however, impact of this global organization varies from country to country even within the category of the developing nations because of different economic circumstances.

The WTO as a global organization has helped the developing nations to participate in world economic arena. It is a forum to all types of developing countries to compete for the quality of their goods and services with those of others. Therefore, it helps to improve the quality of life in a nation. Apart from strengthening economic relationship among countries, it has helped trade and development go hand in hand.

In short, the biggest positive impact which globalization has had on developing countries is that it has helped them in securing a market for their manufacturing goods which has enhanced exports from developing countries at a higher pace. It has also played a significant role in providing technical assistance, knowledge of quality goods and access to newer technologies to the developing nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: World Trade Organization has 20 members. (True/False)

.....

Q 5: Mention any two objectives of WTO .

.....

.....

Q 6: WTO was established in the year…….....

(Fill in the Blank)

Q 7: Explain the functions of WTO (within 50 words).

.....

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.....

.....

.....



13.6 LET US SUM UP

- Globalization is a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress.
- It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through the movement of goods, services, and capital across borders.
- Globalisation is the ongoing process that is linking people, neighbourhoods, cities, regions and countries much more closely together than they have ever been before. This has resulted in our lives being intertwined with people in all parts of the world via the food we eat, the clothing we wear, the music we listen to, the information we get and the ideas we hold.
- This interconnectedness amongst humans on the planet is sometimes also referred to as the 'global village' where the barriers of national

and international boundaries become less relevant and the world, figuratively, a smaller place.

- , The concept is of securing real social economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world.
- It represents the desire to move from national to a global sphere of economic and political activity. It seeks to transform the existing international economic system into a unified system of global economics.
- In the existing system, national economies are the major players. In the new system, the globalized economic and political activity will ensure sustainable development for the whole world.
- Globalization has provided investments and technology and another produces goods. One gets the profit and the other jobs. Globalization brought peace to the world. Globalization made every resource available to anyone anywhere.
- So the countries began to trade for goods that were cheaper to import than to produce locally. This lead to nations becoming interdependent.
- The World Trade Organization or the WTO is an international organization focused on opening trade between different countries, and is viewed as one of the largest trade organization in international relations. It was officially constituted on January 1, 1995. It has its headquarters in Geneva Switzerland.
- The WTO has nearly 153 members accounting for over 97% of world trade. Around 30 others are negotiating membership.
- WTO therefore, implement rules and provisions related to trade policy review mechanism. It provides a platform to member countries to decide future strategies related to trade and tariff.
- It facilities for implementation, administration and operation of multilateral and bilateral agreements of the world trade.

- It administers the rules and processes related to dispute settlement. It even assists international organizations such as, IMF and IBRD for establishing coherence in Universal Economic Policy determination.
- The WTO is the most important regulator of trade at international level and also sets the terms within which regional agreements can be signed. In this way, globalization is managed at world level from a trade perspective.
- The WTO has played an important role in shaping out the trade as an element for achieving higher development goals for all the developing countries, however, impact of this global organization varies from country to country even within the category of the developing nations because of different economic circumstances.
- The WTO as a global organization has helped the developing nations to participate in world economic arena. It is a forum to all types of developing countries to compete the quality of their goods and services with those of others. Therefore, it helps to improve the quality of life in a nation. Apart from strengthening economic relationship among countries, it has helped the trade and development go hand in hand.
- In short, the biggest positive impact which it has on developing countries is that it has helped them in providing market for the manufacturing goods which has enhanced the exports at a higher pace. It has also played significant role in providing technical assistance, knowledge of quality goods, and access to newer technologies to the developing nations.



13.7 FURTHER READING

1) Acocella, Nicola, (2005), Eonomic Policy in the age of Globalisation: Cambridge University Press.
2) Myneni, S. R., (2010), World trade Organization: Asia Law House, New Delhi.

3) The World Trade Organization (WTO) available at http://www.ifg.org/wto.html, last visited on 10/9/17.

