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Contemporary International Relations

SEMESTER II

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 1

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 identify the meaning, objectives and basic principles of India’s foreign policy. The sixth unit deals with another important aspect of Contemporary International Relations i.e. Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Through this unit, the learners will be able to know about the need and implementation of the idea of declaring Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace along with the challenges and prospects of it.

The seventh and eight units discuss about India’s relations with Russia and America elaborately. Accordingly, India’s relationships with its neighbouring countries namely- Pakistan, China and Bangladesh are explained in the unit nos. nine, tenth and eleventh respectively. The twelve 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 unit thirteenth deals with another burning issues of the present world i.e. International Terrorism. In this unit, discussions are made on meaning, nature and strategies to combat terrorism.

The fourteenth unit focusses the importance and impacts of globalization in international politics. Finally, the fifteenth unit deals with various aspects of International Environment Concerns and Sustainable Human Development.

The course “Contemporary International Relations” is divided into two blocks- Block 1 and Block 2. Block 1 contains six units (Unit 1 - 6) and Block 2 contains nine units (Unit 7 - 15).

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK- 1

This is the first block of the fourth course or paper of krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's M. A. Second Semester Programme in Political Science. The fourth course or paper of the MA Second Semester Programme in Political Science is titled as "Contemporary International Relations". The first block of this course contains six units- (Units 1-6).

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 identify the meaning, objectives and basic principles of India's foreign policy. The sixth unit deals with another important aspect of Contemporary International Relations i.e. Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Through this unit, the learners will be able to know about the need and implementation of the idea of declaring Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace along with the challenges and prospects of it.

While going through the units of the block, you will find that the units are further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. 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 interested 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 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 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 leg 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 pleased 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 existed 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 Concept of World Order

2.4 Historical Background

2.5 Elements of Contemporary Emerging World Order

2.6 New World Order in the Post-Cold War Period

2.7 Emerging World Order in the New Millennium

2.8 Let Us Sum Up

2.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.10 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 CONCEPT 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.

2.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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.

2.5 ELEMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY 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 have become prevalent since 1990's. The new notion of nationalism developed by following ethnic separatism, regional identities, new social movement etc. increases identity discontent among the community which ultimately results in disorder both at the national as well as international level.
- **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 1: Write briefly about any two elements of the emerging world order.

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

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2.6 NEW WORLD ORDER IN THE POST-COLD WAR PERIOD

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 USA continues 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.

2.7 EMERGING WORLD ORDER IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

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.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Write about the world order prevailed in the post-cold war period.

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

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2.8 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.



2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No.1:

(i) Issue of Identity and the idea of nation-state: One of the significant features of contemporary world order is the issue of identity that have become prevalent since 1990's. The new notion of nationalism developed by following ethnic separatism, regional identities, new social movement etc. increases identity discontent among the community which ultimately results in disorder both at the national as well as international level.

(ii) 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.

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:

A new world order had 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 can able to dictate an order where they also invite India, Brazil, Russia and South Africa as well. But nevertheless the dominance of USA continues even at the 21st century also. 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.

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.



2.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

Q. 2: Explain the elements of contemporary emerging world order.

Q. 3: Discuss the world order emerged in the post-cold war era.

Q. 4: Analyse the world order in the present context.

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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

3.5 UN & Global Security

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

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)

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……

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

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3.5 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:

- 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 UNs 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 4 The United Nations plays an important role in conflict prevention. (True/False)

……

……

Q 5: Under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council can take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. (True/False)

……

……

Q 6: …… is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN. (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: true

Ans to Q No 6: The General Assembly



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 one important role of UN.

Q 4: Mention one significance of the UN.

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

Q 1: What is global security?

Q 2: What is Security Council?

Q 3: Mention two functions of General Assembly.

Q 4: Mention two functions of 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.

