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Lesson No.

- 2.1 : Cold War and International politics
- 2.2 : Post Cold War Era
- 2.3 : Human Rights: Meaning, United Nations declaration of Human Rights **(Will Send Later)**
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COLD WAR AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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2.1.1 Objectives of this lesson

1. To understand the meaning of cold war
2. To study the origin and bases of cold war
3. To know about the different phases of cold war
4. To study the impact of cold war on World Politics

2.1.2 Introduction

Emergence of Super Powers: In the history of international politics there has been changing power position of states/ actors time to time. Modern nation state system took birth due to rising nationalism in Europe. When we study the history of international politics it revolves around the Europe and its imperial instincts for the past five-six centuries. In this very period sometimes major powers are reduced to secondary status, and secondary powers emerged as major powers. Spain, Portugal, England, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, Austria – Hungary Empire remained major powers time to time in the past 5 centuries almost.

20th century is the witness of two World Wars which changed drastically the power equations in international politics. In the beginning of 20th century Prussia, Japan and Russia were considered great powers. After the First World War Britain, France, Austria–Hungary came to be reckoned as great powers. Along with them, United State emerged very slowly as string power in international politics. Besides, between the World Wars the Soviet Union (USSR) consolidated the Bolshevik revolution. With the result there was tremendous industrial progress in Soviet Union.

The Second World War (1939-1945) significantly alter the international scene. Important scene was that USA (United States of America) and USSR (Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics) emerged two powerful states. For the first time in the history of international relations – a non-European country - The USA became a decisive factor in international politics. The axis powers (Germany, Italy) of Western Europe were shattered after their defeat. The condition was not much better of allied (The Successors – Britain, France). They all lost largely in terms of men and material. This phenomena created the power vacuum in international order. The weakening of European States instantly covered up by USA and USSR. Though these two states incurred heavy losses but they were able to retain their military, economic and industrial supremacy. Even during the Second World War the leadership of Roosevelt (US President) and Stalin (USSR President) played a vital role to lead and direct the war politics. Tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States had been always present since the Communist Revolution in 1917 in USSR. Communist Russia throughout evoked hostility or a non-friendly response in the Capitalist World. The presence of free economic enterprise in capitalist countries was in direct contrast to the state ownership of means of production in Soviet Union. But these differences submerged during the Second World War against common threat of Nazism. These differences surfaced again after the end of war.

USA was the only major combatant not to have experienced fighting on its own soil during World Wars. Europe, Japan and even Soviet Union were devastated and impoverished. Despite the enormous costs of fighting the war, and the distortions imposed on it by a high level of military production, the US economy was in good shape. The Soviet Union, in contrast, was badly damaged and struggling to be a superpower. USA had the atomic bomb by 1945 whereas the Soviet Union did not. But this did not stop the Soviet Union retaining large armed forces and keeping a firm military control over Eastern Europe.

2.1.3 Superpowers: How can we define the term ‘**superpower**’. It is not very easy and simple as it might seem. The term superpower was first coined by Willian Fox in 1944. Recalling that at the time, Germany, Italy and Japan (the axis powers) were all but defeated. Most of Europe was in tatters and China was in the midst of a Civil War. Fox defined a superpower as a state that possessed great power plus great mobility of power. He argued that only the great United States, the Soviet Union and Britain deserved to be called superpowers because these three states would be responsible for shaping the post 1945 world. But it would be a mistake to think that these were three states of equal power. After 1949 nuclear explosion by USSR; then, USA and USSR two states emerged as superpowers. Even Britain was almost bankrupt by the end of Second World War and being dictated by USA.

Term superpower implies that there is hierarchy of power among states. It is a state that plays a crucial leadership role in the international system and is able to gain the allegiance of other states. Within its sphere of influence, a superpower can

impose its political will on smaller states with relative impunity. Not only does a superpower have the capacity to project effective military power far from its territory but it also has enormous military resources at its disposal. Besides, that a superpower has special duties with respect to the maintenance of international order and holds a privileged status in international forums and organizations. Fox defined again that a superpower as a “great power whose armed force is so mobile that it can deploy in any strategic theatre, as opposed to a great power, whose interests and influences are confined to single regional theatre. The possession of two military characteristics by the superpower: one “the full range of strategic nuclear armoury, and two the capacity to deploy its forces, whether armed conventionally or with nuclear weapons, in any strategic theatre of the world.” Therefore, the superpower has the capacity to intervene, interfere and move in any part of the world without affecting its own power, prestige and popularity in any substantial way.

According to **Oxford Dictionary of Politics**, ‘In its generic use, the term (superpower) refers to those few states with powers (defined by combining a series of variables together – e.g. economic wealth, population, size, and above all, military strength, especially in the possession of sophisticated nuclear armaments) far transcending that of the rest of the states in the international arena. More specifically, the term refers to the two states, the United States and the Soviet Union, in the time of Cold War. Both emerged superpowers first in Europe then in the rest of the world. Both competed against each other for influence in the global politics of the Cold War’.

2.1.4 Super Powers and major Powers: A nation could be described as major power as different from a superpower, when she is able to assert or dictate her position beyond her region. A country could be described as a major power when she possesses all the concomitants of power along with nuclear capability and also a capacity to maintain balance of power within a given region. However nuclear capability does not make a nation a major power. It is the capacity to maintain or upset the balance of power in a region which is more important. For example before the First World War **Britain, Germany, Russia, France etc.** had been major powers during late 19th and early 20th century. These states maintained European balance of power system time to time. Fox argued that there was a qualitative difference between the superpowers of the post 1945 era and the European great powers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even though they were significant international actors, they never had the global reach and influence as of USA and Soviet Union after the Second World War. The superpowers phenomena during the Cold War period engulfed the whole world relations in its lap. US and USSR both were increasing their spheres of influences not only in Europe but also in other areas of

the world. Superpowers seem to be very powerful in respect of dictating its term to their bloc partners.

According to Wenger and Zimmermann, 'following the end of World War II hopes abounded that the future world order would be informed by the vision of 'One world' and that law and order would replace the anarchy of international relations. Instead, the antagonism between East and West, between communism and liberal democracy, between a socio-economic command economy and capitalism – in short, between two fundamentally divergent social and value systems (ideologies) largely determined international politics. The postwar world was organized into two distinct blocs, with the United States and the Soviet Union at the two centres. The process leading up to the bipolar international system of the Cold War'.

II

THE COLD WAR

2.1.5 Meaning of Cold War: The Cold War of the two post superpowers was not an episode like other wars of modern times. The term '**cold war**' was invented to describe a state of affairs. The principal ingredient in this state of affairs was the mutual hostility and fears of the protagonists. These emotions were rooted in their several historical and political differences and were powerfully stimulated by myths which at times turns hostility into hatred. The Cold War dominated world affairs for a generation and more (Peter Calvocoressi: 2000). The term 'Cold War' was coined by Walter Lippman to describe the tension and conflict in the bilateral relationship of the **US and USSR** after World War II. As a concept in international relations, it denotes a state of constant conflict and strife, maintained and perpetuated without a direct armed conflict between the antagonists. Every expression of hostility and tension is used without a direct use of arms. Cold War, "a state of intensive competition, political, economic and ideological, which yet falls below the threshold of armed conflict between states" (Melkote and Rao: 1992).

The most popular view about Cold War was 'an intense struggle for power between the superpowers'. The word 'War' implies tension, armed conflict, and a zero-sum relationship between the superpowers. The word 'Cold' refers to the presence of factors that allegedly restrained the confrontation and prevented a 'hot' war. Conventional meaning is based on a definition of the Cold War that assumes a high level of East-West tension with the threat of escalation to nuclear conflict. According to the orthodox argument, the Cold War was a struggle between conflicting universal values. In the West, the concepts of a market economy and a multi-party democracy were cherished. In the East, single party statism and a command administrative economy were highly valued. The obvious conflict of ideas and obstinate nature of those who defended them were the driving forces behind the conflict.

The policies of containment followed by the United States were defensive reactions to an inherently aggressive and expansionist enemy. It was a period of American dominance whose legitimacy was based on a mythical Soviet 'threat'. In contrast to the view that Cold War was inherently antagonistic, regardless of who was the main instigator. In fact Cold War was very useful to both sides. For the United States, it solved the problem of what to do about Germany and Japan, both of whom were key states in bringing about the Second World War. For the Soviet Union and United States, the Cold War permitted a de facto solution of the German problem by freezing the social/ political contours of Europe, both East and West (Griffiths and Callaghan: 2004).

Therefore the name '**Cold War**' normally given to the period of intense conflict between the United States and Soviet Union after World War II. After the war Soviet Union effectively occupying the countries of Eastern Europe and the United States as liberator of the countries of Western Europe. In Germany these two superpowers along with France and Britain, established zones of occupation and a framework for four power control. During Yalta and Potsdam (both 1945) conferences about post war settlement, serious differences emerged. Shortly we can say that Cold War was phenomena of opposite interests and ideologies between US and USSR. They were competing and conflicting with each other without direct '**hot war**'. But mutual hostilities, arms race, nuclear arms race, zones of influences were prevalent during this period.

2.1.6 Origin and Bases of Cold War: With the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Japan) in August 1945 by USA, it was the declaration of end of Second World War. Because Japan and no other axis power was capable to compete USA nuclear bomb. Along with it, there was the end of common enemy of allies' powers. Then the western alliance turned towards post war international order and security system. As the war drew to a conclusion the fundamental disagreements among allies (USA, France, Britain and USSR) resurfaced. The increasing conflict between the new superpowers posed insurmountable problems in constructing a viable post war security system. A number of contentious issues soon surfaced. These contentious issues were: The Atom Bomb – The sudden invention of atomic bomb by USA created Soviet Union suspicious of USA hegemony. USA earlier never shared its secret of nuclear bomb. Even USA believed that USSR would never be capable to produce the bomb in the coming 10 years. This will help US to check Soviet aggression. But USSR created nuclear bomb in four years after. Secondly Churchill's (British P.M.) Fulton speech of 5th March, 1946 made differences more deep, "If the Western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of UN Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If, however, they become divided or fail in their duty and if these all

important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.” This speech specially targeted USSR and it was sign of coming closeness of Western democracies of Britain, France and US etc.. Soviet Union regarded it as a unilateral attack by ‘Capitalism’ and ‘Imperialism’ over socialist countries. Conflict was not only limited upto Central Europe, it was reached beyond Europe – on the issues Iran, Turkey, Greece and Truman Doctrine. Truman Doctrine constituted a call to resist outside forces and was clearly directed against international communism or Soviet Union. Truman’s address to Congress in March 1947 had a significant impact on the future of superpowers relations. He said, “I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. President Truman’s proposal for an interventionist foreign policy can be understood as prelude to the Cold War. The Truman Doctrine and the associated policy of containment expressed the self-image of the United States as inherently defensive, and were underpinned by the Marshall Plan for European economic recovery, proclaimed in June 1947, which was essential to the economic rebuilding of Western Europe. In Eastern Europe, democratic or other anti-communist forces were systematically undermined or eliminated and being replaced by Marxist-Leninist regimes loyal to Moscow were installed. Moscow understood that, the Western world was inspired by capitalist values which demanded the destruction of USSR and the extirpation of communism by any means available, but above all by force or the threat of irresistible force. The major factors which led to a Cold War atmosphere between the two superpowers became identifiable during post-war conferences. The famous Iron Curtain speech made by Churchill led to permanent wedge between the superpowers.

Important bases of Cold War were as follows:

- **Ideological differences:** Communist ideology led by USSR was against capitalism. Communist ideology advocates state control on means of production and socialist governments. Which America (capitalist) considers largely totalitarian and anti-democratic. Communist ideology was intent upon converting the entire world. Therefore, it posted a real threat to freedom and liberty throughout the world. On the other side communist Soviet Union blaming capitalism is responsible for the exploitation of resources in all over the world.
- **Historical background:** Soviet distrust of American intentions was based on historical record of hostility. As America’s intervention in Russia in 1918-19. Former’s refusal to establish diplomatic relations till 1933. US nourished hostility towards Soviet Union due to growing Soviet belligerence. Russia’s unwillingness to permit democratic elections in countries liberated from Nazis. And Soviet Union’s disagreements in post-war resettlements.

- **German issue:** The Cold War mainly originated from the German issue, and remained confined mostly to Europe for a long time. The Western powers were against the division of Germany and wanted to keep joint control of France, England, US and USSR. But USSR interested to keep the Germany fully its sphere of influence. Later on this conflict resulted in division of Germany.
- **Mutual misunderstanding and antagonism:** According to some scholars that the mistrust and consequent fears were the basis of Cold War. Mutual fear and suspicion produced hostile interaction between the two parties. The diplomacy of co-existence failed. Both the capitalists and the communists developed mutual suspicion. Soviet expansion in East Europe paid grater role for erosion of diplomacy of co-existence.

III

2.1.7 THE COLD WAR: PHASES OF COLD WAR

From the onset of Cold War till the demise of USSR in 1990, there have different phases of Cold War. During this long period of 45 years sometimes there was arms race, period of deterrence and increased hostilities, conflict and competition. Other the time there was some understanding developed between two superpowers, specifically regarding nuclear arms, or the era of detente, reduced hostilities or controlled competition and conflict. On the bases of this we can divide the Cold War period into three important phases:

1. 1945 to 1962 – First Cold War
2. 1962 to 1978 – Détente Era
3. 1978 to 1986 – Known as Second or New Cold War

1. Phase I - 1945 to 1962

During this period the polarization of two blocs occurred. US, a capitalist bloc, led the Western or democratic states – as Britain, France, Greece, Italy, West Germany, Japan, Australia. She also increased its influence in South East Asia, Central Asia, Australia and New Zealand. There was formation of alliances on US side known as **NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS** etc. On the other hand Soviet Union established its supremacy and zone of influence in Eastern Europe which include the countries: Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany etc.. During this first phase of Cold War major important international controversial issues were The German Division, Korean War (1950), the Suez Crisis (1956), Vietnam War, Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), The Berlin War Crisis (1961), Hungarian Civil War (1956). Germany was divided into two parts. Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) brought under control of USA, France and England. German Democratic Republic (East Germany) fell under the influence of USSR or Communist

Bloc. The popular East-West divide was division of Europe and particularly division of mighty Germany, which remained an aggressor power throughout the half of 20th century. German division fulfills the purpose of weakening its power for a long time. The Korean War (1950) ushered in an era of the third party projections of bipolar rivalry. The emergence of People's Republic of China (communist China – 1949) as the second biggest communist state perfected the capitalist vs. communist dimension of the Cold War crisis. Korean War brought conflict between communist Korea (under the influence of China and USSR) and non-communist South Korea. US extended help to South Korea as a part of its containment policy. Then war seemed between communism and US. With the direct help of China the UN troops (led by US) were pushed back by North Koreans across the 38th parallel. This 38th parallel divided the Korea into North Korea and South Korea. Cuban missile crisis (1962) considered the greatest of all Cold War crisis. These crisis are concerned with Cuba, an American continent Island country, where the Castro regime was growing dependence upon the Soviet Union for economic aid, assistance and the placement of Soviet missiles and troops on Cuban territory. Castro was extremely against US hegemony over all American continent and strengthening Cuba for its independence in international relations. President Kennedy of US imposed a naval blockade on Cuba until the missiles were removed. Consequently, The Kennedy-Khurchev (USSR) communication during the Cuban crisis not only prevented a hot-war but it led to an era of détente. A number of doctrine and most of the defence and power alliance come into existence during this period. These alliances on both sides sharpened the crisis and vertically divided world and particularly Europe into two power blocks.

Truman Doctrine: To combat the communist danger, first important step taken by US President Truman in 1947. Truman doctrine advocated US intervention in any part of world to contain communism or declared to help to “free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements.” Truman doctrine endorsed by US Congress for defence of Greece and Turkey where communist threat was eminent due to Civil War.