4) Ganesh, G. and Sumathy, M. (2012), Globalisation and Consumerism: Issues and Challenges: New Delhi.



13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Globalization is the ongoing process that is linking people, neighborhoods, cities, regions and countries much more closely together than they have ever been before. This has resulted in our lives being intertwined with people in all parts of the world. This interconnectedness amongst humans on the planet is sometimes also referred to as the 'global village' where the barriers of national and international boundaries become less relevant and the world, figuratively, a smaller place.

Ans to Q No 2: Economic globalization refers to the free movement of goods, capital, services, technology and information. It is the increasing economic integration and interdependence of national, regional, and local economies across the world through an intensification of cross-border movement of goods, services, technologies and capital. Economic globalization primarily comprises the globalization of production, finance, markets, technology, organizational regimes, institutions, corporations, and labour.

Ans to Q No 3: Globalization is about interchange and movement of trade, about ideas, communication, economic and financial integration. It implies opening up of local and nationalistic perspectives to a broader outlook wherein there is greater interconnectedness and interdependence. Through free transfer of capital, goods and services, the local economy is connected to the global economy. Many of the economies in the world are now liberalized, thereby they have opened their economies for foreign Direct Foreign Investments. At present

the world is inter dependent and interconnected.

Hence, globalization has provided whereby one country can make capital investments in and transfer technology to another country and the latter could then produce goods previously unavailable in that country. Thus, the investing country gets the profit and the other country gets jobs for the local population. Globalization has made resources available to anyone anywhere. Again, due to the reduction of import duties and other tariffs due to globalization, countries began to trade for goods that were cheaper to import than to produce locally. This has led to nations becoming interdependent. So, when a country decides to commit aggression against another country, it might affect its trade with that country as well as its allies. In short, this has made war less attractive.

The impact globalisation can be seen on the cultural side also. Our lifestyle has been tremendously affected by the new trends of globalisation. Globalisation leads to the rise of uniform culture or what is called cultural homogenisation. However certain segments of scholars have argued that the uniform culture is indeed the imposition of Western culture on the rest of the world. The culture of politically and economically dominant society leaves its imprint on the less powerful society. It threatens to shrink the rich cultural heritage of the world.

However it would be wrong to assume that cultural impact of globalisation is negative only. Culture is a dynamic thing. It keeps on changing by accepting outside influences. We cannot call all outside influences as negative. These influences simply enlarge our choices. Globalization has united different cultures and made it into something different, one may say more cohesive one. It makes each culture more unique and distinct. This is called cultural heterogenisation.

Ans to Q No 4: False.

Ans to Q No 5:

(a) To improve the standard of living of people in the member countries.

(b) To ensure full employment and broad increase in effective demand.

Ans to Q No 6: January 1, 1995.

Ans to Q No 7: The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. The WTO acts as a forum for negotiating agreements with a view to reducing obstacles to international trade, thereby ensuring a level playing field for all.WTO therefore, provides a legal and institutional framework for implementation, administration and operation of the multilateral agrrements (to which all WTO members are parties) and plurilateral agreements (to which only some WTO members are parties) of world trade as well as for settling disputes arising from the interpretation and application of such agreements. WTO provides a platform to member countries to decide future strategies related to trade and tariff. It even assists international organizations such as, IMF and IBRD for establishing coherence in determining a universal economic.



13.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write the meaning of LPG?