*** ***** ***

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

4.4 Evolution of South -South Cooperation

4.5 NAM and G77

4.6 ASEAN and South-South Cooperation

4.7 UNO and South-South Cooperation

4.8 Challenges of South-South Cooperation

4.9 Recommendations and Conclusions

4.10 Let Us Sum Up

4.11 Further Reading

4.12 Answers To Check Your Progress

4.13 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.

4.4 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.

4.5 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.

4.6 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.

4.7 UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION AND SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

UNO plays a pivotal role in giving a stimulus to South-South Cooperation by bringing forward its expertise and time tested field experience in support of developing countries, particularly the LDCs. It has set up a South-South system through the formation of a special unit to perform some specialized functions like advocacy, convening, coordinating and developing mechanism and raising resources. So, they processed out four pillar multilateral South-South support architecture:

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

In light of the changing global industrial setting, UN plays an important role. It strives to be:

- Engaged in the implementation of technical cooperation.
- A global convener for South-South cooperation and Triangular Cooperation dialogue.
- A sponsor of partnerships and knowledge exchange among Northern and Southern countries.
- An active agent and monitor of South-South cooperation global processes, dynamics and future modalities.

South-South Cooperation is playing a greater role than ever before in tackling food insecurity. Global demand for southern development solutions that have been tested and proven effective is at an all-time high. In this regard FAO plays a major role in facilitating South-South and Triangular

Cooperation to achieve food security, poverty reduction and sustainable agriculture.

It tries to focus on:

- Facilitating the Exchange and sharing of Development solutions, providing practical guidance and support to ensure high quality knowledge sharing(short, medium and long term exchanges, learning routes, study tours and training)
- Fostering knowledge management and networks, connecting South-South solution providers with seekers (supply and demands), scaling up knowledge sharing and enhancing two way learning among a wide range of southern actors.
- Facilitating upstream policy support, including policy dialogue and knowledge sharing among policy makers.
- Fostering an enabling environment, mobilizing broader partnerships and raising the visibility of the value of South-South cooperation.

Apart from the above the mentioned ones, some of the other roles that UN plays can be summarized as below:

- The first role of UN is of advocacy through support to research meetings and workshops, information sharing etc.
- Setting for a possible more inclusive multilateral development cooperation framework. By helping to create space for dialogue the UN offers its conveying power towards creating inclusion norms and frameworks. By helping to create space for dialogue the UN offers its convening power towards creating inclusive norms and frameworks to guide South-South and Triangular cooperation.
- Act as a knowledge broker and match maker between solution providers and solution seekers. As a recent UNDP produced global MDG assessment report shows that in all the MDG areas the south has a wide range of MDG focused solutions that could and should be mobilized and supported by the

international community towards accelerating the MDGs in the Global South.

- Mobilizing partners and resources to facilitate that go beyond just the exchange of ideas. For example, UNIDO's Centre for South-South Industrial Cooperation which facilitates matches among Southern Industries.

4.8 CHALLENGES OF 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.

4.9 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.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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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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4.10 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.
- UNO plays a pivotal role in giving a stimulus to South-South Cooperation by bringing forward its expertise and lives tested field experience in support of developing countries.
- 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.



4.11 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.



4.12 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.

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

Q. 5: 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: INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Need for Declaring Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace

6.4 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace

6.5 Implementation of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace

6.6 Indian Ocean RIM Association (IORA)

6.7 Challenges and Prospects

6.8 Let Us Sum Up

6.9 Further Reading

6.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.11 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the geographical setting of the Indian Ocean
- describe the need for declaring Indian Ocean as a zone of peace
- explain 1971 declaration of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace
- analyze the challenges and prospects of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

The Indian Ocean has taken an important role in the study of Geo-Politics in contemporary period. Over the years the Indian Ocean has become the nerve centre of acute global activity for diverse reasons. Recently the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has become the core of political and military activities, most particularly the establishment of nuclear bases by the super powers have contributed to the deterioration in the climate of peace and

security in this region. Most specifically after end of the Second World War, the super power reality occurred in the Indian Ocean and this region has turned into a zone of conflict. Under such juncture Indian Govt. and world community as a whole have expressed their deep concern on such development and a demand has been made to declare 'Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.'