Marshall Plan: US Secretary of State George Marshall formed a plan known as Marshall Plan. That the United States should do whatever it is able to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. USSR considered Marshall Plan as to control USSR's increasing popularity and influence. USSR rejected the plan and decided that communist countries will not take any advantage of the capitalist design of interference. Therefore this plan contributed to strengthen the economies of Western Europe and to make their dependence on US.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) – 1949:

The formation of NATO, its structure and sophistication, reflected the Western alliance's new purpose and the seriousness of the West's perception of East's aggressive tendencies and growing military power. This treaty was signed by 12 nations at Washington for the purpose of safeguarding the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their people founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and rule of law. The 12 original members were - US, United Kingdom, France, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Iceland, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Greece and Turkey joined in 1952 and West Germany in 1955.

Although, NATO's formation was under the rules and regulations of UN Charter. But practically it was not according in the spirit of these rules. There was tremendous criticism of NATO all over the world particularly from communist world which called it formation of military alliance and will disturb the pace of world and to increase international tension. The formation of NATO undoubtedly, had given rise to the opponent alliance called Warsaw Pact. Besides, the dominant position in NATO was being enjoyed by US and UK which undermined the sovereignty of other partners. Despite numerous shortcomings NATO had promoted political, social and military co-operation among member states and encouraged them to settle their mutual disputes and differences amicably.

Central Treaty Organization (CENTO):

US increased its influence to West Asia. In 1954 an alliance between a NATO member Turkey and Pakistan occurred in 1955. Turkey and Iraq joined an alliance known as Baghdad Pact. Later on Baghdad Pact was joined by Britain, Pakistan and Iran, renamed as CENTO. However USA never joined this pact but it was under auspicious of USA. In March 1979, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey left CENTO. By September 1979 CENTO was officially ceased to an existence. The purpose of Baghdad pact was to counter communist danger in the region. US was providing economic and military aid to member countries.

South – East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO):

Also known as Manila Pact - USA, UK, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and Philippines signed a pact at Manila in 1954. US bloc's concern here was Korean issue and if South Korea fall into communist zone then there will be no stop for communist bloc to reach one by one to South East Asian states. Pakistan withdrew its membership in 1972. France was also taking keen interest in SEATO by 1974, Australia and New Zealand decided not to participate in

SEATO sessions. Finally SEATO was dissolved in 1977. **ANZUS:** US pact with Australia and New Zealand with the purpose to secure pacific from communism.

Communist Bloc Alliances

Cominform: Communist Information Bureau created in response to Marshall Plan. Communist parties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, USSR and Czechoslovakia participated. The proposal of Cominform was to coordinate the policies of communist parties and mutual economic assistance to communist countries.

Sino-Soviet Treaty: Soviet Union made a treaty with China in 1950 – a treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance for thirty years duration. They promised to render military assistance in case of any threat by Japan and any other power.

Warsaw Pact: Communist bloc's Warsaw Pact was a response to NATO. In May 1955, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Romania, USSR and Czechoslovakia concluded a pact at Warsaw (Poland). Along with treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance the proposal was also made to set up joint command of armed forces of the signatory states with its headquarters in Moscow, to be headed by Soviet Marshal I.S. Koniev. Deputy Commander in Chief also appointed from other partners. The contracting parties agreed to settle international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the UN Charter and to develop economic and cultural ties.

All these doctrines, treaties and pacts certainly enhanced the tension between two blocs, divided the international relations into bi-polar order. Through these pacts Soviet Union and US both were trying to bring more and more areas under their influence. All important alliances were occurred during this phase of Cold War.

2. The Detente Era (1962-78):

According to Oxford Dictionary of Politics detente means literally 'loosening'. Detente was used to refer the periods of reduced tension in relations between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War. It was closely associated with the process of arms control, and the main period of détente ran from the Nuclear Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963) to the late 1970s. In brief we can say that détente means reduced hostilities, controlled conflict, competition and arms race. Era of more stability than arms race and deterrence.

According to Len Scot, "How far the arms race was the result of mutual misperceptions, how far the unavoidable outcome of irreconcilable political differences, are central questions. Some influential Americans believed that the Soviets were bent on world domination, which the communist rhetoric of world

revolution certainly encouraged. What is clear is that nuclear weapons provided context and pretext for their more dangerous confrontations, most notably when the Soviets deployed nuclear weapons in Cuba in 1962. It is also clear that when political confrontation gave way to Soviet – American detente, agreements on nuclear weapons became the most tangible achievement of detente.

1970s witnessed a shifting balance of power. There was Sino-US understanding by 1971. As then President Nixon referred early 1970s as an ‘age of Negotiation’.

US – Soviet relations steadily improved with the US withdrawal from Vietnam. The ideological rift between USSR – China was a thaw to ideological alliances. Rising China’s armed forces and nuclear arsenals added a new dimension to international relations. Besides, Willy Brandt, West German Chancellor (1969) enthusiastically pursued ‘Ostpolitik’ – aimed at reaching a series of constructive agreements between East and West. Poland tried to make comfortable relations with West Germany. The leading incidents towards East-West détente were:

- Nuclear Test Ban Treaty – 1962
- NPT – 1968
- Biological Weapons Conventions – 1972
- Conference on Security and Cooperation (CSCE) in US, Canada and Europe in which 33 European countries participated from both East and West Europe– 1975

3. New Cold War – 1979 to 1986

The new turn to Cold War occurred when in 1979 USSR forces’ direct intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. This was end of the detente era and started next face of Cold War. The Belgrade Conference on New Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) failed in 1977-78 due to US allegations that the Soviet Union was not honouring the pledges of human rights made in 1975. It was President Carter’s aggressive policy but Brezhnev (USSR) accused US (Jimmy Carter) of West’s interference in East’s internal affairs. Carter also demands concessions on immigration from Moscow.

USSR’s direct intervention with Soviet forces led to end of detente era. USSR was justifying its action that West was attempting to destabilize Afghanistan, a country bordered the USSR, a threat to USSR. Under President Reagan NATO took a decision to deploy American made cruise missiles towards the close of 1979, and the

advanced medium range Pershing II missile in West Europe. America intervened in El Salvador, Soviets in Nicaragua, Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique. Reagan Star War and Bomber B-20 programme aggravated the tension.

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev became President of USSR. He understood the actual hollowness of Soviet of communist economies. He made several efforts to reduce the tension between US and USSR. Loosened some pressure on East European countries. With the result there was German unification in 1990 and disintegration of USSR by 1991. Ultimately it was end of Cold War and bi-polarity at international scene.

IV

2.1.8 IMPACT OF COLD WAR ON WORLD POLITICS

- 7.8.1 Bi-Polar World Order:** Cold War power politics divided the world in two camps opposite to each other. All the world politics was guided by bi-polar world order. International organizations like UNO became also catapuller of bi-polar world politics. UN Security Council members a number of times misused its veto power in favour of their bloc members or camp followers. Foreign policy of not only bloc members but of non members had been dictated by bi-polar world structure. International order as bi-polar order maintained the balance of power. Obviously this bi-polar balance of power saved the world from any large scale world war.
- 7.8.2 Impact on European Colonialism:** US, who was against European colonialism in earlier period. Later on, to maintain the status-quo US started favouring European colonialism. It has given the advantage to USSR to become the 'Messiah' of Third World. USSR raised voice against colonialism at every platform. The Marxian leaders of these countries were leaning more heavily with communist camp.
- 7.8.3 Emergence of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM):** Cold War had given impetus to formation of NAM – an organization of new independent countries of Asia and Africa, or Latin America to keep their independence of the international relations. These countries wanted to take more advantages from both blocs while prevailing their autonomy. NAM was movement which loosened the bi-polar international order upto great extent. This organization along with UN played an active role to diffuse the tension between two blocs when ripened highly.
- 7.8.4 Arms Race:** Cold War's most dangerous impact was that most of the states indulged in arms race, developing more and more arms of mass-destruction, especially by US and USSR. For example the periods from 1945 to 1985 US developed from 2 to 11,200 bomb and warheads. USSR made from 0 to 9900

nuclear arms in the same period. China, France, England became nuclear powers.

7.8.5 Proxy Wars in Third World Countries: The highly advanced high-technology arms race encouraging two super-powers engaging in proxy wars areas other than Europe. The Korea, Vietnam, Suez Crisis, Cuba, Cambodia, Afghanistan etc. became victims of proxy wars by superpowers. Cold War also destabilized the social, political, and economic development of TWCs.

7.8.6 Impact on Economy: Cold War affected the whole world economy. It increased the difficulties of superpowers by high defence spending which resulted numerous economic problems. Developing countries were also following arms race and increased their defence budgets to maintain their security within the region. Bordering states were being aided by superpowers. India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, North Korea and South Korea are some examples.

2.1.9 Conclusion : In short, Cold War was one of most important happenings at international level, which engulfed the whole world into its influence. Almost half a century world relations have been dictated by bi-polar world order. Two superpowers dominated and maintained their hegemony at international level.

2.1.10 Self-check Exercise:

1. What do you mean by Superpowers & Major Powers. (2+2 marks)
2. Explain the meaning of Cold War. (4 marks)
3. Write the meaning of 'detente'. (4 marks)
4. What is Cold War? Explain the origin and bases of Cold War. (15 marks)
5. Discuss about different phases of Cold War. Explain also the impact of Cold War on World Politics. (15 marks)

2.1.11 Suggested Readings:

1. Andreas Wenger and Doron Zimmernann (2004), International Relations. New Delhi: Viva Books.
2. Urmila Sharma and S.K. Sharma (2000), International Relations: Theory and History. Vol. II, New Delhi: Atlantic.
3. Rama S. Melkote and A. Narsimha Rao (1992), International Relations. New Delhi: Sterling.

4. John Baylis and Steve Smith (2005), *The Globalization of World Politics*. New Delhi: Oxford.
5. Peter Calvocoressi (2004), *World Politics 1945-2000*. Delhi: Pearson.
6. Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan (2004), *Key Concepts in International Relations*. London: Routledge.

POST COLD WAR ERA

- 2.2.1 Objectives of this lesson
- 2.2.2 Introduction
- 2.2.3 The meaning of Post-Cold War Era
- 2.2.4 Disintegration of Soviet Union
- 2.2.5 Collapse of Communist Bloc
- 2.2.6 Consequences of collapse of Soviet Union
- 2.2.7 Future Possibilities
- 2.2.8 Conclusion
- 2.2.9 Self Check Exercise
- 2.2.10 Suggested Readings

2.2.1 Objectives of this lesson

1. To understand about Post-Cold War Era
2. To know the circumstances which led to collapse of Soviet Bloc
3. To learn about the consequences of collapse of Soviet Bloc

2.2.2 Introduction

Disintegration of Union of Soviet Social Republics (USSR) and the Communist Bloc was one of the most important events in international politics in the 20th century. Soviet Union which remained a superpower almost for four and half decades, who had posed deterrence to USA and its capitalist bloc, failed to be equal of opponent by 1990. Both **USSR** and **USA** respectively lead their respective power blocs for half a century. Not only that, even world politics was largely controlled by this bi-polar world order. Students of international relations spend a lot of time trying to understand things that actually did happen. Sometimes, however, it is just as interesting and equally important to ask about and understand those things that did not happen. The peace of Cold War provides a good example of just such a non event. For more than forty years, two of the greatest military powers of the world has ever known divided by an intense ideological rivalry, struggled against each other across the globe. But despite the intensity of the conflict, they never actually went to war with each other. In many ways this is a very curious outcome: It is unusual in international history for two great powers to compete against one another on such a scale and never fight. If any 'nonevent' cries out for an explanation, it is the curious peace that was the Cold War.

2.2.3 The meaning of Post Cold War Era

The events of 1989-91, from the collapse of the Iron Curtain (No connectivity between East and West Europe) to the dismantling of the Soviet Union in December 1991, represent a turning point in distinct respects. First, they marked the end of the broadly bi-polar structure, based on US-Soviet rivalry, which the international system has assumed since the late 1940s. A second set of important changes took place at the level of the nation-state. Former communist states experienced serious problems of transition ranging from economic collapse, which affected them all (most of the communist regions) to the disintegration of the state itself. Even those states which maintained communist systems, such as China, North Korea and Cuba, faced enormous challenges, since they had to accommodate themselves to position of increased marginality. Yet those states not in the throes of post-communist transition were also forced to redefine their national interests and roles in the light of the radical change in the international balance of power. This applied as much to large states such as the United States, whose policies had been promised on the Soviet threat, as the small states in the Third World which had been to greater or lesser degree 'client' states of the super powers.

It is instructive to remember how grim international politics looked by the middle of the 1980s and how much change occurred (mostly for the better) in the ensuing decade. By the end of 1988, the United States and the Soviet Union agree for the first time to dismantle a whole category of nuclear weapons. The eight year war between Iran and Iraq finally ended in 1988. The Soviets pulled their troops out of Afghanistan. There is a little doubt that most dramatic political events in the late 1980s and the first half of 1990s took place in the communist world. A decade of reforms in China culminated in massive pre-democracy demonstrations in Beijing in 1989. In Eastern Europe and especially in the Soviet Union, dramatic strides towards economic deterioration. Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985 and put into effect his policies of '*perestroika*' and '*glasnost*'.

The demise and eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union was unquestionably a major event that transformed critical aspects of international relations, especially in Europe. We are now over a decade and half into the post-cold war world. The mere fact that almost everyone still describes the period since 1989 as the 'Post – Cold War Era' is in itself telling. This is an era that remained defined by what it is not rather than what it is. Although all agree that we are no longer in the Cold War, there is no consensus about what sort of world has replaced it.

2.2.4 Disintegration of Soviet Union

Debate about the end of Cold War is mired in as much ideological controversy as is debate about its origins. One vision credits Ronald Reagan with having brought

the Cold War to an end by instigating a renewed US military buildup in the early 1980s, particularly in the form of Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) (the star war initiative) of 1983, thereby sparking off the '**Second Cold War**'. The result of this was that the USSR was drawn into an arms race that its already fragile economy could not sustain. In a broader form, this explanation has been elaborated by Fukuyama (1992) amongst others, into the triumphalist 'end of history' thesis. This thesis suggests that the West 'won' the Cold War ultimately because only US-style liberal democracy offered a viable economic and political system. Other versions, however, place heavier stress on the structural weakness of the Soviet economy and the catastrophic mishandling of the reform process by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Among the most striking features of communism's collapse was its suddenness, a surprise as much to most western experts on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as to political leaders and the public. It is true that revolutionary change by its nature contains a large element of the incalculable. Institutional inertia, social customs and psychological habit ensure that systems can maintain their outer shapes long after they have begun in decay internally. Perhaps the most useful general observation on the causes of revolution remains that of French political philosopher Alexis de Toequeville: that 'the most dangerous moment for a bad government is generally that in which it sets about reform'. This model, generalized as it is, is useful starting point for an understanding of Mikhail Gorbachev's revolutionary period in power. Gorbachev's 'new thinking' laid the groundwork for even more radical reforms by undercutting the moral and intellectual basis of the Stalinist state. Soviet-Style Communism had displayed all the characteristics of totalitarian rule, including central control over the armed forces, the mass media, and the economy; a dominant monopoly party; an official ideology; and a systematic program of terror against suspected political opponents and the mass murder of innocents deemed unworthy by the regime. The most important fact to keep in mind about the Soviet political and economic system before Gorbachev came to power in 1985 was that all power was centralized in the communist party, which governed the nation. Although separate government structures and institutions existed, they were mere reflections of the fundamental control the party exercised over Soviet political life. Furthermore, not only was the communist party the primary repository of political power, it was also the main source of social rank, power and privilege within the Soviet Union. The party was hierarchically organized, with sharp gradations in power and authority according to rank. All personnel matters, not only within the party but also in all other key Soviet institutions were tightly controlled by the party hierarchy. It was not Gorbachev's intention to dismantle the Soviet Union. His widely read political credo, '*Perestroika*' (1987), was firmly anti-stalinist but not anti-socialist. Gorbachev advocated through '*Perestroika*'

means 'restructuring: the political and economic restructuring. It referred the market oriented economic reforms, ending of the leading role of the communist party. To emprise law, allowing state enterprises to sell part of their product in the open market and also allowing foreign companies to won Soviet enterprises. He also introduced 'glasnost' which means greater openness and democratization: to promote principle of freedom to criticize; loosening of control on media and publications; and freedom of worship or religious freedom etc.. Policy change's under the influence of Gorbachev's these concepts lifted the pressure on people of different nationalities resulted in secession. The collapse of the Soviet Union was economic in nature. At the heart of the problem was the Soviet Union's command economy. Put simple, Soviet economic policy since its inception had been to increase inputs (e.g., labor, capital, raw material, and energy) to bolster production. Upto the 1960s this formula resulted in an impressive growth rate, because Soviet planners before then were still in route to mobilizing the full potential of all available wasteful. By contrast, capitalist economies carefully consider the extent and type of inputs used and compensated by maximizing productivity, that is, efficient production of goods. In the 1970s, as economic power rose to prominence, the Soviet input potential was employed to the limit; productivity stagnated. Industrial plants overdue for overhauls simple continued to produce goods of questionable quality, lacking stimuli that exist in open-market economies. Consequently it began to fall behind the standards set by international economy.