Q. 2: Mention the objectives of WTO.

Q. 3: Write a brief note on Liberalisation.

Q. 4: Write short notes on the historical background of globalization.

Q. 5: Examine the role of WTO.

Q. 6: Explain the meaning of globalisation and its impact.

Q. 7: Write a note on the relevance of globalisation.

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UNIT 14: INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS AND SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Environmental Issues in the Contemporary Period : Emission of Greenhouse Gases and Climate Change

14.3.1 Initiatives of the World Community-UNFCCC, Kyoto Protocol

14.4 Concept of Sustainable Human Development

14.4.1 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

14.5 Let Us Sum Up

14.6 Further Reading

14.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

14.8 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- examine some of the international environmental concerns
- explain the issue of emission of greenhouse gases and climate change
- discuss the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol
- discuss the concept of sustainable human development.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

The forces of Globalization and development have had an impact upon the natural and physical environment across the world. Global environmental changes have become more visible in the recent times. This has also led to some 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. This unit will attempt to discuss one of the serious environmental problems, climate change. The unit will also explain the efforts at international levels to save the environment including the some major international environmental summits. Finally the unit will focus on the concepts of sustainable human development.

14.3 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES IN THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD : EMISSION OF GREENHOUSE GASES AND CLIMATE CHANGE

The climate has been changing from time to time, the change in the statistical distribution of weather patterns and when that change last for an extended period of time can be considered as a climate change, it is a change in average weather conditions, or in the time variation of weather within the context of longer term average conditions. The climate has been affected by both the human (Greenhouse Gases) and the natural activities (variation in solar radiations, volcanic eruption). Factors that can shape climate are called climate forcing or forcing mechanisms. The debate about climate change today is not about whether it will happen or not (there is a worldwide consensus that climate change is already happening) but about the magnitude of effects and the best way of responding to climate change. While there is a wide consensus that there is a need to cut greenhouse gas emissions worldwide, the modalities for achieving this is still under discussion. The Kyoto Protocol is a first and important step in this direction, but is still only a very small step. The need to take drastic measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions remain, and at the end of the current commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol (2012), there is a need for a new, more far reaching global accord on how to tackle the climate change issue. Human activities are releasing greenhouse gases (GHG) into the atmosphere. There is no debate at all that the amount and concentration of greenhouse gases in atmosphere has increased significantly in the past century and that this is attributable to human activities, such as energy use, transport and agriculture.

- **Climate Change as a Global Issue:**

Climate change is a global issue and a global problem requires global solutions. The following points will highlight the consequences of climate change:

(a) Rising levels of Greenhouse Gases are already changing the climate. There is ample evidence that the average temperature in the atmosphere and in the oceans has increased over the past 100 years. The increase correlates very well with the increased concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

(b) Climate models predict the global temperature will rise by about 1, 4 to 5, 8 degrees by 2100. The global climate system has a long response time, which is why all models predict increasing temperatures even if all emissions were cut immediately. In reality, the global total amount of greenhouse gas emissions is still increasing and the predicted temperature increase is therefore more likely to be towards the higher end of the predicted range.

(c) Climate change is likely to have a significant impact on the global environment. Climate change is estimated to have far reaching consequences including increased sea levels inundating large land areas, reduced food productivity in many regions, increased range of tropical diseases, reduced access to fresh water, increased frequency of storms and extreme weather events, and so on. The economic costs only to remediate the impact of climate change are estimated at trillions of US$.

According to recently published global study, India is among countries which are at greatest risk of food insecurity due to weather extremes caused by climate change. The study had examined how climate change could affect vulnerability of different countries mainly 122 developing and least-developed countries (mostly in Asia, Africa, and South America) to food insecurity- when people lack access to sufficient quantity of affordable, nutritious food. It examined projected changes in weather extremes and their implications for freshwater availability and vulnerability to food insecurity.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Climate change is a global issue and a global problem requires global solutions. (True/False)

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Q 2: What is climate change?

.....

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Q 3: Mention any two consequences of climate change.

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14.3.1 Initiatives of the World Community-UNFCCC, Kyoto Protocol

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) sets an overall framework for intergovernmental efforts to tackle the challenge posed by climate change. It recognizes that the climate system is a shared resource whose stability can be affected by industrial and other emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. The Convention enjoys near universal membership, with 189 countries having ratified.