- **GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF THE INDIAN OCEAN**

The Indian Ocean covering an area of 27,240,000sq miles is the third largest of the world's Oceanic division. It is surrounded by four continents, namely –Australia on the East, Africa on the West, Asia on the North and Antarctica on the South. To the north Indian Ocean is bounded by India, Pakistan, Iran and Bangladesh; the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia and Australia to the east; Antarctica to the south and the Arabian Peninsula and Africa to the west.

6.3 NEED FOR DECLARING INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE

There are various grounds for declaring Indian Ocean as zone of peace. Among them, the following can be of worth mentioning:

- **ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION:**

The Indian Ocean has great economic importance. It contains several important minerals, raw materials and natural resources. In this context following table can be referred –

- Gold – 80.7 %
- Tin – 56.6%
- Manganese – 28.5%
- Nickel – 25.2%
- Bauxite – 18.5%
- Zinc – 12.5% and
- Natural Rubber – 77.3%

Apart from the above natural resources it also contains large oil bearing regions, 40% of the world's offshore oil. production takes place in

the Indian Ocean basin. 3 In search of all these resources the industrial nations of the world i.e. the big powers always keen to exploit these from Indian Ocean region.

As a result, there has been a massive competition among the big powers to maintain their hegemony in the Indian Ocean Zone. Unless and until Indian Ocean is not declared as a zone of peace, there is the possibility of a war in the region.

- **Navigation and Marine Trade:**

The Importance of Indian Ocean is also seen from the point of Navigation and marine trade. From the very name – Indian Ocean, it is clear that the trade and economy of littoral states in general and India in particular largely depend on Indian Ocean. Almost 95% of Indian trade operates by sea. India import almost 70% oil from gulf countries through its sea routes. Apart from India, the Indian Ocean has great global trade importance. The Indian Ocean contributes major see trade route that link the countries of South Asia , Middle East to the North; the African continent and European counties to the West; Indonesia, Australia and other island countries to the East.

The strait of Hormuz the word's most important oil chokepoint and Malacca connect Indian Ocean with different countries of the globe through which 32.2 million barrels of crude oil and petroleum are transported per day – more than 50% of the world's maritime oil trade occurred in the Indian Ocean Region 4 .

Almost ¼ of the cargo in the world marine trade are loaded and unloaded in Indian Ocean Region. On account of these trade importance almost all the major global powers want to have their strong hold in Indian Ocean region. There is need to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, otherwise the countries will fight among themselves to maintain their supremacy in the field of International trade.

- **Strategic Importance:**

Indian Ocean has great strategic importance for India. Hence considering the aspect of development and security K.M. Panikkar wrote,

"while to other countries, the Indian Ocean is only one of the important Oceanic areas, to India it is the vital sea…….. No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her unless Indian Ocean is free and her own shores are fully protected."

Apart from India, in contemporary period Indian Ocean has become global strategic importance. Almost all the major powers of the world are interested on this region. In order to establish economic and political supremacy they have interested to build their military base in the IOR. In Indian Ocean Region there are 30 straits through which different major powers can carry their naval ships to attack others. The linkage of Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea through Suez Canal has given further avenue to the great powers to carry heavy battle tankers and aircrafts as it connects the Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean. Already the major powers have established their naval base in IOR. Most particularly after the end of 2nd world war Indian Ocean has witnessed the presence of super power rivalry. USA emerged as a major player in Indian Ocean Region after the end of 2nd World War. USA in order to check the influence of communism in the IOR had started to build their air and naval bases. USA captured numerous islands of Indian Ocean and developed full-fledged air and naval base. The island of Diego Garcia is one of the best example in this regard. It came under USA control in 1966 and USA deployed nuclear weapons there which caused serious threat to the peace and security in IOR. USA formed a separate Indian Ocean command and sent Polaris A-3 Submarine to establish her hegemony in Indian Ocean. USA, even, to counter Russian domination assisted local powers in terms of military and economic assistance.