During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (by 1979 to 1988) as a consequence, the 120,000 Soviet soldiers stationed in Afghanistan incurred heavy losses by the standards of the day. Some 15,000 men perished in fighting the mujahideen between 1979 and Soviet withdrawal a decade later; 37,000 wounded during the war. The politbureau justified intervention in Afghanistan by referring to the Soviet Union's internationalist duty to support a fellow communist government. With the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, a significant change in the conduct of Soviet War took place. He realized that the war was imposing an unbearable financial and human toll on the strained Soviet economy. His conclusion was simple: all Soviet troops had to be withdraw, and the last chapter as soon as possible. Moreover, Gorbachev was under pressure to satisfy the west in its bid to improve Soviet relations with the United States, so peace in Afghanistan became imperative. Gorbachev finally agreed to withdraw all Soviet troops without any kind of settlement with mujahideen. Conversely, he did seek a settlement with the United States. An agreement with Reagan-stipulating that both superpowers cease all direct or indirect support for their clients. Consequently, Afghanistan was plunged into a protracted civil war.

2.2.5 Collapse of Communist Bloc

The story in the rest of the communist world was virtually the mirror image of that in China. In Eastern Europe, and especially the Soviet Union, dramatic strides towards political liberalization and democracy coincided with equally dramatic economic deterioration. Gorbachev instituted an equally profound revolution in foreign policy, especially in Soviet relations with its erstwhile satellites in Eastern Europe. "In 1989" according to one historian, "While the nations of Western Europe celebrated the bicentenary of the French Revolution, the nations of Eastern Europe re-enacted it." In that year, a long process of liberalization in political culminated in open parliamentary elections, and other states were soon to follow Poland's lead. As the Los Angeles Time (December 17, 1989) observed in the wake of 1989 revolution in Eastern Europe, "It took 10 years in Poland, 10 months in Hungary, 10 weeks in East Germany, and 10 days in Czechoslovakia." By the end of the year the regime of Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania had also been overthrown. By 1991, even the long-isolated regime in Albania was liberalizing in various ways. In October 1990, East and West Germany were united in one Federal Republic of Germany, and in 1991, the Warsaw pact was officially disbanded. The Cold War was over.

Moscow had good reason to fear that the 'nationality question' might sooner or later be the Soviet Union's undoing. Ironically, it was Gorbachev's reforms that created the climate in which the non-Russian nationalities could dare to strife for self-determination and independence. Glasnost, in particular, encouraged a climate of local criticism of the central government and the communist party. The immense psychological impact of this decision (to allow satellite states – Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania to leave the Soviet fold) was increased by the geographical proximity of many of the republics to these East European nations. Independence became a political idea that was catching. With the demise of Soviet Union, independence for all the republics became a reality. Consequently, the independence movement surged in the Baltic states first, where **Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia** (which had been independent for a time before they were seized by Stalin under his infamous 1939 pact with Hitler) pushed the peace of reform further and faster than Gorbachev intended. In 1990, Lithuania led the way. On March 11, 1990, it formally declared its independence from Moscow followed by others. President Gorbachev attempted to stabilize the situation with a new Union Treaty that redefined the relationship between the central government and the republics. This treaty was heavily tilted in favour of the republics, so much so that some experts saw it as fundamentally transformation the very nature of Soviet state. For instance, the treaty permitted the republics to conduct their own diplomatic and commercial relations with other countries, reserved to them the right to secession, and permitted them to suspend national law. It was probably not coincidental that

the attempt to remove Gorbachev from power took place on the eve of this treaty's signing. After the coup's failure, the treaty became moot as the floodgates were opened, and a majority of republics announced their intention to become independent. In December 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe marked most graphically by the destruction of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, was intimately related to events in the Soviet Union but also had roots of its own. The nations of Eastern Europe (East Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Hungary etc.) had experienced only forty years of communist rule as opposed to the seventy years of the Soviet Union and in all cases except Yugoslavia had communism imposed on them rather than choosing it themselves. The suddenness of communist collapse in Eastern Europe, and the realistic ease with which citizens shed the habits of forty years, suggests that those habits were to a considerable extent a matter of form. One important force which had held them in place since the late 1940s was the threat of Soviet intervention to reimpose orthodoxy should Eastern Europeans stray from the path set down for them. Gorbachev's top-down approach to reforming Soviet rule did have an impact on the member states of the Warsaw Pact. The introduction of perestroika and glasnost resulted in rapid delegitimization of communism in Eastern Europe. Gorbachev's reform policy was interpreted as an abnegation of traditional Soviet imperial claims. Between 1989 and 1991, there followed a chain reaction that resulted in the disengagement of communist Eastern Europe from Soviet domination. Poland was the first Soviet satellite to break away. Discontent with the communist leadership and the declining standard of living in Poland gave rise to *solidarnosc* (solidarity) during the 1980s, a movement that had its roots in the heavy industry unions. In April 1989, *solidarnosc* was legalized and free elections were negotiated with the government for June 1989. Following the elections in August 1989, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was confirmed as the first non-communist Prime Minister of Poland. During the same month, the regime of Janos Kadar was overthrown in Hungary; in October the single-party system was abolished and political opposition was legalized. By the end of 1989, East European states had successfully overthrown communist rule. Shortly, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania forced communist governments out of power.

A new era of cooperation among European states had its emergence. West Germany and East Germany got united. Berlin Wall, the symbol and physical manifestation of Cold War in Europe got demolished. However, the wall was a propaganda disaster for East Germany and the Communist bloc. It became key symbol of what Western powers regarded as communist tyranny, particularly after the high profile shootings of would be defectors. Political liberalization in the late 1980s, associated with the decline of Soviet Bloc, led East Germany to relax border

restrictions, culminating in mass demonstrations and the fall of the East German government. The wall was destroyed by a euphoric public in the several weeks of November 1989, and its fall was the first step toward German unification, which was formally concluded on October 3, 1990.

All this happened in East Europe largely due to '**Brezhnev doctrine**' of 'limited sovereignty'. It was introduced to curb the East European uprising from 1956 in Hungary to 1968 in Czechoslovakia. Later on by 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev abandoned the Brezhnev doctrine. His reluctance to enforce the Brezhnev doctrine was that he had made much in his speeches and writings of this vision of a common European home which would bring to an end the division of Europe. He envisaged a reformed and reinvigorated communist system pursuing moderate policies of genuinely peaceful coexistence with the west. Gorbachev's 'new thinking' in foreign policy generally ruled out the kind of aggressive and interventionist policies which were being pursued in later Brezhnev years. It was in these circumstances that governmental authority decayed in Poland and Hungary during the early months of 1989 and finally collapsed in all of Eastern Europe by the end of the year.

2.2.6 Consequences Of Collapse Of Soviet Bloc

The demise of Soviet Union or Communist block was the beginning of new era of independence not only for 15 republics that comprised old USSR, but also of eastern communist countries. Soviet Republics became highly contentious about new negotiations proposed by Moscow. The Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia) and Georgia refused to consider entering a new association with Russia on any terms. The other eleven republics eventually agreed to join the loose-knit federation, the *Commonwealth of Independent States* (CIS), but reserved the right to opt out at any time. Ukraine second only to Russia in territory, population and wealth has been particularly suspicious of Moscow's motives and truculent in its insistence on unimpeded freedom of action.

The demise of Soviet Bloc taken by left as the reaction, understandably more varied and complex, has been again along predictable lines. The collapse of a system which nurtured and sustained the hopes of generation after generation of socialists throughout the world is a dreadful event from the point of view of socialists everywhere – this is how Ralf Miliband put it at the very outset. It has been seen as a tragedy and a defeat not only for the 'faithfuls' among them but for the critics too, who had criticized in the hope of a change for the better and had never even remotely visualized this change for worst. It is a defeat not because the regimes in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union were models of the society the socialists want, but because they and the political movements influenced by them were the focus of world wide challenge to capitalist power, capitalist morality and culture. Socialists who had no

illusions about the Soviet Union nevertheless viewed it as a strategically significant entity. As G.A. Cohen has underlined it: The Soviet Union needed to be there as a defective model so that, with one eye on it, we could construct a better one. It created a non-capitalist space in which to think about socialism. The collapse of Soviet Bloc was unquestionably extremely important event of 20th century international politics. Its impact was irreparable and immeasurable all over the world. We will discuss here its major consequences on various nations and international politics.

2.2.6.1 End of Cold War: The Four decades old Cold War between two power blocs, which created the bi-polar nuclear world divided, which dominated the world politics, was ended with the demise of Soviet Bloc and disintegration of USSR. There was East-West dichotomy, as Europe has been divided into two parts. East Europe – the communist Europe and its alliance has been with USSR. The Western Europe – the capitalist Europe and its alliance was with USA. Both the power blocs conflicting on several international issues, particularly at UN and UN Security Council. Security Council usually had been handwork of this bi-polarism during Cold War period. Every international issue, problem, conflict had been engulfed and coloring by Cold War politics. With elimination of one Bloc (Communism) Cold War was over automatically.

2.2.6.2 Impact on Intellectual Community or Marxism: The retreat from socialism has inevitably meant a retreat from Marxism. In fact, in its entire history, no specific development has more single handedly opened the floodgates of attack on Marxism, its analytic categories and political project than the collapse of the degenerate and deformed regimes in the Soviet Union and East Europe. This world historic event, whose substantive origins lay in a series of developments in the post-Lenin Soviet Union, coupled with the stagnation, retreat or even defeats of the revolutionary movements in recent years, has negatively conditioned, in its process and combination, so much of what is happening around and within Marxist theory today. 'Actually existing socialism' was born of revolutions primarily led by Marxists, had proclaimed Marxism as its official ideology and in its own way represented the first major seemingly successful revolutionary wave against capitalism. It should not be difficult to understand, therefore, that its collapse is seen as defeat of Marxism itself by its opponents. In their anti-communist perspective which refuses to make any distinction at all between theory and practice. Although the collapse of the Cold War provided further space for developments in thinking to flourish, reflective critical thought on the discipline, its purpose, methods and agenda. From at least 1980s new ideas had been introduced into IR (Study of International Relations) debates that departed from both realist and mainstream liberal ways of thinking as well as from orthodox Marxist analysis. By 1990s IR textbook included largely about

feminism, postmodernism, environmentalism or the role of culture in world politics. During the period from 1989 onwards some grand ideas about world politics emerged to fill at least part of vacuum left by the collapse the old world order. These ranged from Francis Fukuyama's announcement of the 'end of history' to Samuel Huntington's forebodings concerning a 'clash of civilizations'. The latter especially, has implications for post Cold War developments such as the incidence of deadly conflict that appears to revolve around issues of 'identity' politics, including culture, ethnicity or religion. In certain parts of the world, especially the Asia-Pacific region, the concept of culture has also featured in casual theories relating to economic growth. Ideas about culture now play a significant role in some branches of security studies as well as normative theory.

2.2.6.3 East Europe: The Demise of communism in Eastern Europe was welcomed with great enthusiasm in the West. In Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the new popularly elected governments moved quickly to solidify democratic reforms and dismantle the failed machinery of central planning.

a. *The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe:* It ranks as one of the most momentous political events of the post – World War II period, not least because it signalled the end of Cold War. This fact was underscored by Gorbachev's agreement not only to allow German reunification but also to withdraw the Soviet Union's nearly 400,000 troops from Eastern Germany and to allow the reunited Germany to remain in NATO. No less significant was Moscow's acquiescence in the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, which was formally accomplished in the spring of 1991. German Unification (1990) was neither welcomed by the other European powers (France, England) who worried about its impact on the peace, nor much looked by many in West Germany who feared that economic cost of unity were bound to outweigh the alleged political benefits. But the short term pain endured by United Germany should not however obscure our understanding of the historical significance of unification. Germany in the end was one of the more obvious international 'winners' of the 1990s.

b. *German Unification:* The division of Germany and of Berlin were resented deeply by the German people. The demand for political and economic liberalization in East Europe received a great impetus from the changes in Soviet Union after Gorbachev came to power. In November 1989 East Germans were granted freedom to leave and cross over the West at any point along the country's borders, including the crossing points through the Berlin Wall. The Kremlin greeted the opening of the wall as 'wise' and 'positive'. Erich Honeker, the East German party chief, resigned and Egon Krenz Oho took over the pursuit of Perestroika in East Germany. The

breaking of the Berlin Wall was welcomed by the people all over a historic event. Once the wall was broken East and West Germany struck down the barriers between them and set on the path of unification. Free elections were held in East Germany on March 18, 1990, followed by economic union on July 1. In September 1990, the four World War II allies signed an agreement to end their remaining occupation rights. On October 3, 1990, unified Germany's flag (Black, Red and Gold) was hoisted in front of the Reichstag in Berlin. The German merged with eleven states of Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). One thing that seems to emerge from the changes in both East and West Europe is that the US and the USSR will no longer direct European affairs, much less exercise hegemony.

- c. *The Breakup of Czechoslovakia:*** After the fall of communism in Czechoslovakia, the Slovakian problem emerged. The Slovak question, which threatened the cohesion of the state. The Slovaks' penchant for independence was advanced in 1992. Slovaks were alienated by the Czechs' preponderance within the federation. The Czechs also reneged on promise to Slovaks a measure of autonomy. Another reoccurring problem that fueled resentment was questions over use of the Slovak language, which hitherto had not been recognized as the official first language in Slovakia. Thus following the decline of communism, the Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar seized the first possible opportunity to break away from the federation. At least, the separation occurred toward the end of 1992. The absence of violence during the difficult transition from the multinational federation to nation-state attests to the unusually high sagacity and foresight among the leaders of two people.
- d. *Yugoslavia:*** By 1990, democracy and free elections had replaced communism. Accompanying the rise of democracy came unleashing of divisive ethnic fervor and the creation of numerous native parties among Yugoslavia's many peoples. Economic collapse accompanied the uprising of nationalistic feelings as production, trade and tourism all declined dramatically while bankruptcies and unemployment rose. By June 1991, Croatia and Slovakia, the two wealthiest, northern Yugoslav republics, declared independence. What followed was a bloody Civil War which claimed an estimated 10,000 casualties. The efforts of these republics proved largely successful and by January 1992 both were widely recognized as independent nation-states. In addition, the Yugoslav republics themselves had their own internal ethnic divisions and soon declared independence. In Bosnia-Herzegovina a referendum was held in 1992. Bosnian Muslims and Croats voted in favour of leaving Yugoslavia and forming a new state.

Thereafter the most tragic of post – Cold War European conflicts unfolded with great speed and intensity exacting and appalling price in terms of lives lost, people displaced and property destroyed. Finally, on 22 December 1995, a US brokered peace deal was signed by warring parties at Dayton. But the states of Kosovo which remained under Serbian rule was finally resolved in 1999 after an extensive air war conducted by NATO against Serbia, following which Kosovo was made into formal protectorate under the protection of West.