Under the Convention, governments shall :

- gather and share information on greenhouse gas emissions, national policies and best practices
- launch national strategies for addressing greenhouse gas emissions and adapting to expected impacts, including the

provision of financial and technological support to developing countries

- cooperate in preparing for adaptation to the impacts of climate change.

The Convention was launched at the occasion of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (also known as the "Earth Summit" or the "Rio Conference") and entered into force on 21st March 1994.

Annexure I of the Convention identifies countries (in principle developed countries) that have an obligation to take measures (policies etc) to reduce their GHG emissions (no target specified) and to increase GHG sink, such as forests. Annex I countries also have to provide regular reports on their GHG emissions (GHG inventory) and on measures they have taken to reduce them.

Annexure II identifies countries that are obliged to financially support developing countries to meet their obligations under UNFCCC. This is first and foremost the requirement to establish a national inventory of GHG emissions.

The Kyoto protocol is part of the Convention and specifies emission reduction goals for (some) countries, and provides supporting financial mechanisms to achieve those goals. While the Kyoto Protocol is part of UNFCCC it is also a much more demanding agreement than UNFCCC itself. For this reason, not every country that have signed UNFCCC have also signed the Kyoto protocol (with USA being the most well known example).

(a) Institutional framework

In the following section we shall discuss how the UNFCCC relates to other world organizations in dealing with climate change:

In 1988, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) jointly established the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) as concern over climate change became a political issue.

The purpose of the IPCC was to assess the state of knowledge on the various aspects of climate change including science, environmental and socio-economic impacts and response strategies.

The IPCC is recognized as the most authoritative scientific and technical voice on climate change, and its assessments had a profound influence on the negotiators of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its Kyoto Protocol. The IPCC is organized into three working groups plus a task force on national greenhouse gas (GHG) inventories. Each of these four bodies has two co-chairmen (one from a developed and one from a developing country) and a technical support unit. Working Group I assesses the scientific aspects of the climate system and climate change; Working Group II addresses the vulnerability of human and natural systems to climate change, the negative and positive consequences of climate change, and options for adapting to them; and Working Group III assesses options for limiting greenhouse gas emissions and otherwise mitigating climate change, as well as economic issues.

Approximately 400 experts from some 120 countries are directly involved in drafting, revising and finalizing the IPCC reports and another 2,500 experts participate in the review process. The IPCC authors are nominated by governments and by international organizations including NGOs.

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Convention is the foundation of global efforts to combat global warming. Opened for signature in 1992 at the Rio Earth Summit, its ultimate objective is the 'stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic human-induced interference with the climate system. The Convention's supreme body is the Conference of the Parties (COP), which comprises the

197 states that have ratified or acceded to the agreement. In addition, the Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SBSTA) provides the COP with timely information and advice on scientific and technological matters relating to the Convention. The Subsidiary Body for Implementation (SBI) helps with the assessment and review of the Convention's implementation.

(b) Organization of the Convention

In the following section we shall discuss the organizational set-up of UNFCCC:

Conference of Parties: It is the main governing and decision-making body, facilitate information exchange and activities implemented jointly (AIJ). Meetings are held every year.

Secretariat: It serves bodies of both the UNFCCC and KP, provides implementation assistance to parties

Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice: It links scientific, technical and technological assessments, the information provided by competent international bodies, and the policy-oriented needs of the COP

Subsidiary Body for Implementation: It develops recommendations to assist the COP in the review and assessment of the implementation of the Convention and in the preparation and implementation of its decisions

Joint Working Group on Compliance (JWG): It develops procedures and mechanisms relating to a compliance system

Relevant international bodies:

Some other international organisations which work in the field of climate change are- Global Environment Facility (GEF) - financing of projects, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) - research on climate change measurement and impacts, National UNFCCC focal points, National CDM authorities.