In retaliation USSR in order to challenge the western strategy in the Indian Ocean had begun to give military, economic and technical assistance to the afro Asian countries. More particularly, after the installation of Polaris A-3 submarine by USA in Indian Ocean, Soviet Union became serious and to counter USA mastery of the sea, the Soviet Union decided to station and establish their naval base and operate Ocean fleets in Indian Ocean region.

During the cold war period along with USA and USSR, France also showed her keen interest in IOR. Especially after the withdrawal of the British from Indian Ocean, France increased her involvement in IOR. France established her naval bases with five nuclear powered submarines. In order to guard her oil routes, France considered her naval presence essential in IOR.

Similarly, Japan, one of the great naval powers had shown keen interest on the Indian Ocean in cold war period. It was because the Japanese thought that the naval presence of USSR posed a major security threat to their country. So, Japan offered her allegiance to USA, which had fueled the super power in the Indian Ocean Region.

Likewise, China also involved in Indian Ocean since ancient past for various reasons, but she became more practical after the end of 2nd world war. To China the soviet presence in Indian Ocean may jeopardize their security. Therefore, China was going to expand her naval base in Indian Ocean and emphasized on the modernization of Chinese Navy. China made an appeal to her friendly states washed by Indian Ocean to unite against the presence of super powers in Indian Ocean Region.

As such, the presence of both the super powers and other major powers in Indian Ocean after the end of 2nd world war caused every possibility of arm conflict. That is why there was need for declaring Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

- **POST COLD WAR PERIOD AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW THREATS IN IOR:**

The disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991 virtually led to an end to the cold war. Bi-Polarity of world politics came to an end and there emerged uni-polarity in world politics. The USA became the sole super power and no other country was in a position to challenge the supremacy of USA. Russia became the successor of the erstwhile USSR. Collapse of communism, the disintegration of soviet union caused severe financial strain on Russia, thereby subsequently Russia withdraw her Navy from the Indian Ocean which in turn caused the end of Arms Race in Indian Ocean in general and

established the US Naval power monopoly in particular. In 1995, the US established its 5th Fleet in Indian Ocean with its headquarter at Bahrain . By the establishment of this 5th Fleet it become easy for the US to conduct multipurpose operations in the Persian Gulf, the Red sea, the Arabian sea and the adjoining land masses. Thereby in 21st century USA became the most powerful actor in Indian Ocean Region.

In addition to the presence of Major powers, the 21st century has witnessed the presence of many regional and extra - regional powers which have made the situation of peace and security in IOR much more critical . Most particularly the presence of Chinese Navy in Indian Ocean, her friendly relation with Pakistan and hostility to India have worsen the situation of peace and security in Indian Ocean Region. Kashmir is the bone of contention between India and Pakistan since the partition of India 1947. India has prolonged boundary disputes with china.

After the disintegration of Soviet Union, China considered US presence in Indian Ocean as their main rival along with India. India also to halt the influence of China in IOR developed her closer ties with United States and its allies - Japan and Australia. At different times Chinese PLA Navy has carried out naval exercise on Indian Ocean showing their strong hold on it. For example in 2014 China performed naval exercise through the Lombok strait near Indonesia. It caused irritation to India and her allies. Soon in the following year in 2015 India and United States had conducted the 19th edition of Exercise Malabar in the Bay of Bengal. It was a joint navy exercise, Japanese Navy was also joined hand and it became tri- lateral exercise to counter growing Chinese military presence in the Indian Ocean. Similarly on July 2017 the 21st edition of naval exercise was carried out by India, Japan and USA to combat Chinese presence.

China has already established and has planned to install their army and naval base in Indian subcontinent states like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Maldives etc. China has military and economic alliances with them, thereby create an encircle known as ‘String of Pearls” so that it can give strong reply to India if it caused any harm to their interest. China’s naval

base in Gwadar port in Pakistan, Naval base at Chittagong port of Bangladesh and their planning to gain of control over Hambantota port situated in Sri Lanka caused security threat to India.