- e. The Expansion of NATO:** Again US played the central role in solving the Balkans (Kosovo) problem of Europe. Then one of the most obvious is the extent to which Europe after the Cold War remained every bit as dependent on the USA for its security as it had been before. Then among the most critical actions in Europe after 1989 were the American decision to expand NATO and to offer full membership to several former members of the Warsaw Pact including Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary – who joined in 1994. And Baltic Republics Bulgaria and Romania joined ten years later. USA under Clinton administration was convinced that there is no European answer to European problem with some resentment American pressure is remained in Europe.

8.6.2 The South or the Third World: The affect of dismantling communism obviously was serious on the Third World countries. Firstly, although the East Europe disturbed the communist regimes in South. Somehow Cuba and North Korea have become successful for persisting their communist political system till now with greater efforts. Tienamen Square Event (1989) in China was chain effect of withdrawal of communism in Eastern Europe. Gorbachev visited China in the same year and minimized the serious misunderstandings in between two. Secondly, the socialist model of economy came under pressure in Third World after demise of communism. There was imposition of market oriented policies in these countries e.g. Brazil, India, Mexico etc. Thirdly, the concept of non-alignment and even third world were being challenged as its existence. It has been considered that both these concepts related to bi-polar world structure. Where there was role to play for the South as the Third Force. Now it is the changed situation. Fourthly, disintegration of USSR or whole Soviet bloc seriously affects the third world economies and trade, because East Bloc was trading with the third world countries. The demise of it obviously caused serious problem for them. Fifthly, the ethnic or violent movements emerged in several third world countries which have been victim of US-USSR power politics e.g. Iraq, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Libya etc.

2.2.6 US Hegemony and Gulf War: With the Soviet withdrawal from a position of America's adversary, the nature of international relations is perceived as US domination over the rest of the world. A unipolar world is perceived in which the US will have the control of the working of UN as well as the power to shape or mould the international affairs at global level. This perception could be justified by first Gulf War and Kosovo crisis where US played a central role to establish its hegemony.

2.2.7 FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

Globalization is another significant trend in the post – Cold War period with which states are struggling. Although the economies of the world have been very interdependent since the European powers began colonizing the globe and interdependence increased dramatically by the early 1970s. Free trade often clashes with other issues such as security, human rights, labor standards and environmental regulations.

According to Ian Clark, 'There are still significant elements of continuity, especially in terms of the American influence in the world and the perpetuation of the institutions created under American tutelage during the Cold War'. The ending of Cold War has not brought with it any fundamental alteration in the scope of American power and commitments throughout the world. US forces remain in Japan, Korea, and Europe, though in somewhat smaller numbers, just as they were at the height of the Cold War. The passing of the Soviet military alliance in Europe, the Warsaw Pact, has not been accompanied by the end of the American alliance, NATO. The Gulf War, considered at the time of possible harbinger of a new world order, demonstrated the continuing centrality of the United States. a handful of other nations contributed military forces, money and military bases, but the outcome was determined by the military power of United States. The 2003 war which toppled Saddam Hussein (and now executed) was, with the significant exception of Great Britain, almost entirely an American undertaking. Even with the reductions in US military spending that accompanied of capability and willingness to challenge the military power of the United States. Whether one wishes to refer to this as American 'hegemony', 'dominance', or 'unipolarity', the basic point remains the same. Ian Clark highlights again this point in remarking on the essential continuing in the role of American power.... There are institutions that were created during the Cold War, and which were almost defining attributes of it, that still endure into the post – Cold War era.

The triumph of capitalism therefore did not lead to an improvement in the lives of billions of people, a point made not just by radicals critical of status quo, but also by those who insist that after the failure of planning (of communism – socialist

system), capitalism stands alone as the only feasible way rationally of organizing a modern economy. A well known Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, admired by many rightists viewed (2001 The hour of Capitalism's Triumph) 'its hour of crisis'. After ten years of reform, restructuring, and dancing to the 'economic tune' of the experts at the IMF, the masses are still waiting. Communism has been seen off, he accepts, and possibly for good. But its demise has not for the most part seen a viable capitalism kick-started in those parts of the world where it was not already well established. The 'new world order' thus looks like the old one with North America, Europe and parts of Asia still in economic command. Everything has changed, or soon it seems, but the fundamentals remain the same.

2.2.8 Conclusion

Finally, September 11, 2001 marked the end of the post – Cold War era. The key factors shaping world politics since 9/11 has been Islamic terrorism and the United States – led war on terror, US foreign policy has come under sustained attack after it decided to go to war against Iraq. The world is now a less stable place that it was before 9/11.

2.2.9 Self-check Exercise

1. What do you mean by post-cold war era. (4 marks)
2. Write a paragraph on collapse of Communist Bloc. (4 marks)
3. Discuss the circumstances which led to demise of Communist Bloc. (15 marks)
4. What are the consequences of collapse of Communist Bloc. (15 marks)

2.2.10 Suggested Readings

1. Keith L. Shimko (2005), International Relations. Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
2. Richard Crockatt, The End of Cold War, in John Baylis et al. (2005), The Globalization of World Politics. Oxford, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
3. James Lee Ray and Juliet Kaarbo (2005), World Politics. Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
4. Andreas Wenger and Doron Zimmernann (2004), International Relations from the Cold War to the Globalized World. New Delhi: Viva Books.
5. Randhir Singh (2006), Crisis of Socialism. New Delhi: Ajanta International.
6. Stephanie Lawson (2003), International Relations. Oxford: Polity.

SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL CO-OPERATION (SAARC)

- 2.4.1 Objectives of this lesson
- 2.4.2 Introduction
- 2.4.3 Regional Organisations
- 2.4.4 Origin of SAARC
- 2.4.5 Important summit meetings of SAARC
- 2.4.6 Conclusion
- 2.4.7 Self Check Exercise
- 2.4.8 Suggested Readings

2.4.1 Objectives of this lesson

1. To understand about what is regional cooperation
2. To learn about the emergence of SAARC
3. To study the various developments which occur through various summit meetings of SAARC.

2.4.2 Introduction

Regionalism as a distinct approach to promote security and development among a group of countries belonging to specific geographical area emerged mainly after the second world war. It is primarily a western concept and its emergence in other parts of the world has been quite a late development. With the emergence of a larger number of sovereign states all over the world, the focus, character and nature of international politics underwent a tremendous change. It no longer was confined to the West or European region and the newly emerged nation states strove to play an important, if not strategic role in the shaping of world politics. Regionalism was considered to be one of the ways which could give fulfilment to such role. As none of the new national states was powerful enough to safeguard its security, fulfil the developmental programmes, it was considered plausible to make cooperative efforts to retain their newly won independence and solve developmental problems. Even in the developed world this was considered a more beneficial hence the emergence of European Community. European Economic Community is considered to be a model for all the later regional ventures in the third world.

2.4.3 Regional Organizations

In order to meet many development challenges including improvement of economy, certain cooperative institutions gradually emerged in the third world regions. Arab League, Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Association for South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) etc. are some examples of this. Except ASEAN all the

other regional grouping have been primarily political in nature. ASEAN provides a successful example of regional cooperation to the third world as a whole. Though ASEAN was formally established in August 1967 by the five South East Asian nations. Yet, it took almost 10 years to become viable.

Regionalism in South Asia is a very recent development. Even though the region witnessed decolonisation earlier than Africa or Latin America. Yet, it was in the early eighties that the idea of regional association was mooted. The reason may be attributed that the ruling regimes of the countries of the region did not find it appropriate enough. Despite several common characteristics and given potential conditions of regionalism, the most important reason could be that the area though geographically continuous, socio-economically and ethnically homogenous, has been ridden with conflicts. The countries of the region were handicapped and could not think of inculcating mutual co-operation.

2.4.4 Origin of SAARC

After 1971, with the emergence of Bangladesh and signing of 1972 Shimla Agreement between India and Pakistan inculcated an atmosphere as the Agreement created some hopes of normal and friendly relationship between the two countries. Evidently, the responsibility of the implementation of the idea of regionalism in South Asia depended solely on the attitude of these two core countries. The new regimes in South Asia seemed to atmosphere in the subcontinent. Subsequently, it generated considerable enthusiasm for greater regional harmony and cooperation.

Besides the economic crisis was deepening in South Asia. Economic inequalities widened in the sub-continent under new pressures. With the frustrating prospects at the global economic level, including North-South negotiations. South Asian countries have enough compulsions to look inward into the region and towards each other in order to seek new options for preparing themselves. Maldives and Sri Lanka welcomed the idea and endorsed the proposal. India and Pakistan showed reluctance in endorsing it and wanted more time to study the proposal.

Despite the reluctance and unenthusiastic stance taken by both the major nations of the region, first meeting of the Foreign Secretaries of the seven nations was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka from April 21-23, 1981. Till the first Ministerial meeting of the South Asian countries, there were almost four foreign Secretaries Meeting which did the ground work for the launching of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SMAARC).

The Indian Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi while inaugurating the meeting of South Asian Foreign Ministers, drew attention towards the similarities of the region. At the same time she stressed on the diversity of the region also. The Ministerial level meeting endorsed it and put a seal of political authority on the work done by the Foreign Secretaries in their meetings since 1981 through the adoption of a "Declaration of South Asian Regional Cooperation" in the New Delhi on 2 August,

1988. The declaration described the regional cooperation as “beneficial, desirable and necessary” and was hoped that while promoting socioeconomic development and collective self reliance **SAARC** would also contribute towards, “friendship amity and understanding” among their people and “mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the national aspiration of the countries of the region.” The declaration was divided into three sections; objective and principle, institutional arrangements and financial arrangement. The declaration adopted eight objectives which pertained to mainly three areas: (a) to improve the quality of life of the peoples, to accelerate the socio-economic progress and cultural development by relying on the principle of collective self reliance, (b) emphasised upon building mutual trust and to meet the challenges. Because of the internal compulsions of the nations of the region such as poverty, tension and conflicts between the nations, extra regional interests also increased in the region with the passage of time. All these things compelled then ruling regimes to take some practical steps towards regional cooperation so that these challenges could be met with collective efforts.

The initiative of present form of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) was taken by the Bangladesh's President Zia-Ur-Rehman in his communication to the heads of government of six other South Asian Countries - Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, President Ziaur Rehman proposed in May, 1980 that a summit meeting of the leaders of seven South Asian countries - Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, he held to “explore the possibilities of establishing a frame work for regional cooperation. President Ziaur Rehman's initiative was followed by series (if exchange of views). Consequent to these talks it was decided that meeting at the level of Foreign Secretaries be held first to prepare the ground for ministerial meeting which would be followed by a summit meet.

A draft paper was prepared by Bangladesh and circulated in November 1980 which became the basis of discussion at the Foreign Secretaries meeting. It had three **important features:**

- (1) Defining of objectives of regional cooperation priority was given to political and security objectives.
- (2) The draft identified eleven specific “non political” “non controversial” areas of cooperation.
- (3) Various institution and organisation schemes of regional cooperation were suggested.

The Bangladesh proposal and the draft paper evoked mixed reactions in the seven member states. Whereas Bhutan, Nepal understanding intra regional-level and to promote cooperation in economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields, at regional level, it indicates the aspirations for South cooperation and to evolve regional policy on international matters for their effective participation in

international and regional organisations. Presently there are eight members of SAARC. The latest member is Afghanistan.

The preface of the Declaration stressed upon the consciousness of the seven nations of the problems and aspirations of the peoples of the South Asia. The section on "General Provisions" reiterated the principle of unanimity and exclusion of the "bilateral and continuous issues" from the deliberations at all levels of decision making of SAARC. Financial arrangements provided for the importance of mobilising regional resources on the basis of voluntary contributions.

There are four ministerial level meetings proceeding the summit meet male Thimpu and Dhaka. The standing committee, of the Foreign Secretaries of the seven Asian countries met Dhaka and approved the emblem of SAARC in the Thimpu meeting, it was decided to rechristen the association as South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

2.4.5 Important summit meetings of SAARC

The first ever summit of SAARC was held at Dhaka on 7-8 December 1985. In this meet the character of SAARC was adopted. It had a preamble and ten articles. Article I of the charter specified the objectives of SAARC which were the same eight objectives as contained in the declaration. There were provisions for standing committee and technical committee which shall submit their reports to the standing committee and the chairmanship will rotate alphabetically every two years.

The thrust of Dhaka Declaration was two pronged. On the one side the Declaration reiterated all the clauses of SAARC charter and earlier declarations; on the other, that SAARC leader realised the need of a wider role for the group in international politics though from the very inception of the idea to the first official meeting of the Foreign Secretaries in 1983, it had been reiterated that no bilateral issues would be considered at any level and all the decisions would be, by the principles of unanimity at all levels, it is former which were shadows the principle of unanimity.

The launching of SAARC at the first summit meeting in Dhaka was generally welcomed by countries of the world. Though there was reaction in the India media. It was criticised that economic development, trade, industry, energy and so on were not brought within the scope of SAARC.

The Second SAARC summit was held at Bangalore on 16-17 November 1986. The Bangalore Declaration adopted the conclusion of the Summit meeting and it was decided that the Secretary General would be appointed by the council of ministers on a nomination of a member state on the basis of the principle of rotation in alphabetical order for a period of two years. One of the highlights of Summit was the decision to set up a technical committee on the prevention of drug.

Trafficking and drug abuse which was to be headed by Pakistan. Two years old SAARC had acquired trafficking and drug an institutionalised status with the

establishment of Secretariat's early summit meets, meetings of Foreign Secretaries and Foreign Ministers and formation of different groups and different committees. At the outset only it was decided to include only those areas which were least contentious and could forge unity and commonality of thought within the passage two years terrorism and drug trafficking were also brought into the ambit.

The third meeting at Kathmandu signed two agreements one on regional food security reserve and other on a regional convention on suppression of terrorism. The Heads of State/Government re-affirmed their agreement to expand SAARC activities in other concrete areas of cooperation in order to ensure more tangible benefits from SAARC to the people of the region.

The venue of the fourth SAARC summit was shifted from Colombo to Islamabad because of the ethnic crisis Sri Lanka. All the members agreed that the progress of SAARC was not very satisfaction in the desired direction. Though Islamabad summit repeated the sentiments expressed in the earlier summits, yet it also come out with some new strategies. It suggested a regional plan called SAARC 2000 integrated plan to provide basic needs such as shelter, education and literacy to over billion population of the region by the turn of century.

There was a gap of one year before the fifth SAARC summit could be held in Male. The summit meet was to held from November 21-23, 1990. In this meeting the Pakistan Foreign Minister surprised the observed by seeking to enlarge the scope of SAARC summits by suggesting that these should also discuss political issues concerning the region as well as bilateral disputes among the member countries. This was despite the fact that the SAARC charter prohibits explicitly consideration of such issues at any level except in the informal bilateral talks.

The ministers decided to share information and exchange reports, studies and publications with the European Community and Association of South: East Asian Nations. The deliberations held at Male Summit make it amply clear that the divergent issues raised by different heads of State/Government could not have raised the prospectus of cooperation. For instance Pakistan Prime Minister's direct and clear cut call for a binding agreement" on Renunciation nuclear weapons at the SAARC level nulied as earlier impression that Pakistan is sofering on attitude question of remain providing. Moreover, there were difference on the perspectives among the SAARC members which seemed to have made it, difficult to envisage their action together. To have agreement only on a few non-controversial issues does not appear to be a promising prospects for cooperation unless shared perspective are cultivated.

The sixth SAARC meet which was held in Colombo in January 1992 was proceeded by unforeseen development. The meeting which was to be held in November 1991 was postponed on the plea that the Bhutan King could not come

personally. After much efforts and deliberations the meeting held in Colombo and it was again reiterated the same earlier deliberations.