National level actors :

Although not mandated by UNFCCC, almost all countries have

established National Focal Points (NFP) for their work with UNFCCC and climate change more generally. Depending on the local circumstances the NFP may be and individual organization or department within the Government (often the ministry of environment), by inter-ministerial work groups, or by nation-wide networks. It is not uncommon that while communications and interaction with UNFCCC is kept within one organization, the execution of tasks related to obligations under UNFCCC is distributed among many organizations.

In addition, to participate in the flexible mechanisms (Clean Development Mechanism - CDM, Joint Implementation - JI, and emission trading) countries are required to establish specific governmental focal points that are responsible for providing governmental input to the approval and registration process of CDM and JI projects . These national organizations, also called "Designated National Authority" are often but not necessarily the same as the UNFCCC national focal points.

Kyoto Protocol

Recognizing that the provisions of UNFCCC itself was not far-reaching enough to actually achieve the goals to limit the climate change effect to harmless levels, the parties to UNFCCC adopted in 1997 the Kyoto Protocol. The key feature of the Kyoto Protocol is that it commits developed countries that have signed the protocol to limit their emissions to specific levels as compared to their emissions in 1990.

Since some countries, notably USA, which is by far the largest single source of GHG, decided not to sign the protocol, it took almost eight years before the protocol came into effect. However, most countries started preparing for meeting the commitments under the Kyoto Protocol immediately after they had themselves ratified the protocol, even if the protocol had not yet come into effect.

A market-based instrument

The Kyoto Protocol commits countries to limit their emissions

by 2012 as compared to their emissions in 1990. Each country have their own specific target, ranging from a reduction of 8% to an increase of 8%. In reality countries that have a commitment of an increase of emissions (compared to 1990 levels) did in 1997 already far exceed these levels, so the commitment does still require a emission reduction for these countries.

Within the European Union, the emission reduction commitments have been redistributed, so that EU as a whole still meet its commitments, but so that emission reductions are achieved in countries that are most suitable to achieve them, while still meeting other EU goals (on economic development etc). Thus some countries in EU have an actual emission reduction commitment of over 20 % (e.g. Denmark|) while others are allowed to increase their emissions in the same range (e.g. Portugal).

The Kyoto Protocol includes two Annexes:

- Annex A: outlines gases and sources targeted for reduction.
- Annex B: specific emission targets for each country

The emission targets are based on the baseline of each country's GHG emissions in 1990. The target is defined as "the average annual GHG emission of the years from 2008 to 2012". This is to avoid any annual fluctuations having a too big impact on the ability of countries to reach their committed emission levels.

There are no emission targets for developing countries (non Annex I countries - Annex I is here referring to Annex I in UNFCCC). However, the Kyoto Protocol allows Annex I (developed) countries to undertake emission reduction projects in developing countries and use the achieved emission reductions abroad to be counted to contribute to their own domestic emission reduction commitments. This process is called the Clean Development mechanism - CDM.

Annex I countries may also undertake emission reduction projects in other Annex I countries and benefit from the emission reductions in the same way as under CDM. This process is called Joint Implementation - JI. Most developed countries are under

pressure to achieve their commitment and would have problems accepting JI projects in their own country, as it essentially means transferring emission reduction credits to other countries. It is in reality only Economies in transition (former Soviet Union block countries) that, due to their industrial and economic collapse in mid-1990's, have already achieved their emission targets, and therefore can afford to allow other countries to use their emission reduction opportunities through JI.

Green House Gases covered by the Kyoto Protocol are:

CO2Carbon dioxide

CH4Methane

N2ONitrous Oxide

SF6 Sulphur hexafluoride

PFCs Perfluorocarbones

HFCs Hydrofluorocarbons

Each GHG has its own Global Warming Potential. The Global Warming Potential (GWP) is the warming effect that one unit of a GHG has as compared to the same unit of the GHG carbon dioxide (CO2). 1 Kg of methane (CH4) has for example the same warming potential as 23 Kg of CO2.