LET US KNOW

In the beginning of 21st century the idea of String of Pearls" strategy become very popular. It is a geo political theory related to potential Chinese intentions in the Indian Ocean. In 21st century China has made military and economic alliances with different Indian subcontinent states, thereby create an encircle known as 'String of Pearls" so that it can give strong reply to India if it caused any harm to their interest.

Then recent peace and security threat to India as well as in IOR is CPEC and Djibouti Naval base of china. China had launched China Pakistan Economic corridor (CPEC)- a land Transport corridor that will link xinjiang province of China with a Gwadar port of Pakistan at Arabian Sea. It caused irritation to Indians because it pass through Pak occupied Kashmir – a disputed territory as India claims. Moreover, it will give lots of opportunity to Peoples' Liberation Army of China to move against India.

More than that on August 2017 china had established their first overseas military base in Djibouti in the Horn of Africa which connects the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean through Suez canal. Not only China but also France, USA and Japan have their Naval base in Djibouti through which they have served their economic and strategic interest. Accordingly the strategic importance of India Ocean Region is marked by the competition of the two Asian giants (India & China) competing for greater control over Indian Ocean.

As such not only major powers but also regional and extra regional powers also involved in the game of power politics in Indian Ocean Region. These powers are in effort to preserve the balance of maritime power in their favour in Indian Ocean Region, which have caused a question mark on peace and security. That is why there is an urgent need to declare Indian Ocean as a zone of peace in present time.

6.4 1971 DECLARATION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE

In pursuance of the demand put forwarded by the Sri Lanka govt., the UN General Assembly on its 26th Season held on 16th December 1971 declared the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Some of the important resolution of the declaration are –

- The General Assembly declared the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace for all times together with the air space above and the Ocean floor below that place.
- The general Assembly formally asked the great powers to enter into immediate negotiations with the Littoral states of the Indian Ocean in order to:
  - i) Halt the further expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean; and
  - ii) Eliminate all bases, military installations and logistical supply facilities, nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction from the Indian Ocean in the context of great power rivalry.
- It called upon the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean, the permanent members of the security council and other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, to enter into negotiation for the implementation of the declaration and to ensure - that the warships and military aircraft may not use that causing any threat on use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of any littoral or hinterland state of the Indian Ocean.
- It was decided that the secretary general would report to the General Assembly at its 27th session about the implementation to the declaration.

However, the major powers like both the Soviet Union and the western powers did not like it and they opposed the very idea of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

6.5 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IDEA OF INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE

The evolution of the idea of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace trace back to 1964, When the NAM countries in the Cairo conference condemned the big powers military build up in the Indian Ocean. In 1970 the third conference of NAM countries held at Lusaka and the demand was made to converse Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. In 1971 the Sri Lankan Govt. presented a plan for zone of peace at the united Nations.

- **ADHOC COMMITTEE ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE**:

An Adhoc committee composed of 15 nations was set up by the UN General Assembly on 15 December 1972 for the execution of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. For that purpose the committee sought for full co-operation from different quarters. Accordingly a part from the Big Five of the Security Council some major maritime powers were also included in the committee. The Adhoc committee held a meeting on May 25, 1982 in which the western powers presented a paper namely, “Proposal for a set of principles on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.” In this meeting greater emphasized was made on confidence building measures at the global and regional level. It appealed to the major powers to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons on the basis of the provisions of NPT to make IOR as a nuclear weapon free zone. But the NAM countries and the littoral states of Indian Ocean did not like the proposals of the committee as a result it had failed to arrive at any concrete decisions in the direction of making Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

In 1983 a meeting of the Adhoc committee was held at UNO where member countries had put forwarded a set of principles namely security, political and economic in the direction of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. But no meaningful results were found on it because of super power differences. Accordingly till the end of cold war no meaningful sittings of the Adhoc committee were took place, contrary to that three major powers viz. UK, France and USA resigned the UN Adhoc Committee on Indian Ocean

as a zone of peace. After their resignation other western powers were also decided to their non-cooperation with the work of Adhoc committee.