In this meeting member countries examines the Sri Lanka's proposal for SAPTA. This summit mainly focussed on poverty alleviation and suppression of terrorism. The heads of State or Governments reaffirmed the importance of attaining the target of providing primary education to all the children by the year 2000;

The Seventh SAARC summit held in Dhaka on 10-11 April, 1993 approved common cultural activities to promote people to people contact and establishment of an Inter-Governmental Group (IGG) and South Asian Development Fund (SADF). The council of ministers signed the frame work of agreement of SAPTA in Dhaka in this summit, which provides for various approaches to trade liberalization such as across the board tariff reduction, sectoral approach and direct trade measures.

The eighth SAARC summit held in New Delhi from 2 to 4 May, 1995. This summit achieved the economic agreement named SAPTA. SAARC countries gave tariff concession on various commodities for member countries. They made strategies at micro and macro levels for eradication of poverty. They emphasised on the need for exceptional finance to facilitate implementation of economic reform programmes in SAARC countries. SAARC members reaffirmed their commitment to universally accepted principles and norms relating to the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all states.

Ninth SAARC Summit held in Male 14th May 1997. In this meeting member countries made a proposal for the establishment of **South Asian Free Trade Area** (SAFTA). They emphasised the need to make the integrate programme of action more effective through the selection of target oriented. They reiterated their commitment to continue endeavours to eradicate illiteracy for the region. In international political development, they recognised the need to make the security council more representative, democratic and transparent, so that it is better equipped to uphold its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The tenth SAARC summit held in Colombo on 31 July, 1998. The Head of State or Government reiterated their commitment to the promotion of mutual trust and understanding and recognising that the aims of promoting peace, stability and amity and accelerated socio-economic cooperation may best be achieved by fostering good neighbourly relations. The Head of State or Government therefore urged the conference on disarmament to commence negotiations on a comprehensive, universal and non-discriminatory international instrument prohibiting the use or the threat of nuclear weapons as well as eliminating such weapons in existing arsenals.

Eleventh SAARC summit held in Kathmandu on 4-6 January, 2002. The State and Governments recognised SAARC as an apex body, which had a large pace about information, communication, cultural development, poverty alleviation, science and technology environment, health and traditional medicine and commerce etc.

including the areas for cooperation like empowerment of women promotion of health and stress was given on combating the diseases in the region. They recognized the need for further promoting a sense of regional identity amongst the people of the region by people to people contact.

Twelfth SAARC Summit held in Islamabad on 4th to 6th January, 2004. It has been considered as an historic summit which cleared the implementation of SAFTA reaffirmed their faith in economic cooperation and adopted the resolution to fight against terrorism. SAARC leaders signed a 10 point social charter to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia. The member agreed to give highest priority to poverty alleviation in the whole region. They agreed that access to basic education, adequate housing, safe drinking water and primary health care should be guaranteed in legislation, executive and administrative provision.

Significantly, the SAARC nations declared that all forms of discrimination and violence against women are offences and this is violence of human rights. They emphasised on transportation, transit and communication links across the region for accelerating and balanced economic growth. They are suggested for setting up a South Asian Bank should be examined by SAARC Finance. The year 2004 and 2005 respectively declared as “*SAARC Awareness Year*” and South Asia Tourism Year. This SAARC Summit provided a very useful opportunity for the leader of the region to develop better understanding. India and Pakistan has been understanding each other more by this summit in the field of development and peace. It brings in focus the close connection between political, economic and security issues. In this summit member states aimed the implementation of SAFTA from 2006. The signing of the frame work agreement on SAFTA is a major milestone. This agreement opens way for free flow of goods, services and investment within SAARC countries. In this Summit people’s Republic of Bangladesh to host the Thirteenth SAARC Summit in 9-11 January, 2005.

Thirteenth Summit

The thirteenth summit was held in Dhaka, on 12-13 November 2005, and was attended by the Prime Ministers of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, the presidents of Maldives and Sri Lanka, and the King of Nepal. The issues discussed were regional cooperation, poverty alleviation, Advancing economic cooperation, South Asia's social challenges, South Asia's environmental challenges and natural disasters, combating terrorism, security of small states, people to people contact and cultural cooperation, international political and economic environment.

Fourteenth Summit

The fourteenth summit of SAARC was held in New Delhi, India on 3rd-4 April 2007. and was attended by the presidents of Afghanistan, the Maldives and Sri Lanka and the prime ministers Bhutan, India, Nepal and Pakistan and the Chief advisor of the

government of Bangladesh. In this summit the main issues were energy, water, growth, trade, transport and trade facilitation, doing business in South Asia.

Fifteenth Summit

The fifteenth summit of SAARC was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka on 1-3 August 2008. The issues discussed were regional cooperation, partnership for growth for peoples of South Asia, connectivity, energy, the environment, water resources, poverty alleviation, the SAARC Development Fund, transport, information and communications technology development, science and technology, tourism, culture, the South Asian Trade Area, the SAARC social charter, women and children, education, combating terrorism, and admission of Australia and Myanmar as observes.

Food Security

At the summit, one of the major points of discussion was the global food crises. The SAARC heads of government made a statement saying "in view of the emerging global situation of reduced food availability and Worldwide rise in food prices, we direct that an Extra-ordinary meeting of the Agriculture Ministers of the SAARC Members States be convened in New Delhi, India in November 2008, to evolve and implement people-centred short to medium term regional strategy and collaborative projects". They also acknowledged the need to forge greater cooperation with the international community to ensure the food availability and nutrition security.

Sixteenth Summit

The sixteenth summit was held in Thimphu, Bhutan on 28-29 April 2010. Bhutan hosted the SAARC Summit it for the first time. This was marked the silver jubilee celebration of SAARC that was formed in Bangladesh in December 1985. Climate change was the central issue of the summit with summit's theme "Towards a Green and Happy South Asia". Outcome of Thimphu summit regarding climate change issue:

SAARC leaders signed a SAARC Convention on Cooperation on Environment to tackle the problem of climate change.

The SAARC nations also pledged to plant 10 million trees over the next 5 years.

India proposed setting up of climate innovation centres in South Asia to develop sustainable energy technologies.

India services of India's mission on sustaining the Himalayan Ecosystem to the SAARC member states saying that the initiative could serves as a nucleus for regional cooperation in this vital area.

India announced " India endowment for Climate Change" in South Asia to help member states meet their urgent adaption and capacity building needs posed by the climate change.

The seven-page 'Thimphu Silver Jubilee Declaration-Towards a green and Happy South Asia' emphasized the importance of reducing dependence on high-carbon technologies for economic growth and hoped promotion of climate resilience will promote both development and poverty eradication in a sustainable manner.

Seventeenth Summit

The seventeenth summit was held from 10-11 of November 2011 in Addu city, Maldives. The meeting, which was held at Equatorial Convention Centre, Addu city was opened by the going chair of SAARC, prime minister of Royal Government of Bhutan, H.E. Lyonchhen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley.

H.E. Mohammed Nasheed was elected as the chairperson of the 17th SAARC Summit. In his inaugural address president Nasheed highlighted three areas of cooperation in which progress should be made; trade, transport and economic integration; security issues such piracy and climate change; and good governance. President also called on the member states to establish a commission to address issues of gender inequalities in south Asia.

The Head of states of all SAARC Member states addressed the meeting. The inaugural meeting was attended by Foreign/External Ministers of SAARC Member states, the secretary General of SAARC, the Heads of observer Delegations and other state dignitaries.

In her address secretary General stated that the summit being held under the theme "Building Bridges" provides further impetus and momentum to build the many bridges that need to be built: from bridging the gaps created by uneven economic development and income distribution, the gaps in recognizing and respecting the equality of men and women, the closing of space between intent and implementation.

In this meeting, the Foreign Ministers of the respective Member states signed four agreements; SAARC Agreement on Rapid Response to Natural Disaster SAARC Agreement on Multilateral Arrangement Recognition of Conformity Assessment SAARC Agreement on Implementation of Regional Standards SAARC Seed Bank Agreement in addition, the Addu Declaration of the seventh SAARC summit was also adopted.

Eighteenth summit

The Eighteenth summit meeting of the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) held in Kathmandu, Nepal on November 26, 27 2014, with Maldives president Abdulla Yameen, handing over the chairperson's chair to Nepal prime minister Sushil Koirala "time has come for us to decide what kind of saarc we want to pass on posterity" Koirala said.

Foreign Ministers of the eight member states signed an agreement on energy cooperation namely 'SAARC Framework Agreement for Energy Cooperation (Electricity)' in the presence of their heads of state and government during the concluding ceremony of the 18th SAARC Summit on 27 November. Although Pakistan stalled, citing insufficient internal preparations, signing of two other agreements on Vehicular Traffic and Railways respectively. Although Nepalese Prime Minister Sushil Koirala, current SAARC Chair, expressed his hope that the 'Regulation of Passenger and Cargo Vehicular Traffic amongst SAARC Member States,' and 'SAARC Regional Agreement on Railways'

would be signed later after the Transport Ministers of these countries reviewed them. It was also decided that Pakistan will host the next summit in 2016.

Nineteenth summit

Pakistan scheduled to host that 19th summit of SAARC in Islamabad on 15 to 16 Nov. 2016. India including Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives did not attend SAARC summit due to 2016 Uriattack. Pakistan postponed the SAARC summit and announced that new dates would be released soon, but it did not happen.

2.4.6 Conclusion

Origin of SAARC was actually in response to the emergence of regional organisations in the other parts of World, such as: EEC in Europe, ASEAN in South East Asia, GCC in Gulf Countries etc. South Asian countries also aspired for the regional cooperation for peace, cooperation and development in the region. Unfortunately, the bi-lateral conflicts obstructed the success of SAARC. Still, there is a hope for its positive functioning.

2.4.7 Self-check Exercise

1. What do you mean by SAARC? (4 marks)
2. Write a short note on birth of SAARC. (4 marks)
3. Discuss the success of SAARC. (15 marks)
4. Examine major summit meetings of SAARC. (15 marks)
5. Discuss SAARC in detail.

2.4.8 Suggested Readings:

1. K.C. Reddy & T. Nirmala Devi (2002), Regional Cooperation in South Asia, New Delhi : Kanishka.
2. Paramjit Kaur Gill (2005). South Asian Coopertion Making the Strategy, in Gopal Singh (ed.) South Asia Today.

REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND ORGANISATION :- THE EUROPEAN UNION

- 2.5.1 Objectives of this lesson
- 2.5.2 Introduction
- 2.5.3 European Union Formation
- 2.5.4 European Union Policy
- 2.5.5 Functioning of European Union
- 2.5.6 Conclusion
- 2.5.7 Self Check Exercise
- 2.5.8 Suggested Readings

2.5.1 Objectives of this lesson

1. To understand about European Union
2. To know about the emergence of European Union
3. To discuss the functioning of European Union

2.5.2 Introduction

The post second world war era has witnessed the proliferation of regional or economic as well as trading blocs, varying in degree and size, established in all parts of the world. But most of the blocs either remained in the dormant stage for 2-3 decades but moved towards unification. Of all, the **European Union (EU)** has gradually emerged as the largest trading bloc in the world. The EU has consistently pursued its unification track, generally been described as the process of simultaneous deepening and widening. Over period its numerical strength more than four times from six to twenty five countries. It has realised the customs union before the stipulated time. However, the transition from the customs union to common market turned out to be extremely cumbersome. The EU has introduced the common single currency and the central bank by the turn of the century. In the last few years a plethora of regulations, directives, amendments and even new treaties have been put into force to give the final shape to the grand project called the European Union. The paper thoroughly traces the integration path of the EU. For this purpose, the paper has been organised into four parts. The first part deals with the genesis, basic structure, institutional set up and formation of the customs union. Second part is concerned with the initial stages of the economic and monetary integration. The infrastructure devised for the introduction of the single currency and central bank is given in part third. While the final part sums up by briefing the recent state of the monetary integration.

2.5.3 European Union Formation

The integration process of the EU formally started with the sectoral co-ordination through formation of the common market in coal and steel among the six countries of the Europe named Belgium, France, formerly West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. These countries had established the **European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)** by the Treaty of Paris signed on 18th April, 1951, valid for the period of fifty years, with effect from 23rd July, 1952. In essence, the ECSC was the outcome of both the political and economic underpinnings and the brainchild of Jean Monnet (Head of the National Planning Board of France), Paul Henry Spaak (Foreign Minister of Belgium) and Robert Schuman (Foreign Minister of France). As they were committed to the ideas of United Europe. It has envisioned as the most appropriate method to forever mitigate the recurring France-German conflicts on one hand and realisations of the benefits of free trade on the other. By the middle of 1954 the mutual trade of the ECSC members in coal and steel increased nearly to 40 percent. Inspired by this success, it was realised to extend the common market to the rest of the sectors of the member economies. Hence all six of the ECSC member countries subsequently signed the twin Treaties of Rome on 25th March, 1957 for the establishment of the **European Atomic Energy (Community) Euratom and European Economic Community (EEC)** for unspecified time period, which entered into force on 1st January, 1958. The treaty related with the Euratom stand for the joint research and development of the nuclear resources of the member countries. While that of the EEC perceived that the attainment of the truly duly common market is the pre-requisite that will ultimately pave the way for the political union.

A multitier complex organisational set up with diverse power structures of the various institutions has been devised to give practical shape to the common market. In order to smoothen the decision making process, the separate institutions of the three communities, i.e. ECSC, Euratom and the EEC, were merged with each other by the Merger Treaty of Brussels with effect from 1 July, 1967. Hence, the term **European Community (EC)** actually refer to the amalgamated structure of the three communities. The implementation power of the various treaties have been vested into the four institutions as follows: The European Parliament, it acts as the principal form of discussion. Its members are elected by the direct universal suffrage according to the national electoral systems of the member countries since 1979. It exercises the general control over the working of the marker; second the council of ministers, it is concerned with the coordination of the macro-economic policies of the member countries. Since Hague summit of December 1974, It also acts as the principal form of political cooperation under the banner of European Council' with the participation of The Heads of States or Government; third. The European Commission, it serves as the permanent executive of the EU; and fourth, the Court of

Justice, it interprets the various treaties and validity of the acts and by laws of different agencies. These institutions are further supported by the Economic and Social Committee and Court of Auditors and other numerous interest groups and unions from different walks of life.

After sectoral coordination, in its unification drive the EU has passed through the decisive phase of the customs union. To this end, the tariffs were adjusted with reference to their levels of 1st January, 1957. The Common External Tariffs (CET) with the non-members were implemented by the method of arithmetical average of the national tariffs of the member countries. However, the tariffs on the mutual trade of the member countries were Reduced by 40 percent in the first stage (1st January, 1958 to 31 st December, 1966). by another 40 percent in the second stage (1st July, 1962 to 31st December, 1966) and the rest 20 percent in the third stage. In this way, the EU completely transformed into a full-fledged customs union on 1st July, 1961, i.e. 18 months ahead of the scheduled time. The EU has been vested with the reasonably good degree of financial autonomy. It has evolved its own sources of revenue. The share of different source in the EU's total revenue accrues in the following proportions: value added tax (60 percent), customs duties (25 percent). levies on agricultural produce (5 percent) and rest (10 percent) of direct contributions front the member countries and other miscellaneous sources. The EU indulges in a significant manner in the financing of the large number of developmental schemes through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Investment Bank (EIB) and European Social Fund etc.

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has been in force since 1962. The national price stabilisation mechanisms for the agricultural sector has been replaced by the community level common instruments such as the target prices, intervention prices and threshold prices and other channels like production GRM export subsidies etc. The CAP encompasses the entire spectrum of the agriculture sector as such and the allies activities thereof. This policy has generated huge surpluses in so many lines of production popularly called the butter and beef mountains. wine and milk lakes etc. The EU participates as a single entity in the multilateral tariff negotiations. It has also made tremendous progress in the general socio-economic tariff negotiations. It has also made tremendous progress in the general socio-economic cohesion by coordinating the transport, energy, research, competition, social and regional policies etc. The Common European Passport has been in existence since 1985.