In order to have only one unit to refer to when talking about GHG, the amount of GHG is measured as "CO2 equivalents". It means that instead of saying that we have emitted 1 kg of CH4, we say that we have emitted 23 kg of CO2 equivalents (of CH4). So even if we are always referring to CO2 equivalents when we are talking about GHG, we may in fact not at all refer to CO2 but to any of the Green House Gases.

Even though methane and nitrous oxide have much higher GWPs than carbon dioxide, because their concentration in the atmosphere is much lower, carbon dioxide remains the most important greenhouse gas, contributing about 60% to the enhancement of the greenhouse effect.

There are several other GHG than the ones included in the

Kyoto Protocol. Water vapour is the most abundant greenhouse gas. However, human activities have little direct impact on its concentration in the atmosphere. Some other GHG that have a high GWP have also a big impact on the ozone layer and are therefore already covered by the efforts to phase these out by the Montreal protocol (1987 protect stratospheric ozone layer by phasing out the production and consumption of ozone- depleting substances).

The Kyoto flexible mechanisms are offering alternative ways for companies and other stakeholder to achieve their emission commitments, than by achieving them through in-house reductions. The reason for a company to consider pursuing emissions reductions outside their own operations is that the cost to achieve them through CDM or JI may be cheaper. In this way the flexible mechanisms support a market that will seek to achieve emission reductions globally where they are least expensive. From the perspective of business, the Kyoto Flexible mechanisms offer considerable potential advantages, if they can identify GHG emission reduction opportunities in their operations.

It should be noted that while the Flexible mechanisms are established to assist in reducing GHG emissions, a second explicit objective is to support sustainable development in non-Annex I countries. A prerequisite for CDM projects to be approved is therefore that they also benefit the receiving (non-Annex I) country through technology transfer, poverty alleviation etc

- **Financial Assistance**

UNFCCC and the Kyoto protocol provides for several channels of financial assistance to support developing countries meeting the challenge of climate change.

The special climate change fund will finance activities relating to climate change in the areas of adaptation; technology transfer; energy, transport, industry, agriculture, forestry and waste management; as well as activities to assist developing countries whose economies are highly dependent on income generated from

fossil fuels in diversifying their economies. The least developed countries fund will support a work programme for LDCs. The adaptation fund, operating under the Kyoto Protocol, will be financed from the "share of the proceeds" on the clean development mechanism and other sources of funding. Several Annex II Parties have already pledged to collectively contribute US$410 million a year to the funds by 2005.

The Convention specifies that Annex II Parties shall provide financial assistance to developing countries to enable them to address climate change and adapt to its adverse effects (Article 4.3 and 4.4). It establishes a financial mechanism to channel such financial assistance to developing countries, which is currently operated by the Global Environment Facility.

- **Assistance at National Level :**

As indicated above there is a wide range of commitments for countries that have signed on to the Kyoto protocol and/or UNFCCC. There are mainly two groups (with a few exceptions) of countries with different commitments: Annex I countries (mostly developed countries) that have more far reaching commitments, including emission reductions and support to developing countries, and non-Annex I countries that have no emission reduction commitments under the Kyoto protocol, but are still committed to report their GHG inventories, and also are committed under UNFCCC in more general terms to seek to limit their emissions.

In both Annex I and non-Annex I countries there are clear opportunities and needs for providing assistance in meeting commitments, e.g. in preparing inventories for the national GHG reporting, in providing technical assistance in industry and other concerned sectors, in providing training and capacity building and so on.

While the need for support is most accentuated in developing countries, the pressure on developed countries to meet their emission limit commitments should not be under estimated. The Kyoto Protocol

prescribes that for each tonne of GHG (CO2 equivalent) that the country exceeds its limits in the commitment period (2008-2012), the country will need to reduce this at a factor 1.3 in the next commitment period. In other words, countries that are not meeting their commitments in this period will get punished with an extra stringent emission limit in the next period.