- **Adhoc Committee meet 2005, on Indian Ocean:**

Since the adoption of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace in 1971 to the present a major sea change has occurred in the world in general and in the Indian Ocean in particular. The end of cold war in 1991 virtually led to the end of super power rivalry. Globalization along with liberalization and privatization also brought lot of changes in the IOR.

Apart from these the issue of terrorism and piracy, armament race (though Russia withdraw their naval base for this region) etc has caused new threats in the IOR.

It was under these circumstances that the Adhoc committee with the strength of 46 countries had met again in 2005 and adopts reports to general Assembly after discussing the issues in the direction of making Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

- Member counties expressed the deep concern about the revision of the declaration of 1971 in the context of present changing circumstances.
- It was viewed that the Adhoc committee should function as a forum for littoral and hinterland states.
- It urged the Big 5 of Security Council and major maritime users to discuss their security interests. But it is a matter of regret that the three permanent members of the UNO namely UK, USA and France refrain from offering their co-operation with the Adhoc committee.



LET US KNOW

Big Five denotes the 5 permanent members of UN security council. These are USA, UK, France, Russia and China. They are also known as permanent five or P5.

- In this meeting the appeal of Chinese representative had captured the attention of all members. The representative of china called for common efforts for countries inside and outside the region to maintain peace and stability in the region and to establish the zone of peace at an early date. To that end, the major powers outside the region should eliminate their military presence in the Indian Ocean region 5.
- It was requested to follow the principle of non-aggression, equality and peaceful co-existence. Member countries urged the major powers not to seek any armament race in the IOR and avoid the accumulation of weapons of mass destruction.

Thus, the Adhoc committee which met in 2005 can be considered a major landmark in the direction of establishing peace zone in the Indian Ocean Region.

6.6 INDIAN OCEAN RIM ASSOCIATION (IORA)

The emergence of Indian Ocean Rim Association – 2013 earlier known as Indian Ocean Rim Initiative and Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional co-operation (IOR-ARC) is an important step in the direction of Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace. It is a post cold war phenomenon as it was first established as Indian Ocean Rim initiative in Mauritius on March 1995. It is consisting of the coastal states bordering the Indian Ocean, accordingly it has touched the three continents – namely Asia, Africa and Australia with a view to enhance regional co-operation and inter-continental trade. At present the Association comprises of 21 member states and 7 dialogue partners outside the region.

Priority Areas – The Indian Ocean Rim Association has identified six important areas. These are –

- Maritime Security,
- Trade and Investment facilitation,
- Fisheries management,

- Disaster risk management,
- Academic, Science and technology, &
- Tourism promotion and cultural exchanges,

Apart from these it has identified the issue of women empowerment and the development of Blue Economy to foster economic development and employment generation in their respective states.



LET US KNOW

Blue Economy: The concept of Blue Economy was coined by small island development states (SIDS) in 2012 at Rio + 20 summit, held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Simply the use of the sea and its resources for sustainable economic development is called. Blue economy. The world bank defined it a "the sustainable use of Ocean resource for economic growth, improved livelihoods and Jobs, While pressing the health of Ocean ecosystem." 6

Objectives:

The main objectives of IORA are as follows:

- To promote sustainable growth and balance development of the region and member states;
- To focus on those areas of economic co-operation which provide maximum opportunities for development, shared investment and mutual benefits; and
- To Promote Liberalization, remove impediments and lower barriers towards a freer and enhanced flow of goods, services, investment, and technology within the Indian Ocean rim.