The EU was first expanded by the Treaty of Brussels concluded on 2nd January. 1972 with accession at Denmark. Ireland and UK, with effect from 1st January, 1973. The signed of the Treaty of Athenes on 28th May. 1979 led to the second expansion of the EU as Greece became its tenth member, with effect from January, 1981. The Treaty of Madrid of 12 June 1985 led to its third expansion by

the conclusion of Portugal and Spain with effect from 1st January, 1986. The strength of the EU has increased to fifteen as the three countries named Austria, Finland and Sweden joined it with effect from 1st January, 1995. And the membership is increased to 25 in the recently held meeting at Copenhagen in December, 2002 by including 10 former East European Nations are Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus. Bulgaria and Romania will also become full members in 2007. The move to adopt a constitution for the European Union suffered a major set back in December 2003 with member states failing to agree on the issue of individual voting rights.

2.5.4 European Union Policy

Since its inception, the EU has been thriving hard for the realisation of a well integrated monetary system. However, the Treaty of Rome did not provide any solid blue print in this regard. It merely pointed out that the exchange rates must be seen as the 'matters of common concern.' In addition to this, it called for the harmonisation of the monetary policies in such a manner so as they are not to contravene with the transitional process of the customs union. The first ever plan for the monetary integration of the EU was drafted by Robert Triffin and Pierre Uri. The plan was highly ambitious in approach and somewhat rigid in nature. It envisaged for the synchronisation of the monetary integration process with the transitional phases of the customs union. But this plan had never been materialised because the Bretton woods system was quite in conformity with the monetary requirements of the EU. Moreover, the member countries of the EU resorted to the external convertibility of their currencies by 1961. These countries had experienced the higher growth rates coupled with the surpluses in the balance of payments on current account and secured sufficient foreign exchange reserves over the period from 1958 to 1999. In subsequent years the mounting United States balance of payments deficit shakened the world-wide confidence in dollar, the key international reserve currency, which deteriorated the international monetary relations. Thus chain of discussions were held over the issue of completion of the monetary union. The resultant Werner Report in no ascertain terms viewed that a truly monetary union must comprise of at least the four elements; the total and irreversible convertibility of the member currencies. no margins of fluctuations in the exchange rates. irrevocable fixation of the parity relations and the total freedom of the capital movements.

The Council of Ministers in its resolution of February 1971 had decided to achieve the monetary union on the basis of the Warner Report by the end of 1980 in three stages as follows:

In the first stage of three to five years, reduction in the fluctuation margins of exchange rates and coordination of the economic policies in the second stage, policy,

recommendations by the Council of Ministers would be blending on the member governments. In the third stage complete locking of the then existing rate; and introduction of the single currency Defacto and Dejure.

In accordance with the Werner Report, the margins of parity fluctuations were reduced from plus or minus 0.85 percent to plus or minus 0.60 percent on 5th June, 1971. But exactly after two months the Bretton Woods System collapsed with the official termination of the mutual dollar gold convertibility by the United States on 15th August, 1971. It resulted the total global monetary chaos. The prominent currencies of the world started floating randomly. The worst came with the subsequent oil shock of 1973, which quadrupled the oil prices. The member countries of the EU experienced the galloping inflation with the grim balance of payments and employment situation. Actually, the virus of stagflation, got injected in the EU system. Consequently, all plans of European monetary integration were pushed out of the gear.

To restore the monetary discipline in consonance with the Warner Report, the European Monetary System (EMS) was introduced in March 1979. The EMS was primarily aimed at the creation of a 'zone of monetary stability in Europe'. The EMS was operationalised through the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) with the European Currency Unit (ECU) as its principal anchor. The ECU was based upon the weighted average of a currency basket comprising of the differential proportions of the member currencies. The EMS was backed by the European Monetary Fund (EMF) consisting of the dollar, gold and national currencies of the member countries, parity grid of plus or minus 2.25 percent (for Italy plus or minus 6 percent) of the part value of the ECU. The virus followed by the member countries except Britain, all the then member countries of the EU participated in the EMS.

In the early 1980's large number of empirical studies draw the attention of the policy framers towards the problem of the erosion of the competitiveness power of the EU industries vis a vis that of the other developed countries particularly the US and Japan. This phenomenon is also known as the Euro-Sclerosis. Actually, 'the existence of the certain restrictions on the intra-EU free ability of labour and capital were held -as the chief factors fuelling the industrial costs. Thus, Jacques Delors (President of the European Commission) published a white paper also known as the Delors Report, on the completion of the common market in June 1985. The white paper unlisted as much as 282 barriers, in turning the common market into reality, in the three categories i.e. physical, fiscal and technical. These barriers were essentially the non-tariff barriers because the tariffs were one away with the formation of the customs union. Those measures which directly restricted the free movement of persons and goods like the direct taxes and emigration checks were placed in the category of the physical barriers. The differential indirect taxation laws among the member countries fall in the category of fiscal barriers. The technical

barriers comprised of the national differences in the environmental laws, health standards, consumer safety measures and product regulations etc. The White Paper categorically declared that only through the complete elimination of these three types of barriers the EU could realise the four freedom i.e. the freedom of movements of goods, services, labour and capital. The substantial proportion around 60 percent of the collective income of the EU originates from the services. Hence, the European commission emphasized that the services and goods must be treated on equal footing and the former must move as freely as the latter.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the White Paper a major amendment in the Treaty of Rome was made by the Single European Act (SE) with effect from 1st July. 1987. This amendment has terminated the veto power of the member countries in the decision making for a lot of the EU. The unanimity-voting requirement was replaced by a qualified majority of two-third votes. A study sponsored by the European Commission under the chairmanship of Paolo Cecchini has thoroughly examined the possible costs and benefits of the common market. It briefly indicated that the common market would result in almost 5 percent increase in the national income, 6 percent decline in the general price level and generation of more employment in the EU. It further concluded that the EU would gain substantially through the dynamic effects of the common market which would ensure from the realisations of the economies of scale, changed production structure, better allocation of resource and enforced competition etc. The SE committed all the member countries to complete the common market based on the White Paper upto 31st December 1992.

2.5.5 Functioning of European Union

In April 1989. Jacques Delors formulated a three states plan to achieve the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). It centered around the idea of the parallel construction of both of the economic and monetary sides. It held that the gradual convergence of the economic and monetary policies of the member, countries in the first two stages is pertinent for the establishment of the monetary union in the third stage. By the directive of the European Council, stage 1 of the EMU was started on 1 July 1990. In the subsequent of the same year the member countries realigned their exchange rates with the ERM. The further integration path of the EU with specific timing and conditions, was laid down by the Treaty of Maastricht Signed on 7 February 1992. However, due to ratification delay in some member countries particularly in Denmark, It entered into force on 1 November 1993. The Treaty of Maastricht spelled out that the member countries must formulate their economic policies in accordance with the principle of an open market economy and free competition. It provides the necessary tools at the disposal of the monetary authorities to accomplish the target of one market, one currency. Consequently,

stage II of the EMU was launched on 1 January 1994, it has also been decided that the stage III of the EMU would be started during 1997 or at the latest on 1 January '1999. The Treaty of Maastricht held that the gate to stage III would be open to those member countries, which would demonstrate the 'high degree of sustainable convergence' during the proceeding stage. The degree of convergence of a particular member country would be assessed by the four objective criteria i.e. domestic price stability with inflation rate not more than 1.5 percentage points than that of the three best performing member countries after adjusting for the national differences in the calculation of the consumer price indices, government budgetary situation as measured by the size of the deficit (actual or planned) and debt not more than 3 percent and 60 percent respectively of the GD. At market prices exchange rate stability by keeping the fluctuations within the band of the ERM and interest rates in any two years not more than 2 percentage points than that of the three best performing member countries. Besides these convergence would be assessed by taking into consideration the balance of payments on current account, unit labour costs, other price indices and compatibility of the legislation of the national central banks with the statute of the common central bank. The multilateral surveillance is to be undertaken by the Council of Economic and Finance Minister (ECOFIN) to assess the convergence of the member countries.

To facilitate and monitor the functioning of the transitional process from stage II to stage III, the Treaty of Maastricht has established the European Monetary Institute (EMI). Its primary tasks are to strengthen the co-operation among the national central banks, to coordinate the monetary policies, to monitor the functioning of the EMS, to facilitate the use of the ECU and to smoothen its clearing system. The EMI would also prepare the instruments and procedures necessary for the conduct of the single monetary policy in stage. III. The EMI would take over from the EMF the responsibility for the multilateral accounting and financing arrangement of the ERM upto 31 December 1996, the EMI would specify the regulatory, organisational and logistical framework necessary for the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) to fulfill the objective of price stability. The major tasks of the ESCB are to define and implement the monetary policy, to conduct the foreign exchange operations, to hold and manage the official foreign exchange reserves and to promote the smooth operation of the payment system. The ESCB consists of the European Central Bank (ECB) and those national central banks which will participate in stage III. The ECB is a legal personality and has the exclusive right of the note or coinage issue. The ESCB is governed by the decision making bodies of the ECB, i.e. Government Council and Executive Board. According to the Treaty of Maastricht provisions, the EMI shall be liquidated by the beginning of stage III. EU of its assets and liabilities shall pass to the ECB. At the beginning of stage III, the ECOFIN will adopt the irrevocable converts on rates for the national currencies of the

participating member countries and between those member countries and the ECU. After that, the ECOFIN will take measure for the rapid introduction of the ECU as the single currency.

The single market has formally been launched on 1 January 1993. The EU has adopted around 95 percent of the White Paper measures, required for the establishment of the common market. The member countries have agreed for the mutual recognition of the equivalence of each other's national rules and vocational qualifications. The residents have been endowed with the right of establishment. The citizens and companies could operate as per their convenience in any of the member country. The capital controls have substantially been reduced by the member countries. They further agreed to supplant the divergent national standards with the common European standards. The fragmented national markets have gradually been consolidated into the single markets but with few lingering exceptions the border check; though in random manner, are still operative to, cope with the illegal migration crime drug trafficking and tax evasions. Little headway has been made in case of the single visa, immigration, asylum and citizenship policies. Moreover, all dimensions of the social and labour laws have not fully been incorporated in the charter of the single market. But the EU has decided to remove these diversions by the turn of the century.

However, it is noteworthy that in the completion and efficient functioning of the common market the monetary union is the most vital ingredient. The experience of the EU indicates that the monetary integration is an enormously complex rather sensitive issue. It encompasses the varying influence of the multitude of factors. The participation of the EU currencies is the ERM marked the beginning of the stage II of the EMU in 1990. Both Lira and Escudo also joined the ERM in the narrow and wider bands respectively. The newly structured ERM moved for about two years. But in September 1992, this process was disturbed as the four currencies named Lira, Peseta, Escudo and Sterling were devalued beyond their band limits. For this, several factors are held responsible such as the high Bundesbank interest rates, depreciation of the dollar, general recession, high unemployment levels and decline in the export competitiveness of some member countries etc. The EM has been reinvigorated by the increases of the bank limits to plus or minus 15 percent. The currency upheavals has raised some doubts about the sustainability of the single monetary union. The suitability of the objectives of the single monetary policy with the monetary requirements of the individual member countries has increasingly been questioned. For example, the tight monetary policy at the EU level may prove expansionary for a particular member country or the other way around. The instrument of devaluation (revaluation) would cease to exist for the intra-EU adjustments. Some members hesitate to surrender their national currency in favour of the common single currency due to non-economic reasons also. But it has been

decided that the single currency would be called the 'Euro' instead of the 'ECU'. Britain and Denmark have declared that they would join the final stage of monetary condition for the participation in the final stage. Many studies indicate that some countries are in a reasonably good position to move to the final stage of monetary integration as per the scheduled timetable. However, it must be noted that the exact nature and further intensification of the monetary integration depends upon the actual complex mixtures of the mutual inter play of the various monetary forces.

Since 1992, There has been some milestone treaties and conventions of EU that changed the decision making procedures and functional framework of the Union. These are as follow :

- . Treaty of Amsterdam (1997)
- . Treaty of Nice (2001)
- . Constitutional Treaty (2006) : This was not successful as compare to past treaties due to rejection of treaty by French and dutch voters on referendum.
- . Lisbon Treaty (2009) : After the failure of constitutional treaty, EU bodies brought a new moderate and reformist treaty of lisbon which proved to be a balance of supranational and intergovernmental elements of governance.

The Maastricht Treaty (formally, the Treaty on European Union) was signed on 7 february 1992 in Maastricht, Netherlands between the members of the EU and entered into force on 1 november 1993. It was intended to expand political, economic, and social integration among the members state. They committed the EU to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Under EMU, the member nations would unify their economies and adopt a single currency-euro by 1999.

The treaty introduced the three-pillars structure : The Economic and Social Policy, a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) pillar, the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). The Treaty maintained the provisions of ECSC and Euratom but it transformed the EEC to EU (Economic Community). The members states granted the EU governing bodies more authority in several policy areas, including the environment, education, health, and consumer protection.

The Amsterdam Treaty

The Inter Governmental Governance of 1996 produced the Amsterdam Treaty that was signed in October 1997 and came into force in 1999. It revised the Maastricht treaty and other founding EU documents. It gave a green light to further enlargement. The treaty included the potential for cooperation issued by the European Commission, the EU's highest administrative body in 1997, known as Agenda 2000, outlined a strategy for EU enlargement under this treaty.

The EU's attempts to establish a single European currency-euro were controversial right from the starting. In spite of such difficulties, on 1 january 1999, the provisions of common Monetary policy and euro was accepted by eleven member countries out of

fifteen. Greece was joined two years later, bringing the eurozone to twelve. On January, 1, 2002, Euro notes and coins entered into circulation. An agreement on the creation of a European Central Bank (ECB) was also made.

Treaty of Nice (2001)

This treaty outlined a series of staged reforms in European Commission and Council to prepare the EU for enlargement. It includes European charter of Fundamental Rights. By date 2002, all EU members ratified the treaty. The Laeken Declaration of 2001 and the Draft convention on the future of Europe of 2002 were recent significant steps towards European integration. In this way, treaty of Nice cleared the road for EU enlargement towards Central and Eastern European states. In 2004, ten countries of Central and Eastern Europe were admitted into the EU.

Constitutional Treaty

In 2004, the EU was on its original dream—the constitution for Europe. The treaty establishing a constitution for Europe (TCE), commonly referred to as the European Constitution, is an international treaty a common constitution for the European Union. The TCE was signed by member states in 2004, and was in the process of ratification by the member states, until, in 2005, French and Dutch voters rejected the treaty in referenda. Almost 15 member states including Germany, and Italy had ratified the constitutional treaty.

Lisbon Treaty

Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European community entry into force on 1 December 2009. The process leading to the Lisbon Treaty is a result of the negative outcome of two referenda on the constitutional Treaty in May and June 2005, in response to which the European Council decided to have a two-year 'period of reflection'. Finally on the basis of the Berlin Declaration of March 2007, the European Council of 21 to 23 June adopted a detailed mandate for a subsequent intergovernmental Conference (IGC) under the Portuguese Presidency. The IGC concluded its work in October 2007. The Treaty was signed at the European Council of Lisbon on 13 December 2007 and it has been ratified by all member states.

The treaty establishing the European Community is renamed the "Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union" and the term "Community" is replaced by "Union" throughout the text. The Union takes the place of the community and is its legal successor.

The Lisbon Treaty for the first time clarifies the powers of the Union. It distinguishes three types of competence: exclusive competence, where the Union alone can legislate, and member states only implement, shared competence, where the member states can legislate and adopt legally binding measures to support or complement Member State's policies. Union competence can now be handed back to the member states in the course of a treaty revision.

The Lisbon Treaty gives the EU full legal personality. On December 2009, the Charter of fundamental rights became legally binding. Article 6 (1) of the treaty on European union (TEU) now provides that union recognizes the rights, freedoms and principles set out in the charter of fundamental rights of the European union, which shall have the same legal value as the treaties. The charter, therefore, constitutes primary EU legislation; as such, it serves as a parameter for examining the validity of secondary EU legislation and national measures.

In June 2016, the united kingdom held a referendum on membership of the EU, resulting in 51.89% of votes cast, being in favor of leaving.