GHG Indicator :

The GHG Indicator is a tool developed by UNEP to assist Businesses and Non-Commercial Organizations to calculate / estimate their GHG emissions, and so stimulate action to reduce them. The GHG calculator provides a guide for users on what type of emissions to consider how to put boundaries for activities to be included in the calculation, as well as "best estimates" for some types of information that may not be readily available in the company. Results are presented in data tables as well as in graphic series.

GERIAP:

Greenhouse Gas emission Reduction from Industry in Asia and the Pacific (GERIAP) is a UNEP project supported by the Government of Sweden, aiming at developing resources and tools for industry to pursue energy efficiency improvements through the CP approach. The project was designed to provide motivation and tools to industry to take action to reduce their GHG emissions regardless whether there are supporting signals coming from the Kyoto protocol or not.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change enjoys near universal membership, with 189 countries having ratified. (True/False)

.....

Q 5: What is the full form of UNFCCC?

.....

Q 6: Mention one provision of the Kyoto Protocol.

.....

.....

.....

14.4 CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

With the growth of the modern industrial technology humans have made great progress in many areas. Humans have entered space to know its mystery. The advance technology of communication had turned the whole globe into a village for a substantial number of people in the world. Growth of technology has made a significant contribution in the development process. With the advent of modern technology, it has caused a serious damage to the physical environment by irrational use of exhaustible resources. There is an existence of poverty and unemployment everywhere. Rajni Kothari (1990:3) argues that "human progress has been held up or distorted and diverted into wrong channels". There arises the need of an alternative model of development and the concept of sustainable development has figured very prominence in this approach.

The United Nations defines sustainability as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs. It embraces the concern of quality of life (not just based on income growth) for equity between people (including the prevention of poverty) and for intergenerational equity (providing future generations with the environment we enjoy, if not improved). An example of how sustainable development can be promoted is the education of farmers to produce successful crops without going into debt and at the same time teaching them about crop rotation so that they do not exhaust their land.

The two major perspectives of sustainable development are - Ecological and Social. Sustainable development refers to a process which lays emphasis on conservation, renewal and enrichment of the physical environment and its resources like land, forest, water, air, etc. it requires control over damage of resources and of pollution to an environment.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been bringing out annually since 1990 Human Development Report (HDR). The

sustainable development has got an important place in this report. The HDR 1994 (1994:19) Clarifies that "sustainable development may sometimes be interpreted to mean that the present level and pattern of development should be sustained for future generations". Sustainable development demands a close scrutiny of the close link between global poverty and global sustainability. It recognizes the fact that the very poor often do not have resources to avoid degrading their environment in their struggle for daily survival. Moreover the accumulation of human capital would replace some forms of exhaustible resources and thus make significant contribution to sustainability.

Sustainable human development claims to put "people at the centre of development". It holds that pattern of development that perpetuate today's inequity are neither sustainable nor worth sustaining. Its essence is that "everyone should have equal access to development opportunities-now and in future" (HDR 1994:19). The indicators composing the Human Development Index (HDI) reflect that though the philosophy of sustainable human development is grandiose, its purpose is very limited at concrete level. HDI has got three components- longevity; knowledge; and standard of living whereas these are mainly quantitative measure of minimum needs but human wellbeing involves much more. The main emphasis of sustainable human development is transparency, equity, good governance, inclusiveness and judicious use of natural resources. If the development process encompasses all these aspects, then goals of sustainable human development can be achieved.