Since the very inception the IORA member states have worked together to maintain peace, stability and neutrality of the Indian Ocean Region. Searching the great power competition in the Indian Ocean the IORA members assert itself and declare the strategic neutrality in Indian Ocean Region. In this context, the recently concluded Jakarta concord held on March 5 to 7, 2017 has taken prominent place. The summit recalled the United Nation general assembly Resolution 2832 (XXVI) on the "Declaration

of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace" to maintain peace and stability in the region and to establish the zone of peace.

Moreover, due emphasis was made on strengthening regional co-operation to address transboundary challenges, including piracy, armed robberies at sea, terrorism, trafficking in persons, people smuggling, irregular movement of persons, illicit drugs trafficking in wildlife, crimes in the fisheries sector, and environmental crimes etc.

As such IORA has provided a positive step in the direction of implementing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

6.7 CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

Notwithstanding the different efforts at regional and international level for the implementation of the UN Declaration about Indian Ocean as zone of peace, it is lagging behind the reality. In fact, it has faced different challenges in the direction of implementing the peace zone in Indian Ocean. These are:

- **Super power rivalry:**

  Different efforts in the way of establishing the zone of peace in Indian Ocean had to fail during the cold war period because of super power differences. USA has a large military presence in the Indian Ocean, Therefore it has been strongly opposed to the establishment of a peace zone contrary to the withdrawal of their air and naval base from Indian Ocean they engaged themselves to enhance it so that one can win at the cost of other.

- **Growing Militarization:**

  Though Superpower rivalry had come to an end with the disintegration of USSR, but still some sort of armament race is going on. In place of Russia now some new face like China and Japan have entered in the arena of IOR and going on to increase their air and naval base, which have posed serious threat in the direction of implementing peace zone in Indian Ocean. Major powers

are reluctant to withdraw their naval bases and navies from IOR. As such the continued presence of extra regional great powers have prevented the very idea of the establishment of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

- **Non Co-Operation of Western Power with Adhoc Committee:**

  Still another major challenge in the path of implementing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is the non co-operation of western powers. Since 1990 to till date the major western powers as well as the permanent member of UNO like UK, France and USA are refraining from participating in UN Adhoc committee on Indian Ocean. They are less likely to participate in the Adhoc committee on the plea that if the zone of peace concept take place in practice then it would conflict with the principle of freedom on the high seas, thereby they cannot take the hegemonic role in IOR. As such the great powers have opposed the proposals themselves.

- **Political Differences and Lack of Unified Approach:**

  The Political climate prevailing in the region is not conducive to the successful implementation of the UN declaration on Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. An atmosphere of mutual hostility exists among various countries of the IOR, resulting in hurdles in arriving at common modalities of establishing the zone of peace. For example, though India and Pakistan have welcomed the principle of zone of peace but due to their mutual distrust and rivalry they have adopted different views on it and have failed to adopt an unified approach on Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

- **Poor Economic Conditions of The Littoral Powers:**

  The poor economy of littoral and hinterland states of IOR has also proved as an important challenge in establishing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. As they are poor in different aspects like politically, economically as well as militarily therefore, they have to depend upon the major powers for their aid. The major powers take

the advantages of their weaknesses. In the name of offering aid to them the major powers have tried to create divisions within the states of this region so that they cannot unite together and make the strong stand on the issue of zone of peace in Indian Ocean. Likewise the littoral states also wishing more aid from rich countries and thereby going to provide air naval bases to these powers ignoring their commitment of the zone of peace.

Under these circumstances it has become more difficult to materialize the goal of establishing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. On the contrary, Indian Ocean has become a zone of almost endless conflict.

- **Future Prospects:**

In spite of the slow progress in the direction of establishing Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, the actual working of the UN Adhoc committee since its establishment has raised high hopes of peace in IOR. Its periodical meetings provide an opportunity to bury the hatchet among the extra- regional and regional powers and help in making friendly relations among them in IOR, thereby it is hoped that peace and stability will reach in future. Apart from that the establishment and the working of IORA in the post cold war period has further raised high expectation in the path of establishing peace and security in the Indian Ocean Region. In this context, some suggestions are put forwarded where the bright future of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace lies.