2.5.6 Conclusion

The expanded EU of “Solidarity and Unity” is structured on a common economic and political heritage, based on key Principles of multi-party democracy, rule of law, free market economy and broader tariff free trade. Its ultimate aim is to establish the European integration. These countries achieved the highest standard of living in world by the full utilization of rich resources like capital, infrastructure and scientific knowledge.

2.5.7 Self-check Exercise

1. What do you understand by European Union? (4 marks)
2. Write a note on Maastricht Treaty. (4 marks)
3. Discuss the emergence of European Union. (15 marks)
4. Examine the functioning of European Union. (15 marks)

2.5.8 Suggested Books

- Peter Calvocoressi, World Politics 1945-2000. Pearsons, Delhi, 2001.
- Urmila Sharma & S.K. Sharma : International Relations - Vol. I & II. Atlantic, New Delhi, 2001.
- Naunihal Singh: Dynamics of International Relations. Mittal, New Delhi, 2002.
- Rama S. Melkote & A. Narsimha Rao: International Relations, Sterling, New Delhi, 1992.
- Rumki Basu, The United Nations: Sterling, New Delhi , 2004.

UNITED NATIONS : AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES

- 2.6.1 Objectives of this lesson
- 2.6.2 Introduction
- 2.6.3 Birth of United Nations
- 2.6.4 Membership of the United Nations
- 2.6.5 Structure of United Nations
- 2.6.6 Aims and objectives of United Nations
- 2.6.7 Principles of United Nations
- 2.6.8 Critical Evaluation
- 2.6.9 Conclusion
- 2.6.10 Self Check Exercise
- 2.6.11 Suggested Readings

2.6.1 Objectives of this lesson

1. To know about the birth of United Nations
2. To know about the membership and structure of United Nations
3. To see what are the Aims and objectives of United Nations
4. To look into the Principles of United Nations
5. To critically evaluate the functioning of United Nations

2.6.2 Introduction : Wars, Conflicts and disputes cannot be eliminated from the world but can be prevented by the best efforts of the man. Till date we have experienced many regional and two world wars. They have caused a lot of disaster to the mankind. We could not forget the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the second world war. Several thousand innocent people were killed in no time. It was realised at that time that no such type of war should happen in future. Maintenance of international peace and security is the urgent need of hour. This need gave birth to the idea of formation of United Nations.

2.6.3 Birth of United Nations :- Second World War was in progress when the politicians thought to make international organization for permanent peace. There was practically no hope of reviving the league of Nations.

Therefore, the idea of establishing a new world organization gained importance. The U.S. President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill played a key role in the birth of a new organization, which is named United Nations. Many meetings and events were held which led to the birth of United Nations.

On August 15, 1941, Atlantic Charter was signed which condemned the policy of seizure of territories of other states by force and called for the establishment of a wider and permanent system of a general security. Following this on First. January 1942, 26 states signed U.N. Declaration and alleged that they will subscribe to the principles of Atlantic Charter. This was the first use of the term '**United Nations**'. In October 1943, foreign ministers of U.S.S.R, U.S.A, U.K. and Chinese Ambassadors in U.S.S.R met in Moscow and signed a document which is known as the Moscom Declaration. In this declaration they pledged to make a general international organization, based on the principle of sovereign equality of all states, to maintain international peace and security. In November 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met in Tehran and signed Tehran Declaration. This declaration emphasised the same thing as considered in Moscow Declaration. But concrete proposals for the U.N. were worked out at Dumbarton Oaks conference which was held on October 7, 1944 among U.S.A., U.K., Soviet Union and China. They gave primary stress on security issues and provided major responsibility to the Big Powers for the maintenance of world peace. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were made public and were discussed for over six months. Criticisms and suggestions were invited from other governments, private organizations and individuals. Ultimately in April 1945, 50 states met at San Francisco to decide aims, objectives and structure of U.N. They considered the proposals, modified and amended them in important respects and finally on June 26, 1945, signed the charter of United Nations. Later on Poland signed the charter becoming 51th original member of U.N. On October 24, 1945, the charter was ratified by the member states and U.N. came into force as world's largest international organization. Its present membership is universal, crossing all geographical, political and ideological lines. 191 countries are members of U.N. today. Second Secretary General of U.N. Dag Hammarskjöld described it as "an institutional system for co existence". Its Headquarter is established in New York in U.S.A.

2.6.4 Membership of the U.N. :- Article 3 of the U.N. charter is concerned with the membership issue. According to it, there are two types of U.N. members.

1. Those members who participated in San Francisco conference and became its original members. Their number was 51.
2. Those countries who became the members of the U.N. later on.

Article 4 of the charter says that the membership of U.N. is open to all peace-loving states who accept the obligations contained in the present charter. Article 6 is concerned with the expulsion of any member state. If a country continuously violates the provisions of the charter, it may be expelled from the U.N. by the General Assembly on the recommendation of Security Council.

2.6.5 Structure of U.N. :- According to the charter, the U.N. has six principal organs.

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

1. The General Assembly :- The General Assembly is the most popular, largest and control body of the U.N. It is a deliberative organ and has only recommending powers. All members of the U.N. are members of the General Assembly. Irrespective of its size and strength, every member has one vote but can send five representatives in the General Assembly Session. The General Assembly meets in regular session every year on third Tuesday of September. Decisions are taken by voting. Important decisions, which are concerned with international peace and security, are taken by 2/3 majority of present and voting. Simple decisions are taken by simple majority of present and voting.

The General Assembly can discuss at any matter or question within the scope of the charter. It has Deliberative, Supervisory, Electoral and Financial powers. It supervises the work of other organs of the U.N. It appoints the Secretary General of the U.N. It admits new members on the recommendation of Security Council and elects non-permanent members of the Security Council, members of the Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council and Judges of the International Court of Justice. It passes the annual budget of the U.N.

2. The Security Council :- The Security Council is the executive organ of the U.N. It is given the primary responsibility to maintain

international peace and security by the charter. It has five permanent members (U.S.A., U.K., Russia, France and China) and 10 non-permanent members. The Non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. All permanent members of the Security Council has veto power which means that every decision of the Security Council is taken by the approval of all five. In other words any decision or resolution becomes ineffective even if only one out of the five votes against it. This specific privilege of the 'Big Five' is called veto power.

The Security Council is the enforcement agency of the U.N. It has been given main responsibility by the charter to maintain international peace and security. For this purpose, it can apply economic sanctions under Article 41 and take military action under Article 42 against the aggressor state. Its decisions are binding upon the member states under Article 25 of the charter.

3. The Economic and Social Council :- As apparent from its name, it discusses and tries to solve the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems at international level. It also looks after the other issues regarding women, children, health, food, housing, education and environment. Originally there were 18 members of ECOSOC and now its membership has been enlarged to 54. It holds two meetings in a year, one in April and second in July. The ECOSOC coordinates and supervises the various specialised agencies of the U.N.

4. The Trusteeship Council :- The Trusteeship Council was set up under Article 7 of the charter. It works for the administration and development of those areas of the world which were not able to govern themselves.

Composition :- The Composition of the Council is very complex. Under Article 86 there are three types of the members of the Council.

- I. Those members of the U.N. as were administering trust territories.
- II. Permanent members of the Security Council.
- III. As many other members which are elected for three years by the General Assembly.

Normally the Council holds two meetings in a year, one in January and other in June. A special meeting of the council can be called at any time on the request of the majority of the members. Decisions are taken on the basis of majority of the members present and voting. All the members have one vote. The 'Big Five' do not enjoy veto power in this respect.

Functions :- Following are the main functions of the Trusteeship Council :-

- I. It makes efforts for the development of trust territories.
- II. It makes capable the inhabitants of trust territories for getting independence and self-determination.
- III. It supervises the development functions in trust territories and collect information regarding this. On the basis of examination and general debate, the council drafts a report of its own and send it to the General Assembly.
- IV. The Council has the power to receive and examine petitions from individual and organizations in the trust territories. The petitions generally relate to the human rights, social and racial discrimination, poor education, property claim etc.

The Trusteeship council has worked a lot in political, social and economic spheres in trust territories. Eleven such territories were brought under the trust of the council. All such territories are today independent or have joined some other countries. Since there is no trust territory to be administered now, the council ceases to play any significant role.

5. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) :- It is the Judicial organ of the U.N. Its headquarter is in Hague in Netherlands.

Composition :- There are 15 judges of the I.C.J. who are elected by the General Assembly and Security Council for the term of 9 years. They are chosen on the basis of their experience and expertise in International Law. There cannot be two judges from the same country at the same time. Only the member states can bring their cases before the court and not the private individuals.

Powers and Functions :- The powers and functions of International Court of Justice are mentioned in Article 36 of the charter. There are three types of jurisdiction of the I.C.J.

I. Voluntary Jurisdiction :- Under the jurisdiction, the cases comprise of such disputes which parties refer to it by agreement. No country can be obliged to submit the dispute to the court.

II. Compulsory Jurisdiction :- It consists of following types of legal matters :

- (a) The interpretation of a Treaty.
- (b) Any question regarding International Law.
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.
- (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

III. Advisory Jurisdiction :- The court has advisory jurisdiction also. The General Assembly, the Security Council or any other specialised agency authorised by the General Assembly may take advisory opinion on any legal matter. But this advice is not binding on the agency who solicit it.

6. The Secretariat :- Sixth organ of the U.N. is Secretariate. It is the headquarter of the U.N. which administers and coordinates the policies and programmes of the organisation. It consists of Secretary General as Chief Administrative Officer and Several Deputy Secretary Generals, experts, administrators, clerks etc. This is called the staff of the U.N., which is appointed from all member states. The staff is accountable to the U.N. and not to any particular country. The staff is appointed by the Secretary General as per regulations formulated by the General Assembly. Due consideration is given to the wide geographical basis in recruitment.

Appointment of Secretary General :- The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. Generally he is elected for 5 years and after retirement he may be re-elected. All permanent members of the Security Council have to agree to the name of person who is appointed as Security General.

The office of U.N. Secretary General is very delicate one. He has to serve the interests of the international system while resisting pressure from nation states and at the same time without making the various member states hostile to him. In the words of first Secretary General Trygve Lie, "The office of the Secretary General is the most impossible job in the world".

Functions of the Secretary General :- The powers and functions of the Secretary General are included in the charter from Article 97 to 102. He enjoys administrative, financial, political, representative and registration powers. Following are his main functions :-

- I. He is the Chief Administrative Officer of the U.N. and act in this capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, Security Council, ECOSOC and Trusteeship Council. He submits an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization.
- II. He may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

- III. In performing duties, he and other staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization. He will be accountable only to the U.N.
- IV. He appoints the staff of the U.N. under regulations made by U.N. Assembly. He prepares annual budget of the U.N. He represents the U.N. at different occasions.
- V. He registers all treaties and agreements signed by the member states.

Secretary Generals of the U.N.

Sr. No.	Name	Period	Country
1.	Trygve Lie	1946-52	Norway
2.	Dag Hammarskjold	1953-61	Sweden
3.	U. Thant	1961-71	Myanmar
4.	Kurt Waldheim	1972-81	Austria
5.	Javier Perez de Cuellar	1982-91	Peru
6.	Boutros Boutros Ghali	1992-96	Egypt
7.	Kofi A. Annan	1997-2006	Ghana
8.	Ban Ki Moon	2007-2016	North Korea
9.	Antonio Guterres	2017-till date	Portugal

Specialised Agencies of U.N.

Besides the six main organs, the U.N. has some specialised agencies which are its part and parcel. Every specialised agency has specific purpose in the fields of health, education, science, trade, culture, environment, sustainable development etc. The *Economic and Social Council* (ECOSOC) coordinates and supervises these agencies, but they all are autonomous and have their own constitution, sphere of activities, staff and budget. International Labour Organization (I.L.O.), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (U.N.E.S.C.O.), United Nations Children's Fund (U.N.I.C.E.F.), World Health Organization (W.H.O.), World Bank etc. are main specialised agencies which are doing a remarkable job in various fields.

2.6.6 Aims And Objective Of U.N.

The aims and objectives of the U.N. are clearly indicated in the Preamble and Article I of the charter. The Preamble says that the people of the U.N. will collectively work to save mankind from scourage of war, protection of human rights, economic and social development and better standard of life and for the maintenance of international peace and security. The aims and objectives of the U.N. are following :-

- I. To maintain international peace and security through collective measures. Regarding this collective security system is adopted in the chapter 7 of the charter and its heading reads, "Action with respect to threat to peace, Breach of peace and Acts of Aggression". It contains 13 Articles from 39 to 51 which together provide the collective measures to maintain international peace and security.
- II. To develop friendly relations among the nations based on equal respect for all states. This is a very positive objective to eliminate the atmosphere of fear, suspicion and uncertainty.
- III. To achieve international cooperation by solving international problems of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian characters.
- IV. To encourage respect for human rights, for the work and dignity of human person and equal rights of men, women and nations, large and small. For this pupose "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" was adopted by the U.N. on December 10, 1948 in which political, civil, social, economic and cultural rights are recognised.
- V. To act as a centre for harmonising the activities of member countries to achieve the above said aims and objectives.
- VI. To save the succeeding generations from the scourage of war.
- VII. To promote social progress and better standard of life.
- VIII. Protection of Environment and Sustainable Development.

2.6.7 Principles of U.N.

In fulfilling the above said aims and objectives, there are certain principles and guidlines which may be described code of conduct in accordance with the world body and its member states should act in the conduct of foreign affairs. These principles are as under :-

- I. The Organization is based on the principe of the sovereign equality of all its members. It means that the U.N. will treat all the member states as sovereign equals without any discrimination.
- II. The U.N. will not intervene in the matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. In other words it can be said that the U.N. will not interfere in the domestic affairs of member states.
- III. All member states shall fulfill their obligations in good faith as laid down in the charter.

- IV. The member states will settle their disputes by peaceful methods not to resort to war.
- V. All the members of U.N. shall refrain in the conduct of international relations from the threat or use of force against territorial integrity and political independence of any country or in any other *way* inconsistent with the objective of the U.N.
- VI. All member states will assist the U.N. in every peace-keeping operation.
- VII. The U.N. will also see that non-members will also act according to the principles of the organization.

2.6.8 Critical Evaluation

As we came to know from the above description, that the U.N. came into existence to save the mankind from the scourage of war and to ensure the welfare of the people. Its aims and objectives are very vast and are capable to fulfill the dreams of the people. Its principles are based on mutual respect, human right and sovereign equality of all nations. But if we see the practical position, some of its principles are merely pious wishes. Therefore its principles and certain weakness in its structure invite a lot of criticism. It has been realised that the authority of the U.N. is not adequate for the realisation of its aims and objectives. The General Assembly, the ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council can only make recommendations but have no authority to make binding decisions. Only the Security Council has the power to make binding decisions. But it can be paralysed at any moment by any of the permanent members through the application of veto. Like this the International Court of Justice has no compulsory jurisdiction over the disputes among states.

The principle of sovereign equality of all states is also theoretical one. Only in the General Assembly, which is a recommending body, they have equal status, but in the Security Council, which is enforcement body, only five permanent members have preponderant role. This authority of Big Five compromises the equal status of all states.

The principle of commitment of all members to fulfill in good faith their obligations as laid down in the charter has been and often is a pious wish. If the member states settle their disputes by peaceful methods as specified in the charter and not resort to war, possibly no enforcement action will be necessary.

The principle of assistance to the U.N. in peace-keeping operation is also practically difficult. It becomes difficult for the U.N. to undertake any action when many of the member states do not send their forces and other assistance.

The principle of non-interference in the domestic matters of any state seriously restricts the authority of the U.N. It is very difficult to determine whether a matter is a domestic one or has international ramifications. Nations take benefit of this principle by saying a international dispute, a domestic one. In this way they restrict the U.N. to take necessary action.