14.4.1 Sustainable Development Goals

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also known as the Global Goals for Sustainable Development are a set of 17 global goals laid out by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015. The goals are interdependent in nature and cover a wide range of issues . The goals are as follows:

Goal 1: No poverty

Goal 2: Zero hunger

Goal 3: Good health and well-being for people

Goal 4: Quality education

Goal 5: Gender equality

Goal 6: Clean water and sanitation

Goal 7: Affordable and clean energy

Goal 8: Decent work and economic growth

Goal 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

Goal 10: Reducing inequalities

Goal 11: Sustainable cities and communities

Goal 12: Responsible consumption and production

Goal 13: Climate action

Goal 14: Life below water

Goal 15: Life on land

Goal 16: Peace, justice and strong institutions

Goal 17: Partnerships for the goals

A total of 193 nations have ratified the SDGs including India. All signatory nations have expresed their commitment towards fulfillment of the above mentions goals. However, it could be stated that different nations have been able to achieve different levels of attainment with respect to the 17 goals.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: What are the components of the HDI?

.....

.....

Q 8: What is sustainable development?

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14.5 LET US SUM UP

- Climate change is a global issue and a global problem requires global solutions.
- The climate has been affected by both the human (greenhouse gases) and the natural activities (variation in solar radiations, volcanic eruption).
- The United Nations has adopted a number of measures to deal with the problem of climate change.
- The Kyoto protocol is a first and important step in this direction, but is still only a very small step.
- Sustainable human development claims to put "people at the centre of development". The main emphasis of sustainable human development is transparency, equity, good governance, inclusiveness and judicious use of natural resources. If the development process encompasses all these aspects, then goals of sustainable human development can be achieved.



14.6 FURTHER READING

1) Chander, Prakash, & Arora, Prem.(2005). Comparative Politics and International Relations. New Delhi: Cosmos Bookhive (P) Ltd.
2) Ghai, K.K. (2010): International Relations - Theory and Practice. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
3) Ghosh, Peu. (2009). International Relations. New Delhi: PHI Learning pvt. Ltd.
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14.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: The climate has been changing from time to time, the change in the statistical distribution of weather patterns and when that change last for an extended period of time can be considered as a climate change, it is a change in average weather conditions, or in the time variation of weather within the context of longer term average conditions.

Ans to Q No 3:

(i) Increased sea levels inundating large land areas.

(ii) reduced food productivity in many regions

Ans to Q No 4: True

Ans to Q No 5: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Ans to Q No 6: Kyoto Protocol commits developed countries that have signed the protocol to limit their GHG emissions to specific levels as compared to their emissions in 1990.

Ans to Q No 7: longevity; knowledge; and standard of living

Ans to Q No 8: Sustainable human development claims to put "people at the centre of development". It holds that pattern of development that perpetuate today's inequity are neither sustainable nor worth sustaining. Its essence is that "everyone should have equal access to development opportunities-now and in future" (HDR 1994:19). The indicators composing the Human Development Index (HDI) reflect that though the philosophy of sustainable human development is grandiose, its purpose is very limited at concrete level. HDI has got three components- longevity; knowledge; and standard of living whereas these are mainly quantitative measure of minimum needs but human wellbeing involves much more. The main emphasis of sustainable human development is transparency, equity, good

governance, inclusiveness and judicious use of natural resources. If the development process encompasses all these aspects, then goals of sustainable human development can be achieved.



14.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: What is the full form of UNFCCC?

Q. 2: Examine the problem of climate change.

Q. 3: Analyse the measures adopted at the international level to combat the problem of climate change.

Q. 4: Write a note on sustainable human development.

*** ***** ***



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2) Baylis, John, Smith ,Steve & Owens ,Patricia. (2011). *Globalisation of World Politics, (fifth edition) .* Oxford University Press.
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10) Held, David & McGrew, Anthony G., Goldblatt, David & Perraton, Jonathan (1999) . *Global Trasformation Politics, Economics and Culture.* Stanford University Press.
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12) James, Paul, Mittelman, James H., (2014)*, Globalisation and Politics in Political Critiques and Social Theories of the Globe, Vol.3,* London: Sage Publications.
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http://en.m Wikipedia.org/wiki/Neocolonialism viewed on 15/5/2018

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Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University
City Office: Housefed Complex, Guwahati-781006

Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781006
(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

   .....

   .....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

   .....

   .....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.