1. Greater co-operation of states in Indian Ocean region is needed so that they can strongly make a demand and pressurized the major powers to withdraw their naval bases and military installations from IOR, which would remove the main obstacles in the path of establishing Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.
2. On the basis of the Law of the Sea the big powers should be allowed transportation and communication in the Indian Ocean.

But then they should not be allowed to transport nuclear weapons.

In addition to these the littoral and hinterland countries of the Indian Ocean like IORA & BIMSTEC countries can take meaningful role in the direction of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.



LET US KNOW

BIMSTEC is an international organization consist of seven states of south and East Asia . These are Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Bhutan and Nepal. It was in 1997.

- They should try to solve their disputes through discussions so that the major powers cannot take the opportunity of their loopholes and establish hegemony over them.
- They should not interfere the domestic affairs of other states.
- The Indian Ocean Rim countries should avoid from becoming members of any military organization.
- The IOR countries should not allow the major powers to build their naval and air base in their respective territory.
- Except economic development these states should not use nuclear power for manufacturing weapons.
- The Indian Ocean Region states should adopt joint ventures for combating non-traditional threats like illegitimate fishing, climate change and environmental security which are considered as essential ingredients for Blue economy.

In fact the fate of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace largely depends upon the will of major powers of the world. If they come forward with a view of mutual give and take and act above power politics (forgoing their lust for power) then we can expect a good prospect in future in the direction of establishing Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1. Write one resolution of the 1971 declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

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Q.2. Mention two priority areas of the Indian Ocean RIM Association.

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Q.3. Write one objective of the IORA.

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Q.4. Mention two challenges of making Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

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6.8 LET US SUM UP

- The Indian Ocean has taken an important role in the study of Geo-Politics in contemporary period.
- It is covering an area of 27,240,000sq miles which is the third largest of the world's Oceanic division. It is also surrounded by four continents, namely –Asia, Africa, Australia and Antarctica.
- On various grounds like- economic justification, navigation and marine trade, strategic importance, presence of both super powers and other major powers in the Indian Ocean have made it necessary for declaring Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.
- Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional co-operation (IOR-ARC) is an important step in the direction of Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace.

- As such IORA has provided a positive step in the direction of implementing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.
- Indian Ocean as zone of peace has faced different challenges in the direction of implementing the peace zone.
- In spite of the slow progress in the direction of establishing Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, the actual working of the UN Adhoc committee since its establishment has raised high hopes of peace in IOR.
- The fate of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace largely depends upon the will of major powers of the world.



6.9 FURTHER READING

1) Chander Pradesh & Arora Prem (1992)., "International Relations," New Delhi : Cosmos Bookhive (p) Ltd,

2) Kumar, Kamal. 2000

3) Indian Ocean as a zone of peace: Problems and Prospects. New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation.

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1) https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/monograph 33.pdf.

2) Shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/32136/7/07-chapater 2 pdf.

3) https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/indian-Ocean-region-a-pivot-for-indias-growth.

4) https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/competition-indian-Ocean.

5) https://www.indiandefencereview. Com/spotlights/external-naval-presence-in-indian-Ocean.

6) https://www.tamilnation.co/intframe/indian-Ocean/711216 iopz.htm.



6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1:

The General Assembly declared the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace for all times together with the air space above and the Ocean floor below that place.

Ans to Q No 2:

a) Maritime Security,

b) Trade and Investment facilitation.

Ans to Q No 3:

To promote sustainable growth and balance development of the region and member states.

Ans to Q No 4:

a) Super Power rivalry and

b) Growing Militarization.

6.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Discuss the need for declaration of Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace.

Q. 2: Describe the various provisions of 1971 declaration of Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace.

Q. 3: Critically examine the challenges and prospects of declaration of Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace.

Q. 4: Write a note on the role of Super Powers in making Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

*** ***** ***

Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

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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.

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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?

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.