2.6.9 Conclusion : To conclude we can say that though there are some structural as well as some practical weaknesses, the U.N. is the only hope to save human race from the nuclear war. The maintenance of international peace and security has been quite logically placed at the head of the lists of aims and objectives, because all of its purposes may realise in the atmosphere of peace and security. The charter has given a big role to the U.N. to maintain world peace, mutual cooperation and friendly relations among states. To make more effective in this regard, the charter needs some reforms. The U.N. should have the authority to cut across the authority of the member states. The powers of the General Assembly should be increased. The membership of the Security Council should also be raised and the veto power should be reviewed. Last but not least, the U.N. should have a permanent peace-keeping force so that any action may be taken without delay.

2.6.10 Self-Check Exercise

1. Write a paragraph on the origin of United Nations. (4 marks)
2. Which are important specialised agencies of U.N. (\$ marks)
3. Write a note on Security Council. (4 marks)
4. Critically examine the Aims, objectives and Principles of United Nations. (15 marks)
5. Write a Note on the structure of United Nations. (15 marks)

2.6.11 Suggested Readings

1. B.N. Mehrish, *International Organisations*, New Delhi, 1976.
2. Rumki Basu, *The United Nations : Structure and Functions of an International Organization*, New Delhi, 1993.
3. S.J.R. Biligrami, *International Organization : A View from within*, New Delhi, 1977.

ROLE OF U.N. IN THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE

- 2.7.1 Objectives of this lesson
- 2.7.2 Introduction
- 2.7.3 Provisions of the UN regarding the maintenance of World Peace
- 2.7.4 Uniting for Peace Resolution
- 2.7.5 The UN concept of Peace-keeping
- 2.7.6 Role of UN in the maintenance of World Peace
- 2.7.7 Critical Evaluation
- 2.7.8 Conclusion
- 2.7.9 Self Check Exercise
- 2.7.10 Suggested Readings

2.7.1 Objectives of this lesson

1. To understand UN as an International Organisation
2. To discuss the provisions of UN regarding maintenance of World Peace
3. To critically evaluate the role of UN in the establishment of World Peace.

2.7.2 Introduction

As we have already known that the U.N. came into existence to maintain international peace and security. It is one of the main aims and objectives of the U.N. Today's world is facing a serious threat to its existence. We are living in the atmosphere of terror and fear. We could not forget the destruction caused by the two world wars. If third world war happens, it will be the total destruction of human race. This is not exaggeration because states have nuclear weapons of mass destruction today. In this environment, the U.N. is the only hope, which can save the human race. It has the primary responsibility on its shoulders to maintain world peace. In the words of second secretary General of U.N., Dag Hammarskjöld, "United nations is a necessity of the mankind, it is not a matter of peace."

2.7.3 Provisions of the U.N. regarding the Maintenance of World Peace

:- Maintenance of world peace is the primary and fundamental objective of the U.N. as the preamble of the charter says, "we the people of UNITED nations determine to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of

war, which twice in our life has brought untold sorrow to mankind..... do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.” The charter in its first article also reveals that the maintenance of International peace and security is the first priority of the U.N. for this purpose some peaceful methods for the settlement of disputes among states are mentioned in lesson VI of the charter. These are Negotiation, Arbitration, Conciliation, Enquiry, mediation and Judicial Settlement. If the states fail to resolve their disputes by these methods, then the security council can investigate any dispute and if it feels that the continuation of the dispute is likely to endanger world peace, it can take any appropriate action. The U.N. Charter clearly states that when the council determines the existence of any threat to peace, breach of peace or act of aggression, it shall decide what measure would be taken to maintain world peace.

For this purpose **collective security system** is included in the chapter of U.N. under Chapter VII. There are 13 articles in this Chapter from 39 to 51, which together provide the detailed measures for collective security to maintain world peace. Article 39 asks the Security Council, “to determine the existence of any threat to peace, breach of peace or act of aggression and to make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Article 41 and 42 to maintain international peace and security. Under Article 41, interception of economic relations and means of communication can be resorted to and the reverence of diplomatic relations. Article 42 is applied when measures under Article 41 prove to be ineffective. Military action under Article 42 may include blockade and other action by air, sea or land forces of U.N. members under the U.N. command.

2.7.4 Uniting For Peace Resolution

Under the Charter the responsibility to maintain world peace lies in the hands of the security council. The General Assembly has the power to make only recommendations to member states by 2/3 majority. The charter did not give any role to the General Assembly in initiating collective security action. In 1950, when the Korean war took place, the USA wanted the U.N. to take collective security action against North Korea. But the soviet veto made the security council ineffective. At this particular period the members of the U.N. were pro-united states. In other world, the USA had the majority support in the General Assembly. By taking benefit of this, the USA got the General Assembly to pass the “Uniting for peace resolution” in November 1950. This resolution gave the

General Assembly a role in enforcing collective security action. It has the following features :

- I. The General Assembly will meet within 24 hours if the Security Council is prevented by veto from enforcing its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security.
- II. In such cases the General Assembly will recommend collective action to member states. This action may include use of armed forces even.

The “Uniting for peace Resolution” was a conscious effort to develop and implement the security provisions of the charter. It is a major landmark in the maintenance of world peace.

2.7.5 The U.N. Concept of peace-keeping

Peace keeping as a concept is not specifically described in the U.N. Charter, but it has evolved over the years as an internationally acceptable way of controlling conflict. It is one of the best ways in which U.N. helps to maintain international peace and security. In the context of U.N., peace-keeping is defined as the use of multinational forces under U.N. command to help contain and resolve conflict between hostile states and sometimes between antagonistic forces within a single state.

U.N. peace-keepers may be sent as unarmed observers or as a lightly-armed peace-keeping force. They may be sent to observe the situation and report to the Secretary General, to supervise troops with drawl or help to ensure compliance with treaties or other agreements. They might be asked to enquire into cease-fire violations or petrol buffer zones. They could also be assigned the duty to supervise elections, monitoring law and order situation and to enquire the transition of a territory to independence. Besides, they often provide needed medical services, assist in the resettlement of refugees and work to restore normal civilian activities in strife torn areas.

Today U.N. peace-keeping operations are going on in different fifteen countries. In may 1993 multi-party and democratic elections were held in Cambodia under the supervision of U.N. peace-keeping operations. Peace-keeping operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Angola, East Tamur, Lwang, Rwanda, West Sahara, Somalia, Yougoslavia and several other parts of the world have been going in full swing. Till date approximately 60 peace-keeping operations have been done in which 750,000 soldiers

participated. For its active role in the maintenance of world peace, U.N. has been given a Noble Prize also.

2.7.6 Role of U.N. in the Maintenance of World Peace

Since its inception, the U.N. has done a remarkable job in the maintenance of world peace. It have solved may disputes which could have posed a serious threat to the world peace. Iran problem, Greece problem, Berlin dispute, Palestine problem, Indonesian Problem, Apartheid problem in Sough Africa, Kashmir problem, Korean dispute, Suez canal dispute, Hungary problem, Congo problem, Yaman problem, Cuban missile crisis, Cyprus problem, Czechoslovakia crisis, Iraq-Iraq war, problem of Namibia and Gulf-war are the examples of such disputes which are solved by the U.N. It is not possible to study all the disputes in detail, only such disputes will be dealt with which could pose a threat to world peace but with the efforts of U.N. failed in doing so.

13.6.1 Korean War (1950) :- On the night of 25-25 June 1950, the North Korea invaded South Korea. This was the first test of the collective security system to maintain peace. The mater was put to the Security Council and latter, in the absence of Soviet Union, determined North Korea as aggressor and passed a resolution for an immediate ceasefire and asked North Korea to withdraw its forces from South Korea. But North Korea did not comply the directive, then Security Council took a prompt action. It called upon the members of the U.N. to send their forces and other assistance to South Korea. Though the U.N. had not armed forces at its disposal, but it was not helpless in the face of open aggression. The U.N. appointed General MacArthur as its commander and forces were sent by 16 states to fight under the U.N. flag. Efforts were made to bring cease-fire but could not be succeed due to the opposition of soviet Union. Ultimately in July 1953, a truce agreement was signed and hostilities came to end. All members of the U.N. breathed a sigh of relief.

But the role of U.N. in the Korean war was not without criticism. North Korea was a communist country and USA wanted the U.N. to take action against it. It can not be said that this was a U.N. action, in reality it was a U.S. effort to fight against communism. Other states gave very little or merely symbolic help. It was in the form of an ambulance unit, a medical team, a hospitalship etc.

13.6.2 Suez Canal Crisis :- The Suez Canal Crisis arose in 1956 when on July 26, 1956 the Egyptian government nationalised the Suez Canal Company. This unilateral action of Egypt made hostile to France and England, whose governments thought their interests are severely hurt. On October 29, 1956, the Israeli military forces crossed the Egyptian border. After two days England and France also bombed Egyptian military bases. The matter was put before the Security Council but due to the lack of unanimity among the "Big Five", it could not perform its duty to maintain peace. The issue came before the General Assembly in terms of "Uniting For Peace Resolution". The General Assembly passed a resolution urging an immediate cease fire by all states taking part in the hostilities. The General Assembly also requested the Secretary General to submit a plan for setting up an emergency international U.N. force to secure and supervise the cease fire of hostilities. 6000 military personnel of 10 countries were ready under the U.N. command but this force was to act merely as a deterrent to further hostilities. Ultimately a cease fire was arranged. Egypt agreed to the stationing of U.N. force on her territory. In April 1957 Suez Canal opened for shipping and crisis came to an end.

2.7.6.3 U.N. Role in other disputes :- In 1960, the U.N. sent a military force to Congo to face the threat arising out of the internal strife which tended to disturb world peace. The force stayed in Congo about four years and did a good job in restoring peace there. At the time of Hungarian Crisis of 1956, the Soviet Union was compelled to respond favourably to the pressure from the U.N. against its intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary.

In 1962, the Soviet Union decided to establish missile bases in Cuba. On this issue both the super powers were involved and situation became very alarming if not prevented could pose a major threat to the world peace. U. Thant, the Acting Secretary General of the U.N. played a vital role in diffusing the situation.

During the **Arab-Israel war** in 1967, the Security Council passed a resolution asking Israel to facilitate the return of Arab Civilians in the areas occupied by her. This issue was considered by the General Assembly also and Israel was condemned for her action. Again in 1973 Arab Israel war, the Security Council asked the parties to stop hostilities. It was also decided to send a U.N.

Emergency Force before ceasefire could be enforced. In Cyprus crisis, the U.N. did a lot to prevent the situation from becoming worse.

2.7.6.4 Role of U.N. in Gulf-war :- On August 2, 1990 Iraq's army attacked a small neighbouring country, Kuwait and annexed it. From this date to November 20, 1990, the Security Council passed 12 resolutions on this matter and condemned Iraq's invasion on Kuwait. On August 6, 1990, the Security Council imposed economic sanctions on Iraq under Article 41 but Iraq did not comply. Ultimately on November 29, 1990, the Security Council passed a resolution taking armed action under Article 42 if Iraq failed to withdraw its forces out of Kuwait till January 15, 1991. But all in vain. On January 16, 1991 the United Nations forces launched an air-attack against Iraq and started a war that had U.S. - led coalition of forces from 26 countries fighting Iraq for 100 hours. On February 26, 1991, Kuwait was liberated from Iraq and U.N. forces declared ceasefire on February 28, 1991. Like this the U.N. played a key role in securing the liberation of Kuwait.

Though in many disputes, the U.N. played a significant role, but there are certain disputes in which the U.N. failed to play any role. In 1948 Soviet Union intervened in Czechoslovakia but both the Security Council and the General Assembly could do nothing. Likewise in 1979, when Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan, the U.N. has not been able to do anything to force the Soviet Union to leave Afghanistan. War started between Iran and Iraq in 1980 which lasted for seven years, the U.N. has not been able to stop it. Kashmir problem between India and Pakistan still continues and U.N. failed to find a permanent solution.

2.7.7 Critical Evaluation

The U.N. is very much clear to maintain world peace as the charter says. But the practical position is not much satisfactory. From 1956 to 1990, the balance sheet of U.N.'s effectiveness in maintaining world peace presents a mixed picture. In many cases definite and permanent settlements were reached but in some cases, it has been frustrated and dead locked. Why U.N. could not play effective role in maintaining world peace? It is due to the certain structural as well as some political weaknesses. Following are the main weaknesses in this regard.

2.7.7.1 Veto Power :- Veto Power in the hands of permanent members of the Security Council is a big hinderance in the way of U.N. Any of the "Big Five" can reject the decision of the Security Council.

During the period of cold war, many times veto power was used by permanent members of the Security Council. Due to this, the Security Council can take action only when small/middle powers are involved and not when a big power or his ally is involved.

2.7.7.2 No Provision for the termination of Collective Security

Action :- In the charter of U.N., there is no provision to terminate the collective security action even if the purpose has been achieved. For example, Kuwait is liberated from Iraq but action against Iraq is still continuing.

2.7.7.3 Absence of Permanent International Peace-keeping Force

:- Lack of permanent international peace keeping force is another limitation of the U.N. Military action under collective Security System can only be held when member states send their forces. The process is very slow. The gap between aggression and sending peace keeping force is so big that the aggressor gets sufficient time to reap the fruits of aggression. Modern warfare made it possible for the aggressor to commit aggression, do necessary damage to the victim and ultimately withdraw or agree to cease fire under the direction of U.N. Besides many countries do not send their required forces due to political motives. In Korean war only 16 states sent their forces out of 50 and in Gulf-war only 26 states sent their troops.

2.7.7.4 Right of Individual and Collective Self-Defence :- Under Article 51 of the charter, the member states have been given the right of individual and collective self-defence. From the point of view of the world peace, it is very dangerous. All military alliances like NATO, SEATO, WARSAW PACT etc. are formed under this right. These military alliances pose a big threat to world peace. Sometimes they do military action ignoring the U.N. For example NATO did military attack on Yugoslavia and Afghanistan many times.

2.7.7.5 Domestic Jurisdiction :- Under Article 2 para 7, the U.N. cannot interfere in the domestic jurisdiction of any state. This is an ambiguous concept and restricts the authority of the U.N. to take necessary action. It is very much difficult to say any disputer domestic or international. Generally, the states may check the U.N. authority to take any action by saying it domestic matter.

2.7.7.6 Unhealthy International Environment :- Many other reasons are also responsible for its ineffectiveness in maintaining world peace. The most important one was the rivalry and cold war between the

two Super Powers. These Super Powers were determined to safeguard their so-called national interests unmindful of the effect of their action on the world peace. Both of them adopted opposite stands over almost all the violations of international peace and security. Their interventions always remained unchecked.

2.7.8 Conclusion

To conclude we can say that the U.N. is very useful device to maintain world peace in our life. Though the U.N. could not work successfully in the days of cold war but in the post-cold war period, it has been playing an active role in maintaining world peace. Though many people criticised the U.N. role in the Gulf war, but it secured the liberation of Kuwait. The U.N. is also playing a key role to reduce the gravity of Afghan crisis, to restore peace in Cambodia, Angola, Cyprus, Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and several other parts of the world. To make it more effective, the American designs to make it U.S. organization should be countered by the collective efforts of all member states. To tackle any dispute which may endanger international peace and security, there should be no negative from any of the permanent members of the Security Council. Democratization of U.N. and expansion of the Security Council is the need of the hour to make it more effective in maintaining world peace.

2.7.9 Self-check Exercise

1. What do you mean by United Nations. (4 marks)
2. What are the provisions in U.N. charter regarding maintenance of World Peace. (4 marks)
3. Describe the role of United Nations in Gulf War. (4 marks)
4. Explain the role of U.N. in maintaining International Peace and Security. (15 marks)
5. Critically evaluate the role of U.N. in the maintenance of World Peace. (15 marks)

2.7.10 Suggested Readings

1. B.N. Mehrish, *International Organizations*, New Delhi, 1976.
2. Rukmi Basu, *The United Nations : Structure and Functions of an International Organization*, New Delhi, 1993.
3. S.J.R. Biligrami, *International Organization : A View from Within*, New Delhi, 1977.